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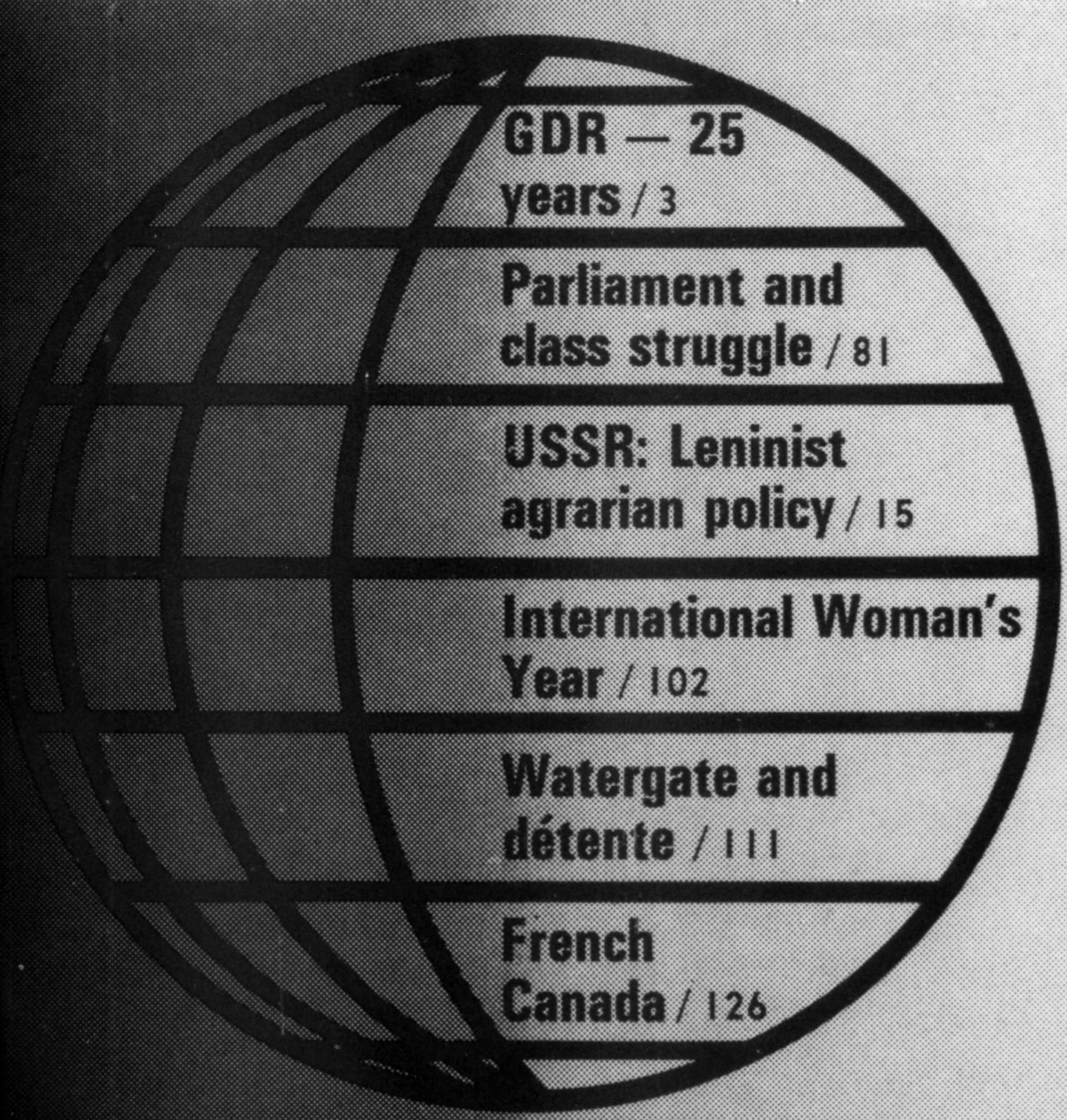
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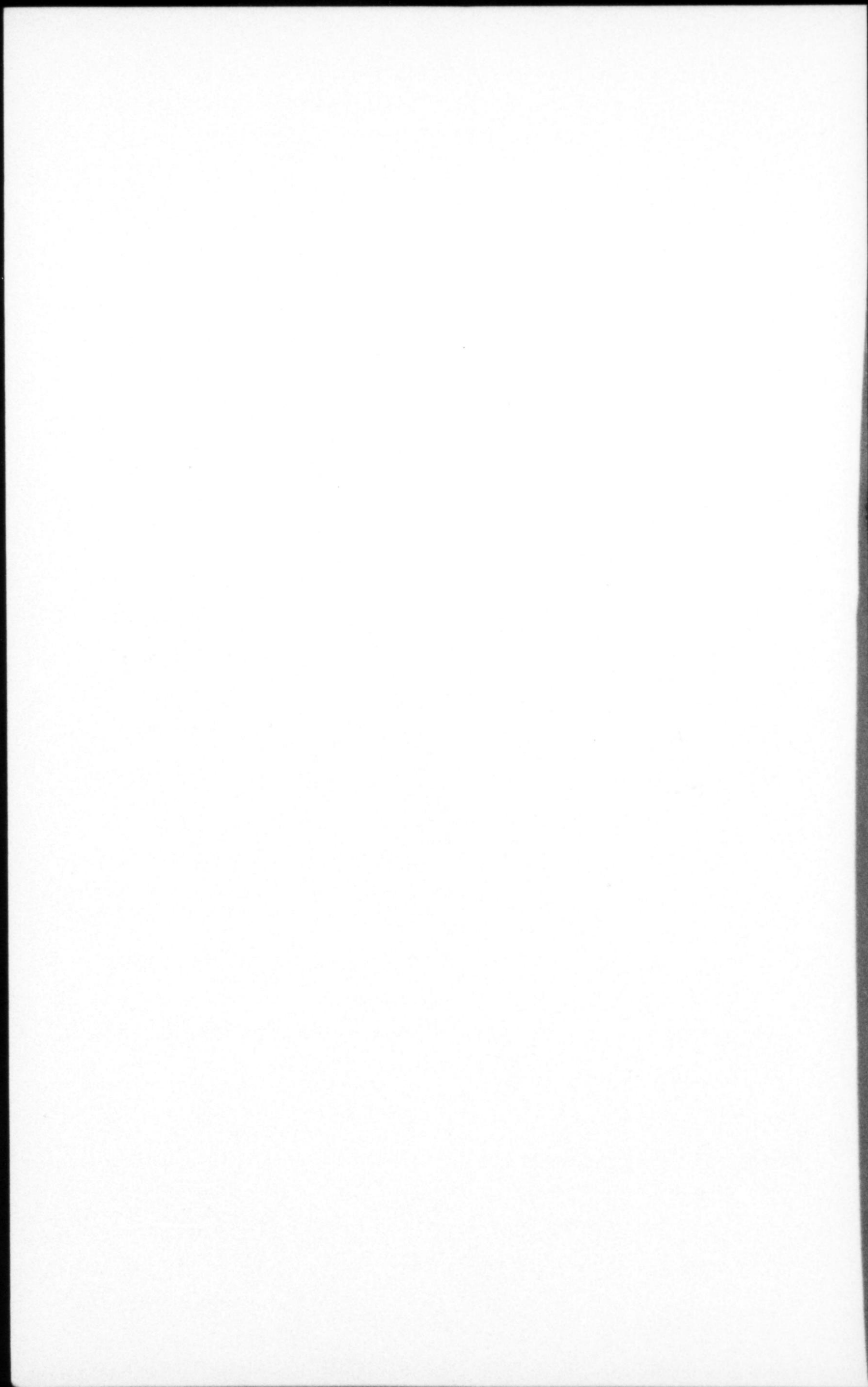
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On the road of socialist revolution

Erich Honecker
First Secretary,
CC Socialist Unity Party
of Germany

October 7, 1974, marks 25 years of the German Democratic Republic. They have been years in which the history of our nation took a fundamentally new course. In carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism under the leadership of the united working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the working people of our country brought about far-reaching changes in their social existence.

The GDR approaches its jubilee a strong, viable state pursuing a consistent policy of peace and anti-imperialist solidarity. In inviolable unity with the Soviet Union, as an inalienable part of the community of fraternal nations, our worker-peasant government has won universal international recognition. Thanks to the creative strength of the working class and the dedicated labor of a people rid of capitalist exploitation, the advantages and superiority of socialism stand out ever more clearly in our country.

Every stage of our 25-year road has been marked by hard work and bitter class struggle against imperialism and militarism. These years have seen the defeat of reactionary forces in the FRG in their repeated attempts to wipe out the first German worker-peasant state. The establishment and development of the GDR has been an important contribution to the continued shifting of the world balance of forces in favor of socialism. It has further weakened the aggressive German imperialism responsible for unleashing two devastating world wars.

The sense of pride with the nation's achievements finds expression in numerous initiatives by workers aimed at ensuring consistent implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, which set the task of building a developed socialist society. The atmosphere in which the preparations for our jubilee

took place is best characterized by the drive for pre-schedule fulfilment of the 1974 economic plan and thorough elaboration of next year's plan. With the experience and lessons of 25 years of struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the citizens of the GDR are purposefully and optimistically advancing along the road charted by the Eighth SUPG Congress.

The establishment and growth of the GDR is inseparably linked with the world-historic victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union over Hitler fascism. It was the Soviet Army which, in a heroic struggle that demanded huge sacrifices, liberated the peoples enslaved by German imperialism and thereby opened new vistas for world social development. In the liberated lands, protected from imperialist intervention, favorable conditions appeared for objectively necessary revolutionary change. On the territory of the GDR, as in a number of other countries, it became possible to utilize the substantial revolutionary potentialities liberated as a result of the defeat of German fascism. Thus, the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the powerful upsurge of all revolutionary movements in the aftermath of the Second World War elevated the world revolutionary process to a new higher level. From the outset the GDR has been a firm component of, and active participant in, this worldwide revolutionary development.

As in other countries, the establishment of worker-peasant rule in our country immediately encountered the fierce opposition of moribund class forces, the monopolists, junkers, active fascists and militarists. It faced a common front of the most reactionary forces of world imperialism which spared no effort to prevent the advance of socialism in the center of Europe.

In such conditions of class struggle, the existence and development of the GDR could be ensured only through consistently consolidating worker-peasant power and the unbreakable alliance with the first socialist country, the land of Lenin. The formation and development of the GDR became a turning point in our people's history and an event of international significance precisely because our republic, led by the working class and its revolutionary party, was the first German state to eradicate the reactionary, anti-national policy of hate and hostility toward the USSR. From the very beginning it made the revolutionary traditions of German-Soviet friendship the cornerstone of its state policy. 'The Socialist Unity Party of Germany holds,' declared Wilhelm Pieck, first President of the GDR, 'that the German people must establish new, friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and that slanderous propaganda against the Soviet Union must never again occur in Germany.' Our Party has always regarded this attitude toward the Soviet Union as crucial to the development and

strengthening of socialism on German soil.

Our experience confirms the lesson of history: inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union, the fight against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, is in the best interests of every people. The policy and ideology of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have always and everywhere turned out to be the policy and ideology of classes doomed by history, the policy and ideology of social regression.

The GDR's 25 years constitute a quarter-century of brotherly communion with the USSR and the whole socialist family of peoples. All our decisive accomplishments rest on the firm foundation of fraternal alliance between the working people of the GDR and the peoples of the USSR, on extensive friendly relations between the SUPG and the CPSU based on proletarian internationalism. Accession to the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as the bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance concluded since the mid-60s, are landmarks in the GDR's development within the socialist community. And today the main trend of relations between the GDR and the USSR is continuously closer ties in all spheres, in Party life and state relations, in economic and cultural affairs. Thus the tried and tested alliance between the GDR and the USSR expands in scope and scale. Thus are being brought to fruition the objectives of which L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, spoke at the 24th CPSU Congress: 'We want to see the world system of socialism a close-knit family of peoples building and defending the new society together, mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a strong, cohesive family in which the people of the world would see the prototype of the future world community of free peoples.'

To achieve the decisive turn in our people's history it was essential to foster in the working class the ability to lead that historical process. And this required, first and foremost, overcoming the split in the working-class movement caused by opportunism. Guided by Lenin's thesis that the purpose of Marxism-Leninism is to prove the working class' world-historic mission, the Communists coming out of fascist jails and returning from emigration concentrated their efforts on uniting the working class.

The objectives and direction of revolutionary struggle were set out by the Central Committee of the CPG in its appeal of June 11, 1945. The immediate task, it said, was the establishment of an anti-fascist democratic republic with all rights and freedoms for the working people, thereby paving the way to socialism. That important document became a platform of joint working-class action, a basis for the formation of a bloc of all anti-fascist democratic parties. In its declaration of June 15, 1945, the Central Board of the Social-Democratic

Party of Germany resolutely supported the CPG appeal. Thanks to Communist and Social-Democrat cooperation, the trade union movement revived after a 12-year ban, constituted itself as an integrated organization based on industrial unions.

The united action of Communists and Social Democrats grew stronger in their struggle for the establishment of an anti-fascist democratic regime, through joint clarification of ideological and political questions. It became the key link in the unification of all anti-fascist democratic forces. That is why reactionaries and right-wing Social-Democratic leaders concentrated their efforts on weakening the newly-established unity. The question at the juncture of the years 1945 and 1946 was: either united action at a higher level with the merger of Communists and Social Democrats in a single revolutionary Marxist party, or no united action at all.

It was in that situation that the CPG took the initiative to work for the merger of Communists and Social Democrats in a Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The merger was effected in April 1946 on the basis of a consistently Marxist program. The prime demands of that program, based on the CPG appeal of June 11 and the SDPG appeal of June 15, 1945, were aimed at establishing an anti-imperialist democratic republic without monopolists or landlords; socialism was declared the long-term objective.

At the time of the merger not all sections of the Party were quite clear about the road or goal of the working class. But the CPG came to the conclusion that with patient work, the task of clarification could be completed within the united party. This was a correct conclusion. The SUPG matured politically in the struggle for carrying out the basic tasks of anti-fascist democratic change, and it increasingly became the conscious vanguard of the working class.

Our Party engaged in extensive ideological work. The experience of the CPSU was of great help, and knowledge of its history was invaluable for consolidating the ideological-political unity and cohesion of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In the course of a process of ideological tempering that lasted for several years, the SUPG took shape as a Marxist-Leninist alliance of like-minded people, a strong link in the international communist movement. The main premise for this was, in addition to a firm grasp of the experience of the CPSU, a profound understanding of Leninism, the Marxism of our epoch.

The fact that the GDR was from the very beginning led by a united Marxist-Leninist party assured its political stability. In a country like the GDR, where the working class constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population, working-class unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is of special importance for the Party's further development. We can say of ourselves in Lenin's words: 'All that we

have achieved goes to show that we base ourselves on the most wonderful force in the world – that of the workers and peasants' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 117).

The role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party increases with each new rung of social progress. 'The greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude toward it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary' (*Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 498). It is this truth, which Lenin called 'one of the most profound ... precepts of Marxism' (*Ibid.*), which provides convincing justification of the natural enhancement of the Marxist-Leninist party's role in establishing a socialist system. And it applies wholly to our country.

The Eighth Congress of the SUPG focused attention on the role of the working class in the society, and at the same time outlined a number of measures aimed at further consolidating the social status of workers in the state. Measures were carried out to increase the working class share in the growing national income, which is in keeping with the workers' position in the society and, especially, in industry. More and more deputies of representative bodies are people engaged directly in industry. Our Party's socio-political composition has also improved in favor of factory workers.

Last but not least, the working class aptitude for political leadership manifested itself in the continued strengthening and further promotion of its alliance with the class of cooperative peasants and other working people of town and country. Thus, peasants, intellectuals, artisans and all other working people were able to use their talents for the benefit of the whole people in building up the new society.

Creatively applying Lenin's principles of the policy of alliances, the SUPG promoted cooperation between the working-class party and democratic parties that emerged after 1945: the Christian-Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Party, the National-Democratic Party, and the Democratic Peasant Party. The cooperation matured in the course of anti-fascist democratic change and became even closer in the course of building socialism.

The acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the growing use of industrial methods in agriculture, the unified socialist education system in town and country and other factors are gradually removing the major differences between mental and physical labor, between town and country. These processes at the same time deepen the common bonds between the working class, cooperative peasants and socialist intellectuals. Thus the further building of socialism is accompanied by the development of class alliance relations. The

classes and strata of our society draw gradually closer on the basis of the revolutionary philosophy of the working class. The people's moral-political unity is growing stronger and stronger. And that is confirmation of the fact that socialism and communism are two phases of a single socio-economic formation, that they are not fenced off from each other.

The German Democratic Republic's development confirms that the working-class party can lead the people correctly only if it is guided by the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. And this requires the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of struggle, as well as full utilization of the rich experience of the international communist movement, the CPSU in the first place. For every revolution takes place in specific conditions and, consequently, assumes specific forms and features. No revolution can be an exact replica of another. Of major importance for evolving a scientifically based strategy and tactics is a profound understanding of the main content of each stage in the revolutionary process. The CPSU's experience not only helped our Party in its basic orientation, but also helped it to find the best ways and means of resolving many practical issues.

In full conformity with the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our Party has always treated the question of power as the fundamental question of revolution. The GDR's development as a socialist worker-peasant state confirms the international validity of Lenin's theory of revolution. In our country, too, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism is a single revolutionary process. Our Party, which heads the working class, was able to link the struggle for anti-fascist democratic change with the struggle for socialism. Constantly assessing our progress and accurately analyzing the level of mass consciousness, we passed step by step from the first stage of the revolution to the second.

Our experience confirms that the dismantling of the old bourgeois state machinery at the anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic stage is a decisive condition for advance toward socialist revolution. Establishment of the political domination of the working class is not a one-time act. In our country it involved a long process of revolutionary change. Nor was it a peaceful process, for it was accompanied by bitter class struggle which required a high level of working-class political consciousness and better organization of the new state machinery.

The constitution of the GDR in October 1949 completed the building of the government machinery of proletarian dictatorship. Despite their subversion and espionage, their organization of 'escapes from the republic,' their direct attempts to bring down our worker-peasant

government, foreign imperialists and domestic counter-revolutionary forces were unable to halt the transition from anti-imperialist democratic change to socialist revolution.

Thus, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism in our country was characterized by both extremely favorable factors and a number of unfavorable, complex developments. The favorable conditions for the development of socialist revolution were created by the upsurge in the world revolutionary process as a result of the Soviet Army's victory over Hitler fascism and the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the GDR, as well as by the fraternal help of the first socialist state and other members of the socialist community. At the same time, we had to build socialism in a country against which imperialist forces had imposed a diplomatic and partial economic blockade. In the FRG, the monopoly bourgeoisie, with the support of the imperialist occupation authorities, restored the old power and property relations. One of the objectives – and by no means the least – of the FRG imperialist forces in joining NATO was to wipe out the gains of socialism in the GDR. Thus, the building of the new society in the GDR, for many years carried out in the conditions of an open border with the imperialist FRG, demanded considerable efforts to ensure peace on an extremely important sector of the confrontation between socialism and imperialism.

In keeping with the Marxist-Leninist concept of nations and the national question, which we Communists have never treated in isolation from the question of socialist revolution, the need arose to step by step separate the socialist GDR from the imperialist FRG. On August 13, 1961, we, in alliance with the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, reliably ensured the security of the frontiers of our worker-peasant state. After that the imperialist forces, which had hoped to use the cold war, military threats and economic blackmail to strangle the German Democratic Republic in its cradle, were forced to take a more sober view of things and accept the facts. Thus, through strengthening and consistently defending socialism we were able to make a substantial contribution toward the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The GDR's development has also reaffirmed Lenin's prediction that different nations may arrive at socialism in somewhat different ways, but for all of them the establishment of the political power of the working class is an essential prerequisite for building and developing socialism. The distinctive features and basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin and confirmed by the Soviet Union's experience are essential for all countries. In the GDR its main functions were the creation of a socialist society, guiding the allies of the working class toward

socialist forms of production and life, the development of socialist democracy, the suppression of the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes and ensuring the new system's defense against external enemies.

But even after the triumph of socialist relations of production, the strengthening of worker-peasant power continues to be our prime task. This was emphatically reiterated by the Eighth SUPG Congress, which rebutted all right-wing Social-Democratic and revisionist attempts to use anti-socialist conceptions to undermine our socialist state.

The Congress gave new and powerful impetus to the further improvement of the state and legal system and development of socialist democracy. Today, out of 12 million eligible voters, more than 200,000 are elected representatives of the people, over 500,000 are members of standing commissions or activist groups functioning under elected bodies of government. Over 300,000 citizens perform various public functions in the socialist judiciary system. And many more working people are active in the parties and mass organizations, National Front committees, on parents' committees at schools and in the worker-peasant inspection system. All of which blends into a picture of broad, diversified, living socialist democracy. In all of these bodies and organizations the people work effectively in exercising real power. The communal elections last May, and the preparations for the 25th anniversary of the GDR, show that the strength of the socialist state lies in the first place in the activity of the Party and the conscious participation of citizens in the running of state, economic and public affairs.

We consistently promote the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Here improving the quality of centralized state management and planning is decisive. Since the Eighth SUPG Congress a number of legislative acts and other measures were promulgated which enabled central government bodies, from the Council of Ministers down, to carry out their responsibilities more effectively. Whereas the expansion of socialist democracy is an objective necessity for the formation and development of socialist society, it also requires further enhancement of the role of the socialist state, which represents the aggregate will of the working class and the people. Red tape and indifference to the needs of the working people cannot be tolerated.

For our Party, the good of the people is the decisive factor and supreme objective in all undertakings. From the very first years the revolutionary transformation of society yielded substantial gains for the working people. Enterprises were handed over to the people, the land was given to those who till it. The right to work, education, and leisure was enforced. Equality for women and youth became a reality.

Already in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the working people won freedom, self-determination and the opportunity for creatively applying their abilities to an extent unthinkable under monopoly capital domination.

But none of the achievements of socialism come automatically. Satisfaction of the growing material, aesthetic and cultural requirements of the working people depends in the first place on the material and technical base of socialism, on labor productivity, on mastering the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, promoting the people's creative abilities, initiative and political consciousness.

The transfer of enterprises to public ownership and the continued expansion of the state sector created the decisive economic base of socialism – large-scale socialist industry. The organization of producer cooperatives, completed in 1960, introduced socialist relations of production in agriculture. All of this is convincing proof of the universal validity of Lenin's cooperative plan: the conversion of simple commodity production in town and country to modern production based on collective socialist ownership. Thus was laid the firm economic foundation of the inviolable alliance of the working class and the class of cooperative peasants.

Proceeding from realistic assessment of achievements, the Eighth SUPG Congress set new long-term guidelines for shaping a developed socialist society. The development of socialism provides more and more opportunities for targeting the economic plan on the material, cultural and aesthetic requirements of the people and creating still more favorable conditions for the all-round development of the socialist personality. The objective interconnection between the development of production and satisfaction of the people's requirements determined by the main economic law of socialism is becoming more pronounced. With this in mind, the Eighth SUPG Congress defined the main economic task as 'further raising the people's material and cultural standards on the basis of a higher rate of development of socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and higher labor productivity.'

This basic task, which is in accord with the conclusions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the objectives of other brother parties, is the keystone of our economic policy and a manifestation of the humane essence of socialism and communism. In it the social objectives and economic prerequisites are inseparably intertwined. Success in promoting the socialist way of life demands steadily rising labor efficiency. In accordance with the general development trends and concrete economic situation in the GDR, our Party has made industrial intensification the principal means of achieving higher results.

Thanks to socialist planning our republic's economic strength has grown impressively in the quarter-century of its existence. Whereas the number of people engaged in material production has only slightly increased, the national income grew from 22,300 million marks in 1949 to more than 126,000 million in 1973. In 1973, our socialist industry topped 200,000 million marks, producing 207,800 million marks' worth of goods, about eight times the 1949 level.

Since the Eighth Congress there has been a new powerful upsurge based on our achievements in which stability and dynamism are closely interlinked. The workers' support of our policy has yielded a new nationwide wave of labor enthusiasm. It gathers strength as people come to see more and more clearly that good work pays off in numerous improvements in everyday life. Our Party is encouraging the emulation movement with the help of economic and moral incentives. Essentially this required, in the first place, careful account of the economic laws of socialism, especially the main economic law and the law of planned proportional development of the economy, making them the foundation of all our economic policies. Realistic assessment of our possibilities is central to our continued advance in all fields.

Relying on our industrial advance, we were able, in the course of carrying out the five-year plan, to implement a decisive part of the social program of the Eighth Congress. At the hub of our socio-political measures is the housing program, which provides for building or modernizing 500,000 flats in 1971-1975. This program is being successfully carried out. In the last three years housing conditions have been improved for some one million people. We want to solve the housing problem in full by 1990. Living standards have been substantially raised thanks to higher pensions and wages, generous grants to newly-weds and large families, the improving health system and new facilities for rest and recreation.

Since the Eighth Congress we have also successfully tested a number of new forms of transition to socialist production relations within the framework, and on the basis, of the general laws of socialist construction. Thus, in 1972 the SUPG deemed it timely to undertake a new improvement and strengthening of socialist property relations. Almost 11,000 enterprises with state participation, private industrial and construction enterprises and industrial cooperatives were transferred to public ownership through compensation. This revolutionary move resulted in a substantial strengthening of socialist production relations, higher output and greater efficiency.

As is known, one of the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism is that the new social reality creates a new social consciousness which, in turn, powerfully reacts on the social reality. In this jubilee year we note with pride and gratification that the socialist

revolution in ideology and culture has made for the all-round growth of people's abilities and talents. We see this as an especially great achievement because, after 12 years of fascism, it was necessary not only to overcome the dislocations of war but also the noxious spirit of militarism, chauvinism, nationalism and racism. Our Party has been increasingly successful in cultivating the people's ability, in the words of Frederick Engels, to apply the laws of their own social actions with full knowledge of what they are doing, and thereby consciously shape their history. The process, unprecedented in scope, could be carried forward successfully not least because, since its inception, our Party has always given tremendous attention to the systematic, all-round ideological tempering of its members and cadres.

As the classics of Marxism-Leninism foresaw, consistent overcoming of bourgeois ideology, acceptance of revolutionary traditions and the humanistic spiritual heritage, and assertion of socialist ideology are the decisive prerequisites for the development of socialist individuals and collectives. In the formation of developed socialist society, fostering socialist consciousness and the struggle against imperialist ideology are constant tasks. More, our continued advance in the community of fraternal socialist states united around the Soviet Union, and the sharpening of the international class struggle in the ideological sphere, impose higher demands on ideological work. That is why it has always been and will remain the core of Party work.

Experience points to the fact that the internationalist essence of socialism acquires a new quality in the advance toward developed socialist society. The cooperation of the brother countries, united around the Soviet Union, becomes closer and more fruitful.

It is increasingly obvious that socialism is a living, dynamically developing organism with increasing influence on world events. But life continuously poses numerous questions requiring constant collective discussion and theoretical generalization. This lays added emphasis on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Creative cooperation yields a jointly evolved, scientifically substantiated strategy and appropriate political action contributing to the ever closer cohesion of our states and peoples. This applies to all the main lines of joint action: socialist economic integration, agreed domestic, foreign and defense policies, ideological and theoretical work.

The GDR's experience goes to show that harmonious blending of the national interests of each socialist state with the common international interests of socialism is one of the main conditions of further strengthening the socialist community, and accelerates the development of each socialist country. Solution of the problems facing the socialist countries and the community as a whole requires an internationalist approach and facilitates such an approach. And in this

context, socialist economic integration, based on the Comprehensive Program adopted by the CMEA in 1971, is the key link in strengthening world socialism. We see acceleration of this process as one of the decisive tasks of our time.

The intertwining of the national economies of the countries of the socialist community adds to their potential and increases their international influence. Better plan coordination, joint long-term concepts of development of leading industries, expansion of the international economic amalgamations and organization of new ones – these are important steps toward the solution of the basic tasks of the fraternal countries.

Socialist economic integration opens up favourable opportunities for effectively combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technological revolution. We are also pooling our efforts with CMEA member-countries to improve our energy and raw-materials supply. To this end the GDR takes part in investment programs in brother countries, particularly the USSR.

Joint work facilitates qualitatively new multilateral relations between the working people of our countries. There is a growing consciousness of international cohesion and appreciation that these joint efforts benefit both the community as a whole and each of its members.

The Eighth SUPG Congress devoted considerable attention to internationalist education. Our Party is carefully studying and adhering to the important decisions on expanding cooperation in ideological work adopted at the December 1973 Moscow Meeting of Central Committee secretaries from nine brother parties. The flight against all forms of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, whether of the imperialist or Maoist type, remains central to our Party's policy.

To create favorable external conditions for building socialism and the advance of all revolutionary forces all over the world, we join our peace efforts with those of the other brother countries. We regard such joint foreign policy action as an outstanding achievement of the family of socialist states. The GDR's prime foreign policy objective is to promote the full implementation of the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It is contributing constructively to the struggle to enable the peoples to build their present and future without imperialist wars.

The GDR has itself benefitted from international solidarity and always displays solidarity toward others. That the decades-long imperialist blockade of the socialist German state has been broken; that the GDR now has diplomatic relations with 109 countries; that it takes part in the work of the United Nations as an equal member – all this is first and foremost a result of the solidarity and help of the Soviet

Union, the other socialist countries, all progressive forces.

We can note with satisfaction that the socialist community has made outstanding gains in the struggle for international détente and a stable peace. Thanks first of all to the initiatives of the Soviet Union, decisive prerequisites have been created in Europe to make the present period of peace a lasting one. With the inviolability of the postwar frontiers guaranteed in treaties and agreements between countries belonging to the opposite social systems, including those between the GDR and the FRG, a cornerstone of security and cooperation has been laid on our continent. This also enhances the sovereignty of the GDR.

As the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of the GDR, the SUPG is an inalienable part of the world communist movement. It supports all steps aimed at further strengthening the political and ideological unity and cohesion of the world communist movement. As before, the SUPG will continue to side with peoples fighting against imperialist aggression, exploitation and neo-colonialism. It will continue to perform its internationalist duty to the best of its ability.

The Leninist agrarian policy and its implementation in the USSR

Fyodor Kulakov,
Member of PB and Secretary,
CC CPSU

The years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union have seen far-reaching social and economic changes. The country has built a developed socialist society, and is now laying the material and technical foundations for communism along a broad front.

Socialist agriculture is keeping pace with the rest of the economy along the road of progress. It is a vast and vitally necessary branch of production, playing a prominent part in the economic and social development of Soviet society, helping raise the living standard and contributing to the plan-regulated growth of the socialist economy.

It was V.I. Lenin who laid the comprehensive, truly scientific foundation for the Party's agrarian policy. And the Party worked

industriously throughout the process of revolutionary change to put it into effect, elaborating on it creatively in accordance with the objective laws of social development as an important constituent of the general political course to suit the concrete tasks of the CPSU at each new stage in history.

1. In a bitter confrontation with Russian and West-European opportunism, Lenin upheld the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels and, after analyzing socio-economic development in Russia and other countries, went on to elaborate the theoretical groundwork of an integrated agrarian and peasant program, including the strategy of drawing the peasants into the social revolution and a plan of involving them in the building of socialism. It has gone down in history as Lenin's cooperative plan.

Lenin began his work on the program with a penetrating scientific analysis of agrarian relations under capitalism and the economic causes of social contradictions and class struggle in the countryside. He made it clear that no radical solution of the agrarian and peasant question was possible within the landlord-capitalist system; the only answer, he showed, was socialism. This gave the peasantry a realistic perspective of class struggle, an understanding of the only viable solution of the agrarian problem as part of the general theory of proletarian revolution and struggle for socialism and communism.

The true significance of Lenin's conclusions can best be appreciated against the background of the agrarian programs of West-European Social-Democratic parties, which treated the peasants as a reserve of the bourgeoisie, a class incapable of accepting socialist ideas (this view was shared by the Russian opportunists – the Mensheviks and Trotskyites). The past decades and present-day history confirm the undying importance of Lenin's agrarian program on all the main political, economic and social counts.

The key *political aspect* of Lenin's agrarian theory, we may recall, is the establishment and strengthening of the alliance of the working class and peasantry.

The Party worked steadfastly for such an alliance right up to the time when the proletariat came to power, for it is a prime Marxist-Leninist proposition that the peasantry can rid itself of exploitation and the shackles of capital only under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, in joint struggle against the old world. Working-class leadership gives purpose and transformative power to the peasants' revolutionary struggle. The Bolshevik Party won the broad masses of working people for the struggle against capitalism. In October 1917, the working class, in alliance with the poorest peasants, overthrew under the leadership of the Communist

Party the rule of landlords and capitalists and established government by the working people.

The problem of strengthening the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry is also vastly important following the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party demonstrated this forcefully immediately after the revolution. One of the Soviet government's first legislative acts was the Decree on Land, declaring the land the property of the whole people and turning it over to the tillers. Later on, too, there was irrefutable proof that success in building socialism and communism depends on correct relations between the workers and peasants. 'This alliance,' Lenin pointed out, 'is the main strength and the bulwark of Soviet power; this alliance is a pledge that socialist transformation will be successful, victory over capital will be achieved and exploitation in all its forms will be abolished' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 247).

These prophetic words were embodied in the successes of the Party's consistent policy at all stages of the battle for socialism: the country's successful industrialization, which had the peasants' support; the collectivization and technical reconstruction of agriculture under the leadership and with the direct participation of the working class; the victory against Nazi Germany in the Great Patriotic War, and the swift postwar rehabilitation of the economy unthinkable without the close-knit alliance of the working class and collective-farm peasantry. At the stage of developed socialism, too, this alliance is the solid political basis of successful communist construction.

The political aspect of the agrarian question is tied in with the *economic* aspect. And here the significance of Lenin's agrarian program, the cooperative plan, is especially clear. Socialism as a new social system represents a single system of production relations based on the public ownership of the means of production. This also requires fundamental social changes in agriculture, a transition from small peasant holdings to large-scale socialized farming. Departure from this principle could result in deep contradictions and disproportions in the economy. True, the forms of socialization and the rate of change may vary depending on the concrete conditions in different countries.

In our country, the socialist transformation of agriculture was economically necessary, because, among other things, it could not have overcome the backwardness of the rural productive forces on the basis of small-scale farming in order to reach the broad road of socialist, communist progress.

This is why the Party set its sights on building up large-scale social production in agriculture.

In considering the *social aspect* of the agrarian question we should

bear in mind the class differentiation of the peasantry, and that the social nature of the small farmer is characteristically dual. 'As a working man,' Lenin said, 'the peasant gravitates toward socialism, and prefers the dictatorship of the workers to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As a seller of grain, the peasant gravitates toward the bourgeoisie, toward freedom of trade, i.e., back to the "habitual," old, "time-hallowed" capitalism' (Vol. 29, p. 389).

The CPSU took this into account in its agrarian policy. It knew that the small farmer's mentality and habits could be remoulded only on the basis of a far-reaching social reconstruction of agriculture oriented on large-scale socialist production. Such reconstruction lays a uniform economic base and shapes new rural relations of production. It brings out the community of interests of the working class and peasantry in bolder relief, eliminates the kulaks, the rural capitalist class, radically changes the social status of the peasant, elevating him to a qualitatively new level of social maturity, and immeasurably raises his cultural level and standard of living. All of this is of extreme importance for the final elimination of the major distinctions between town and village, the gradual eradication of distinctions between the workers and peasants, the friendly classes of socialist society, and the establishment of a classless society.

2. As Lenin saw it, the peasant's road to socialism lay through producer cooperatives, which he regarded as a way of 'transition to the new system by means that are the *simplest, easiest and most acceptable to the peasant*' (Vol. 33, p. 468). He showed that the character of cooperation depends entirely on the socio-economic and political system and the dominant form of ownership of the means of production. In bourgeois society cooperatives are inevitably drawn into the system of capitalist relations of production, and are geared to the economic laws of capitalism. In such conditions cooperatives are, contrary to the exponents of the so-called cooperative socialism, devoid of any socialist content. Not so after a socialist revolution. '... Given social ownership of the means of production, given the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie,' Lenin wrote, 'the system of civilized cooperators is the system of socialism' (Ibid., p. 471).

By involving the peasants in the building of socialism through the cooperatives, the workers' state is in a position to effect social and economic changes in the villages with due account of their social status and the peasant mentality. The collectivization of farming was a *revolution* in the peasant's social status and way of life. What were the principles underlying that revolution?

First, our Party was guided by the Leninist principles of free will in

entering cooperatives, correct balance of personal and public interests, and material incentives geared to output. Another important principle was gradual transition from lower to higher forms of cooperation. The CPSU saw big industry as the material base for the transformation of agriculture and gave priority to the swift building of heavy industry.

The conversion from private farming to large-scale socialist farming, Lenin warned, was one of the most difficult tasks of socialist construction. The CPSU was clearly aware of the difficulties. There were 25 million peasant holdings in the country. The boundaries between them had to be removed, the peasant's proprietorial mentality altered, the fierce resistance of the rural exploiters overcome, and the right and 'left' opportunists opposing the Party line swept aside. Agriculture had to have a new technical base and thousands of specialists had to be trained to organize and run the projected socialist farms. The difficulties were aggravated by the external conditions for our country, then the world's only proletarian dictatorship, the novelty of the undertaking, and the unexplored terrain to be covered. Absence of experience led to certain mistakes. But the Party was quick to detect, publicly acknowledge, and remedy them.

Guided by Lenin's teaching, the CPSU overcame the difficulties and led the peasants along the new road.

The organization of new, socialist farms began in the early days of Soviet power, the moment land was nationalized. The basic forms of socialized agriculture were state farms and collective farms. The state farms, initially set up on former landlord and capitalist estates, were conceived by the Party as models of socialized farming and modern land cultivation.

The all-out drive for collectivization was preceded by a tremendous amount of preparatory work by the Party and the state: extensive political and organizational work among the peasants, promotion of various forms of cooperation, material and financial support of new collective farms, founding of machine-and-tractor stations, an educational drive and a drive to raise the cultural level in the villages.

The leading force in collectivization was the working class. Not only did it supply the tractors, harvester combines, automobiles and other machinery, but, at the Party's call, also sent thousands of its finest representatives to head the organization of collective farms.

By the mid-30s, the multitude of small holdings was replaced by collective farms. A unified socialist system of agriculture emerged, based on two forms of public ownership – state and collective (cooperative). Collectivization rid the rural community of kulak tyranny, class differentiation, ruin and poverty. 'The age-old peasant problem,' the CPSU Program says, 'was effectively solved on the basis of Lenin's cooperative plan.'

It is hard to exaggerate the historical significance of the triumph of socialism in Soviet agriculture for the general progress of the world's first socialist country. It added to the strength of the Soviet state and its main pillar, the worker-peasant alliance, assured the active participation of rural workers in political and public life, pressed the advantages of large-scale farming into serving the people, and facilitated the moulding of the new farmer, encouraging the development of his abilities. It placed peasants united in collective farms in the mainstream of social progress, shaping them into a new, socialist class.

Even before the war, the newly socialized agriculture had achieved major successes. The country built up its food resources, improved food supplies, enlarged production of commodities made from agricultural raw materials, and was able to lay in the necessary reserves.

The vitality of the new social system in the countryside was amply proved in the difficult time of the Great Patriotic War. Together with all our people, the farmers stood the test with distinction. In spite of the tremendous difficulties, the collective and state farms provided the army and rear with essential foodstuffs and raw materials. Agriculture, like the economy as a whole, suffered tremendous damage. Thousands of collective and state farms and machine-and-tractor stations were ravaged and plundered. In 1945 gross farm output was just 60 per cent of prewar. Yet thanks to the collective-farm system, the Party and people were able to heal the war wounds in short time, with farming regaining its prewar level by 1950.

The collective and state farms of today are large, highly-mechanized enterprises. There are 31,500 collective farms with an average cultivated area of over 3,000 hectares and more than 17,000 state farms with an average 6,000 hectares.

These obvious achievements make a lie of the hostile contentions deprecating socialist farming, downgrading its significance and reviving the long since refuted claim that socialist cooperative enterprises are not viable and have no root in the peasant's mentality.

The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows beyond doubt that the transformation based on Lenin's plan of peasant cooperation is the only correct way of increasing the productive forces of agriculture, emancipating the peasantry, and raising the living standard of the whole people. It is a natural process impelled by the objective requirements of building and developing the new society, a reliable way of the peasants' gradual transition from socialism to communism in their best interests.

3. Soviet society's entry into the period of developed socialism and the building of the material and technical basis of communism, the interests of continued economic growth, and the Party's objective of

substantially raising the people's material and cultural standards, have imposed new and bigger demands on the development of agriculture. The Party takes due account of this. '*Advance in agriculture*,' stressed L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, '*is vitally necessary for successful building of communism.*'

A new stage in the development of the rural productive forces was opened by the March 1965 plenary meeting of the CC CPSU, which, together with later CC meetings (May 1966, October 1968, and July 1970) and the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses, contributed to the elaboration of a basic policy ensuring the steady all-round advancement of agriculture, and defining the guidelines of agrarian policy at the present stage. The Party line represents a unity of purpose and method, and rests on a solid scientific foundation. A great personal contribution to the elaboration of that line and Party policy in general has been, and is being, made by CC General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev.

The CPSU policy on agriculture reflects the creative development of Lenin's agrarian theory in the new conditions of history and fully accords with the basic tasks of communist construction. And, like economic policy as a whole, it is based on an integrated approach, closer organic relationship between agriculture and industry and harmonious blending of the interests of the working class and collective farmers, of town and country, of our society as a whole.

The Party lays special stress on *perfecting economic relations* and providing more material incentives to increase farm output and give collective and state farms a stronger economic base. Among the measures taken toward that end are the new planning system combining centralized planning with the initiative of collective and state farms, which are given stable output plans for years ahead, and higher purchase prices of farm produce without putting up retail prices.* There are premium prices for deliveries over and above the plan. We have introduced guaranteed pay on the collective farms and raised wages on the state farms. Cost accounting plays a bigger part in farm economics. These and other measures have made for greater efficiency and a steadier and more rapid growth of output.

Our agricultural policy is premised on the objective need to *intensify farming, put it on a modern industrial basis and accelerate scientific and technological progress*. To do that we are expanding the material and technical basis of agriculture, undertaking large-scale construction and training growing numbers of agricultural specialists. More efficient farming will benefit everyone and, of course, will improve the working conditions of the rural population and raise material, cultural and technological standards.

*This contrasts sharply with the situation in many developed capitalist countries, where the monopolies lower purchase prices and raise retail food prices.

Now that the country's economic potential has increased, the CC CPSU and the Soviet government decided substantially to increase investments in agriculture. These investments amounted to 48,600m. rubles, or 20 per cent of the total amount of economic investment, under the seventh five-year plan (1961-1965) and to 82,200m. rubles, or 23 per cent, under the eighth. Under the current ninth, five-year plan, they are to amount to 128,600m. rubles, or 26 per cent, with about 72,000m. rubles invested in the first three years (1971-1973).

Our agriculture uses machinery and electricity on an increasing scale: powerful and high-speed tractors and combines, heavy trucks, special-purpose vehicles and mechanized and automated appliances for cattle farming. In 1966-1973 its power capacities increased by almost 70 per cent and electric power available per worker, by 80 per cent. All collective and state farms today use electricity for production and household purposes. Many rural houses have gas.

The Party is taking steps to boost production of farm machinery to meet the requirements of large-scale specialized farming in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. In line with decisions of the 24th Party Congress, we have stepped up expansion in industries manufacturing capital goods for agriculture and processing, transporting and storage. We are modernizing numerous tractor and farm-machine plants.

Recent years have seen important measures to increase the production of mineral fertilizers and other chemicals for field and stock farming. Several high-capacity chemical plants and complexes have gone into operation. Deliveries of mineral fertilizer are to increase from 11.4 million tons in 1960 to 64 million tons this year, or almost sixfold. To this should be added the products of our new microbiological industry.

Our farmers operate in diverse, often difficult soil and climatic conditions. Some areas are periodically hit by drought while others suffer from too much rain. In the past nine years we added approximately 12 million hectares of irrigated and drained land, and in 1973 the two accounted for almost 25 million hectares. About 27,000m. rubles has been allocated for land reclamation under the ninth five-year plan, or more than double the amount spent under the previous plan. We are irrigating large tracts of arid land to grow grain. We are expanding rice, cotton and vegetable crops and cultivated pastures. The immediate aim set by the Party is to give agriculture the material and technical basis needed to fully solve the problem of agricultural production, transform farming and reduce its dependence on the whims of nature.

In increasing agricultural investments, we strive for maximum use of all material and technical facilities and draw on the achievements of

science and practice. Concretely, the goal is higher efficiency standards, better quality and lower production costs.

Progress in Soviet agriculture is characterized by extensive research, closer links between science and production and organization of new selection and research centers. There are hundreds of agricultural research institutes, experimental stations and laboratories. The Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and its branch institutes head the list. Soviet scientists and experts have recommended many improvements which are increasingly put to use. The achievements of our selectionists, who have evolved high-yielding varieties of wheat, sunflower, cotton and other crops, are known in many countries.

Better organization and management hold a prominent place in the Party's agrarian policy at this stage. This makes specialization and further concentration through extensive cooperation among farms highly important. We already have, or are setting up, new large agricultural enterprises, inter-collective farm and state farm-collective farm amalgamations and agro-industrial complexes in many parts of the country.

In socialist society, cooperation must not be regarded as immutable – it acquires a new content in the process of communist construction. The establishment of specialized enterprises by pooling the assets of collective farms or those of collective and state farms is a qualitatively new stage of cooperation in production. The new quality lies in the fact that cooperation today is not based on small individual peasant farms as in the years of collectivization, but on large socialist enterprises, the collective and state farms. The Party considers inter-farm enterprises and amalgamations an effective form of developing the country's productive forces and an important factor in bringing the state and collective-farm (cooperative) forms of property closer together.

Bearing in mind the increased possibilities and advantages of specialization and concentration, in December 1973 the CC CPSU decided on gradual transition to large-scale specialized production, with the use of the latest industrial methods. This is now central to the development of our socialist agriculture.

The social, economic, organizational and political measures worked out by the Party have led to qualitatively new trends marking a higher stage in agricultural progress.

First, there is intensive development, with gross output increasing chiefly through use of more efficient techniques. The result has been higher crop yields and higher livestock productivity.

Second, agriculture is becoming more dynamic and its development more steady, less dependent on weather conditions. Even in 1972, a severe drought year, gross output was five per cent above the annual

average for the eighth five-year plan period.

Third, labor productivity, the decisive factor in obtaining higher results, is rising. Since the March 1965 Central Committee meeting productivity on collective and state farms has increased by 56 per cent, the annual growth rate rising by almost half. Profit has risen, too, so that the farms are economically stronger.

Agricultural production and the purchase of farm produce are increasing. Average gross output per year rose from 66,300m. rubles under the seventh five-year plan to 80,500m. rubles under the eighth, and in 1971-1973 it stood at 89,500m. rubles.

Boosting grain output is a major goal, and we have made notable headway toward its attainment. Average annual output in 1971-1973 was 190.6 million tons, or 60.3 million more than in 1961-1965, and 23 million more than under the eighth five-year plan. A record harvest of 225.5 million tons was achieved in 1973.

Due to the greater amount of technical facilities per worker and to more efficient cultivation, entire regions and republics now average 25-30 centners of grain per hectare, with Kuban and Moldavia obtaining as much as 33-36 centners. The new lands, too, are making a weighty contribution to the country's grain supply. The cultivation of large tracts of virgin land translated into reality Lenin's idea of using our vast land resources to develop the productive forces and gave added proof of the advantages of the socialist system. It has gone down in Soviet history as a remarkable achievement of our peoples' concerted efforts. The new lands now account for 27 per cent of the country's grain supply.

Much credit is due to our cotton-growers; their 1973 showing was 28 centners of raw cotton per hectare and a total output of 7.7 million tons. The pre-revolutionary figure was a mere 744,000 tons.

Still higher yields and production standards in grain and other crops are seen by the Party as an economic goal of prime importance.

But much is being done also to promote animal husbandry by producing more and better feeds, improving livestock and poultry breeds, raising productivity and increasing the livestock population. In recent years we have achieved a considerable increase in the production and procurement of animal products. All this makes it possible to improve the people's diet.

We are starting more meat and dairy production complexes and poultry factories, enlarging and reconstructing the livestock sections of collective and state farms and introducing industrial methods and progressive technology. Another important factor is production of more new, effective feeds and mixed feeds, and improvement of pasture lands.

Our Party will continue taking all requisite measures to advance

agriculture and solve its immediate and the long-range problems on a comprehensive basis. This was shown, specifically, by the recent Party and government decision on measures to promote agriculture in the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation, a decision adopted on the initiative of L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. It amounts to a vast program for land improvement, the construction of production and general facilities, modern settlements and roads. When fulfilled, this program, in which 35,000m. rubles will be invested in the next five years, will transform an immense region, increase agricultural production and advance our socialist economy as a whole. *It is comparable in scale and importance to our virgin land project.*

The major gains registered by agriculture to date prove that the Party's agrarian policy is scientifically sound and realistic. This is one of the noteworthy results of the Party's effort and a major achievement of the Soviet people.

The CPSU shapes its agrarian policy in close connection with steps to carry forward cooperation and extend socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries. They are pooling production experience and scientific and technological achievements on a large scale and are working together to give agriculture an industrial pattern. Special mention should be made of cooperation among selectionists and stock breeders. Much is being done to develop new techniques and advanced designs and technologies.

Implementation of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration and steps to perfect cooperation within the CMEA make it possible to extend the international socialist division of labor in the interest of building socialism and communism.

4. A key aspect of the Party's agrarian policy is accelerated social progress in rural areas, and notable gains are being registered, parallel with the growth of the productive forces.

Real incomes of collective farmers and state-farm workers are rising year after year, making for higher living standards. The last 10 years have seen a very appreciable advance. The collective farmers' average monthly pay almost doubled after 1965 and that of state-farm workers increased 70 per cent. The farmer gets the bulk of his income, plus all cultural amenities, from work on the collective farm, and in addition, like the state-farm worker, he derives a certain income from his household plot.

Old age and disability pensions for collective farmers, on the same basis as industrial workers, and the introduction of social insurance, represent an important social achievement. Rural working people have ample opportunities to use holiday and health homes.

More housing and welfare facilities are being built. In the past decade, every third rural family moved into new housing. More and more villages have become modern communities with facilities that would do credit to a town. The people are better dressed, buy more TV and radio sets, refrigerators, motorcycles, cars.

Culture is gaining ground in the countryside in step with communist construction. Over half of the rural working population have secondary or higher education. We are now introducing universal secondary education throughout the countryside. Over 110 million copies of newspapers and periodicals, or an average of four publications per family, are circulated in rural areas.

Many efficient production organizers, executives and specialists, men and women of political maturity and broad vision, have risen from the ranks in the years of socialist development. Almost all collective-farm chairmen and state-farm directors have higher or secondary specialized education. The rural population now includes a wide stratum of intellectuals and more industrial-type workers. In 1973, the collective and state farms had almost four million tractor and truck drivers, combine and other machine operators.

Agricultural specialists are trained at 99 higher institutions, 685 technical schools and 1,415 rural vocational training schools. We have set up an effective system of training and advanced training for every category of agricultural worker. The Young Communist League has initiated a movement among youth to master technical professions, and the time is not far off when all rural working people will be in the high skill categories.

The growing productive forces in agriculture, its intensification and the rising cultural and technological standards of the rural population are changing the farmer's mentality. He is acquiring more and more of the social characteristics of the industrial worker. With communist construction progressing, survivals of the past give way to new traditions. Soviet farmers have a collectivist mentality, they are aware of their social duty, loyal to Lenin's great ideals, hard-working and politically active.

The new Model Regulations of the Collective Farm adopted by the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers (1969) strongly influence people's economic activity and political development and the formation of their socialist and communist outlook. The Regulations are aimed at extending the democratic foundations of life on the collective farm, increasing the role of production teams and inducing members to take a more active part in management, in particular through the elected farm councils functioning in every district, region, territory or republic and in the capital.

The Communist Party is consistently solving the interconnected

political, economic and social problems of developing the rural areas, the fundamental problems of improving agriculture at this stage of communist building. There is not a single collective or state farm today without a Party organization. Over five million Communists, or more than one-third of total Party membership, are in the countryside. Rural district Party committees and the Party and trade union organizations of collective and state farms carry on extensive political work among the masses and organize the socialist emulation movement, which they regard as a powerful means of encouraging the initiative of the masses and fulfilling the tasks facing the countryside.

The historical experience of social changes in the villages and the progress of socialist farming in the Soviet Union are evidence of the strength and vitality of the Leninist agrarian policy. By creatively following Lenin's advice, the CPSU has made the worker-peasant alliance stronger than ever. It has united the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, all Soviet people, on the basis of their common progressive ideals and brought about material and cultural prosperity. In leading the people to communism, our Party is doing everything to have, along with a powerful industry, a highly productive agriculture capable of meeting the requirements of communist society.

Supreme organ of popular rule

Antal Apro

Member of PB, CC Hungarian
Socialist Workers' Party,
President of the State Assembly of
the Hungarian People's Republic

The state and its institutions always serve the ruling class. But whereas the capitalist state and its mechanism are designed to protect the exploiting system and suppress the working people, the socialist state abolishes all exploitation and steadily broadens socialist democracy.

The difference is fundamental and extends to the role of parliament under each of the two systems. In bourgeois states, parliament is not the sovereign supreme representative body as it is in socialist countries. For the bourgeois state is based on separation of the legislative

and the executive authority, with all real power often concentrated in the latter.

Together with other democratic forces, the working class consistently fights for a democratic composition of parliament, a democratic electoral law and for parliament to have directive and supervisory functions vis-à-vis the government and the machinery of state.

Capitalist electoral laws are expressly designed to serve the bourgeoisie and restrict the rights of the workers, the poor, the progressive forces. Bourgeois governments use all manner of electoral and procedural devices to hamper, even prevent, genuine expression of the people's will. Everything, in short, is done to produce a parliament that is a pliant servant of the exploiting classes. The worker has only as much right as he was able to win.

And when the bourgeoisie finds itself obliged to make certain concessions in the electoral law, it does everything to nullify them by complicated election procedures. These are some of the widespread practices. Constituency instead of proportional representation, so that the minority parties are not represented in parliament at all. Uneven representation: it takes twice, even three times, as many votes to elect a deputy in working-class districts as in bourgeois residential areas. In some countries candidates are required to make large deposits. The bourgeoisie employs every lying propaganda and intimidation technique, and has no scruples about violating its own electoral laws.

All the restrictions and all the corruptive practices of bourgeois elections and election procedures were used in Hungary before its liberation. In 1935, for instance, only 33.8 per cent of the population could vote and only 22 per cent of the voters went to the polls. Besides, Hungary had what was probably one of the world's most undemocratic election procedures. As was only to be expected, there was not a single worker in the Hungarian parliament. By way of comparison, these figures: in the 1971 elections, 71 per cent, or virtually the entire adult population, could vote and 98.7 per cent of the electorate voted.

In the socialist countries there is no division of power. There is, as Lenin pointed out, a parliament which combines both legislative and executive functions inasmuch as the working people's representatives not only promulgate laws, but in their day-to-day work assure their implementation. Parliamentarians, Lenin wrote, 'themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 424).

A distinctive feature of popular representation in the socialist countries is the constant and uninterrupted link between the deputy and his

constituents, the latter's control over the former. The constitutions of the socialist countries contain these two very important provisions: deputies must render account to their constituents, and deputies can be recalled by their constituents. This gives the people direct influence on all representative bodies.

The socialist system of representation, in contrast to the bourgeois, presupposes direct cooperation between the deputy and his electors. The very activity of the representative bodies promotes creative initiative by the masses, raises their socialist understanding and contributes to the development of democracy.

In the socialist countries parliament is invested with full power. To it are accountable all other institutions, including the head of state and the government. And parliament is the embodiment of the principle of the unity of authority. Though all socialist countries have common principles and basic institutions, forms of government, the structure and functions of parliament differ, depending on history, traditions, social development and other factors that give each socialist state its own distinctive pattern. As Lenin wrote, 'the transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*' (ibid. p. 413).

The leading role of the working class is combined with the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. Guided by the theory of scientific socialism and basing itself on proletarian internationalism and the experience of the international workers' movement, the party discloses the laws of social development, determines overall policy, sets immediate goals and helps the working class devise the appropriate organizational forms of its statehood.

The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party extends to the political mechanism of society. But Party decisions are political decisions and are not binding on the government. The Party and the state are not identical. The Party's ideas, its political line, its social and political measures and economic policy have to be implemented through legislation enacted at different levels. In pursuance of the Party line, state bodies issue binding directives and designate different forms of responsibility for their implementation.

There are political guarantees that the Party line will be embodied in legislation. First, 71 per cent of the State Assembly members are Communists. But that is not the only factor, a much more important one is that the Party's policy has the whole-hearted support of the people, was endorsed by the Communist deputies after careful consideration, and is correct.

The laws passed by parliament regulate public activity, collective and individual rights and duties, serve to organize society and

influence the conduct of its members. It thus follows that parliament is the supreme organ of state power and, at the same time, the supreme people's representative organ.

The socialist countries are doing much to expand the system of representative government. Their new or amended constitutions provide for a bigger role for representative institutions, which is fully in keeping with the expansion of socialist democracy.

The composition of their parliaments is itself evidence that the representative principle is consistently being applied. Members of the Hungarian State Assembly are elected by universal, equal and direct vote and by secret ballot, with one deputy representing 30,000 of the population. Deputies from the same province make up a group and coordinate their activities.

The territorial principle does not militate against deputies speaking for various social groups and classes. They see to it that group and territorial interests find full expression and are harmonized with overall national interests. The coordinating role of the Party assures harmonization of all interests and the primacy of national over group interests.

Our State Assembly is not a continuation of the old bourgeois or early postwar parliaments. It is a new, socialist institution that can function and develop only in a socialist state, in conditions of socialist democracy.

After liberation and up to the first socialist Constitution of 1949, the State Assembly followed the conventional pattern of division of authority and was but a part of the system of central government. But even at that time, it had a much bigger role than parliament has in the most democratic bourgeois republics. The 1949 Constitution established the principle of the unity of authority, making the State Assembly the supreme organ or power, the bearer of the people's sovereignty, which it exercises in conformity with the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the working people generally. It is not only a legislative body; it has the authority to direct and control the entire mechanism of state. And using this authority the Assembly has done much to further the interests of the working people by establishing a system of socialist law. Its work was only temporarily interrupted by the counter-revolution of 1956.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party shows constant concern for developing our political system and strengthening representative and direct democracy on the basis of democratic centralism. The Eighth Party Congress (1962) declared that extension of socialist democracy was the key factor in the continued development of the state system. And this required better functioning of all representative bodies, from the State Assembly to rural councils. The Ninth Party

Congress concentrated on promoting the political understanding of the masses, keeping them in touch with developments and creating a political atmosphere conducive to their participation in the affairs of state as the masters of the country. This, the Congress said, was central to the extension of socialist democracy.

The 10th Party Congress (1970) set the aim of building full socialism and re-emphasized the need to extend socialist democracy. Specifically, the Congress called for more effective functioning of the central government and more independence to local government. This, in turn, called for more active participation by the people in the work of elective bodies at all levels and, at the same time, more leadership by the working class and its Party and close cooperation of all classes and sections of the people.

The principle of one deputy from each constituency, with provision for nomination of two, three or more candidates, was introduced in 1967 on the Party's initiative.¹ And in 1972, again on the Party's initiative, the Constitution was amended to bring it into accord with the present state of our society and the tasks confronting it.

The country's development over more than 20 years is formulated in the Constitution: 'The Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist state.' The program for building a full socialist society, legally consolidated in the Constitution, has become our national program, the common cause of all our people.

The leading role of the Party in public and political life, its influence and prestige, are stressed in the following Constitutional provision: 'The Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class is the leading force of society.'

Our Party gives the State Assembly every assistance in the performance of its functions and draws on the Assembly's rich experience in its political activity. The Communist deputies systematically assess the work of the Assembly and its various commissions and their initiative and proposals contribute to their better functioning.

The important part played by direct-democracy institutions and their cooperation with government bodies is a distinctive feature of representative government in Hungary. The amended Constitution stimulates this trend: it expressly provides that citizens share in managing public affairs through their members of parliament and directly at their place of work or residence.

The State Assembly is in close contact with the Fatherland Popular Front, which now plays a much bigger part in elections at all levels, helps deputies in their work, together with the Pz Party, nominates candidates to the various government institutions elected by the State Assembly and has an active share in framing legislation.

The Popular Front and other mass organizations, including the

trade unions and the Young Communist League, are represented in the Assembly, so that the latter's commissions are in close touch with the public mood and can better coordinate national and group interests.

The Assembly includes many workers, peasants and top specialists in various fields. Of the 352 deputies elected in 1971, 137 are present or erstwhile industrial workers, 60 are peasants and 131 representatives of the intelligentsia. Women make up 24 per cent of the deputies, 202 deputies have a higher and 85 a secondary education. Ethnic groups are adequately represented.

Socialist representative institutions keep abreast of the times, and we can safely say that despite all the complexities of modern socialist industry and agriculture and the rapid growth of the economy, they have not become obsolete, contrary to opinions expressed in capitalist countries, but continue to act as institutions of democracy and play an increasing part in directing society.

This is confirmed by the steadily growing effectiveness of our own State Assembly. The 1972 constitutional amendments and procedures substantially enlarged the framework of Assembly activity. The laws it enacted in the past 10 years have powerfully influenced our socialist development and have had a beneficial effect on the life of the people. Mention might be made of the new Labor Code, the laws on local government, producers' cooperatives, land ownership, vocational training, cooperative societies, the youth, public health, the courts and prosecutor's office, economic planning, statistics, and the handling of criminal cases.

The Assembly's enhanced legislative functions are set out in the amended Constitution, which contains this clause: 'The laws of the Hungarian People's Republic establish rules pertaining to the basic rights and obligations of citizens.' The Constitution also widens the framework of Legislative regulation, sets out the organization of the state, state assets and the sphere of state economic activity.

The aim is for our laws to establish a stable and enduring order in all branches. Accordingly, we designate special procedures for operation of the laws. Together with the draft of a law members of the State Assembly are given the draft of a government decision on how it is to be carried out.

In drafting legislation, we solicit the opinions and proposals of specialists and mass organizations and, through the latter, the opinions and suggestions of a cross-section of the people. Many draft laws were submitted for public discussion, among them the draft Labor Code and the amendments to the Constitution.

The care shown by deputies in analyzing proposed legislation can be judged by the number of amendments. For instance, 167 were

incorporated into drafts approved by the State Assembly in 1967-71.

In recent years, particularly as a result of constitutional amendments, the State Assembly has played a still bigger part in supervising the work of the entire machine of government. Besides framing new legislation, it has from time to time discussed questions directly bearing on the direction of national policy. In 1960 it expressed its attitude on so important a question as socialist reorganization of agriculture. Later it discussed the formulation and application of legal norms, worked out a long-term conception for development of our transport system. These are only a few examples. The Assembly will continue to deal with such crucial problems.

Following the 1971 elections, in compliance with constitutional provisions, the government presented its program to the new Assembly, which endorsed it after a comprehensive discussion. Later, when the Chairman of the Council of Ministers reported on the work of the government, he told the Assembly how the program was being carried out.

Topical foreign-policy matters are regularly discussed. A short while ago the Foreign Affairs Commission drafted a statement, approved by the Assembly, against the terror perpetrated by the Chilean junta. Another aspect of foreign-policy activity is the reception of parliamentary delegations and return visits by Hungarian delegations, and also participation in the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This helps to strengthen our fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and contributes to peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems and to friendship of the peoples.

The amended Constitution gives to the State Assembly wider supervisory powers, including control of observance of constitutional norms. The Assembly can annul any decisions of government bodies that are contrary to the Constitution or to the interests of society.

All bodies elected by the State Assembly are accountable to it: the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Council of Ministers, the President of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General. Their reports are considered every two years.

The Constitution also provides for reports by Ministers and State Secretaries, who are invited to attend Assembly sessions in a consultative capacity.² Ministers, State Secretaries, the President of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General are required to report to the appropriate Assembly commissions.

Questions by deputies are an effective and steadily developing aspect of parliamentary control. There were 32 interpellations at the last session and 33 at the current one. This traditional parliamentary procedure is taking on a new content and has become a genuinely socialist instrument of parliamentary rule. The important thing, of

course, is not the number of interpellations, but the fact that they deal with matters of national import, such as shortcomings in operating one or another law or government decisions. In short, deputies raise questions that require parliamentary intervention.

Assembly commissions play a very important part. There are 10 of them; legal and judiciary, foreign affairs, defense, planning and budgetary, agriculture, industry, transport, trade, culture, social maintenance and public health. In addition, there is a commission on parliamentary immunity and infraction of parliamentary rules.³

The commissions deal with questions brought before the Assembly by its President or the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, draw up reports on these questions, and can on their own initiative deal with matters which they consider important. They can place their proposals before the full Assembly, the Presidium of the HPR, the Council of Ministers, or the Minister or Department Head concerned.

The commissions work on a permanent basis and the scope of their work is measurable in the following figures: in the last parliamentary session they held 201 meetings on 250 questions, of which about 100 were raised on their own initiative. In the current session, from May 1971 to December 1973, there were 166 meetings on 199 questions, of which 101 were raised by the commissions.⁴ Their activity extends to practically every area of political, economic and social life and their experience, findings and proposals are of immense value to government departments.

Commission meetings are attended by ministers or their deputies, specialists on the problems under discussion and leaders of the mass organizations. Sub-commissions that include experts are set up to deal with the more complex matters and submit their findings to the full commission. Commission meetings are usually held in areas where there is a special interest in the problem they are dealing with. And the discussion is always lively, constructive and frank. All this is proof not only of the competence of the commission members, but of their close links with local government and the electorate and their profound knowledge of local as well as national problems.

The purpose of these commissions is to help the Assembly assure constitutional order. The commissions have the right, indeed the obligation, to see to it that the Constitution is strictly adhered to, and if in their opinion any action or decision of any government body contradicts the Constitution or the interests of the society, they can bring the matter to the attention of the Assembly, the Presidium of the HPR or the Council of Ministers and request the annulment of such decision or action.

Deputies are in constant touch with the people, their problems and requirements. The experience gained in such contacts becomes part

of the work of the Assembly and of central and local government agencies. Deputies often discuss with their electors the work of the Assembly, recent laws, Party and government decisions and questions relating to their realization.

A key principle in all our parliamentary activity is harmonizing local interests with those of the society as a whole. That is provided for in the Constitution: 'Deputies of the State Assembly perform their functions in the interest of their constituents and of the whole of society.' The status of deputies is based on that and is formalized in the new procedural standards. These provide, in particular, that the deputy shall take an active part in the work of the Assembly and through his proposals and criticism shall contribute to its successful functioning.

The rules of procedure make it incumbent on all government departments to act on proposals submitted by Assembly commissions and individual deputies. They also define the relation between deputies and constituents; and see to it that constitutional and legal norms are adhered to in their constituencies. The rules also provide that the deputy shall be recompensed for time spent in performing his official duties. Lastly, the rules define the functions of the provincial deputy groups: coordination and liaison between the President of the Assembly and the deputies.

Better conditions are now provided for the deputy to receive assistance from government departments. These are now obliged to act, within eight days, on any proposal made by a member of the Assembly, and within 30 days on proposals submitted to the Assembly or its commissions. The government decision on this score contains detailed instructions on assistance to Assembly commissions and members, in particular on access to information. The decision is expressive of the government's serious attitude toward the work of Assembly deputies.

Our Party and our socialist state give the deputy every assistance and support as a representative of the people in performing his duty and in making a greater contribution to the building of full socialism.

The work of the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic offers convincing proof that, by perfecting the system of popular representation, we are giving fuller expression to the sovereignty of the people.

1. Up to 1967, there was a single list of candidates for each province – *Ed.*
2. The State Secretaries include the Chairmen of the People's Control Committee and the Water Resources Board, the President of the National Bank, etc. The commissions can take up any question on their own initiative.
3. The Constitution provides that political, economic or other activity or behavior that runs counter to the interests of society is incompatible with membership in the State Assembly. – *Ed.*
4. The commissions must discuss certain questions before they come up at the full Assembly. The list includes the budget and report on its fulfillment.



Organization of internationalists

Karl Heinz Schröder
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Working-class gains and the achievements of the communist movement are essentially international in character. At each historical stage life has confirmed the classical postulates of Marx, Engels and Lenin regarding the dialectics of the national and the international in the revolutionary process, in building the new society, in Communist Party activity. The lessons of history are that:

- there is one worker movement in the context of world history, it is international in essence and develops in different countries according to common fundamental laws. Hence, as pointed out by Lenin,* the basic working-class action plan is essentially the same for all countries, it must be in keeping with international class objectives; the internationalism of Communist parties thus rests on an objective foundation, it has the character of an objective law;

- a party undertaking to organize the working-class struggle should know how to balance international and national interests in its revolutionary activity; it is in the national interests of the working class to give top priority to the international struggle against imperialism, for proletarian power, in defense of socialist gains; '... disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggle for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts;'

- priority of the common struggle, that main principle of proletarian internationalism, is essential for resolving the Communists' national tasks, for only correct consideration of the objective laws of social

Continuing our international discussion, 'The Marxist-Leninist Party of Our Epoch.' See *WMR*, February, April, June, July, September, 1974.

*See *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 108-109.

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels. *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 2, p. 17.

development, which operate mainly beyond national frameworks, in the interaction of systems, makes possible the correct assessment of the correlation of class and nation at the given moment and in the given sphere of class struggle;

- the politically conscious, organized vanguard of the working class must have a clear knowledge of the general laws of revolution and socialist development, of international revolutionary experience, and be able to apply that knowledge and experience in specific social and historical conditions, 'to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study, and predict' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 89);

- proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are irreconcilable; when bourgeois-nationalist views penetrate the working class they breed or intensify 'left' and right opportunism and undermine unity. The workers' cause can triumph only if Communists fight against distortions of the concept and principles of proletarian internationalism;

- the strength of the international communist movement lies in its unity; today, as before, 'giving effect to *united action* on an international scale calls for both clarity of fundamental ideological views and a precise definiteness in all practical methods of action' (Lenin, Vol. 21, p. 372).

Proceeding from these time-tested conclusions, our Party declared in its Basic Action Statement adopted by the Essen Congress: 'The GCP opposes nationalism, which is detrimental to the interests of the international working-class movement and undermines the solidarity and joint action of socialist and anti-imperialist forces. The GCP declares its adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.'

Is it necessary, over and over again, to draw attention to the problems of internationalism or react sharply to the inventive, but by now familiar, attacks of bourgeois nationalists, to keep re-emphasizing the importance of every party's adhering to internationalist principles? We think it is; I would even say that today these problems demand a more sensitive approach. This conviction is based on an analysis of the present-day social developments and the tendencies within our movement.

On the one hand, the working class of different countries faces more common tasks, there are greater opportunities for effective joint action of Communist parties; awareness of this fosters the trend towards international cohesion in the struggle. This has been espe-

cially apparent in the development of contacts and joint actions of Communist and Workers' parties since the 1969 International Meeting.

On the other hand, the rate and disparities of economic and social development, the changing conditions of struggle in different countries, and their greater diversity, and the fact that more peoples and social strata have taken the revolutionary road, tend to over-accentuate national peculiarities and local conditions. This gives rise to deliberate or subconscious isolationist trends of different form and degree. Let us consider the general aspects of both developments.

The increase in the number and significance of the common tasks facing the working class and Communists of different countries is a natural consequence of the continued internationalization of economic and social processes. Capital is an international force and, naturally, develops as such, by virtue of both the objective process of economic socialization of production and the subjective desire of monopolists, imperialists to join hands to oppose socialism, the working class and the national-liberation movement. Internationally united capital can only be opposed by an internationally united working class.

The conference of Communist and Workers' parties of European capitalist countries held in Brussels in January 1974 gave careful consideration to the extremely dangerous role of powerful international monopolies, which are dominated three-quarters by American capital. They control the technologically advanced industries (electronic computers, nuclear power, chemicals, automobiles), as well as some light industries. The degree of concentration is illustrated by the fact that the value of the operations of General Motors (a subsidiary of which in West Germany is the Opel works) exceeds the gross national product of such developed countries as Holland, Belgium or Switzerland.

The scope of monopoly interference was amply demonstrated by the monopoly-provoked energy crisis and monopoly price policies. The monopolies threaten the economic and political independence of many countries. The Brussels conference pointed out that international monopolies control employment, social conditions, science and technological advance. They can precipitate monetary crises by transferring portions of their capital from one financial center to another, speeding up or delaying payments or bringing economic pressure to bear through other 'legitimate' operations. The threat to jobs by the transfer of production is obvious.

The example of Chile and other countries shows that international monopoly will go to all lengths to prevent the evolution of progressive regimes and to turn back history.

One of the most important results of the Brussels conference was, in our view, its appeal to the working class and its organizations to join the struggle against international concerns in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. For several years Communist parties have been working for such joint action and making proposals to this effect to socialist and social-democratic organizations, and trade unions.

The social evils, contradictions and historical insolvency of the capitalist system are more apparent than ever. Bourgeois prophecies about the 'golden seventies,' the 'welfare state' and 'consumer-industrial society' have vanished into thin air. Unemployment, the cost of living and insecurity are on the rise. Corruption and graft are flourishing in the corridors of power, crime is growing, moral and spiritual values are deteriorating, and bourgeois ideology is in the throes of a profound crisis. Especially alarming is the enormous growth of the military-industrial complex, of militarism and fascist activity.

These are developments common to many countries, and therefore the working class has many common tasks. Hence the importance of coordinated action, exchange and generalization of experience. We hold that these common aspects of our movement can be developed still further, for present-day conditions objectively increase the effectiveness of collectively elaborated and internationally coordinated action. On the other hand, playing up secondary differences can hardly serve any useful purpose.

GCP Chairman Herbert Mies declared at the second plenum of the Party's Board: 'Of course, we Communists do not draw the conclusion from the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism that the exploiter society will "collapse automatically". Only the working class and its allies are capable of restricting and ultimately overcoming monopoly power and opening the way to socialism. But the changed conditions have definitely created new opportunities for the anti-monopoly struggle, and communist responsibility has doubtlessly grown accordingly.'

The situation calls for a strengthening of the world communist and workers' movement on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The issues are urgent and require a militant class approach and concrete answers linked with specific action. The main priorities include stepping up the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly revolutionary movement on the basis of unification of all democratic progressive forces; greater utilization by every Party of the opportunities for advancing the interests of its people and, at the same time, the international cause; more theoretical work by Communist parties and the communist movement as a whole.

As is known, the socialist world system plays the leading part in the

fight against imperialism and internationally organized capital. Our Party holds that support and defense of the socialist system has been and remains the internationalist duty of all Communists. Today there are a number of new aspects to this task. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have launched a powerful peace offensive, creating favorable conditions for the world revolutionary process. A Party's attitude towards, and support of this offensive is a measure of its internationalism. Strengthening of the socialist world system is essential for strengthening the alliance of the three main forces of the world revolutionary process, promoting the confluence of its three currents. And that is a prerequisite for success in our joint struggle and one of our main common tasks.

In their efforts to weaken our struggle for peace and social progress, bourgeois ideologists, 'left' and right opportunists recommend 'keeping at a distance' from the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism is a major component of imperialism's global strategy. Proletarian internationalism requires that it be rebutted in whatever form it appears. Any retreat from that principle harms the Party and the international communist movement. At its Duesseldorf Congress the GCP noted: 'The Soviet Union has been and will continue to be the main force of the socialist community of states in the struggle against imperialism, a prime guarantee of peace, security and social progress. It was the first in the world to start, in extremely difficult conditions, building the new, socialist society that rids the working class of exploitation and oppression. The CPSU is a Marxist-Leninist party with the greatest revolutionary experience. The Soviet Union breached the front of imperialism and paved the road along which more and more peoples are winning freedom. The USSR constantly displays solidarity with the national-liberation movement and extends tremendous help to the fighting peoples. The Soviet Union's political, moral and material support of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle derives from the very essence of socialism, a society free of exploitation and oppression.'

'The GCP is guided by Ernst Thaelmann's words that a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union is the touchstone of genuine Communism.'

Today the fight against Maoism is of special significance in strengthening the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Anti-Sovietism and attempts to split the unity of the socialist world system, the international communist and workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces, are central to Maoist theory and practice. The Maoists' recent policies of collusion with the most reactionary imperialist forces are a result of their complete departure from Marxist class positions. The CPC

leadership attacks the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and the coordinated foreign policy of the fraternal countries of the socialist community. Its stand inspires the opponents of détente, the aggressive forces of NATO, and objectively plays into the hands of imperialism. Can a party of internationalists be indifferent to such a policy? Certainly not. . . .

The five years since the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the five years of an all-out anti-imperialist offensive have, despite difficulties, contradictions and setbacks, considerably changed the world situation in favor of the revolutionary forces. These achievements, as well as the new problems and tasks of the joint struggle of fraternal parties and all anti-imperialist forces, induce us, like many other brother parties, to support the idea of a new all-European conference and new international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. They would be an important stage in the development of internationalism and further strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement in line with the requirements of the time.

Opposition to all attempts to distort the principles of proletarian internationalism remains our common task. In this connection I would like to take up an important and topical point. Our opponents, we all know, try to drive a wedge in relations between brother parties by harping on the 'problem' of independence of parties as opposed to international communist unity. They contend that a party's isolation is the main source of its strength. There is probably no need to restate the fact that a party trying to resolve its problems by relying solely on its own forces, a party that places national interests above international, regional objectives above those of the world working-class movement, to say nothing of pursuing a chauvinistic splitting policy, as the leadership of the Communist Party of China does today – that such a party seriously harms the revolutionary cause in its own country and worldwide. However, nationalism or underestimation of the principles of proletarian internationalism may not take such obvious forms. As said before, some people are occasionally prone to exaggerate the specific features of national conditions and underestimate the experience of fraternal parties. Some swallow the bait of capitalist propaganda or shy from accusations of 'dependence on Moscow,' which makes them try to emphasize their 'independence.' . . . Our Party does not tolerate such weaknesses and lack of principle in its ranks and teaches its members to rebuff slanders about the nature of relations between Communist parties.

In this connection it is important to have a clear answer to the question: What is the correlation between Party sovereignty and communist unity?

The GCP does not conceal its firm links with the international communist movement and recognizes the special, outstanding role in it of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But this in no way limits our independence or freedom of decision making action. We seek contacts with Communists all over the world not to receive 'instructions,' as our enemies would have it. We study the rich experience of our comrades and, naturally, especially value the experience of the Communist Party which was the first to lead its people to socialism; we record achievements together with mistakes and discuss questions of interest as equals.

What is said of each party can equally be said of the communist movement as a whole: it is a voluntary militant association of like-minded people – in this case an international association of sovereign communist brother parties. The independence of each party within that association is as much a norm of relations as cooperation; sovereignty and international obligations are two interconnected, and in no way contradictory, aspects. We can repeat the words of Russian Communists spoken many years ago: We are proud to work and fight subject to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. Far from interfering with the national tasks independently set by our Party, meeting international obligations helps to accomplish them.

Of course, it would be wrong to underestimate specific conditions of work, the national tasks of a party and choice of appropriate means. The dialectics of the national and the international is such that the strength and influence of the communist movement depend on the work of the Communists and working class of each country. The Communist Party of a socialist country influences the world revolutionary process mainly by its successes in expanding the economy, strengthening national defense, shaping new social relations and creating conditions for the all-round development of the personality. As noted at the 1969 International Meeting, the greatest contribution of Communist parties fighting in capitalist conditions to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism will be the winning of power by the working class and its allies. Thus, it is the international duty of each Communist Party to achieve the utmost in its own country.

But this is impossible if a party locks itself up within its national frontiers and fences itself off from the world communist movement. This would mean isolation and loss of reliable support – the communist and workers' movement, all progressive forces of the world – in its struggle. It would mean a repetition of mistakes already made by others, amateurism and, ultimately, useless dissipation of forces, if not defeat. If all parties would take such a stand, one can easily imagine the result. Obviously, it is a stand that contradicts the ABC of Marxism-Leninism.

The principles of proletarian internationalism elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the positions collectively elaborated by the Communist parties provide a basis for formulating, in the light of what has been said before, some criteria of internationalism of the revolutionary working-class party essential in our time, namely:

- a national and international policy which helps strengthen the socialist world system headed by the Soviet Union as a decisive factor of the world revolutionary process, as the main force in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism;

- international solidarity with fraternal parties, one of the main forms of which today is concerted action against imperialism, coordination of all forms of class struggle – economic, political and ideological – with other parties;

- a policy of mutual assistance in every possible form between the three currents of the world revolutionary movement – the socialist world system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement – in the name of common anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, socialist goals;

- cultivating among all Party members, workers and all working people of friendship towards other peoples, realization of the equality of nations and races, intolerance towards any manifestation of chauvinism or slight towards other nationalities;

- resolute struggle against chauvinist tendencies, against reactionary nationalism, which splits the workers' and democratic movement and deprives it of unity, its main weapon in the face of world imperialism;

- active participation in the collective elaboration and propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory, strategy and tactics; use of all forms of cooperation between Communist parties: international conferences, bilateral and regional meetings, exchanges of delegations, joint activity in various democratic, progressive organizations, press cooperation, joint publications, etc.

The GCP will continue to build its relations with all brother parties, with all anti-imperialist forces, in keeping with the criteria of proletarian internationalism, seeing this as its contribution to the world revolutionary process, to the interests of our people.

Culture, intellectuals and the working class

Louis Baillot
Member of CC
French Communist Party

CRISIS OF SOCIETY – CRISIS OF CULTURE

A deep crisis pervades all sides of life in the capitalist countries, particularly France. It shows that capitalism is incapable of resolving the pressing problems of present-day society. It only adds to their gravity. The energy crisis showed, for one thing, that the predatory policy of the multinational companies is damaging to national independence, economic development, and the conditions of life of every citizen.

This crisis is a social one. Generated by the outdated capitalist social system, a roadblock to the scientific-technical revolution, it also points up the pernicious consequences of the predatory monopoly line in the cultural field.

Here are a few facts. While the act extending obligatory schooling in France to children of 16 years of age has not yet been fully put into force, the authorities backed by a majority in parliament are about to put through a decision delivering 14-year-olds to employers without remuneration for their labor. Budget allocations for scientific research have been cut for the first time, and leading research establishments are compelled to alter their time-tables or abandon projects completely. Access to medical studies has been seriously restricted, though France ranks health-wise among the most backward countries in Europe.

Cultural statistics show the gravity of the situation all too clearly. Every second Frenchman is a reluctant reader. Three out of four factory workers and four out of five farmers never read a book. Cinema attendances have been dropping steadily in the past 15 years, and despite efforts by stage enthusiasts, municipalities and enterprise promotion committees, theatre audiences, too, have declined substantially in five years.

Every indicator there is speaks of a cultural crisis. Even building projects, of which Frenchmen are especially proud (though their number is dropping), such as the state-projected museum of modern art in the heart of Paris, have become objects of real estate speculation.

Politicians representing big business continuously assault science, which they blame for all the mortal sins, and culture and education. No longer able to construct viable ideological systems, the capitalist class has gone on the defensive. Sowing doubt, accusing individuals, advocating fatalism and impotence, or, as an extreme measure, inciting nihilism and rebellion, it tries to distract public thinking from an understanding of the crisis. Those responsible for the 'official culture' resort to authoritarian and repressive measures, and cut back expenditure. Freedom of expression and search, the very right of culture, are imperilled.

The intelligentsia and the FCP approach

The situation of the intelligentsia is deteriorating. Most intellectuals are now salary-earners, living like other working people from the sale of their labor. Cares over employment and the problems of disqualification and retiring hound them as they do all other workers. They, too, suffer from the tax burden and the housing shortage, poor transport, and the general deterioration of the conditions of life. The free professions often have but one freedom left – that of accepting dependence on banks and big business.

Like other working people, intellectuals have to contend with the consequences of the main contradiction of capitalism. True, this occurs in a peculiar way, but is no less inescapable. The development of their professions, occupations, disciplines, and sciences requires deep-going changes at all levels of society. The continuously growing division of labor is reaching deeper and deeper into various fields of science, technology, medicine and art. This generates new demands, first of all for new knowledge, and for working groups that could more effectively use facilities available to specialists.

The profit-motivated society tends to fragmentize and limit professional training. Yet the division of technical labor requires socialized management of research and its practical use.

What is the position of the French Communist Party on this score? For us cultural policy is as important as any other. We reject Andre Malraux' view of culture as the 'healer of souls,' escape from reality, the way to oblivion, and the like. For us cultural policy is compounded with social and economic policy, and inseparable from general policy.

Culture is not just literature and art. It is also science, technology,

professional activity, and physical work. It is part of the relations in people's daily lives. And in a class society, where relations are ultimately dominated by exploitation, culture is bound to bear the consequences. So, the FCP holds, culture must be urgently aligned to the capacity and level of present-day knowledge, and also to the needs of the masses and the national interest.

Culture is neither a luxury nor a commodity, neither solace for aesthetes, nor a medium of spiritual compensation. It is a vital necessity, and its significance for people, for the nation and society, is steadily increasing. The development of a democratic, subsequently socialist, society requires a flowering of culture.

Defining its cultural policy, the FCP follows a tradition as old as the Party itself. In the past two centuries struggle for democracy and social progress became closely linked with the struggle for education and culture. The Communist Party is the successor to the Paris Commune, which attached great importance to education, science and art. And in 1936, the time of the Popular Front, Communist cultural policy was not an adjunct, but an essential component of the general policy of the FCP.

Alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia

Our Party's history is associated with such great French intellectuals as Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Henri Barbusse, Anatole France, Leger, Picasso, Langevin, Joliot-Curie, Wallon and Politzer. At every significant period (the Party's foundation, the Popular Front period, the occupation and the liberation of France), eminent intellectuals associated themselves with the workers' struggle.

This shows, among other things, that, first, they recognize the Party's vanguard role in the revolutionary transformation of society, during which culture, too, is radically changed and made to serve the vast majority of the nation, and, second, that they understand that this transformation depends among other factors on the alliance of the working class and a large section of the intelligentsia. This was recorded by the Eighth Congress of the FCP in 1936. And this scientifically-grounded idea showing the working class as the bearer of the nation's future, advanced by Maurice Thorez, is being steadily put into practice.

Today, the alliance of the working class and intelligentsia is more necessary than ever. Soon after the May 1968 events Waldeck Rochet showed its cardinal importance for the future of the democratic and revolutionary movement in our country.

The intelligentsia has grown in numbers. Now, it plays a direct part in production. Intellectuals of a wide range of professions have been drawn into productive labor. This has added to the importance of

their part in economic, social, cultural and political development. For a long time to come the working class and the intelligentsia will play still admittedly different but converging roles in the revolutionary process.

Like the workers, technicians and engineers are at the core of capitalist production, and feel the effects of the exploiting essence of capitalist industry. They react sharply to its waste of national wealth, to bureaucratic and authoritarian methods of government, and tend to contribute to the drive for a strong democratic movement. Other sections of the intelligentsia are also able to act independently and successfully if they take account of the sum-total of economic, social and political factors. The state and communal budgets, health policy and public education, and exposure of real estate speculation are fields in which intellectuals are particularly active.

An increasing number of intellectuals are feeling the effects of monopoly domination. The *convergence* of their interests with those of other working people, is therefore becoming an objective reality – and this not only to resist capitalism, but also to lay the ground for a new society. The relationship between the working class and intelligentsia has today become a relationship of two crucial social forces.

What the Communists offer

The capitalist class is aware of this, and is trying to tighten its ideological grip on the intelligentsia, a social stratum in its own right but also a medium of ideological influence on the masses. This adds to the decisive importance of active political and ideological work among intellectuals.

On the political plane, the FCP is offering the intelligentsia and all other working people a joint government program subscribed to by the Communist, Socialist and Left Radical parties.

The joint government program is also a joint program for culture. Chiefly because it is a social program and includes measures that will give the people the time and means for a better life, because it will end social inequality, and give access to a full secondary and higher education for the vast majority of working-class and peasant children.

It is in the interests of culture, because its economic policy will favor the growth of science and technology, and will liberate them from the profit motive. The envisaged nationalization measures are also crucial cultural measures.

The program is in the interests of culture because it is a democratic program. Real participation of all in the direction of the country's affairs, and the responsibility of each, are a cultural stimulus tied in with the growing demand for information, knowledge and exchange of ideas. The greater civic responsibilities will be the guarantee for

freedom of artistic expression and the opportunity for confrontations of ideas.

In this entirely new economic and political democracy, cultural activity acquires new aims and new content, also promoted by specific measures assuring favorable conditions for the flowering of culture, guaranteeing freedom of artistic expression and providing material and social conditions for the development of the intelligentsia.

The Communist Party is calling on the intelligentsia to fight by the side of the working people for the success of the joint program. Only a powerful movement of the majority of the nation will make that program possible. And all intellectuals have a place in the movement. They are part of the popular alliance the Communists are working for, and of which the working class is the core.

The people's demand to live better and live differently is linked with the demand of the intelligentsia to work better and work differently. So struggles for better housing, transport, health services, town-planning, public education, working conditions and living standards offer rewarding fields of activity for intellectuals. Popular action by the masses and action by the intelligentsia are connected and aimed against the policy of capitalist monopoly, for a radical change of policy.

On the ideological plane, the Party line was set at the Central Committee meeting in Argenteuil in 1966. Its guidelines have stood the test of time and are still the basis for our activity. After the 1968 events, when a tendency surfaced to 'super-politicize culture,' we stressed once again that to reduce artistic expression to a purely political dimension is to impoverish both art and politics. We are also opposed to the theory of culture's alleged neutrality. The authorities encourage attempts to redefine official art, concealing its true nature behind a cloak of modernism.

The Communist Party stands unequivocally for artistic freedom and the need for search and diversity of forms, for a confrontation of different schools and tendencies. But not for the sake of eclecticism, because Communists are not and cannot be indifferent to the significance of the arts for society. For example, no film maligning the workers' struggle or distorting conspicuous historical events, such as the Resistance, would get favorable mention from us even if of incontestably superior quality cinematographically.

Here is how the 1966 Central Committee meeting put it: 'The development of science necessitates discussion and search. The Communist Party does not intend to oppose such discussion or impose a priori truths, let alone stop discussions among specialists by fiat.'

'Artistic endeavor is inconceivable without search, without a diversity of trends and schools, or without clashes between them. The Party appreciates and supports the varied contribution of the artistic intelligentsia to human progress, their free play of imagination, their taste and originality. The Party wishes them to understand and support the ideological and political positions of the working class.'

The Communists are on the offensive, because they aspire to genuine freedom and the flowering of culture.

Our conception of cultural revolution

Last December our Party marked the 25th anniversary of the journal *La Nouvelle Critique*. Speaking at the jubilee meeting, Roland Leroy, member of the FCP Political Bureau and Secretary of its Central Committee, touched on many points of concern to Communists and described the Communist Party's approach to the building of socialism – a question ranking high on the order of the day in France and all other capitalist countries.

Dwelling on the problem of cultural revolution, of which so much is being said and written these days, he pointed out that socialist revolution is not a compound of economic, socio-political and ideological revolutions. 'Revolution,' he said, 'is a single process whose different constituents develop at different rates. But in the final analysis the motive force is the revolution in the sphere of production relations based on the development of the productive forces, leading objectively to the broadest possible socialization of production. There is no such thing as a purely cultural revolution any more than a revolution beginning with a cultural revolution. Ideology and culture have their roots in the life of society, where they are conceived. The revolution in production relations will not substitute for a revolution in culture and ideology, but is necessary because in its absence ideological and cultural revolution becomes an empty dream or mere play.'

The cultural revolution liberates the creative capacity of all working people, opens access to different types of culture for the working class and the popular masses, and extends the opportunities for the intelligentsia's participation in work benefitting all society. It helps root out the contradictions between physical and mental labor in social relations, sustains the spirit of search thanks to the introduction of science in all spheres of life, and stimulates literary and artistic creation. Socialism assures the full social, intellectual, moral and political development of intellectuals and all working people.

The struggle for the demands of the intelligentsia, the effort to help it understand the benefits of solidarity with the working class and take its place in the unfolding historical movement, are an important element of FCP activity.

We count thousands of intellectuals among our members. They have the same rights and duties as their other comrades. But they are the *best fitted* to conduct the necessary day-to-day work, which is part of their professional activity, among their colleagues. The Party has created organizational forms and methods for the intelligentsia to conduct this beneficial activity.

Unquestionable progress has been achieved in building the alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia. But the striving of an ever greater number of Frenchmen for deep political changes requires its further consolidation and expansion. The French Communists are applying themselves to this assignment with dedication.

Poland: bastions of socialism

Teodosio Varela

Alternate Executive Member,
CC CP Colombia and its
representative on *WMR*.

Georg Kwiatowski

Representative of
German CP on *WMR*

Alexander Volkov

Department Head, *WMR*

'... the main strength of the movement lies in the organization of the workers at the *large* factories, for the large factories (and mills) contain not only the predominant part of the working class, as regards numbers, but even more as regards influence, development, and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our fortress.'

Lenin

DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND 164 BIG FACTORIES

The three towns on Poland's Baltic coast, Gdansk, Sopot and Gdynia, are usually referred to as one. They are a typical mixture of the old and the new: Gothic churches against a background of graceful mod-

ern buildings; fishing craft in the ports mingle with ocean liners, and stretching out to the horizon, the new suburbs. The three towns form a rapidly developing industrial area, centered largely on ship-building.

We Communist journalists from three countries had been invited by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party for a closer look at Party work. We concentrated on Party Central Committee work in the larger industrial units, on how their collectives influence the shaping of Party and state policy, on what part they have in government. And we examined the situation from this standpoint at shipyards and seaports, at the Elblag turbine plant, in talks with officials of the Party Central Committee.

In Warsaw, before our trip to the Baltic coast, we interviewed A. Gorny, assistant head of the CC Organization Department, L. Baka, assistant head of the Economic Department, A. Wlodarczyk, assistant head of the Propaganda and Press Department. We had a meeting with a group of sociologists at the Party Higher School of Social Sciences. After the trip we were received by Z. Zandarowski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The following is a summary of what we learned from these talks and from our visit to Polish factories.

The 164

Central Committee concentration on major industrial enterprises, we were told, began with a decision of the CC Secretariat adopted on June 11, 1971. The idea was to make them 'bastions of socialism.' Of course the big factories have always been receiving special attention from the Central Committee, but now 164 were singled out for permanent contact with the central Party leadership.

The purpose, we were told by Comrade Zandarowski, was not only to emphasize the role of the larger enterprises. The Party relies primarily on the support of the working class and is anxious to strengthen its position among the workers. The very problem of the workers' trust in the Party and its leadership is central to the development of socialist society. What is this trust based on? On identifying the Party's policy with the vital interests of the working class, on the workers' correct understanding of the Party's policy. Consequently, it is important that the workers are well informed on how things stand in the country, its economic position, the Party's plans, and that they share in framing policy, in drafting and adopting major decisions. Of course, that is the point and purpose of the whole system of democratic management of socialist society, and there is probably no need to describe what is now taken for granted, such things as workers elected to the Central Committee and the Sejm. Incidentally, such representation has been expanded. What we are

doing now at the 164 factories is part of that system.

We reflected on this new venture as we travelled from city to city. The problem of contact between government authorities and the working class is being discussed in many widely different countries. And that is only natural, for there is no underestimating the strength and role of the working class. However, events in a number of capitalist countries have shown that strikes in support of economic demands can flare up with the coming to power of democratic, progressive governments. The workers' desire to improve their condition is understandable, but sometimes, because these demands cannot be immediately granted, the new government finds itself in a difficult political situation that might have regressive rather than progressive consequences.

The problem is a complex one and requires careful and serious study. One of its important aspects is worker partnership (as distinct from bourgeois 'participation') in industrial management. In other words, the problem is how to give the workers a meaningful part in management, control, distribution, make them aware of the link between production and consumption, of the realistic economic potential of the given factory and the country as a whole. In this way the worker becomes, perhaps not immediately but through transition stages, a full-fledged and responsible master of the economy. That is achieved beyond the framework of capitalism, but the movement toward this goal can and should begin at the democratic, anti-monopoly stage of the revolution. Experience has shown that nationalization of part, or even of all, the major means of production without deep-going changes in production relations and management, can prove a heavy burden to the new government. Without laying claim to a full analysis of this complex problem, the following needs to be said: revolutionary experience has shown that the Communists must have answers to all these questions in their economic and political programs. And in this context the experience of the socialist countries at various stages of the revolutionary struggle, in the organization of production relations and in Party work, is, we believe, of the utmost value.

But to return to our subject: why the big factories? The answer is not as simple as it seems. Much of it is contained in Lenin's words, written before the socialist revolution, quoted at the beginning of this article.

We were given the following figures at the PUWP Central Committee and the Higher School of Social Sciences: the 164 enterprises represent 0.2 per cent of Poland's factories, but account for 26.8 per cent of total industrial output and for about 25 per cent of the industrial labor force. These, then, are vitally important centers of produc-

tion and concentration of the working class and technical intelligentsia. They are also important centers of Party organization, accounting for 25.7 per cent of Party members employed in industry. But we were told that it is not only a matter of numbers. Experience over the past 30 years has conclusively proved that these collectives exert a powerful influence on their particular regions and on the life of the country as a whole.

And, obviously, these factories provide optimal opportunities for using the new technology and devising a better pattern of production relations. They have been the proving ground for many of the experiments that are now part of the economic fabric.

There are many more reasons for concentrating on these leading collectives. At Elblag one worker in six is employed at the Swiercowski engineering works. Every day, returning from work, he shares with his family, friends and neighbors his thoughts, concerns, joys and problems. The socio-psychological climate of the community is thus, in a way, set by the factory. In the three coastal towns, 17,000 are employed at the Lenin Shipyards and another 12,000 at the Paris Commune yards, several thousand at the Gdynia and Gdansk ports, the Dalmor and other big plants. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that what happens at these big factories sets the tone for the whole of the coastal region. And since the social impact of the big plants is a very real fact, it is only natural that the Party should rely on it, give it direction and use it in directing society. And not merely use it, but bring more and more workers to share in decision-making on economic, social and political problems through a system of information, consultation and discussion.

How the system works we shall explain further on. Meanwhile, some of the questions that arose in the course of our discussions.

Kwiatowski: Work at leading enterprises is a problem for our Party too. Why did you choose these 164? What was the criterion – the number of workers employed?

Answer by *A. Gorny:* Not only that, but also the weight the given factory carries in its area and in the country. A factory in the provinces may be smaller than a comparable one in Warsaw, but has a strong local influence. Besides, if we are to have 'bastions' then they should obviously be located in different parts of the country.

Varela: How does the worker in a big factory differ from his counterpart in a smaller one?

Answer by *A. Owieczko* (Assistant Director, Institute of Party Studies): Well, first he has a higher level of education and general knowledge, which makes for wider vision and social interests. Second, these workers are bolder and more articulate in their judgments, for they are conscious of their strength, of the weight they carry in society.

Volkov: Doesn't special attention to the 164 militate against other factories?

Answer by *A. Baka:* Direct Central Committee contact with leading industrial units does not preclude, but rather complements, Party work in industry, in the rural areas, etc. Second, provincial and district committees are following the CC in concentrating on the bigger factories. The Central Committee has thus set an example in new forms of contact with industrial and other workers.

Let us take a concrete example to show how it all works.

System of contacts

A new law was being drafted on material incentives, social amenities and housing financed out of a special fund at the disposal of each factory. The Party Central Committee Secretariat decided to discuss it with Party activists and workers in leading industrial plants.

Political Bureau member J. Szydlak and Minister of Labor and Wages W. Kawalec briefed a large group of Party lecturers, among them CC and government officials and sociologists. The lecturers were given an outline of the new law and how it would be carried out. They met again four days later, were filled in on some of the details and went over the draft in preparation for their factory-level consultations.

The usual procedure was for the lecturer to address a group of activists, 150-200, depending on the size of the factory, reply to questions and take down all proposals and suggestions. At the Lenin yards, for instance, the draft was closely scrutinized: at most factories its benefits were immediately apparent, but at the Lenin yards everything had to be carefully weighed, and when it was, the workers agreed, with several amendments.

Each lecturer drew up a detailed report for the Central Committee, listing proposals and views expressed by the workers.

Meanwhile the debate continued on the shop floor. Workers would ask the activists: 'What is the purpose?', 'Are we likely to lose by it?' 'What did you say at the consultation?' And there were more proposals, additional arguments, all of them studied at higher level, right up to the Central Committee.

Not all the consultations followed the same pattern. In some cases the purpose was to bring out alternatives: several variants of the draft law were put before the meeting, or the workers were asked for their opinion on each of the clauses. In other cases the draft could be approved without much discussion, but it was important to know what clauses would need more detailed explaining to the workers. But even in such cases decision was sometimes postponed to consider more amendments.

Again, sometimes it was sufficient just to record the workers' opinion, while in other cases there had to be shop-by-shop discussions. In fact, after several discussions, after the workers had passed judgement, there were often personal talks with a wide circle of workers to make sure that everything was understood. Sociological methods are also used. Information reaches the Central Committee both in summarized form and directly from the factory. Last, these consultations are often held in other factories too, but in the case of the 164 they are obligatory.

We were naturally interested to know if national issues were submitted to this type of discussion. Many examples were cited: the Political Bureau theses for the First National Party Conference, the decision on youth education, the supplementary social maintenance program and its financing, the exchange of Party cards and, of course, the items listed above. These are all complex and important questions. How thoroughly they are discussed can be judged from the following figures: the draft law was examined three times at the Lenin Shipyards and the Gdynia port and twice at Elblag. Only after that did the workers say that all their proposals had been taken into account.

Kwiatowski: Have there been unrealistic demands at these consultations?

W. Uminski (trade union committee chairman at the Lenin Shipyards): Yes, for example, at a meeting of trade union activists there were proposals to reduce the pension age and spend more on new holiday camps. At the request of the meeting we invited the head of the Metalworkers' Union and the chairman of its provincial committee. They explained the situation, gave us all the facts and figures to show that at present these proposals were unrealistic, but they indicated when they could be realized.

Zandarowski: There is a well-functioning mechanism to collect proposals and a regular procedure for seeing that they are acted on. The official to whom the proposal is referred must report back to the workers. The Central Committee lecturer does not immediately reply to proposals; very often he refers them to the appropriate authority. The important thing is that every question, every suggestion must be acted upon – without that the consultations would be of little value. There has to be a detailed and early reply, written or oral, to every proposal and if it does not satisfy the workers, the matter is again taken up by the appropriate authority.

Varela: What guarantee is there that the lecturer conducting the consultation will pass on the workers' opinion without embellishment?

Answer by *B. Przywara* (Higher School of Social Sciences): As one of the lecturers, I can say, first, that we return to the same factory

and, second, what kind of information does the 'customer' want, objective or embellished? We know that the Central Committee wants a truthful report.

Volkov: And what if the workers remain silent after your lecture?

Przywara: That would be most disturbing, but there has been nothing of the kind in my experience.

These consultations, on which we have dwelt at some length, are in many ways a new, but not the only or even main, form of Central Committee contacts with leading factories. Factory collectives and their Party branches are kept in close touch with every aspect of the country's life through a coordinated information system complemented by centralized data supply. For instance, factory Party committees get the same information as first secretaries of district Party committees. This applies to the monthly CC bulletin and similar matter containing not only information, but also comment and replies to questions put by workers, particularly at consultation meetings. Besides, there are annual seminars for secretaries of factory Party branches and chairmen of trade union committees at which Party and government leaders explain policy and discuss proposed legislation. Naturally, every Party functionary takes advantage of these seminars to put forth the views and proposals of his particular collective, and, naturally, comes back with firsthand knowledge and orientation on matters of national import.

Regular appearances of Party and government leaders at the big factories hold a special place in this system of direct contacts. During our visits to factories, shipyards, ports, etc., we were often told: Comrade Gierek was here on such and such a day and we discussed such and such problems, or Comrade Jaroszewicz told us at our last meeting.... As a rule, members of the Political Bureau address several such meetings each month in addition to receiving representatives from the factories. This frank exchange of views on the most complex questions is one form in which the workers influence policy making. Besides, Central Committee functionaries belong to factory Party branches and this, too, makes for a constant interchange of views.

Varela: The Colombian capitalist press maintains that the workers possess neither the knowledge nor the experience needed to competently shape policy, even at factory level. How do things stand in Poland?

Kwiatowski: That is the usual argument in the FRG, too. But there is the problem of time: after a day's work one wants to go home and be with the family. What time is there for public activity?

Włodarczyk: Generally speaking, public activity should not interfere with a man's job. But if the worker has to attend a session of the

council of which he is a member, or perform some other public function, he is given time off without loss of pay. Now about competence: the worker's lack of knowledge and of ability to pass judgement on, say, complicated economic questions is grossly exaggerated. Actually, I think, there are no questions beyond the workers' understanding. It's only a matter of providing and explaining the facts, and in Poland, as in other socialist countries, this is done through political and economic study classes. We see to it that the worker is properly prepared to share in the management of his factory and of the country.

The entire Central Committee apparatus has a part in these direct contacts with the 164 factories. The work is coordinated by a special office in the organization department. Its head, Janusz Kubasiewicz, accompanied us on our trip. His office, he told us, keeps a file on each of the 164 and it is carefully studied by lecturers so as to know what questions to expect, what proposals have not yet been acted upon, etc.

Much could be said about the work of provincial and district Party committees in this context. In Gdansk, for instance, the Provincial Party Committee has an advisory group of 100 workers. We also learned that the consultation method is used in work among students. . . . But let us return to our main theme.

What the workers think of it.

At the Lenin Shipyards we spoke to Stanislaw Zieba, Party member, marker – the man who 'cuts out' the ship (he's been on the job for 23 years now) – and Henryk Czerniecki, a younger man, Party member, assembly worker – he 'sews' the ship together. We weren't sure the interview would work out – we were from four different countries talking through interpreters and putting questions that couldn't be answered by a simple yes or no. But it did work out, and we were impressed by the way our questions were answered, by the dignity, confidence and knowledge of these men.

Kwiatowski: In the FRG there is a sharp struggle over worker participation in management. There are factory meetings and elected production councils, but with very restricted powers. They have no say on planning, investment, allocation of profits, and, of course, no say on national economic and social problems. What is the position in Poland?

Varela: In Colombia, the bourgeoisie says the workers should not go in for politics. What do you think? Can you influence policy making?

Czerniecki: What does 'going in' for politics mean? Certainly not just talking politics . . . At our shipyard management cannot take any

major decision, whether on production or welfare, without the consent of the worker self-management conference. This is not a purely local question. In discussing the plan of our shipyard we are actually discussing a matter of state importance. This apart from the fact that one of our comrades is on the Party Central Committee . . .

Zieba: Yes, Comrade Pacer from our shop. But I myself have taken part in many consultations, on the resolutions of the First National Party Conference, the labor code and other important matters, and my opinion was always heeded. Well, do I have a part in shaping policy? And then this has to be taken into consideration: Comrade Gierek has been here three times, also Comrades Jaroszewicz, Szydłak and other leaders, and we know that they always take account of what we say and propose. . . .

Kwiatowski: The West German monopolies, aware of the mounting discontent among the workers, have set up offices at big factories where the worker can lodge complaints. But usually nothing happens – the worker cannot change anything. What I would like to know is how your proposals are acted on.

Zieba: Well, we have no reason not to trust the authorities, but just the same we make sure our proposals are acted on. For instance, we gave our delegates to the First National Party Conference a list of proposals and from their speeches and reports of the proceedings we could see what was being done. . . .

Czerniecki: There was this instance – a CC lecturer was telling us about price policy. I said I wanted to be sure that our opinion would be correctly conveyed to the Central Committee. He said, all right, let's both go to the teleprinter and send the message across to Warsaw, and we did.

Kwiatowski: But surely some of your proposals are rejected?

Zieba: We have a commission on suggestions and proposals. It contacts the appropriate authorities and reports back to the collective. If we are told some proposal is unrealistic, well, they have to prove it. Every proposal is carefully examined, we Party activists see to that.

Varela: Look, Comrade Czerniecki, suppose you were made Minister, would you change anything at the shipyard, add something perhaps?

Czerniecki: I would probably add something for the chaps (laughter), but I would be fair.

Varela: That is your answer, what about the other workers, those not in the Party?

Czerniecki: They may know less about Party affairs . . . Of course, you have all kinds, not everyone is politically conscious, some think only of themselves. Frankly, when I first came here from the village my attitude was different too.

Zieba: This is what distinguishes the worker, the activist: he considers himself the representative of all the workers of his plant, and of the working class as a whole.

That was well said, and evocative of Lenin's words about the time when 'the politically conscious worker would feel that he is not only the master of his own factory, but that he is also a representative of the country' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 403). And those words came back to mind when, in Elblag, we talked to Boguslaw Radewicz, a young milling-machine operator. We discussed industrial modernization and occupational training, subjects on which he spoke with competence. 'Skilled and devoted workers cannot just be picked up,' he said. 'They have to be trained out of the raw youngsters who come to the plant, and not only taught a trade, but also a feeling of responsibility.' In Gdynia, Wacław Drabinski, a truck driver, displayed this 'feeling of representative of the country' in discussing wage rates: 'They affect not only operation of the Gdynia port, but have an important bearing on the national economy.'

We tried to see all this from the standpoint of Party work, of the Party's two-way contacts with the workers.

How it helps leadership

These consultations are the prelude to shaping policy decisions. That is obvious, but in summing up what our Polish comrades told us and what we ourselves saw, we can draw the following conclusions.

The Central Committee receives information directly from the workers, not standardized and not watered down in the process of generalization (though generalized information is important too). The Central Committee is in a position to know what problems are of especial importance to the workers. The consultations are an indication of how the working class as a whole will react to one or another decision; what decisions are likely to arouse doubts or objections; what aspects of policy require additional argumentation, and so on. This means that there will be no surprise reactions to policy decisions from the top. We were told at the Central Committee that the consultations were valuable in another way, too – they provide a better idea of Party cadres and this is important in improving cadre training.

Also this consideration: direct CC contact with big factories helps the workers (mostly on concrete examples) to think in terms of national policy, assume responsibility for one or another decision, in short, cultivate what Lenin described as the 'feeling of representative of the country.' This helps to overcome a parochial outlook and makes for closer understanding between the partners in socialist production. At the same time, it cultivates in the working class the desire and ability to share in management, at factory and national

level, and more keenly appreciate its role of leading class of socialist society.

Kwiatowski: Have there been shortcomings in these new methods, and what is the outlook for the future?

Zandarowski: We have only come half way and there are still many shortcomings. But we have built an integral and reliable system of contacts with the big factories, and now a similar system is being fashioned for government agencies. We feel that we are on the right course.

The workers and Party members in the big factories are brought into closer involvement in the affairs of the state, feel themselves co-authors of policy decisions, help to explain them to the population, feel themselves responsible for their implementation. Of course, our Polish comrades said, all this is still in the making, but, at the same time, it is a definite achievement. There are still problems. For not all workers, even among Party activists, have learned not only to put questions at these consultations, but also to find the answers. But the big factories are a reliable base of the Central Committee in carrying out Party policy.

And so, we had a closer look at this very interesting experiment of the Polish Communists and learned much about Poland's achievements over the past 30 years. On concrete examples, relating to but one aspect of Party work, we saw what has been accomplished in the all-important effort to devise a new pattern of social relations and educate the people of the new society.



Alliance of world socialism and the national-liberation movement

Theoretical conference

As reported earlier, a theoretical conference on the subject 'Alliance of the Socialist World System and the National-Liberation Movement' was held in Baghdad under the auspices of *World Marxist Review* and the Patriotic National-Progressive Front of Iraq.* It was attended, in addition to delegations of the journal and the Front, by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Chile, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Mongolia, the Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Syria, representatives of left progressive and patriotic parties and organizations from Asia and Africa: the Arab Socialist Union (Egypt), the Awami League (Bangladesh), the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Zimbabwe African National Union, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Arab Baath Socialist Party (Iraq), the Kurdish Socialist Party (Iraq), the National-Democratic Union of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Yemen Baath Party, the Revolutionary Democratic Party of Yemen, the Popular Democratic Union (YAR), the People's Vanguard Party (YAR), the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman, the Saudi Arabia National-Liberation Front, the Saudi Arabia Baath Party, and by prominent Iraqi public figures.

We commence publication of conference materials with an account of the report by Konstantin Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, circulated among the participants as a discussion paper.

The problems for discussion, the report says, did not arise in the seclusion of study-rooms, but in the crucible of revolutionary battles

*See *WMR*, July 1974.

against imperialism and for the progress of the new society. These battles are forging the alliance of the socialist community and the national-liberation movement. And on its solidity, as all active and consistent fighters against imperialism know, depends the future of world development and likewise their own political success.

To be sure, our enemies know this as well. The political servants of world capitalism spare no effort in their attempts to prevent the countries that have broken out of colonial servitude from continuing their development along the road of anti-imperialist struggle, which objectively evolves into struggle against all forms of exploitation. The ideologists and politicians of imperialism count on the developing countries as a source of 'fresh blood' for the senile body of capitalism, hoping thereby to delay its inevitable end. They are making special efforts to disrupt the time-tested and growing alliance between the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation.

Hence the heated polemics at international forums and in world literature over the question of alliance of the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement. Hence its immense theoretical and political relevance.

I should like to draw attention to a few points related to this very broad and important topic.

First of all, a word about the very concept of 'alliance of the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement.'

What do we mean by such an alliance and its development? Do we mean a system of inter-governmental treaties or a clearly formalized agreement by parties wishing to act in common on the international scene? Certainly, these are expressions of the alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation requiring the observance of mutual commitments. But a scientific approach calls for an analysis which, while noting these forms of alliance, would be mainly directed at establishing its innermost substance.

Examining the alliance of the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation from this angle, it would be proper to stress, we hold, that its main content and basis consists in an objectively and naturally shaping interaction of all three components of the single world revolutionary process.

This is borne out by facts of remote and recent history. Take the latest events in Portugal. Progressive forces there performed a democratic coup. The way for it was paved by the heroic struggle of the Portuguese workers, all working people, all opponents of the fascist dictatorship. But it is also obvious that it was the Portuguese army's siding with the people that spelled the doom of the fascist regime, and this was impelled by the heavy defeats suffered by the regime in wars against African peoples. Joint struggle on two fronts against the

fascist colonial dictatorship resulted in its collapse in the metropolitan country before it admitted final defeat in the colonies. At the same time, while giving due credit to the outstanding role of the national-liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies, we should also note the contribution made to that struggle by the political, economic and military aid of the countries of the socialist community.

That is the latest graphic example of interaction by geographically remote revolutionary forces different in class structure, but objectively united by common aims and interests in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and colonial oppression. It once again confirms a general law long since clearly apparent in the important events highlighting recent history and representing stages in the consolidation of socialism and the national-liberation forces.

The socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917 delivered a blow to the colonial system and helped to convert the masses in the colonial countries into an active factor of world history, a force undermining the pillars of imperialism. This, in turn, helped to consolidate the victory of the revolution and socialist construction in the USSR.

The crushing defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, to which socialism, as represented by the Soviet Union, made the decisive contribution, resulted in a large number of new countries dropping out of the capitalist orbit and marked a weakening of imperialist positions all over the world. This paved the way for successful national-liberation revolutions in many countries of imperialism's colonial periphery. And that, conversely, produced additional factors for redoubling socialism's revolutionary pressure on capitalism.

The emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system, the principal anti-imperialist force, has radically altered the world situation and greatly facilitated the break-up of colonial empires under the mighty assault of national-liberation revolutions. And this, in turn, greatly helped to strengthen the socialist forces in their confrontation against capitalism.

It follows that, like the present events, the lessons of history confirm the interaction between socialism and the national-liberation movement, their objectively common interests.

In our theoretical analysis of these points, we Marxist-Leninists proceed from the conception advanced and conclusively substantiated by Lenin, the brilliant continuer of Marx and Engels. The grandeur of Lenin's scientific discovery is that, at the beginning of the century, before the first victorious socialist revolution, at a time when the colonialists were still firmly entrenched in their possessions and wielded undivided power over two-thirds of the world population, he substantiated the inevitability of the formidable growth of the

national-liberation struggle, and also the necessity of its fusion with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

Elaborating on the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin took note of the historical conditions created by capitalism's growing into imperialism, and approached a number of questions crucial for the future of the world's revolutionary and social development from a new angle. What are these questions?

Lenin defined the liberation movement of the peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies as a socio-political force on which the world bourgeoisie will not, ultimately, be able to count as a reserve in the class confrontation against the proletariat.

Lenin proved that despite its varied social composition and certain intrinsic contradictions, the national-liberation movement has an immense revolutionary potential, and is an active and independent force in the worldwide revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the attitude to it of the proletariat, of the socialist forces, can only be one of cooperation and alliance.

Lenin showed that the struggle of the peoples for liberation from imperialism is not only national in substance, and general democratic in orientation, but that in due course it will 'turn against capitalism and imperialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

Lenin gave a scientific explanation of the possibility in the new historical conditions of a direct transition of the decolonized peoples to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage.

Lenin stressed that in the national-colonial question the Marxist must not confine himself to merely recognizing the right of nations to self-determination. It is also essential to support the revolutionary elements of national-liberation movements by deed, morally and materially, in the most decisive way (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 151-152).

We are deeply convinced that this is still the only scientific approach to the national-colonial question, and to the very nature of the socialist world revolution, among whose motive forces Lenin was the first to include the national-liberation movement.

Lenin's thinking opened up a clear perspective for the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, and provided a dependable ideological, theoretical and political basis for consolidating the alliance first between the proletariat of the metropolitan countries and the forces of national liberation, and later between the ruling working class of the socialist states and the peoples of the developing countries, first of all the laboring masses.

The conception of this alliance is part of Lenin's strategy of broad class alliances between the proletariat, marching in the vanguard of the world revolution, and all anti-imperialist forces – a strategy not

confined to national-state frameworks, but applying to the entire world revolutionary process.

Guided by Lenin's profound ideas, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969 stressed: *'It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.'**

Many prominent leaders of national-liberation movements are also convinced advocates of the alliance with socialism. Their theoretical points of departure are often different from those of the Marxist-Leninists. Objectively, however, their views concerning the alliance are akin to ours, because they strive to go deep into the substance of the present historical epoch, to assess accurately the alignment of forces on the world scene, as well as the role of the socialist system in the anti-imperialist struggle, and search for the best ways and methods of fighting for the national interests of their countries on the basis of this analysis of global factors. This position has paid off in the struggle for national liberation.

At the same time (and this we cannot overlook) some influential political quarters in the developing countries display a tendency now and then to think and act differently – to adopt decisions prompted by accidental impulses rather than to proceed from a serious analysis of objective processes. And, certainly, this is a source of danger for the international alliance of revolutionary forces. But the danger is greater still for the national movements influenced by such fallacious ideological and political trends. For they are bound to lose positions to international capital, to imperialism. What new developments should be subjected to theoretical analysis for a better scientific understanding of the alliance we are examining?

We consider that the most important of them are the new changes in the alignment of world forces, the incipient reshaping of the whole system of international relations, the acquisition of an increasing social content by the national liberation revolutions, and certain changes which imperialism and neo-colonialism have effected in their strategy in keeping with present-day conditions.

The alliance of the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation exists in a definite world environment. It both influences and is influenced by this environment.

The socialist community has registered tremendous economic gains over the past 10 to 15 years. Economic cooperation among its member countries has expanded and their political unity has become more solid. The defense potential of socialism has increased. All this has

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 30.*

strengthened the international standing of the countries of the socialist community and immensely enhanced its international leverage and influence.

It may be argued that imperialism, too, has been building up its power, both economic and military, in this period. This is true, but even so, the world balance of forces has changed in favor of socialism, all revolutionary forces. Imperialism can no longer carry out its aggressive schemes with impunity nor count on the success of its military ventures. The victory of the heroic people of Vietnam, the powerful blows dealt by the Arab peoples to Israel's militarists and imperialism's plans in the Middle East, and numerous other examples are conclusive evidence of this.

In the conditions of this changed alignment of world forces, the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community launched an unexampled diplomatic drive widely described today as the peace offensive of socialism.

The term 'détente' does not entirely cover the change brought about in world politics as a result of this offensive. It would probably be much more appropriate to stress that we are at the beginning of a fundamental recasting of the entire system of international relations. Surely, there is more to that than a relaxation of the military and political confrontation in Europe or in Soviet-American relations. The countries of the socialist community take a broader approach and look farther ahead. Their efforts are directed toward complementing political with military détente, that is, with real measures to end the arms race, and toward ensuring that the campaign for a dependable collective security system is not confined to Europe but extends to Asia and then to the rest of the world, that the salutary processes going on in world politics are supported by growing international economic cooperation and that, consequently, every element of inequality, price diktat or discrimination in tariffs and credits is excluded from economic relations between states. 'Outside a system of international relations based on peaceful coexistence,' said L.I. Brezhnev at the World Congress of Peace Forces, 'there can be neither a substantive approach to the solution of universal problems of the future, nor successful fulfilment of the numerous pressing tasks of today.'

Needless to say, the more actively the policy of putting international relations on a sounder basis is backed by the national liberation movement and the developing countries, the more rapidly it will make fruitful progress.

It is precisely over this that new serious problems arise. One of these is the following: The imperialists would like to interpret peaceful coexistence as a development blocking the way to the peoples'

revolutionary liberation activity. By contrast, the foreign policy of socialism, which is both a policy for peace and a class policy, sees its task not only in preventing international contradictions from evolving into a dangerous military confrontation, but in immobilizing the forces of imperialist aggression and providing favorable conditions for the working people's class struggle and for liberation revolutions. The struggle for a democratic, just peace and the struggle for revolutionary ideals do not exclude each other but, on the contrary, are two mutually complementary aspects of the worldwide offensive against imperialism.

In today's atmosphere of détente, as in the past, the countries of the socialist community are resolved to support the struggle of Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and reaction, a struggle which, as we all know, may assume the sharpest forms, including armed action. An example of this support today is the Soviet Union's aid to the Arab peoples under aggressive attack from Israel and its imperialist accomplices. On the other hand, in step with the consolidation of the Afro-Asian countries' international positions, they play a bigger role, with greater responsibility, in the struggle to consolidate and deepen world political détente. The fight against imperialism must continue, but in such a way as not to frustrate but to deepen détente, which benefits all peoples. On the other hand, it must prevent imperialism from exploiting the new situation to stabilize its shaken positions.

Another important characteristic of the present period is the deepening of national revolutions and their entry into a stage at which many social movements in developing countries are assuming an ever more marked class character without losing their general anti-imperialist trend. Within the framework of the deepening content of national revolution, there is coming about both a growing social differentiation inside the developing countries and in many of them an intensification of class antagonisms. The liberation struggle, especially in countries with a socialist orientation, is turning more and more manifestly against relations based on exploitation, both feudal and capitalist. Of course, this is only taking place where the road of non-capitalist development is not merely proclaimed but followed.

One of the trends stemming from this truly worldwide process and directly influencing the destiny of the alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation is that the community of goals in the anti-imperialist struggle cementing the alliance is supplemented by increasingly close social class interests. Indeed, in the countries where far-reaching anti-imperialist reforms are being carried out under the leadership of revolutionary democratic regimes and where a socialist orientation is being imparted to the whole of social progress, and where (this is especially important) there are united progressive

national-patriotic fronts, an ever broader social and political basis is forming on which to extend relations with socialism. This expresses itself in the growing economic cooperation with countries of the socialist community, closer relations between states and the development of contacts between parties.

However, we must not discount a different trend, for in many developing countries the bourgeoisie is consolidating its economic and political domination. Does this mean that their alliance with socialism against imperialist policy must inevitably erode and disappear?

We should bear in mind that the choice of the road of further social development is still an open question for many former colonies and semi-colonies. A political class struggle being fought over it is the pivot of public life in developing countries. However, it is taking place at a time when these countries have to consolidate their national political independence and win economic independence. The various classes and political forces representing them insist on dissimilar ways and means of accomplishing this. But, in any case, they see their prime objective in casting off the remnants of national dependence. In other words, even antagonistic classes have a common interest in resisting imperialism. This is why even among the bourgeoisie of developing countries there is still an interest in alliance with the greatest anti-imperialist force of today, socialism.

The facts show that more and more developing countries under bourgeois rule are entering into varied relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. Does that mean that the domestic bourgeoisie has lost its class instinct? No, it is a result of sober calculation, for these relations help the bourgeoisie to maintain its economic independence. More, a large part of the national bourgeoisie pins its hopes for a variant of capitalist development independent of world imperialism on alliance with socialism. The question may be asked: does not the alliance of socialism with such developing countries help to reproduce capitalist relations and extend the sphere of action and influence of capitalism as a social system? Obviously, the question cannot be answered correctly without taking into account the specific features and prospects of the struggle between socialism and imperialism, a struggle which determines the general course of world development, or without bearing in mind the anti-imperialist potentialities of certain bourgeois quarters in Afro-Asian countries.

If we take into consideration the whole range of problems which the developing countries come up against both at home and abroad, it can be said that *the struggle for a free choice of the road of social development is central to their relations with imperialism*. This con-

clusion follows from the fact that national revolutions are acquiring an ever deeper social content and from the manner in which imperialism has lately been revising its strategy toward the developing countries.

The days are gone when imperialism could shape at will the economic structure of underdeveloped countries and fully block their economic growth. Today the imperialists are compelled, in view of the new alignment of international forces, to adapt to the irresistible desire of the newly-free peoples to develop their national economies. Moreover, the international monopolies' own interests demand, in view of the present-day technological standards of production, a degree of modernization of the economic mechanism of the countries which these monopolies would like to keep as markets and investment spheres. Besides, it is obvious that foreign government and private investments there require definite conditions. These factors encourage imperialism to grant credits and extend technological aid to developing countries.

But the imperialists want guarantees that these developing countries will remain in the orbit of international capitalist exploitation. The fundamental principle of imperialist policy toward the developing countries is to back capitalism where it has taken root and buttress it where it is still weak.

In short, neo-colonialist strategy is designed to rob decolonized peoples of freedom in choosing their road of social development. This is the crux of the problem, for the freedom the developing countries are fighting for now that political independence has been won, is freedom of social choice.

As Marxist-Leninists see it, there can be no genuine social freedom without the liberation of labor from the yoke of capital. Hence their conviction that only socialism accords with the fundamental interests of the masses of the developing countries. However, the socialist countries hold that the choice of road of social development is an internal affair. And for it to be a truly free choice it is most important to reduce to a minimum and eventually preclude any possibility of interference by external reaction and imperialism. Hence the need for the all-round strengthening of the national independence of developing countries, including economic independence.

This is facilitated, among other things, by promoting economic and technical cooperation between socialist and developing countries. Thus, there can be no doubt that the projects and enterprises built or being built in these countries with the financial and technological assistance of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community contribute effectively to the formation of a diversified, independent economy. The bulk of their credits and technical aid is

funnelled into industries making the means of production, the backbone of independence.

In promoting this cooperation, the socialist world believes that in helping each other they engage in mutual assistance, which strengthens common positions and thus changes for the better the balance of forces in the historic confrontation with imperialism.

To belittle this cooperation bourgeois propaganda contends that in physical volume it is much below the economic exchanges of the highly developed capitalist countries with many developing countries. In statistical terms this is certainly so. But in the complex processes of international economic life quality is more important than quantity, and they can best be analyzed not by the methods of book-keeping, which deal with numbers, but by the methods of political economy. Approaching the problem from scientific positions, we must look beyond each statistical indicator to the reality of class interests, to the social and economic contradictions on the national and international scale.

And this reality is that the alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation, in its economic as well as other forms, develops on the basis of equality, mutual support and mutual benefit. Its record is not besmirched by colonial plunder, that indelible blot on the history of imperialism's relations with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has nothing in common with the mechanism of exploitation which to this day enables imperialist monopolies and banks to extract huge profits and interest on credits. But the main thing is that, in the long term, imperialism seeks to prevent the peoples of the developing countries from breaking out of this system of international exploitation, whereas the whole policy of socialism is to ensure conditions in which they can gain freedom from all forms of oppression.

Another group of problems concerns the obstacles and difficulties in strengthening and advancing the alliance between the forces of socialism and national liberation. And here, I think, it would be useful to concentrate not so much on the obstacles which, as could only be expected, imperialism tries to erect. These must be resolutely exposed and removed: there can be no other view. But there are other difficulties: the problems, differences or, perhaps, misunderstandings that develop within the framework of the two revolutionary currents and which can, therefore, be resolved only by our own efforts. These problems are mainly subjective in character.

The first question that arises in connection with this is the need for *a class approach to the alliance*. For this it is necessary, first, to single out the basic goals of the international struggle that objectively unite the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement, and not to make too much of individual differences. Selfish, narrow

nationalism, which denies any community of purpose and belittles the importance of the alliance, is also contrary to the genuinely patriotic ideology of radical anti-imperialist circles in the developing countries and by its very nature gravitates toward bourgeois pragmatism. It makes an absolute of the tactics of political maneuver to the neglect of the strategic goals of the liberation revolution, declaring immediate results the only worthwhile thing. It will use any means to achieve a given result, whether or not it is in keeping with the long-term national interests and, last, whether or not this tactic conforms to the principles of anti-imperialism.

It is this nationalism that produces various concepts designed to separate the developing countries from the countries of the socialist community. Take, for example, the so-called 'three worlds' theory elevated by some political circles to the status of a global strategy. Its scientific worth can be judged from the fact that it declares the 'second world,' which includes the former colonial powers, that is, the imperialists, an ally of the 'third world,' the ex-colonial peoples. And it goes on to declare that the enemy of the developing countries is the 'first world,' which lumps together the Soviet Union, true friend of the forces of national liberation, with the imperialist United States. In effect, it places in the same category countries that are on different sides of the class barricade. Incidentally, the different attitudes to the Chilean junta exposes those who side with American imperialism. And this certainly does not include the Soviet Union.

The authors of the 'three worlds' concept, furthermore, see the 'third world' in purely formal, not class terms. They disregard its diversity: countries that reject capitalism as a social system, bourgeois states with anti-imperialist policies, states engaged in expansion into neighboring countries, and even openly fascist regimes.

Other 'theories' also disregard the class aspect—the 'two super-powers' theory, the 'world city and world village' theory, the 'rich and poor nations' theory, the 'equidistance' theory, the 'maneuvering' theory, etc. And in general, how can one reconcile advocacy of the struggle for socialism, for friendship with the countries of the socialist community, with direct or indirect propaganda of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism? Yet such facts exist.

Another important question concerns the scientific criteria of the effectiveness of reciprocal economic ties of socialist and developing countries. While acknowledging the value of such ties and their role in enhancing the economic potentials of new states, one should not lose sight of the main thing, which is to achieve the independent development of each country on the basis of its natural resources. The question here is not of 'self-reliance' in the vulgar sense of the term sometimes used to undermine the alliance of the two revolutionary

currents. Autarky and economic isolation in the era of the scientific and technological revolution is a utopia. However, it is important to avoid the other extreme, which sees outside help as the answer of practically every difficulty. Assistance is truly effective only in combination with the economic efforts of the newly-independent countries themselves.

Lately, many questions are being asked in connection with the problem of economic ties between countries of the socialist community and the developed capitalist countries. It is often asked: Will these ties not come into contradiction with the tasks of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, will they not harm relations between socialist and developing countries? As mentioned before, the best conditions for revolutionary processes in the world are created by the international détente won by the peoples, and economic ties are an important component of détente. World trade is a tool of socialist policy without which genuine détente is impossible. This tool must be mastered so that it serves us, not our enemies. We have not the slightest doubt that the capitalist monopolies will try to use trade to drive a wedge between socialist and developing countries. We must be ready to oppose this.

For the countries of the socialist community trade within the community accounts for almost two-thirds of their total foreign trade. Thus, they can take a firm and independent stand in the capitalist market, upholding their own interest and those of their friends. Yes, in conditions of détente trade with the developed capitalist countries does expand, but this is not detrimental to anyone, and certainly not to the developing countries, with which ties are strengthening.

A primary condition for the cohesion of the forces of socialism and the liberation movement is unity among both the socialist and the developing countries. In the case of the socialist countries this unity is embodied in their community. At the same time, and I say this as a Soviet Communist, we deeply regret the position of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It creates great obstacles for the strengthening of friendly relations between the peoples of socialist and developing countries.

Equally important is to strengthen the ranks of the liberation movement itself. In spite of all difficulties and the diversity of its component detachments, one should not forget that the general democratic tasks of liberation revolutions – economic independence, building up sovereignty – are as relevant as ever; even more important, there remains the common enemy: imperialism. Cohesion of different detachments of the national-liberation struggle, both within individual countries and in the framework of the movement as a whole, increases the revolutionary potentialities of the alliance of the

socialist countries and the national-liberation movement and strengthens the united anti-imperialist front.

Only a firm alliance of the socialist system, the international working class and national-liberation revolutions, K.I. Zarodov said in conclusion, will make it possible to consummate our world-historic cause: the ultimate defeat of imperialism and social liberation to all mankind.

Ideological aspects of the dialogue with believers

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Communists determine their attitude to believers according to the given situation. However, they always remember that it must be subordinate to the revolutionary party's main task to carry forward the working people's fight against the exploiters. They are positively against the reactionary bourgeoisie's attempts to foment religious hatred so as to divert public attention from really important, fundamental economic and political problems. 'Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth,' Lenin wrote, 'is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 87).

That Lenin was right in giving priority to the working people's political unity in the class struggle over ideological differences is also evident today, when more and more people are uniting on a common democratic political platform to fight for peace, democracy and social progress.

Religious consciousness in crisis.

Steadily pursuing a policy of closer cooperation with believers,¹ Communists use the opportunities created by social changes in the world, including changes in the religious consciousness of the masses and in the policy of the Church itself.

Present-day social reality, gradually destroying the believers' no-

tions of the religious basis of human activity, rouses the masses to action and fosters their civic and class consciousness. 'Atonement,' 'everlasting happiness' and 'life in paradise' – abstract and vague notions that can no longer reassure the believers' awakened civic consciousness – as well as other mystical and mythological ideas, coexist with the more realistic ideals of human happiness on earth and are occasionally superseded by them. The growing realism of the believers' social consciousness, which takes the most diverse forms, moves the masses away from the official religious ideology and attunes their minds to democratic and progressive ideas. These changes are among the manifestations of the crisis which the ideological foundations of the Church are going through.

The crisis of religion and religious consciousness is a product of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, and a consequence of the increasing contradictions of the capitalist system. It shows in growing contradictions between religious dogma and the believers' activities, in free thinking which poses a threat to theological principles, in religious liberalism and reformism, the spread of various left-wing Christian trends stressing the justice of the struggle against imperialism and reactionary political regimes, and many other phenomena. The Church cannot but take account of these processes, which have changed the objective standing of religion in contemporary society, and it tries to adapt somehow to the new conditions.

The adaptation to the political, social and cultural realities of today is especially intensive in the Catholic Church. After the Second Ecumenical Council the Catholic Church recognized cooperation between believers and non-believers to be a necessary form of relations between people adhering to different ideologies, and declared in support of movements for peace and peaceful coexistence. It proclaims freedom and equal rights for all nations and backs some of the working people's social and economic demands. Since it can no longer openly support capitalism for fear of widening the rift between itself and the working people, the Catholic Church is taking a more flexible stand.

Stressing the universal character of Christianity is a ploy used by Catholic theologians to try and strengthen links with Catholic working people. Catholic workers are told that Christianity expresses the interests of the whole of society, of all believers, in spite of distinctions in their social class position.

'The Church,' writes Jean Guichard, a French theologian, 'would like to bring everyone into the fold, both the rich and the poor, would like its word to reach everyone. This determines its objective position With its financial and institutional standing guaranteed through links with the ruling classes, the Church strives, on the other hand, to

preserve its links with the masses.'² Many Catholic theologians see this feature of Christianity as its greatest asset, saying that it brings the elements of 'love,' 'unity' and 'cohesion' into the human community.

The social meaning of these theological interpretations is obvious – 'union in Christ' is preached among people and social groups differing in economic and political position. In other words, the advocacy of social 'unity' as the supreme principle regulating the believers' behaviour objectively meets the interests of the exploiting minority, and not those of the exploited masses, since it denies the historical necessity for the class struggle, the only way for the workers and other working people to cast off the shackles of exploitation and social oppression. Jules Girardi, an Italian theologian, says that the worker naturally perceives condemnation of the class struggle as a result of 'the reflection of a definite way of thinking and culture of the ruling class.' Guichard, too, admits that Christian universalism is fictitious and has an explicitly conservative class character, for he notes that 'Christian universalism today is expected to play the role of guardian of the existing social structures and presents itself as their ideological guarantor.'⁴

It follows that many influential Vatican ideologists visualize the future of human society as a new phase of capitalism, which is supposed to be developing in the direction of a 'reformed,' 'democratized' and 'renovated' capitalism based on the principles of 'class peace' and 'class cooperation' and on 'the Western countries' rejection of communism.'⁵

In trying to adapt to the historical process and maintain, or even strengthen, its social positions, the Church hierarchy encounters serious difficulties. The dissatisfaction of large sections of believers with the Vatican's policies and social doctrine is one of the reasons for the rise and rapid spread of Left reformist and revolutionary currents among the Catholic rank and file. Some Left Catholic movements try to revive on a new social basis the ideas of early Christianity, of what Engels described as the religion of 'the slaves and freedmen, the poor and disfranchised, the peoples conquered or dispersed by Rome' ('On the History of Early Christianity'). Some Catholic working people see in early Christianity 'points of coincidence' with communism.⁶

Some Left Catholic leaders declare in support of the socialist aspirations of the working class and are willing to cooperate with Communists in various public fields.

All this is reason enough, as Orlando Millas, a Chilean Communist, wrote, 'to speak of two trends in contemporary Catholicism: a theology which strives to distract the working people's attention from the real problems of today's world, and a theology which does not pre-

vent believers from joining in revolutionary battles.'⁷ We are witnessing the formation of a 'new Church' opposed to conservative and reactionary religious doctrines and movements. The Church is no longer a monolithic entity but an arena of bitter internecine strife reflecting the development of the great social and political movements of our time.

The vast variety and deep-going differentiation of Christian sentiments and ideas are an important sign of the crisis of religious ideology and religious consciousness. It is still more important that trends have formed within the framework of religious ideology which pave the way for closer unity of action by believers and Communists for freedom, peace and democracy.

Platform for cooperation

Inasmuch as believers still make up a substantial part of the population in a number of countries, alliance with them is of considerable political importance. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated this explicitly in its main document: 'Positive cooperation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neo-colonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way – through broad contacts and joint action – the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.'⁸

Cooperation between Communists and believers meets a pressing need for a united anti-imperialist front and should help to solve acute social contradictions which arise and exist objectively. Emphasis here should be on ascertaining practical measures acceptable to both sides and supporting specific social and political changes likely to contribute to the solution of pressing social problems.

In evolving a platform for cooperation with religious working people, Marxist-Leninists proceed from the fact that social consciousness is determined by social being. They are emphatically against approaching the question of religion 'in an abstract, idealistic fashion, as an 'intellectual' question unconnected with the class struggle' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 86). The Marxist-Christian dialogue is a distinctive form of political alliance which does not necessarily presuppose ideological unity. It has a specific social and political program meeting the vital needs of the working people, who are capable of uniting in

the name of common class interests and tasks despite differences in world outlook.

Thus the basis for the dialogue is joint action for definite social and political results, formulated and implemented in a setting of an ideological confrontation. But does this imply that the dialogue is primarily and chiefly a form of political alliance of religious and non-religious working people and that the ideological prerequisites of cooperation and dialogue may be ignored altogether? I think this deduction would be overhasty and fundamentally wrong.

Obviously, cooperation cannot in this case be based on common philosophical and ideological positions. However, the fact that the dialectical materialist philosophy and the religious world outlook are antitheses does not rule out similarities in some social and political aspirations and humanist values, though differently motivated (abolishing exploitation of man by man, establishing social equality, democratizing public life, and so on), nor a joint condemnation of certain contemporary phenomena (racism, the threat of nuclear war, mass poverty, acts of aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and so on). The facts show that under the influence of revolutionary struggle in which they take part and of the achievements of socialism, some believers are capable of assimilating progressive political ideas, including certain of the Communists' political conclusions. Needless to say, joint political action would be impossible without definite common ideological motives resulting from the unity of social and economic interests and a common interest in maintaining and promoting peace and social progress.

It will be readily seen that most of the above common ideals and values belong to the socio-political sphere. This circumstance points unmistakably to the direction in which the believers' social consciousness is changing, namely, the increasing significance and leverage of political ideas, even in their religious shell, in comparison with other components of religious consciousness. Second, it necessitates a very careful account of the fact that today the social consciousness of believers, above all working people, is differentiated, and noting those of its components that go beyond the elementary belief in the preternatural and are distinctive forms of reflection of social reality. In particular, there arise forms of religious ideology which reflect, if very inadequately, the aspiration of democratic-minded believers to reshape society, including also its reorganization on socialist principles.

Does this imply that cooperation in this instance can also extend to the ideological sphere? Should we not somehow revise the idea of political cooperation as the basis of the dialogue between Communists and believers? As we see it, these questions can only be answered in the negative.

The platform on which relations between Communists and believers are built is 'secular' and general political, not ideological. Whatever the forms of religious consciousness or the social and political doctrines expressing it, it is never compatible with the scientific, Marxist world outlook. This is also true of the outlook of democratic-minded believers, such as Left Catholics. While sharing certain progressive social ideals with the Communists, believers continue to perceive reality from the standpoint of their religious faith and shape their attitude to this reality accordingly.

Communists cannot, of course, accept this religious ideological motivation of man's social conduct. Their social ideals and values are based on entirely different principles and leave no room for anything supernatural. In other words, both the Marxist and the Christian abide, after joining in the dialogue, by the conviction that it is *his* world outlook that adequately expresses the social requirements of contemporary society, and this rules out all concession or compromise on ideological issues by either. This is why, in spite of certain 'points of contact' between the moral and political consciousness of some believers and that of the working people's Communist vanguard, it is right to define the dialogue as a form of joint action by believers and Communists to achieve definite social and political results. Emphasizing the ideological aspect of the dialogue instead of seeking joint action does not make the formation and consolidation of a political alliance easier and, indeed, runs counter to the very idea of dialogue as a form of political cooperation between social forces differing in world outlook.

Proceeding from Lenin's idea that revolutionary struggle necessitates close cooperation among the working people irrespective of their religious or philosophical differences, Communists hold out their hand to all believers who favor cooperation with them.

Winning the masses

We have seen that the dialogue as a form of joint political action has a meaning only if it involves people who realize the necessity for common action to solve pressing social problems, while abiding by their own convictions. Consequently, joint political action by Communists and believers for peace, national liberation and social progress does not eliminate the need of ideological criticism of religion. This criticism is not an end in itself and cannot be reduced to the superficial activity of 'narrow bourgeois uplifters' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 405), let alone to anarchist attacks on religion which offend the believers. It is inseparable from the tasks of the class struggle, is necessitated by it and subordinated to its exigencies and takes into

account the political, economic and ideological conditions prevailing in the country concerned.

The purpose of ideological criticism of religion is to unite democratic and anti-imperialist forces, remove ideological obstacles to a common struggle and provide a favorable climate for the awakening and development of the social and political consciousness of religious working people.

Communists emphatically reject ideological speculations over the dialogue designed to impose a philosophical and ideological rapprochement between the two sides⁹ as a prerequisite of cooperation. They closely follow changes in the working people's religious outlook that objectively make for closer links with the socialist working-class movement. There can be no doubt that as democratic Christian movements gain in scope and political maturity, the inadequacy of the religious form to the real social content perceived through it will come out more and more. Along with the general change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, this process is bound to encourage interest in the scientific world outlook and the assimilation of elements of the Marxist world outlook by some believers.

It has been said that numerous Christians – workers, members of the middle strata, and intellectuals – already accept many of the Communists' political conclusions, which is an important indication of the changes taking place in their outlook. In view of these changes and the objective trends of social development, it is safe to say that there is an opportunity for the positions of religious working people and those of the Communists to draw closer together and, in the last resort, for believers to adopt the scientific world outlook under the impact of a jointly evolved program for democratic change and the direct or indirect influence (and not spontaneously) of the working people's Communist vanguard.

Closer unity of action between Communists and believers may thus serve as one of the starting points for the latter's advance to the scientific world outlook. Let it be stressed once more that it is not a question of bringing the philosophical positions of Marxism and religious ideology closer together but of the prospects of advancing from religious views to the consistently scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The remoulding of the social consciousness of believers is necessarily a protracted and exceedingly complex process. For a fairly long time to come, important Marxist ideas may coexist in the believers' consciousness with the religious motivation of their social and political activity.

Not all who come to accept the socialist ideal of reshaping society will do so as staunch Communists. Some will do so as believers, others as inconsistent socialists who have yet to shed certain petty-

bourgeois prejudices, and so on. Communists, never abandoning their realism, will both seek these people's support and constantly draw them into a common struggle against social injustice and into building the new society. 'A vanguard,' Lenin wrote, 'performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227).

It is impossible to advance to the Marxist world outlook outside the struggle for political and social changes in capitalist society and, under socialism, for more perfect social relations. Ideas become a material force when they win the masses. But propaganda and educational work alone are not enough for Marxist ideas to win the masses. It is indispensable to draw the masses into the vast sphere of the class struggle for democracy and socialism. This is the sphere in which Marxist ideas 'acquire substance' and become a powerful moral force regulating man's conduct and social consciousness, and hence a real material force. Bringing communist ideas to the masses is a very difficult, contradictory and long process. This makes ideological and educational work by Marxist-Leninist parties a requisite of success.

The Communists are the vanguard of the working people and the whole of progressive mankind engaged in a titanic battle for peace, democracy and socialism. Their devoted activity to free the peoples from capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression and to achieve genuine happiness for all working people, is a source of inspiration to millions of men on our planet. Religious working people find their place among these millions inspired by the Communist ideal.

1. The problem was discussed at the Prague meeting of Marxists and Catholics on 'Differences in World Outlook and Political Cooperation' sponsored by the journal, and in an article by T. Jaroszewski, 'Socialism and the Left Catholic Interpretation of Christian Humanism' (see *WMR*, Nos. 6 and 8, 1974). The present article deals only with some ideological questions posed by growing cooperation between Marxists and believers for peace and social progress.

2. Jean Guichard, *Eglise, luttes de classes et strategies politiques*, Cerf, Paris, 1972, p. 80.

3. Jules Girardi, *Christianisme, liberation humaine, luttes de classes*. Cerf, Paris, 1972, p. 134.

4. Jean Guichard, *Eglise, luttes de classes et strategies politiques*. p. 82.

5. Ibid., p. 18.

6. This circumstance was pointed out in earlier issues of *WMR* – see, for example, Roque Dalton's article 'Catholics and Communists in Latin America' in the January 1968 issue.

7. 'New Conditions of the Ideological Struggle of Communists and Catholics,' *WMR*, May 1966.

8. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties Moscow, 1969*. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1969, pp. 26-27.

9. Such ideas come from both reactionary Church spokesmen opposing dialogue and groups outside the Church which hope that dialogue may enable them to wrest ideological concessions from Marxists.



Parliament and the class struggle

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BELGIUM, BRITAIN AND DENMARK DISCUSS ELECTION LESSONS

The communist attitude to bourgeois parliaments and the theoretical questions involved in using parliament in the fight for democracy and socialism have been repeatedly discussed in the pages of this journal. Most of the discussion focussed on the experience of the West-European Communist parties which for many years have had a stable parliamentary representation and which regularly obtain from a fifth to a quarter of the vote (France, Italy, Finland).

The general elections in Denmark (December), Britain (end of February) and Belgium (March) offer a convenient opportunity to analyze the experience of Communist parties which have a small or no representation in parliament.

The problems this poses were discussed at an exchange of views in Prague by *Ib Nørlund*, CC Executive and Secretariat member, Communist Party of Denmark; *Jean Terfve*, Deputy Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium; and *Idris Cox*, representative of the CP Great Britain on *World Marxist Review*. They concentrated on the practical, rather than theoretical, aspects of what Lenin once described as 'the arduous job of utilizing reactionary parliaments for revolutionary purposes' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 64).

The last parliamentary elections in the three countries were held against the background of the profound political, social and economic crisis that has gripped capitalist Europe in the 70s. This laid its imprint on the campaign and the results. There have been visible changes in party alignments. In Denmark, the number of parties represented in the Folketing has doubled from five to 10. In all three countries there has been a distinct malfunctioning of the alternating mechanism. In Britain, for example, neither of the traditional ruling parties managed

to obtain an overall majority and form a stable government. For the first time in 50 years Britain has a minority (Labor) government, with new elections inevitable later this year.

The sharpening crisis, growing inflation, a heavier tax burden, less expenditure on the social services, tough wages regulation and factually unlimited growth of monopoly profits combined to heighten the workers' struggle, with more strikes and other mass actions. The Communists have an active part in this, devotedly defending the interests of the working people. This has raised the authority of the parties and has strengthened their influence and positions in the trade unions and other working-class organizations. But while devoting maximum attention to work on the shop floor, the Communists have not relaxed their activity on the parliamentary front. And here there have been both setbacks and successes, the latter serving as a good augury for the future.

Facts and figures

The Communist Party of Denmark, which had not been represented in the Folketing since 1960, won six seats and polled 110,000 votes (3.6 per cent), thus surmounting the two per cent barrier. The Communist Party of Belgium won five seats and polled 3.75 per cent of the vote. The Communist Party of Britain put up 44 candidates; none of them was elected and only one obtained the 12.5 per cent minimum needed to get back his deposit.

Gaping disparity

In discussing the outcome of the election, Idris Cox drew attention to the gaping disparity between the Party's growing influence among the workers and its poor showing at the polls. The Party is influential in the factories and mines, in the unions and other mass organizations, has been able to bring millions into mass campaigns, but its support in general elections is measured only in thousands of votes. This is the most surprising and contradictory feature of British political life. Even opponents of the Communist Party know that the votes cast for it are out of all proportion to its real political weight. One indication of that is that the Tories (and the Labor right-wing) made much of the 'communist menace' ('Reds under the bed') in their election campaign. Yet only one out of every 100 electors voted Communist in the constituencies contested by the Party. This presents a serious problem for the British Communists.

Analyzing the reasons for this, Cox first pointed to the specific way in which the labor movement in Britain developed, with the result that the Labor Party has, in effect, monopolized political representation of the working people. Traditionally, the Labor Party is regarded as the

political arm of the trade unions through which they uphold their economic and political rights. Second, the electoral system is designed to make permanent the arrangement by which the two ruling parties alternate in government. Up to 1924 the two were the Tories and Liberals and since then the Tories and Labor. Their main concern is to keep out a third party. Third, the undemocratic election laws. It is enough for the successful candidate to obtain even one vote more than his nearest opponent on the principle of 'the first to reach the post wins.' In practice, this favors the traditional parties, whose candidates are often elected by a minority vote. In fact, more than half of the present parliament, both Tory and Labor, are there 'by the will of the minority.'

Deposit or fine?

The election deposit (£150) is lost if the candidate fails to poll at least one-eighth of the vote. To all intents it is a fine imposed on the smaller parties. If the Communist Party were to put up candidates in all 635 constituencies, it would have to raise about £100,000, or nearly a quarter of a million dollars, in deposits, and this in addition to the heavy costs of running an election campaign. Obviously a working-class party cannot raise that much money.

In the past it was mostly the Communists who pointed to the injustice of the electoral system. Now its injustice is being painfully felt by the bourgeois Liberal Party. In the last elections the Liberals polled more than 6 million votes (the the Conservatives' roughly 12 million) and obtained 14 seats in Parliament (to the Conservatives' 296). In other words, the Liberals had to poll 400,000 votes for each of their MPs, whereas the Conservatives needed only 40,000.

With proportional representation there would now be between 10 and 20 Communists in Parliament – dozens of Communists are returned in municipal elections, particularly in Scotland and Wales. And so, the Communist Party's fight for democracy includes so concrete an aim as democratization of the electoral system.

The fact that there are no Communists at Westminster, Cox emphasized, does not mean that the Party is isolated from Parliament and exerts no influence on it. We have ties with dozens of Labor MPs, especially on the left. We can meet with them, discuss pressing problems, suggest initiatives. Some of them regularly write for the *Morning Star* – the Labor Party has no daily paper of its own.

Nor should the fact be overlooked that the Communist aim in the last election was to defeat the Tories, oust them from office and return a Labor government which would repeal the anti-labor laws and pursue and progressive policy. In a broader sense, therefore, the election campaign justified our expectations, though the Labor

Party's indecision and general half-hearted attitude have prevented it from winning a majority. The fact that our candidates were not successful is nothing to be happy about, of course. But the Communist Party's struggle has doubtlessly had its impact on the outcome of the election just as it has had its impact on British political life over the past years. Though not represented at Westminster, the Party has been able to generate a mass struggle outside Parliament to influence legislation, government policy and the present changes in the corridors of power.

The discussion revealed that in Belgium and in Denmark, too, though less obviously, there is a disparity between the Party's political influence and its voting strength. It is no exaggeration to say, Terfve remarked, that the real influence of the Communist Party of Belgium is much greater than its membership. That view is shared even in bourgeois circles and that explains the failure of repeated attempts to politically isolate the Party.

The 'wasted vote' syndrome

Attention was drawn also to this paradoxical situation: growing Communist strength in the trade unions is not matched by growing success in municipal and parliamentary elections. Popular workers' leaders, people elected to trade union positions with considerable majorities, often fail to poll an appreciable vote in general elections. One of the reasons is that a large part of the voters, including workers, believe that a vote cast for a Communist is a vote 'wasted.'

The first to notice this phenomenon was Engels. Over 80 years ago he wrote that under the bourgeois electoral system a vote not cast for the candidate of one of the two main parties is considered *wasted*: 'The American, like the Englishman, wants to influence the state and does not cast his vote to the winds.'

This 'wasted vote' syndrome is tangibly felt by Danish Communists, Nørlund said. This is the result both of an honest misconception and of dishonest propaganda by those who fear the appearance in Parliament of a strong Communist group. And the propaganda is directly aimed at voters sympathetic to the Communists. The argument is usually this: 'The Communist candidate won't win anyway and your vote will simply be wasted; even if a few Communists are elected, that will change nothing.' How can we counter this type of propaganda? First, by improving our mass work, explaining to the workers the positive role Communists can play in Parliament. Second, active use wherever possible of the parliamentary rostrum to promote the interests of the workers and support their demands. This will convince people that voting Communist does not mean 'casting your vote to the winds.'

In Belgium, too, Terfve said, we have to contend with this argument: 'The Communists have five MPs; even if they get two or three more, it won't change anything.' This elementary but actually defeatist argument has proved persuasive with some, especially middle strata, voters. In our conditions one of the best means to overcome these sentiments, I think, is to conclude election alliances. In Belgium we have had some positive experience in this respect in municipal elections. And there is valid evidence that if the alliance is not voluntarist, if it is based on realistic issues and backed by serious political forces, the results are always good. Politically, such an alliance is much stronger than the sum total of its components. . . .

The British Communist Party's poor election results, Cox emphasized, are not due to anti-communist sentiments among British workers. But the worker is often motivated by the fear that voting Communist might damage the Labor candidate and bring in his Tory opponent. The present electoral system provides ample grounds for such apprehensions.

Then there is also this reasoning, which, as an election agent, I came across pretty often. Many workers would say: 'We know that your man is a good fighter. We know that he always stands up for the workers. But what point is there in sending him to Parliament? We need him here. Let the Labor chaps do all the talking, they are experts at it.' Of course, this is a narrow, syndicalist approach, but it is there and it helps the Labor candidates.

Noting that the idea of election blocs and government coalitions has not taken root in Britain, Cox stressed that the immediate aim is reform of the electoral system. Of course, we can hardly count on the support of the right-wing Labor leaders or the Conservatives, for both benefit from the present arrangement. At the last elections Labor obtained less votes but more seats than the Tories and the latter are now grumbling. But they have been in the same position many a time and might be again. In this particular case the interests of the Liberal Party coincide with ours; they, too, want electoral reform.

We Communists want proportional representation and the preferential vote, so that electors can make their second and third choice. That is a good principle and it is applied in some countries, enabling the elector to exercise his political preference. If the system were introduced in Britain there would be no talk of 'wasted' votes. In voting Communist the worker would know that he was not damaging the Labor candidate and was in no way helping to send a Tory to Parliament.

Mass work always pays off

Assessing the significance of the Communist election success in De-

nmark, Nørlund said it should be seen not in terms of the number of votes and seats in Parliament, which might not appear very convincing to some. The important thing is the Party's break-through, the fact that it has laid the basis for a still stronger position. In the December 1973 elections we polled 3.6 per cent of the vote, but a public opinion poll in March 1974 gave us 5.5 per cent and another poll, conducted by the bourgeois *Politiken* newspaper in mid-May, showed that 10 per cent would vote Communist if elections were held now. This is one more confirmation of Lenin's thought that mass work is never wasted even if there is a long time-span between the sowing and the harvest.

At the close of the 1950s, when we broke with the revisionists in our ranks, the Party was left without parliamentary representation – the break-away group included all our MPs. For a long time we could not surmount the two per cent barrier and our opponents announced that there was no longer any place for the Communist Party in Danish politics.

But their rejoicing was premature. Painstaking and persevering work in the trade unions, among the masses, began to bear fruit. Besides, the stabilization of Danish capitalism in the 60s gave way to the profound crisis of the 70s and dispelled many reformist illusions. Our vigorous campaign against Danish membership in the Common Market, though it did not achieve its aim, revealed the vast political potential of the Communist Party, and today people are coming to see how right we were in opposing EEC membership. There is mounting interest among the workers, especially young workers and young people generally, in the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We fought the last elections on an anti-monopoly platform, and this brought us our initial successes.

The important thing is that we linked work in the factories with our struggle on the parliamentary front. That is something unknown to the Social Democrats and other parties – with them these two types of activity are like parallel lines that never cross or meet. In contrast, we Communist declared, in one of our election slogans, that we would be 'the long arm of the working class in Parliament.'

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that in developed countries like Denmark, most, if not all, socio-economic problems are in one or another way discussed in Parliament. That is a feature of state-monopoly capitalism. It is therefore especially important to have a part in these debates in order to put forth the views of the working class and uphold its demands.

Two kinds of parliamentarism

There was a lively exchange concerning the difference between the two – communist and social-democratic – styles of parliamentary activity.

Ib Nørlund. It boils down, I think, to the fundamental difference between the two political conceptions. The Social Democrats act as stewards of the existing, that is, capitalist, society. Communists aspire to basic social changes. This makes their approaches different. For the Social Democrats parliament is the alpha and omega of their political ambitions. For the Communists the main thing is work with the masses – the working class and all other working people. The Social Democrats concentrate chiefly on finding compromises with other parliamentary groups, and on backstage maneuvers. The Communists, on the other hand, want all the facts and problems of the society to be discussed openly and frankly. Due to the growing crisis of capitalism, the usual social-democratic activity of medicating capitalism's ills is no longer satisfactory. The masses, even if not in a revolutionary mood, reject the old order of things.

Idris Cox. Despite their difference in outlook and ideas about the struggle for social progress, I think it is wrong to erect a wall between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. It is wrong, for example, to think that Laborites are all alike. Some have abandoned the social-democratic stereo-type and, though not Communists, are moving closer to the Communist approach. They speak and work in the Commons, but also participate in the extra-parliamentary mass struggle – meetings, marches, picketing, and the like. They have close contact with their constituents and express the public mood fairly accurately. Such people are still in the minority. That they exist does not mean the Labor Party has taken a revolutionary position. But it does speak of an evolution, and we must not ignore it.

Nørlund. Yes, the differentiation within the social-democratic parties is unquestionably greater. But it does not cancel out the fact that there are two different *kinds* of parliamentary activity. That is all I wanted to say.

Jean Terfve. The Social Democrats admit that they are mainly concerned with improving the existing system and adapting it to the new conditions. That's what the entire reformist trend amounts to. For the Communists, on the other hand, parliament is only an element of the mass struggle for a radical socialist-oriented transformation – a projection of the struggle to a specific field and by specific means. All the same, I agree with Comrade Cox that we must be careful to avoid all schematic interpretations that disregard some of the aspects of the case.

Nørlund. Communists take a realistic view of what parliament can accomplish. Yet our deputies do not take their responsibilities lightly. They show that we can act as effectively as other politicians in parliament, though we are not at all like them. We are different first of all because we steer clear of parliamentary bustle and routine, and

because we have close ties with the working people in factories and offices.

We have succeeded in changing the reception accorded to representatives of the working people in parliament. Trade union activists know, for example, that there are Folketing deputies who heed their demands, will discuss them, and will tell them what to do next. We have also compelled other groups of deputies to change their treatment of the electors. No longer do they dare to reject demands out of hand. And it is gratifying to note that many trade unions regard the new Communist group in parliament as their own political representatives. This May's events, when the parliamentary clash over the anti-labor program of 'stabilizing the economy' precipitated mass action by hundreds of thousands of Danes, have confirmed our political strategy, which includes extra-parliamentary forms of struggle. Some called it a communist-inspired hysteria. But this was a double lie: first, because it was not hysteria, but deliberate action by the working people, and second, because the action involved large numbers of non-Communists.

The problem of alliances

The discussion touched on the problem of alliances, which is not just a question of election blocs and joint lists of candidates. It is much more important to unite the broad popular forces in a common anti-monopoly front. Terfve said that, as he sees it, there comes a time, anticipated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, when the incurable ills of the capitalist system become so manifest that the majority realizes the necessity and inevitability of change. Large sections of the people, including many who are worlds removed from communist ideas, are exposed to the effects of the crisis in developed capitalist countries. They have realized that partial improvements are no longer sufficient, and have begun to question the system as a whole.

The mass of Christian workers, for example, have become receptive to the idea of radical change. Just as in Italy and France, their political consciousness in Belgium is now far more developed. This adds greatly to the opportunities for social progress, because the Christian organizations are highly influential. The Christian trade unions, for example, are more numerous than those of other trends. And, significantly, Left Christians prefer contacts with Communists rather than Social Democrats, whom they now regard as devoid of a firm basis and clear ideological line.

Speaking of Left unity, Ib Nørlund stressed that the Communist parties should preserve their identity and not become dissolved in the common struggle against the monopolies. We in Denmark, he said, are determined to keep our sovereignty in any alliance with other

parties. And we hold that they, too, are entitled to their own political image.

New parties and 'votes of protest'

A close examination was made of the reasons for the appearance and lively election activity of new parties. Their unexpected successes even made some capitalist observers predict an end to the two-party system. The old parties in Denmark have suffered visible setbacks. The Social Democrats, for example, lost 24 seats, and the Liberals 8, while the Progress Party, founded by an adroit millionaire lawyer, which demagogically advocated repeal of all taxes, won 28 seats. In Britain, the Liberal Party, long considered a political relic, got six million votes. The Scottish Nationalists and Plaid Cymru (a Welsh nationalist party) also have tens of thousands of votes. And in Belgium communal parties of the 'new right' not only won seats in parliament, but also claim a share of power with the 'traditional' bourgeois groups.

The appearance of new parties is evidence of the deepening *crisis of confidence in the policy of state-monopoly capitalism* and in its main conductors, the old bourgeois parties. The rise of new parties speaks chiefly of the electors' disenchantment and the wish for at least a modicum of change. But despite their spectacular breakthrough, Nørlund said, the new parties mostly lack a consistent program and coherent ideology, and have no political future. They have simply succeeded in riding the crest of the wave of discontent.

Idris Cox concurred. Votes given to the Liberals, he pointed out, were 'votes of protest.' Liberals win electors with claims to being a non-class party, a 'party of individuals' and, moreover, an anti-monopoly party. Yet it is a purely capitalist party, though admittedly its stand on some issues is anti-monopoly. Among those who voted for the Liberals are many recent supporters of the Labor Party, frightened by capitalist press reports of 'communist dominance' in the unions, the prospect of mass nationalization, and so on. There are many conflicting trends in the motley ranks of the Liberals. This, Cox said, will prevent the Liberal Party from becoming a stable political force.

As a consequence of the sharper national strains under state-monopoly capitalism, we are witnessing a rise of nationalist parties, especially rapid in Belgium but also visible in Britain. Their demands are mainly prompted by realities – the wish of the population in national areas to decentralize authority, win greater rights for local bodies of power, and preserve their national culture and language. Since the old capitalist parties have proved unable to resolve these problems, part of the electorate turns to the nationalists.

Terfve said he was concerned over the fact that the voters' 'defection' from the old parties, including the Social-Democratic, is not accompanied by a more or less commensurate growth of the electoral potential of the Communist parties. This sort of thing is true not only of Belgium, and the reasons merit closer study, Terfve said. One would think, he added, that 90 per cent of the votes lost by the Social Democrats because of their collusion with the Right forces, should go to the Communists. Certainly, there are many explanations why they do not. Suffice it to mention the ceaseless anti-communist propaganda. In the past 50 years, and especially during the cold war, it has created many hostile preconceptions. These must be erased. But we should also ask ourselves if our programs and slogans really answer the most pressing questions of today. Perhaps for some people we have become a 'traditional' party, since we have existed for as many as 50 years? Have we learned to present our main aims attractively and realistically?

No extremes

The exchanges showed that it is equally harmful for the working-class movement to overestimate and totally deny the benefits of parliamentary struggle. Examples were given of the one and the other extreme.

The fate of the Socialist People's Party in Denmark is a warning against the danger of right opportunist illusions. Laying the accent on parliamentary forms of struggle, this body, which includes a break-away group from the Communist Party, evolved in effect into a second, so to speak auxiliary, Social-Democratic Party. Despite some success at the polls, it is isolated from the bulk of the working class, and even its parliamentary activity has degenerated into backstage maneuvers and compromises.

In Great Britain, where the Right wing Labor leaders regard their party as an appendage to its parliamentary group and as a vote-getting instrument, anti-parliament sentiment chiefly of a trade-unionist origin is widespread among a section of the workers. Even in the Communist Party, Cox said, there are people who question the benefits of fighting for parliamentary representation. This is not surprising if we remember the undemocratic and unjust nature of the electoral system in Britain. Comparing the tremendous effort the Party puts into election campaigns with the results achieved so far generates cynicism among part of the workers. But the overwhelming majority understands the need for, and supports, such activity.

The ultra-Leftists are confusing people in Belgium and Denmark. While harping on the futility of the bourgeois parliament, they are hell-bent on getting into it. In Denmark, for example, an ultra-left group that split away from the Socialist People's Party issued the

following call: 'Parliament is an empty word. Vote for our candidates!' This posture, Nørlund said, is not only inconsistent, but ridiculous. Not surprisingly, its exponents are now changing their tactics.

Criticizing ultra-left views, Terfve spoke of the need for mutual understanding with 'honest gauchists,' that is, people who sincerely believe in extreme Left views due to youth and militancy. It takes political maturity, experience and patience to understand the perspective of anti-monopoly alliance. It is not a radical perspective, and contains elements of compromise, especially in the early stage. Yet there are always people, especially the young, who spurn the real conditions and yearn for a clear, simple, radical, but abstract, solution. This creates fertile soil for ultra-left views. And it would probably be wise for Communists to re-examine their propaganda, the formulation of some of the problems. It is just possible that some of our methods overlook the sound aspirations of those gauchists whose revolutionary energy could be brought into the correct channels.

The participants in the lively and outspoken discussion noted that they had touched on just some of the aspects of communist parliamentary activity and the use of parliamentary institutions in the class struggle. Some of the things said were controversial, and the subject should not be regarded as conclusively studied. They pointed out that the conditions shaping in the world today are favorable for Communists in Western Europe and in America to learn, as Lenin advised, 'to create a new, uncustomary, non-opportunist, and non-careerist parliamentarism' (Vol. 31, p. 98).

Accent on sovereignty

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LATIN AMERICA ON THE WAY TO AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

One of the issues in the confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction on the American continent is the foreign policy of Latin American countries in the years to come. On its outcome will depend Latin America's contribution to the reshaping of international relations in the climate of détente.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community is an example for every peace-loving, democratic state. Relations between socialist countries show what relations between states can and should be like today. The coordination of the socialist countries' home and foreign policies makes for the fullest application of the principles of national sovereignty and international solidarity.

In fighting for socialism in their countries and the world, Latin America's Communists consider it possible even now to insist that the bourgeois governments of their countries follow independent foreign policies. This is facilitated by the new alignment of forces between socialism and capitalism, the existence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as powerful guarantors of peace, peaceful coexistence and the liberation of the peoples fighting for self-determination and freedom from imperialist oppression. Reflecting on the latest experience and development trends on the continent and elsewhere, realistic Latin American statesmen and politicians appreciate that in upholding the national interests of their peoples they can count on the solidarity of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, the new Asian and African states, national liberation movements and the international working class.

The revolutionary forces and the growing peace movement are driving the cold warriors into retreat. This tends to weaken the

positions of imperialism even though it retains its aggressive character. Thus objective factors – the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the declining influence of imperialism – afford opportunities for Latin American capitalist countries to pursue an independent foreign policy. However, subjective factors, primarily the approach to international problems, play a significant part in the activity of every state, those of Latin America included.

The issue is whether Latin American governments are willing and resolved to pursue *independent foreign policies*. Such policies must be based on the national interests, the common interests of the continent, and work for the reshaping of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

An independent foreign policy is inseparable from an *independent military policy*. To strengthen its defenses, every Latin American country must have armed forces to maintain national sovereignty against imperialist intrigues, and also uphold the interests of their people against oligarchy and multinational monopoly. This means that the armed forces must not be a repressive instrument of militarism imposed by imperialist reaction.

A *genuinely independent economic policy* is of special importance. It is unthinkable without mutually beneficial economic, commercial, scientific and technological relations between Latin American and socialist countries. Latin America's countries are taking steps in this direction but they still have a long way to go.

It is primarily the governments that can achieve the above three objectives. But the masses, too, have a decisive role. Hence a prime task is to intensify and extend organizational work aimed at uniting all anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and anti-oligarchic forces in national fronts. A cohesive movement for peace and social progress in every Latin American country would make it possible to work for a continental anti-imperialist front and establish closer solidarity with the peoples of the world. For success we need a stronger ideological offensive aimed, first of all, at exposing and eliminating anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and various manifestations of national chauvinism. The struggle for peace and détente in countries still dominated by imperialist monopolies and their agents strengthens the positions of the classes and alignments seeking social and economic emancipation for the masses and striving to win and extend democratic freedoms.

Foreign and domestic policies are inter-related, but we also see that in capitalist countries they often clash violently. There are many different, complex reasons of a class character for this. The contradictions between domestic and foreign policies are especially apparent in countries dependent on imperialism and they are a consequence of the

successes of international détente and peaceful coexistence.

In Latin America there are countries that display a fairly high degree of independence and realism on the international scene even though they have not yet effected any significant progressive domestic reforms. Needless to say, Communists criticize this discrepancy but do not underrate the significance of the independence achieved in foreign policy.

Nor should we forget that governments pursuing a sovereign policy soon become a target of conspiracy, intrigue and subversion masterminded by imperialist powers. It is essential, therefore, to correctly assess the fast-changing political situation and analyze and evaluate everyday events and developments that can affect the future.

There is a growing recognition of the concepts and action programs advanced by the leaders of some Latin American countries with a view to promoting the equality of all states, the principles of non-interference and participation in the solution of continental and world problems on an equal footing, and constant consultations for joint action.

These principles have gained acceptance and popularity due, in particular, to the foreign policy of Cuba, the first socialist state in Latin America, the three-year activity of Chile's Popular Unity government and the diplomacy of Peru, Mexico, Panama and other Latin American countries. These countries owe their international achievements to their determination to follow an independent policy fully taking account of the interests of the continent as a whole. To quote General Peron, the late President of Argentina, 'each Latin American country should use its own methods based on its sovereignty.' However, he added, 'we also need Latin American cohesion. This is a real possibility for our continent and an objective goal we must all strive for without the slightest hesitation.'¹

Cohesion is something which all the great patriots of Latin America have longed for. Today it is a pressing need of the peoples living south of the Rio Grande. It is imperative to reduce political friction and remove mutual distrust, that grim legacy left and maintained by imperialism. The situation is aggravated by the pro-imperialist trend of the foreign policies of the reactionary regimes of some countries which seek directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, to impose their will on neighboring countries and block acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Unity of our peoples would fetter imperialist activity in our region and help countries nationalizing foreign enterprises to hold their own against economic sanctions and political pressure.

An important step toward such unity, the Communist Party of Argentina notes in common with other fraternal parties, would be a

new organization to replace the Organization of American States (OAS) and its agencies, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Founding such an organization will not be easy. But then, a new situation is developing on the continent despite temporary delays and even retrogressive trends and recurrences of counter-revolution. Favorable trends are making headway. The idea of détente is taking hold, for the peoples long to break out of the imperialist isolation that has shackled them for decades.

The current change in the alignment of world forces in favor of peace and socialism is also evident in Latin America. Backed by the socialist system, the working class and anti-imperialist forces of the continent, Cuba has, in effect, imposed peaceful coexistence on both the United States and its Latin American puppets. Recent years have seen Peru, Argentina, Panama, Guyana, Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago normalize relations with socialist Cuba.

The attitude to the Soviet Union remains the touchstone of a realistic approach to foreign policy by Latin American governments. Today a new element has been added: attitude towards Cuba.

At the April session of the OAS General Assembly in Atlanta, USA, Alberto Vignes, the Argentine Foreign Minister, called for a revision of the 12-year-old policy of boycotting Cuba and condemned it as 'unrealistic and anachronistic.' Miguel de la Flor Valle, Foreign Minister of Peru, said the boycott was an 'obstacle to the resumption of inter-American relations and hampers the consolidation of Latin American institutions.' Colombian President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen has repeatedly and scathingly criticized U.S. discrimination against Cuba. The Argentine government's decision to supply Cuba with goods worth \$1,200 million had strong repercussions on the continent.²

Reactionary regimes obstruct positive trends. Admiral Diaz, Foreign Minister of the Chilean fascist junta, 'warned' the Atlanta session of the OAS that Cuba was 'endangering the peace and security of the continent.' However, neither he nor his likes can stop the erosion of the policy of boycott and sanctions against the island of freedom. Many Latin American governments have suggested inviting Cuba to the continental conference due to meet in Buenos Aires next March.

The emergence on the political scene – due to the social and economic changes taking place on the continent – of patriotic-minded nationalist members of the armed forces, who are in power in some countries (Peru, Panama, Ecuador, Honduras, and Bolivia before the 1971 coup) and are becoming more active in others, stimulates new foreign policy trends in Latin America. These men, including officers of all ranks, even generals, are closely linked with anti-imperialist

groups and reflect their ideology and foreign policy views. At a conference of commanders-in-chief of the countries of the Western Hemisphere in September 1973, the delegates of Peru and Argentina refused to take their cue from the Pentagon.

It is most important to foil pro-imperialist plans for a bloc of countries that would police the continent. The conference held by Brazilian, Chilean, Uruguayan and Bolivian leaders in Brasilia last March had ominous overtones. Though its participants said they were not planning any alliance, bourgeois newsmen wrote that the meeting might have been the prelude to a possible anti-Communist bloc.³

U.S. imperialism has set up a powerful operational base in Brazil in collaboration with the most avaricious oligarchic elements. In 1974 military spending in Brazil is more than \$1,200m.

Brazilian forces are being trained for offensive operations, according to *El Peublo*,⁴ an Ecuadoran weekly. The soldiers are told that Brazil must wipe out 'Marxist seedbeds' in neighboring countries.⁵ This policy sheds revealing light on Brazil's construction of the Itaipu dam. It will affect the sovereignty of Paraguay and relations with Argentina and Uruguay, thereby creating a situation fraught with conflict.

Rabid war propaganda is being conducted in Chile, which maintains an army of 400,000 (out of a population of 10 million). The Chilean fascist junta is spending the \$600 million loan it has obtained to purchase enormous quantities of arms. According to press reports, the United States has supplied Chile with two missile-carrying destroyers, two submarines and Phantom fighter-bombers, and Britain, with two warships and two submarines. Brazil has granted Chile a \$50 million loan to purchase arms, and Japan a \$12 million loan. The junta has also secured substantial loans for the same purpose from the International Monetary Fund (\$90 million) and Inter-American Development Bank (\$22 million). Pinochet is also getting aid from the Paris Club, which deferred payment of a \$760 million debt. The deferment was denied President Allende.

The militarization of Chile is accompanied by a chauvinist campaign that Chile is 'threatened' by Peru and Argentina. The junta is prodding reactionaries in the two countries to seize power.

In Bolivia, the dictator, facing increasing opposition by the people, has started a provocative campaign for 'an outlet to the sea.' He is exploiting the age-old dream of the Bolivian people, but is using the slogan for military provocations, for the 'Geisel solution' (so-called after the Brazilian president). What he wants is a 'corridor through the Tarapaca Zone,' that is, through land that had always belonged to Peru, to give Bolivia an outlet to the sea. There is an attempt to engineer a conflict with the government of General Velasco Alvarado,

for under a 1929 agreement between Chile and Peru, neither may relinquish, without previous agreement among themselves, to any third power, wholly or in part, the territory over which its sovereignty extends in accordance with that agreement. Preparations for the aggression are no longer a secret. It has been suggested that Argentinian troops would probably help defend Peru in the event of a Chilean attack.

In Central America, the six-year-old conflict between El Salvador and Honduras is being rekindled. It was expected to be settled this year, but the Guatemala-El Salvador-Nicaragua military axis stands in the way. This axis is spearheaded against Honduras and Costa Rica, for the democratization processes going on there infuriate Central America's reactionaries. Aggression by the axis countries also threatens Panama.

The long-standing conflict between Colombia and Venezuela over the continental shelf and the territorial waters of the Gulf of Venezuela, with oil deposits estimated at 14,000 million barrels, is becoming sharper. Reactionaries in both countries are trying to aggravate it so as to impede the constructive foreign policy moves of the Colombian and Venezuelan governments and divert the attention of the peoples from their big problems.

These attempts to maintain and foment tensions in Latin America have a definite aim – to prevent the formulation of independent foreign policies and bring down governments committed to a policy of peace and national sovereignty. Imperialism backed by oligarchic reaction engineers coups and imposes fascist-type regimes. This should alert governments pursuing an independent foreign policy and the social forces united in struggle for peace and the prosperity.

In Latin America an independent foreign economic policy, whose importance Communists have always stressed, can and must become an instrument helping to assure social progress and accomplish the difficult task of using the continent's natural resources for the material and cultural renaissance of peoples and putting an end to the uncontrolled operation of foreign monopolies, which adds to the working people's hardships and suffering. Whereas per capita income in the U.S. at the turn of the century was twice as high as in Latin America, in 1970 the difference was 18-fold.⁶ Latin America's deficit in trade with the United States amounts to \$750 million a year. As for the vaunted U.S. 'aid' to Latin America at state level, it does not exceed \$300 million a year.⁷

Despite Washington's professions of 'good partnership,' 'a new dialogue in the hemisphere,' 'reciprocity,' and so on, the real state of affairs is unchanged. Last December Kenneth Rus, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, declared that 'U.S. policy toward Latin

America has traditionally been dictated by strategic and political considerations. This country needs Latin American raw materials, food and energy resources. This country also needs expanding markets for its exports.'⁸

Multinational companies with headquarters in the United States, Western Europe or Japan demand and obtain equal or even greater rights for themselves in Latin America compared with national firms. Their governments support them in every way when their interests are endangered. Using cheap labor and paying minimum prices for raw materials, they plunder Latin American countries and hold up economic cooperation and continental trade. Only 20 per cent of Latin America's foreign trade is carried on inside the continent. Most of the exports go to developed capitalist countries.

In these conditions, expanding trade between the Andean Pact countries and other Latin American republics is very important. Agreements signed by Argentina with Costa Rica, Panama and other countries mark a trend towards a new alignment of states that would embody our peoples' unity in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

To consolidate this trend it is essential to end the domination of multinational companies.⁹ The expulsion of foreign capitalists or steps to curb their activity are fiercely resisted by imperialist quarters. However, there is no curbing the growing sentiment in favor of economic sovereignty.

For this process to be carried forward it is most important to foster relations between Latin American and socialist countries. Relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union set an inspiring example. 'The Soviet Union, a socialist and thoroughly internationalist country,' said Fidel Castro, 'owns not a single mine, not a hectare of land, not a single factory in our country . . . It has not invested one kopek in Cuba for profit . . .'

This was said in Havana, at a mass meeting during a visit by L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. Addressing the meeting, Comrade Brezhnev defined the Soviet attitude to Latin American countries: 'As regards Latin America, we are certain that its historical future is inseparable from the progress of all mankind. It is a future of freedom, independence and social progress. The Soviet Union would like to see Latin American countries participate more actively in international affairs, it would like their independent voice to ring ever more confidently in the world. We are convinced that this would benefit the cause of peace and international cooperation on the basis of equal rights.'

Loyal to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community demonstrate in

practice their readiness to promote cooperation with Latin American countries on an equal footing. This is seen, notably, in their relations with Argentina. During the election campaign in our country the late General Peron said he would solicit a loan from the European Common Market. He was refused. On the other hand, the Peron government, and the Campora government before it, sought trade relations with socialist countries to solve Argentina's economic problems. And here the answer was different. Economic agreements highly beneficial to Argentina with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland and Hungary have been signed or are being negotiated. Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, pointed out the vast importance to Argentina and the whole of our continent of economic agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Closer relations with the socialist world, he said, made it possible to breach the barrier raised around Argentina by imperialism.

There is a movement in Latin America in favor of establishing or extending diplomatic and trade relations with socialist countries. Governments and influential parties are compelled to reckon with this.¹⁰

Life has amply confirmed the conclusion of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: 'The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba.' The bourgeoisie of our countries is searching for new ways. Under pressure from the masses and with due regard to its own interests, it is constrained to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence weakening the positions of imperialism on the continent.¹¹

The working class has more allies than ever in the fight for peace and self-determination. Communist Parties take this into account in their policy of alliances.

That is why our Party's Central Committee invariably supports the positive moves of the Argentine government on the international arena. At the same time the Party mobilizes the workers and the masses of the people to overcome the bourgeoisie's waverings and inconsistency in domestic policy, which keeps it from taking a firm stand against imperialist monopolies and the oligarchy. As a consequence the latter can overthrow the government and halt the process which can and should lead to the establishment of a government based on a broad democratic coalition and capable of carrying out a program of social liberation.

The movement of solidarity with the peoples under anti-democratic regimes, but who are resisting reactionary policies and mustering

forces to overthrow the hated dictatorships, is inseparable from the movement for peace and the struggle to establish the principles of peaceful coexistence and expand the area of détente in Latin America.

It is the duty of all democratic and anti-imperialist movements to step up their struggle for a lasting, just and democratic peace. The legal, semi-legal and illegal organizations of peace supporters in various Latin American countries have a tremendous role to play in this respect. They should coordinate their activity more effectively and draw the masses into the effort to solve the cardinal problems of the continent.

The campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people is still one of our principal concerns. To stay the hand of the military junta and secure the release of the thousands of patriots from concentration camps is a truly democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist task. Its fulfilment will be a valuable contribution to the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. International, and first of all Latin American, support for the heroic people of Chile and solidarity with the peoples of Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Guatemala, Haiti, El Salvador and Nicaragua, who are fighting against reactionary, tyrannical regimes, is becoming a mighty force capable of upholding the sovereignty of the peoples and governments of Argentina, Panama, Peru and other countries which have dealt blows to imperialism in Latin America.

The aims of Latin American peace fighters include the abrogation of laws leading to the militarization of police states, withdrawal of 'Peace Corps' units from our countries, abolition of foreign military bases and spy centers, and withdrawal of U.S. occupation forces from Guantanamo (Cuba), Puerto Rico and Panama.

The ideologists of imperialism are trying to stall détente in Latin America and prevent normal relations between Latin American and socialist countries. They are helped in this by the Maoists and other pseudo-revolutionaries with their myth of 'two superpowers' and 'two imperialisms.' These splitters are doing their utmost to impose their defeatist line on the Left Peronist rank-and-file in Argentina. Their anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are cloaked in talk about 'superpowers.' But try as they may, they cannot conceal the fundamental difference of the socialist and capitalist approach to Latin America. In exposing the 'two superpowers' myth, we must always remember that 'the focal point . . . must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the *essence* of imperialism' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 409).

The pan-American policy of Wall Street as embodied and implemented by the OAS has suffered many a setback. Imperialist

strategy in Latin America according to the Monroe Doctrine and the 'ideological frontiers' concept¹² has been dealt telling blows. Nevertheless, even in retreat imperialism is searching for new ways of continuing expansion.

The Communist and Workers' parties of our countries are the vanguard of the fighters for peace and peaceful coexistence. We live at a time when the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in analyzing the situation shows the working class and the peoples the correct way to victory.

There have been consultative meetings of the brother parties of Central America and Mexico; Venezuela and Colombia; and a meeting of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, as well as bilateral and multilateral contacts, all of which has made for closer unity of action. The documents adopted at those meetings call for the mobilization of all forces to stamp out the hotbeds of war on the continent.

As the fight for democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, an independent foreign policy, peaceful coexistence and a just, democratic peace unfolds, new victories will be scored over imperialism, reaction and the cold warriors. The principles of national independence are bound to prevail in Latin America.

1. See *La Prensa*, March 4, 1974.

2. Official Washington tried to block part of the agreement, namely, the sale of over 40,000 motor vehicles made by Ford, Chrysler and General Motors subsidiaries in Argentina. However, the Argentine government declared that in the event of an embargo it would nationalize the subsidiaries and the State Department was forced to retreat, saying, to save face, that the 'concession' was an 'exception.'

3. See *The New York Times*, March 17, 1974.

4. *El Pueblo*, January 12, 1974.

5. *El Pueblo* reported the distribution of a Brazilian army pamphlet entitled *Frontline Training for Our Boys*. The pamphlet gives details of the military and psychological training of troops about to 'invade a Red country threatening democracy in a Blue country.'

6. *Foreign Affairs*, October 1973, p. 81.

7. Eighty per cent of this amount is spent on maintaining U.S. personnel, purchasing goods in the U.S. and carrying them in American ships. Obviously, this 'aid' benefits primarily U.S. business.

8. *Vital Speeches*, January 1, 1974, pp. 184-185.

9. The peoples of Latin America recently welcomed a decree of the Venezuelan government enjoining foreign companies to sell 80 per cent of their shares to Venezuelan companies in the next three years. The decree prohibits foreign investment in the utilities, communications, electricity-supply, mass media, transport and internal trade. Although the foreign oil concessions will not begin expiring until 1983, President Perez decided to put the oil companies under state control and shortly afterwards announced his intention of nationalizing their property. To grasp the significance of this measure, it should be remembered that 20 foreign companies control 95 per cent of the oil of Venezuela, the third biggest oil exporter in the capitalist world. Venezuela has assumed control of the iron mines leased to U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel for 50 years.

10. On winning the election, President Perez declared that Venezuela 'must establish closer relations with socialist countries' in following an independent foreign policy and refusing to submit to foreign powers.

11. José Gelbard, the Argentine Minister of the Economy, made a significant statement to the press on April 24, 1974. 'We are interested – and these are not just words – in a rapprochement with socialist countries,' he said. 'We share in common with them demands regarding protection of the prices of our raw materials and respect for the peoples' self-determination.'

12. This concept, advocated by military reaction in the United States and Latin America, is intended to justify armed intervention in any country of the continent on the pretext of combatting 'Communist infiltration.' Its proponents claim that what matters in this struggle are the 'ideological' and not the national frontiers.

The real way to real equality

Catarina Mendes
Representative of
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1975 – INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S YEAR

A special UN General Assembly resolution of two years ago designated 1975 International Woman's Year, and it looks as though the hope contained in it that IWY would stimulate efforts to improve the lot of women is largely coming true. The UN move is supported by progressives and by democratic and revolutionary forces in many countries. They regard it as an acknowledgement of the urgency of the women's question, for the public conscience cannot be indifferent to the fact that women, half the world's population, who create a third of the material goods (in addition to the all-important social function of motherhood), are still objects of discrimination in quite a few countries.

Consistent fighters against oppression, the Communists are participating in the promotion of International Woman's Year, for they appreciate its main purpose – to promote not only juridical recognition, but also factual observance of the principle of the equality of men and women.

Certainly, the full emancipation of women cannot be achieved overnight, or even in twelve months. Fifty-five years ago, Lenin

wrote that the remnants of 'the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality ... to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilized countries' (Vol. 29, pp. 428-429). What Lenin said then is still true today. The social condition of women under capitalism (concerning which some facts and figures are given elsewhere in this issue) presents what is in some ways a new, but generally equally deplorable, picture of factual inequality.

Admittedly, the hundreds of years of struggle by democrats and revolutionaries, and progressive women's movements, have yielded results. But in the setting of capitalist society they could not, and did not, fully achieve the humane ideal of women's equality. Women still suffer more than men from exploitation, from exhausting home-work and house-keeping, and from discrimination in education, political life, and the family.

As in the past, when female along with child labor was the initial result of the capitalist use of machines (Marx), the scientific-technical revolution of today is extending the application of female labor and bringing women into traditionally male occupations. In substance, this is a progressive thing for it elevates the woman's part in economic and social development. But on the other hand, in capitalist societies women are more exposed to the negative consequences of the scientific-technical revolution. They are the first to suffer from the growing unemployment, because their professional qualifications are usually lower due to discrimination in general and special education. Besides, the continuing concentration of production, and the growing power of monopoly, are ruining the small and medium industries and farms that have employed female labor for centuries. Women workers suffer from the intensification and monotony of their jobs, from nervous stresses, especially harmful to the health of pregnant women and nursing mothers.

Protection of motherhood is still an acute problem. What institutional care may exist does not extend to peasant women, homeworkers and domestic servants in the case of many countries. Yet these are generally the most vulnerable, usually lacking a regular income, trade union protection, and pension rights. Not surprisingly, in Portugal the fight against the exploitation of women, as the worst type of exploitation, ranks among the top social priorities of the Provisional Government: fixed wages are being introduced for domestic servants higher than their former scanty and irregular earnings, and trade unions have undertaken to protect their rights.

Capitalist oppression of working women is aggravated by the absence of real guarantees for their participation in public and political life. In this respect, too, the condition of women 'makes clear in the most striking fashion the difference between bourgeois and socialist

democracy' (Lenin, Vol. 30, p. 120). In a resolution hailing the UN International Woman's Year resolution, the Eighth World Congress of Trade Unions (Varna, October 15-22, 1973) stressed that 'while in the socialist countries working women have achieved equality, in the capitalist and developing countries women still have to fight against discrimination even if their rights are recorded in the constitution.'

Communists know that it will take time and perseverance to wipe out the social and political oppression of women. Yet they regard IWY as an important step towards this aim. They reject the sectarian dogmatic all-or-nothing principle. Consistent in their defense of working women's interests, they are not inclined to 'pray over the rosary of women's demands.' Clara Zetkin, who quoted Lenin's words to this effect in her recollections, also recorded his amplification: 'No, depending on the existing conditions we must fight now for one and now for another demand – *but certainly always in connection with the common interests of the proletariat*. Of course, every confrontation brings us into conflict with the venerable bourgeois clique and its less venerable reformist lackeys. The latter are compelled either to fight on our side, under our leadership – which they do not want – or discard their mask. Thus, the struggle sets us apart, *showing our communist identity*.'

These words, especially those that I have underlined, are of the utmost importance for a clear definition of the communist standpoint. Lenin defends the purity of Marxist principles, based on the close relation of the women's question to the proletarian class struggle. Yet he warns against sectarian isolation, which may undermine the unity of the mass movement against all forms of oppression existing under capitalism. And need we say how relevant his tenets are today? They are not just tactically correct, but are based on a profound and scientific knowledge of the issue, and show the real way to the real equality of women.

The Marxist-Leninist principles of solving the women's question acquire much greater significance with the now much greater participation of women in public life, and their now much greater political awareness. In Portugal, many women were active in the democratic movement. And since April 25, when the fascist regime was overthrown, they have become still more active. Even so, hardly anyone had expected that such a vast number of women would attend meetings organized by democratic and progressive parties or participate in demonstrations supporting the Provisional Government. During the reign of fascism most women had been slaves to slaves. Thirty-five per cent of the adult population was illiterate, and most of these were women. Suffering from intense poverty, with one-third of the meagre earnings going for house-rent, whole families living in a small room

and sleeping on the floor, and with an exhausting working day followed by no less exhausting work in the kitchen, cooking and washing, women are a real and growing force in the country's democratization. Now, working women can hope for justice for themselves and their families. But hope is sustained by a clear perspective. Aware of this, our Party has advanced a program of cardinal improvements in the situation of working women and women of the middle strata. Important points from the Program of the Portuguese CP on the women's question have been included in the program of the Provisional Government, being essentially related to the general directions of democratization.

However, even some Communists have distorted notions about the woman's place in society. This is another reason why we must follow the Marxist-Leninist principles in our daily practice, why we must propagate and fight for them. Capitalist ideologues, who, as Clara Zetkin noted, 'put on the guise of championing women's rights' only 'to dance attendance on capital,' strongly influence the public consciousness. Yet their principal motive has always been to conceal or obscure the class nature of the women's question, and to stunt the political consciousness of the mass of working women. We must remember that for dozens of years Communists had had to work underground in illegal or semi-legal conditions, and should not underestimate the confusion created by all sorts of illusions about drastic improvements that could be won for women in the framework of the exploiting capitalist society. A formidable amount of work will have to be accomplished before all working people understand the basic Marxist-Leninist principles:

- that 'in each society the degree of women's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation' (Engels);
- that 'effective equality of women and men will not come about . . . until capitalist exploitation of both is eliminated' (Engels);
- that if women are not drawn into political life, if they are 'not torn out of their stupefying house and kitchen environment, it will be *impossible* to guarantee real freedom, it will be *impossible* to build even democracy, let alone socialism' (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 329).

These and similar communist postulates, I am sure, are relevant not only for the working men and women of my country, which has but recently broken out of fascist bondage. 'Participants in all emancipation movements in Western Europe,' Lenin wrote, 'have long since, not for decades but for centuries, put forward the demand that . . . women and men be made equal by law, but none of the democratic European states, none of the most advanced republics have succeeded in putting it into effect, because wherever there is capitalism

... wherever the power of capital is preserved, the men retain their privileges' (Vol. 30, pp. 40-41).

The facts of today provide fresh evidence of this. Take the recent press reports that in Britain most women get only half a man's earnings for the same work. Only recently did this land of 'classical' democracy pass a law on equal pay for women and men by the end of 1975. The implementation of such laws, by the way, encounters all sorts of obstacles, because employers have a stake in the cheaper female labor. Many other facts in our statistics bear out Lenin's words. In 1913 Lenin said that it is women whom 'the capitalists most willingly employ as home-workers, who are prepared for a monstrously low wage to "earn a little extra" for themselves and their family, for the sake of a crust of bread' (Vol. 36, p. 230). Sixty years later the Italian press reports the same monstrous form of exploiting women home-workers who are denied trade union protection.

All this has to be said, among other things, because in promoting International Woman's Year capitalist writers often refer to the discrimination of women with an air of discovery. The motives are clear: they want to direct the growing discontent with the existing system along channels acceptable to the ruling classes. Hence their promotion of suffragette ideas and 'apolitical' feminist demands, and the blackout on the striking achievements of the socialist countries, which assure real, not merely legislative, equality of women in labor, political and public life, education, and the family.

The bourgeoisie is exploiting one of the most complicated aspects of women's equality – recognition of motherhood as a most important social function equivalent to women's participation in the production of material and cultural values. The necessity of recognizing this has been theoretically proved by the founders of Marxism: 'The production of life, one's own through work and another's through childbirth, appears at once as a dual relation: a natural one, on the one hand, and a social relation, on the other' (Marx). The related practical question of enabling women to combine socially useful labour with the upbringing of their children, is a subject of heated discussion in the modern world. Capitalist sociologists put forward 'audacious' solutions – suggesting 'public salaries' for non-working mothers, or the cultivation of 'professional families' bringing up children for a rate paid by the parents. None of this has anything in common with a real recognition of motherhood as a social function, for it mechanically excludes women from social production and public life. Marxist-Leninists see the solution first and foremost in providing conditions for the harmonious development of women as individuals, as equal members of society and as mothers. This has been the essential approach to the problem in the socialist countries, though there, too, the way is not always smooth.

In sum, as in the case of most other topical issues of our time, the women's question reflects the historic confrontation of the two worlds, the two social systems – capitalism and socialism. The clear scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to the women's question is the only correct one. And this is the guarantee that working women will opt for socialism and communism as the only real way to real emancipation.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Compiled by Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences

Female labor. Women make up roughly one-third of the labor force in the developed capitalist countries (see table).

Active female population in developed capitalist countries

	Total female population (ooo)	Total active population (000)	Active female population (000)	Proportion of women workers in female population (%)	Proportion of women in active population (%)*
Britain	28,587	25,421	9,161	32.0	36.0
Belgium	4,940	3,956	1,294	26.2	32.7
Netherlands	6,507	4,762	1,238	19.0	26.0
Italy	27,446	19,028	5,110	18.6	26.8
USA	104,322	82,897	30,821	29.5	37.1
France	26,513	21,861	7,973	30.1	36.4
FRG	31,984	26,802	9,654	30.2	36.0
Japan	53,970	51,820	19,810	36.7	38.2

Source: *Annuaire des statistiques du travail*. B.I.T. Geneva, 1973, pp. 24-38.

*Computed according to ILO data. The proportion of working women in the active female population is 46.6% in France, 40.3% in the FRG, 33.6% in Belgium, 29.9% in Italy and 26.3% in the Netherlands. See *Avanti*, March 2, 1973, p. 3.

The rising cost of living makes women seek an independent income to help their families. This is particularly evident in the United States, where in 1960-1970 the number of jobs grew by 12 million, and 65% of them were filled by women, who today account for 38-40% of the country's labor force.¹ In Sweden women workers made up 30% of the female population in 1960 and 53% in 1973. By 1980 their proportion is expected to increase to 60%.²

In France the number of working men in 1962-1968 went up by 10%

and of women by 15%. The increase in 1968-1972 was 3% and 11% respectively.³

Female employees are most numerous in the public services, with industry holding second and agriculture third place.

Female unemployment. In 1965-1970 the textile industry of Japan abolished 100,000 jobs held by women.⁴ In France automation will lead, by 1985, to the abolition of 135,000 jobs in the garments industry and another 170,000 in the textile industry.⁵

In the United States in 1968 unemployment stood at 2.6% for men and 3.7% for women.⁶ In France the unemployment rate among women in 1973 was 60% higher than among men.⁷ In Italy, female employment in 1959-1972 decreased by 1,225,000, mainly in farming and industry.⁸

Wages and Industrial Safety. Although the principle of equal pay for equal work is proclaimed in the constitutions of bourgeois countries and confirmed by a number of international legal acts, employers continue to discriminate against women.

In the FRG women workers are paid only 69% of the average wage for the same work as men. In France, women's wages are 14.2-35.7% lower than men's.¹⁰ In the United States women's wages in 1971 equalled 58% of men's.¹¹

Work at home, chiefly by women, has become widespread in recent years. Over 1,700,000 Italians work at home.¹² This type of work, a variety of modern capitalist production, is being revived due to structural changes in industry. It enables the employers to invest less and reduce the cost of labor by intensively exploiting home-workers to derive extra profit which cannot be made in the enterprises because there the workers put up organized resistance. Employers hire home-workers without contracts and thus evade many of the obligations devolving from the gains of the working class.

The French CGT has recorded numerous instances of extremely inadequate protection of female labor. At one food factory women have to work at sub-zero temperatures, and in the metallurgical industry women complain of nervous stress and fainting fits at work.¹³ In 1967 the Union of Italian Women sponsored a national conference on 'Working Women's Health' at which data on women's disability in industry were presented. It was shown that general diseases kept women away from the job almost half as often again as men, and nervous diseases, almost three times as often.¹⁴

Discrimination in education. Despite the absence of legal restrictions on education, women students are still few, especially in technical schools.

A survey conducted in France in 1971 revealed that 64% of employed women lack special training. Most of the young women who

have had vocational training hold 'female' jobs. Spain in 1968 had not a single woman government-employed lawyer or notary public, and there were only three women pediatricians.¹⁵ In Great Britain there are only 500 women engineers. Two-thirds of the courts in England and Wales are barred to women lawyers.¹⁶

Most women are unskilled workers, medium and lower technical personnel, shop-assistants, hairdressers, and the like. Recent years have seen a gradual effacement of distinctions between 'male' and 'female' occupations. In the United States women constitute 20-60% of the labor force in steel and aluminum and predominate in many shops of some automobile plants. The number of women technologists, engineers, programmers and operators is growing, though very slowly.

Maternity care. Bourgeois countries lack an effective system of aid to working women, who have to combine work with family duties. The network of public nurseries and kindergartens is inadequate and most of them are privately owned and hence out of the reach of many working people. In France nurseries and kindergartens can admit only 32,828 children, whereas by WHO standards a country of more than 40 million people (and France is one of them) should have accommodation for 200,000.¹⁷ In Italy 140,000 children are cared for in public kindergartens and 1,316,000 in private ones. However, one million children between three and six years of age have no access to kindergartens.¹⁸ By early 1974 about two million Italian children could not be accommodated in communal nurseries.¹⁹ The situation is much the same in Britain, West Germany, Spain and many other countries.

Participation in public life and politics. Election returns of the recent period reveal a decline of women in government bodies. The French National Assembly had 39 women deputies in 1946, 23 in 1951, 19 in 1956, nine in 1958, eight in 1962, 11 in 1967 and eight in 1973.²⁰

There were 48 women elected to the Italian parliament in 1948, 35 in 1953, 28 in 1958, 32 in 1963, 29 in 1968 and 1972.²¹

The West German Bundestag included 34 women deputies, or 6.6%, in 1969 and 30, or 5.4%, after the 1972 elections.²² In the U.S., there have been 15 women in the House of Representatives since the 1972 elections (against 17 before).

While it is true that somewhat more women have lately joined trade unions, women still constitute only a small part of the organized workers. In 1958 women union members in the United States made up only 18.6% of the total, and in 1968, 19.5%.²³ Class trade unions appreciate the women workers' role in the struggle against monopoly, and strive to recruit more of them.

The proportion of women in bourgeois parties varies from five to 10%. Of late, there have been attempts to bring more women into parties.

The proportion of women in Socialist and Social-Democratic parties is higher, and varies from 20% to 35%. In the Communist parties, the vanguard of the fighters for emancipation, women make up an average one-third of the membership.

Conditions in the family. Under capitalism they are a product of the bourgeois way of life, in which money often determines family relations. This was rigidly formalized in the French civil code, which many countries of Europe and America used as a model. The code denied women civil rights and put them under their husbands' rule. It did not allow wives to control even the property owned by them before marriage or decide on the fate of their children, nor did they have equal rights in divorce.

In this century the growing role of women in production and public life and the struggle of progressive forces have resulted in the enactment by many countries of laws ending the more offensive forms of women's family bondage. However, in no capitalist country is family legislation complete enough to guarantee women genuine equality.

1. See *Political Affairs*, Nos. 10-11, November 1973, p. 31.
2. See *Avanti*, March 24, 1973, p. 3.
3. See *5e Conference nationale de la CGT May 17-18, 1973*. Paris, p.7.
4. See *World Trade-Union Movement*, No. 3, 1973.
5. *La Nouvelle Critique*, No. 52, April 1972.
6. *Handbook on Women Workers*. Washington, 1969, p. 72.
7. *La Nouvelle Critique*, No. 52, April 1972.
8. *Avanti*, December 11, 1973, p. 3.
9. R. Lamprecht, *Evas Töchter werden mündig* (Die Rolle der Frau in unserer Gesellschaft). Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1972, p. 7.
10. *5e Conference*, p. 11.
11. *Daily World*, June 27, 1972.
12. *Il Popolo*, October 20, 1973, p. 3.
13. See *5e Conference*.
14. Unione Donne Italiane. *La Salute della donna che lavora*. Turin, 1967, p. 461.
15. Maria Angeles Duran. *El trabajo de la mujer en Espana. Un estudio sociologico*. Editorial Tecnos, S.A. Madrid, 1972.
16. *Comment*, No. 11, April 10, 1971, p. 167.
17. See *Cahiers du communisme*, No. 2, February 1974, p. 62.
18. *L'Unita*, March 31, 1973.
19. *Giorni - Vie Nuove*, No. 3, January 23, 1974, p. 37.
20. A. Michel G. Texier, *La Condition de la Française d'aujourd'hui*. Paris, 1964, Vol. 1, p. 181; *L'Humanité*, March 11, 1967 and March 28, 1973.
21. *Notiziario trimestrale*, No. 2, 1974, p. 3.
22. See *Frau zu Frau*, No. 10, 1972.
23. See Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York, 1973, p. 146.

Détente – main stake in the struggle

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Recent events in the United States of America have given new emphasis to the importance and interdependence of a number of problems of peace and democracy at the present moment of history.

The resignation last August 8 of the 37th President of the United States to forestall impeachment and conviction for high crimes and misdemeanors was the first such event in the country's 200-year history. It projected into the forefront of world concern questions about the continuity of policies conducing to international détente which were associated with the administration of Richard Milhous Nixon. These policies were reflected in Nixon's visits to Moscow and his signing of the U.S.-USSR agreements that committed the U.S. government to peaceful coexistence. The visits and their results were judged both in the United States and abroad as the positive acts of his administration.

These events not only brought into focus the organic interconnections of détente and the people's liberties and living standards, but they have also placed the struggle for détente in the center of the struggles to defend the people's freedoms and livelihood. As Communist Party general secretary Gus Hall noted in his report which the Central Committee adopted at its meeting on June 29, 'for the U.S. the question of détente has emerged at the very center of a basic crossroads struggle that affects every phase of our lives . . . The fact is there can be no real assurance of peace or safeguards against a nuclear catastrophe without détente . . . The fact is there can be no successful struggle to slow down inflation without détente because détente makes it possible to struggle against the huge war budgets . . . The fact is there can be no meaningful struggle to cut taxes without détente.'

On August 9, while calling Nixon's exit 'an important victory for the democratic forces of our land,' Hall warned that 'the people must be alerted to the new conspiracy that is being spun by the cold-war

gang – who are trying to use the exit of Nixon to turn the clock back into the cold war channels with its policies of tension and nuclear brinkmanship . . . Only a fighting people's movement can guarantee that the United States will move toward détente. Only a people's movement can fight to cancel the 100 billion dollar war budget.'

The timeliness of Hall's warning was confirmed as Nixon's exit brought into the open the opposing forces in the struggle for détente in the USA, the main national arena of this international struggle. The Jackson, Wallace, Stevenson, Rostow forces in the Democratic Party, with their allies among the AFL-CIO hierarchy, so-called Liberals, Social-Democrats, Zionists, Trotskyites, Maoists and sections of the mass information media, are striving to represent themselves as 'internationalists' favoring détente, but only on condition that the countries of socialist democracy adopt capitalist ways of life. This is the real content of their demands for 'freedom of information' and 'freedom of emigration' in the socialist community, which they combine with incessant derogation of existing socialism and its achievements.

The Republican Party majority, which still commands the top positions in the executive branch, has indicated in its initial moves that it will adhere to the policies of the Nixon administration. It has declared its intention to continue the Nixon administration's policies of strengthening economic and political cooperation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. President Ford gave this assurance to Soviet Communist Party general secretary Leonid Brezhnev in a special message promptly after his accession to the presidency. This was followed by Ford's attempt to expedite adoption by Congress of the trade bill which would implement the U.S.-USSR agreement on expanding economic relations without discriminatory restrictions. On the other hand, the Ford-Kissinger-Schlesinger administration, now expanded to include Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, continues the massive military expenditures. These were policies aptly characterized by Gus Hall as 'trying to ride two horses going in opposite directions.'

Despite the opportunities this ambivalence of the Ford administration's first moves gives to the cold war forces, they have been considerably weakened. They have now been deprived of the fact of Nixon's complicity in the corruption and crimes of the Watergate conspiracy which they used to attack his administration's policies favoring détente. Also there are powerful pressures in both the United States and the world for the continuation and development of policies favoring détente.

The objective global process of the internationalization of economic life and its pressures, accentuated by the scientific-technical revolu-

tion, for expanding the international division of labor and industrial cooperation to develop production will exercise increasing influence on the policies of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism. The steadily growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and the increasing influence of their domestic and peace policies, while rebuffing the opponents of détente, enhance the socialist countries' attraction as stable partners in economic and political cooperation. Moreover, the rising influence of the national liberation movement and the non-aligned countries in the direction of international affairs has helped to establish a climate hostile to cold war tactics of tension and confrontation. In addition to these pressures, the same compulsions which forced U.S. imperialism to withdraw from its policy of frontal aggression and adopt policies favorable to détente have not diminished but, on the contrary, have increased in intensity. The erosion of the international position of U.S. state monopoly capitalism continues as the world revolutionary process further tilts the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and peace.

The U.S. monopolies' attempt to appropriate super-profits through the inflationary processes of mounting military expenditures at the expense of social services for the people encounters increasing resistance. Opposition to the mounting military budget acts as a catalyst for the people's resentment against the monopolies' manipulation of supply and dictation of prices, their man-killing intensification of labor and, with the state's complicity and the assistance of the class-collaborationist trade union bureaucracy, their drive on the living standards and liberties of the workers. The people's struggle to preserve their livelihood and democratic freedoms has fused with and strengthened the mass pressures for détente.

The change of U.S. administrations has neither eliminated nor lessened these pressures. Manifestations of the critical economic situation resulting from the deepening of capitalism's general crisis and affecting all capitalist countries are still evident. In the second quarter of this year the annual rate of growth registered a decline of 1.2 per cent, following a decline of seven per cent in the first quarter. This was accompanied by the continuation of runaway inflation, which has reached an annual rate of 12 per cent. In its *Economic Week* publication issued July 22, First National City Bank of New York, second biggest U.S. bank, said that the economy is 'being gripped by a pervasive recession' unprecedented since the decline of 1957-58, and predicted the decline will continue through 1974. Moreover, according to an analyst of the New York-based National Bureau of Economic Research, as reported in the *International Herald Tribune* of August 9, 'a marked slowdown in growth will occur late in the 1970s and continue well on into the 1980s.'

The class struggle expanded in scope and intensity as monopoly capital's offensive against the livelihood and liberties of the masses increasingly threatened in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Mass discontent surfaced in every sphere of the people's life. U.S. working men and women launched the biggest strike wave since the period following the second world war. Multi-strata organizations of consumers, minorities, peace activists, women, parents and children, tenants, and persons interested in tax and governmental reforms developed mass actions in support of their demands. Marches, demonstrations, picket lines, petition campaigns, countless rallies and mass meetings, and other forms of opposition to the monopolies and the government occurred ever more frequently in all parts of the country. The people's demands reflected the breadth of the struggle: a roll-back of prices, nationalization of the oil monopolies, tax reform to transfer the burden from the poor to the rich, day-care facilities for children of working mothers, reduction of rents and provision of low-rent housing, full equality for women, an end to racist and political repression, reduction of military spending, solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom.

Will the Ford administration succeed in restoring relative stability in the U.S. economy? His administration's initial measures to curb inflation, which he declared to be his paramount goal, were more of the same policies pursued by his predecessor. His intention to curtail government spending does not apply to military spending, and can only mean cutting expenditures for the social services of which the people have been so long deprived, expenditures for education, housing, health and aid to the 40 million living in poverty. His plans for holding down wages, which he demagogically represents as wage-price controls, will bring a further deterioration in the living standards of the masses, further reducing the purchasing power of the workers' wages, which declined 7.6 per cent in the period between April 1973, and April 1974, and in June declined again for the eighth consecutive month.

Moreover, on the eve of the 200th anniversary of its founding in 1776 as, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, 'government by consent of the governed,' the U.S. government will be headed by a President and a Vice-President, neither of whom was elected by the people. This circumstance is rendered more ominous by the status and record of the Vice-President. The richest man ever to hold this high office, with an income estimated to exceed five million dollars a year, Rockefeller is a member of the family at the pinnacle of the monopoly pyramid which has a controlling influence in the federal government, in most of the state and city governments, and in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The urgency of the defense of constitutional government and the freedom of the people became more compelling as the investigation of the Watergate conspiracy unfolded. The disclosures revealed that during his five and one-half years in office, President Nixon carried the process of concentrating power in the executive, and restructuring the courts to legalize repression, further than any of his predecessors. Although the process had started with the Roosevelt administration, had developed in earnest under President Truman, and had further grown under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, Nixon gave it a special character.

It was in June and July of 1970 that Nixon conspired with heads of the CIA, FBI, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and National Security Agency (NSA) to implement the so-called 'Huston Plan' for creating a super-secret personal police to engage in political surveillance, wiretapping, burglary, eavesdropping, interference with the mails, military spying on civilians, provocations, infiltrations of democratic and progressive organizations, staged demonstrations and other operations in violation of the laws and the Constitution of the United States. This plan was in full operation during the 1972 presidential elections, and the complicity of monopoly capital in its implementation was shown by the multi-million dollar contributions from corporations and individual millionaires to the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP). Subsequent revelations concerning the criminal activities of CREEP cast doubt on the authenticity of the so-called 'landslide victory' of Nixon in 1972.

Actually, monopoly capital with Nixon's direct complicity committed much more serious crimes during the Watergate period. In his latest book, *The Energy Rip-Off - Cause and Cure* (International Publishers, New York, 1974, page 54), Gus Hall says, 'The biggest Watergate crimes were . . . in the area of the political-industrial-military complex, the illegal invasion and secret bombing of Cambodia, the criminal genocidal bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the collaboration with ITT and Kennecott in organizing the bloody fascist coup in Chile. And much more serious were, and are, the crimes in the economic and social areas - the freezing of workers' wages while prices soar; the impounding of tens of millions of funds destined for social needs; the unconstitutional, illegal attacks on the Black people - on the job front and on the education front - and the murderous assault on the Indian people in the second atrocity of Wounded Knee. The oil shortage and its handling by the Nixon administration is one of its biggest economic crimes against the American people yet.'

Some aspects of the election campaign operations came to light. However, all the official investigations sought to prevent disclosure of the financing and master-minding of this process by monopoly capital.

As for Nixon, his propensity for chicanery proved his undoing. The secret tapes on which he had recorded conversations with all his associates without their knowledge or consent provided irrefutable evidence of his leadership and direction of both the Watergate operation and the attempted cover-up. The revelations of his authoritarian inclinations set in motion such a sweeping democratic movement for his impeachment and conviction that the certainty of his ouster became overwhelming.

The demand took the form of mass actions by hundreds of organizations around the country, defeat of Republican candidates in mid-term federal and state and municipal elections, a deluge of telegrams and letters to the White House and the press. In this drive, individual trade unions took the lead, placing the question of defense of constitutional government in the center of the campaign for impeachment. West Coast Longshoremens, United Mine Workers, Communication Workers, United Automobile Workers, United Electrical Workers, Butcher Workmen, Fur Workers, and rank and file workers in other unions added their numbers and influence to the drive for impeachment. At the AFL-CIO convention in 1972 the sentiment was so overwhelming for impeachment that the Meany-Fitzsimmons-Abel clique of class collaborationist leaders were forced to approve official AFL-CIO endorsement of the impeachment drive.

The sinister implications and gravity of this socio-political crisis did not soon become public knowledge either in the United States or abroad. The Communist Party had declared Nixon's secret apparatus increased the danger of neo-fascism. However, the official investigative bodies and mass information media in the USA engaged in a gigantic cover-up of the class roots of Watergate, its source in state monopoly capital, its use of racism, anti-Semitism and Zionism, its assistance from the class-collaborationist AFL-CIO hierarchy, its links with the leaders of both of monopoly's political parties, its activization of ultra-right groups such as the John Birch Society, Liberty Lobby, National Youth Alliance, American Independence Party, White Citizens' Council, Ku Klux Klan and National Socialist White People's Party.

Attempts were made by the media to pass off the conspiracy as only a mere case of burglary, or as merely another of the recurrent scandals of corruption in U.S. political history, or as a partisan tiff between the Republicans and Democrats. These 'explanations' were picked up and handed on to the peoples of other capitalist countries by their government officials and mass media.

The socialist community followed its own, independent line in relation to the political developments within the United States. As always, they adhered strictly to the principles of peaceful coexis-

tence, which include non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Conscious of the class implications of the latest events in the USA, their attention was focussed on the Nixon administration's foreign policies, especially on the policies conducing to détente. Consistent implementation of the socialist Peace Program requires consolidation of the positive changes in international relations furthered by the Soviet-American agreements. Communists know that this helps eliminate the war danger and adds to the opportunities of cooperation between countries with different social systems, acting therefore in the interest of most of mankind.

The seeming paradox of how an administration engaged in building a contingency repressive apparatus inside the U.S. government could simultaneously pursue a policy leading to international détente was explicable by the conflicting interests of state-monopoly capitalism. The U.S. monopolies need the administration's support in their intensified offensive against the living standards and democratic liberties of the U.S. working people, and in their activity in the global arena. Support in their world activity is especially necessary due to the gradual devaluation of U.S. monopoly capital's international position. When the monopoly drive for super-profits through militarization, inflation and speedup encountered rebuff from the masses, after the international position of the USA continued to deteriorate under the impact of the world revolutionary process, U.S. imperialism shifted to the Right in domestic policy. At the same time it sought to adapt to the changed balance of forces in the world with the policy of détente, in which, the facts show, influential monopoly quarters have a definite stake. The former administration tried in vain to cope with these contradictory objectives.

In leaving the presidency Nixon short-circuited the democratic process of impeachment and conviction which was moving to expose the real criminals of the Watergate conspiracy and stimulate a countrywide mass movement to prevent another Watergate. Monopoly capital reckons on the prospect that Ford's image as an 'honest' man, albeit a man with a reactionary legislative record in Congress, and the image of his Vice-President as an 'incorruptible and experienced administrator' will restore the people's confidence in the system. The U.S. Communist Party warns it would be a mistake to rely either on Ford's 'honesty' or Rockefeller's 'incorruptibility' to safeguard the people's liberties. 'Only a militant people's democratic movement can safeguard the democratic rights and institutions of our country,' said Gus Hall.

In this situation, the outcome of the struggle in the U.S. national arena to stabilize the political détente and consolidate it with economic cooperation and military détente will increasingly be

influenced by the activities of the now aroused masses, and the growth of working-class activities. New opportunities for mass activity will arise as the struggle for détente becomes more closely linked with the struggles to defend the people's livelihood and democratic liberties. The struggle will increasingly expose the cold war forces as the implacable enemies of improving the living standards and adversaries of democracy as well as of détente.

Social Democracy and 'social partnership'

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Out of the seven million Austrians, nearly 700,000 are members of the Socialist Party, which has been in power for over four years. What is the present situation in the SPA, one of the biggest social-democratic parties of the capitalist world?

When Bruno Kreisky formed the first SPA government in April 1970, it was a minority government, but in October 1971 the SPA won an absolute majority in the National Assembly, crossing the 'providential line,' beyond which, as the Socialists (particularly their 'Austro-Marxist' faction) had maintained for years, they would begin working wonders, transforming society and 'surmounting the existing system.'

In the intervening years, the SPA has dug in in many important areas: it has its own man as Chancellor, and another as Federal President,¹ and controls the Gewerkschaftsbund, the country's only trade union center. The SPA government is also in direct charge of the strong nationalized sector of the economy, controlling almost the entire heavy industry and two of the country's biggest banks. Two other financial institutions of the same magnitude, including the bank run by the trade unions, are also closely associated with the Socialist Party.

Another important SPA stronghold is the system of 'social partnership' between big capital and the socialist leadership, initiated some 20 years ago. The partnership works mainly through a parity wage-price committee, in which, virtually behind closed doors, the industrialists'

association and the trade unions formulate wage, price and employment policies for the benefit of state-monopoly capitalism.

In contrast to Italy and the FRG, Austria has had no visible economic recessions. For years, she has had one of the highest economic growth rates among the developed capitalist states, and was one of the last in wages and number of strikes. Besides, the people pay higher taxes than ever before, and prices rise at an annual rate of 10 per cent.

Plumping for 'social partnership,' the SPA leaders have in their Eisenstadt Statement prohibited members to cooperate with Communists. Clinging to their notorious conception of 'totalitarianism,' they, of all things, identify communism with fascism. Chancellor Kreisky, the SPA president, propounds social democracy as the 'alternative to communism' nationally and internationally. He contends that the 'main contradiction' of our time is between communism and social democracy, and urges a social-democratic alternative that would 'through a process of social changes ... exercise an influence deep within the sphere of communist power.'²

The results of SPA rule, designed mainly to stabilize capitalism, especially big capital, are best illustrated by big business profits, which rose more rapidly in the past four years than at any other time of the second republic.

In sum, 'social partnership' is a classical example of that 'other method' of capitalist government Lenin described as 'the method of deception, flattery, fine phrases, promises by the million, petty sops, and concessions of the unessential while retaining the essential' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 63-64). In the state-monopoly setting it pays off in better organization or, as Kreisky puts it, in 'modernization.'

How do its members feel about this policy of the SPA, which still wields influence over a substantial majority of the working class?

The past several months saw livelier activity among factory workers, including those in the biggest nationalized plants. They came out against the state's tax policy and inflation, which pare down their earnings and propel a further redistribution of the national income in favor of big capital. The SPA has experienced losses in elections to *langtags* and communal councils, whereas the Communist Party registered substantial gains in almost all of them. And in the latest elections to production councils candidates of the Communists, Left Socialists and independents won nearly 50 per cent more votes than in the previous elections.

The conflict between the socialist government's political line and the interests and hopes of the vast majority of the SPA members and supporters, has naturally affected the situation within the party. This was borne out by the 22nd SPA Congress this February in Vienna, and by the related discussions.

Like the leadership, many rank-and-file members and the 'trustees'³ are unhappy over the situation in the SPA, though for different, sometimes opposite, reasons. Even before the Congress, opposing attempts to 'set a distance between the SPA and the government, Kreisky maintained that the party's main job was 'to explain the government's policy.'⁴ Nittel, secretary of the party's Vienna branch, put it more bluntly. 'The SPA,' he said at the Congress, 'should be the socialist government's propagandist.' The refusal of some 'trustees' to act in this capacity (since the policy of the present cabinet is anything but socialist) has disturbed the party leadership.

SPA propaganda chief Brantl complained that 'the SPA and first of all its followers do not yet fully understand the party's changed role.' What he meant was that Socialists had traded the opposition benches in parliament for ministerial portfolios. It was farthest from his thoughts to admit that the SPA government was working for big capital. Brantl ascribed the 'lack of understanding' to the rampant discontent among the socialist rank and file.

Education Minister Sinowatz, too, did not mince words. The party's 'infantry' wasn't doing too well, he complained, though its 'general staff' was better than it has ever been. And Anton Benja, the trade union president who is also the first chairman of Parliament, recommended getting more functionaries with courage to defend unpopular measures. Lack of 'courage,' Benja said, stems from apathy, desolation and disenchantment. But active discontent is also shaping over what the party, which advocates an 'alternative to communism,' has now become. 'What about the promised social reforms?' ask its members and supporters, and wonder if the SPA is at all capable of making changes.

Salzburg University professor Dr. Leser wrote earlier this year that the SPA's internal development is contrary to the aim of 'democratizing all spheres of life,' to which Chancellor Kreisky so fondly refers. It is not enough to register discontent within the party, the professor said. This discontent has long since become 'a symptom of the crisis of the very pillars' of the SPA. Party members, Leser wrote, are urged to be opportunists, rather than socialists.

Josef Hindels, secretary of the wartime resistance fighters' organization, is still more critical. Noting the 'lack of inner-party democracy,' he stressed in an article that people who 'want several paid jobs' frequently use their position to influence conference delegates 'entrusted with the distribution of posts.' Recalling the words of Victor Adler, one of the founders of the Austrian social-democratic movement, that it is not enough to win votes, but also essential to bring up Social Democrats, Hindels wrote: 'The only criterion now is the drive for ballots. . . . Educating SPA members in a socialist spirit is

becoming impossible in such an atmosphere.' He added: 'Loss of their socialist essence and ever greater integration with the existing social system is a process that is under way with varying intensity in all the big social-democratic parties of Europe.'⁵

The anti-socialist ideology of the SPA and the decline of inner-party democracy are facts not solely of an ideological order. Their roots go deeper, traceable to the conditions created by Austrian state-monopoly capitalism. The lessons of the Austrian fascism of the 30s and of the nazi years are among the reasons why the Austrian bourgeoisie is camouflaging its rule. The other reasons are the changed relation of world forces in favor of socialism, the State Treaty, and the increasingly obvious structural weakness of national capital. Monopoly capitalism stands for political reaction all down the line, and this is just as true of state-monopoly capitalism under a 'reformist' government.

In Austria this has spawned the specific institution of 'social partnership,' which reactionaries extol as the greatest joint creation by the weak though experienced Austrian bourgeoisie and the strong social-democratic movement. 'The Political and Ideological Principles of the Struggle of the CP of Austria,' a document adopted by the Party's 22nd Congress, says: 'Most of the top SPA leaders holding high posts in the economy and state, are in fact acting as managers for state-monopoly capitalism. The integration of the socialist leadership into the system of state-monopoly rule has gone especially far in Austria. The reasons are the large scale of the nationalized sector, integration in the state-monopoly system of BAWAG, the trade-union bank, the SPA-controlled financial institutions, consumer cooperatives, and other organizations . . . and the 'social partnership' organizations . . . The traditional subordination of the trade unions to the Socialist Party makes it easier for the SPA leadership and the trade union bureaucracy to deter the masses from large-scale class action that would open their eyes to the true function of social democracy.'

The organizations of 'social partnership'⁶ were formed after the big October 1950 strike of several hundred thousand wage-and salary-earners under CP of Austria leadership. They were set up in defiance of the Constitution, were not legislatively formalized, and function under agreements between the 'social partners' with the purpose of 'extinguishing crises' and averting 'social upheaval.'

How do the Socialists view the existence in their 'constitutional state' of these non-elective bodies functioning 'in trans-legal space' and taking important decisions behind the backs of the public and parliament?

F. Klenner, a trade union leader of long standing and president of the country's third largest bank, says on this score: 'As long as the

present palliative does not succumb to crisis nothing will be done to formalize it constitutionally ... These small and by nature unique organs are sufficiently responsible. ... General interests may sometimes suffer in the search for compromise, but that is better than the far greater injury to society from large-scale social battles.'

But actually it is the other way round. Prevention of mass actions enables the 'social partners,' the upper crust of the SPA and big capital, to play havoc with the interests of the working people in the interests of the ruling class, speciously described as 'general' economic interests.

Take these several examples.

In capitalist countries wage autonomy is customarily regarded as evidence of 'trade union independence.' In Austria, however, it has been reduced to nought by the 'playing rules' and practices of 'social partnership.' Industrial unions send their members' wage demands to the presiding body of the Gewerkschaftsbund. If approved, they go to one of the sub-committees of the Parity Committee. And not until its consent is obtained may the bargaining begin, with the proviso that the outcome goes to the Parity Committee for final approval.

In other countries it is customary for the unions to consult their membership about the nature and extent of their demands, and about how to act for them. Sometimes they hold referendums. In Austria this is regarded as improper, even intolerable, because it is said to be incompatible with the function of the 'unique organs.'

Little surprise, therefore, that union leaders reject the idea of direct elections. Instead, they manipulate the results of elections to production councils and are thus able to hand pick members for the Gewerkschaftsbund's presiding bodies. They treat 'trustees' with something akin to contempt. Even collection of trade union dues is delegated to the factory pay clerk. And in contravention of the rules, at many enterprises no general meetings are held for years.

The right to strike is not legislatively formalized. The Gewerkschaftsbund presidium decides if a strike is 'legal' or not, with the result that nearly all strikes that might jeopardize the 'social partnership' are written off as 'wildcat.'

In an article shortly before the 22nd SPA Congress, Kreisky described as out of date the Hainfeld Program's main postulate of 'organizing the proletariat politically, helping it to understand its situation and aim, making it spiritually and physically fit for combat ...' 'Social partnership' is an outright negation of any such aim. Speaking at that congress Brantl complained that too many Party members read newspapers of an anti-socialist orientation. What he does not say is that the most influential and reactionary, the *Kronenzeitung*, was founded on loans from the trade union bank, that is, on

workers' money. It is usually the first to publish the major SPA political statements – even beating the official Socialist Party press. It is obviously the SPA's advertising 'medium' among anti-communist and reactionary forces.

Nenning, a prominent Social Democrat (who certainly did not mean to criticize, but rather argued in favor of cooperation between big capital and the Socialist Party leadership), described 'social partnership' as 'mutual protection of the vitally important interest of both sides – the existence of Social Democracy as an effective parliamentary and trade union organization and the existence of capitalism as a successful profit-yielding economic system – and mutual support in allocating the parts they play in society ... Such was the historical basis of the 'grand coalition' (the Austrian People's Party and the SPA – *E.W.*), and such is the foundation of 'social partnership' in the Kreisky era.'⁸

The 'social partnership' policy necessarily curtails democracy in all public areas, including the parties and organizations that serve this policy.

Why is Austria's political climate so stuffy?

Why has the ruling class left so much less 'breathing space' for factories, trade unions, communes, information media, schools and universities than most other West European countries where the concentration of capital is much denser, democratic traditions hardly any stronger, and the correlation of forces in the labor movement just about the same?

The answer is that the 'social partners' – big capital and the SPA leadership – subordinate all spheres of society to the requirements of their alliance.

This is why the 'social partnership' system must be broken and the Gewerkschaftsbund liberated from subservience to the big capitalists before the Austrian working class will be able to fight for democratic rights, safeguard its immediate and long-term interests, and the monopoly-oppressed intermediate strata will be able to break the present stranglehold. This would help the unions to be what they are meant to be – a weapon of the proletariat. That is the crucial aim in the drive to tilt the balance in favor of the working class. The Communist Party knows that this will take a long time, much work, much patience and perseverance, and consistent efforts to organize united action. But it has to be done.

It is gratifying to see that critically-minded young Socialists accept important elements of our analysis of state-monopoly capitalism, the 'social partnership' policy, and the Social-Democratic leadership.

Following the Socialist Party's latest congress, 150 of its active members and functionaries published a pamphlet, 'For a Socialist SPA Policy,' criticizing the government.

After four years of SPA rule, its authors show, all spheres of society are as before subordinate to capitalist interests, which are faithfully served by the nationalized and communal enterprises, the unions and the state. The state, they note, 'is compelled to interfere whenever problems cannot be solved through the profit-motivated market.' Despite the considerable economic growth, they point out, the workers' share in the social product has declined, while that of the capitalists has risen. 'From 1969 to 1973 per capita incomes rose by 47 per cent, while the profits of independent producers went up 107. And while profits were about three times as high as the incomes of wage- and salary-earners in 1969, they were probably more than four times higher in 1973.' (Since the profits referred to are those of *all* independent producers, including artisans, it is safe to say that big capital augmented profits at a much higher rate. — *E.W.*). The pamphlet calls attention to the fact that available opportunities for reform are totally neglected. 'So long as the SPA accepts capitalism as something to live with and advances no strategy of combating it,' its authors conclude, 'it will be a compliant object of capitalist influence.'

The pamphlet is a symptom of the differentiation within the Socialist Party. Yet it is narrow in approach. Conceding ground to anti-communism, for example, its authors go so far as to equate socialist with imperialist countries. And while criticizing the capitalist state, they outline a 'strategy of reform,' setting the sights on a possible 'alliance of aims' with the 'progressive capitalist factions.'

The CP of Austria has had to face similar views in its own ranks. Right opportunists averred that by virtue of capitalism's structural weakness in Austria and the insignificance of the many small- and medium-scale private enterprises, the first thing to do was to modernize and program its structure. They wanted to use the nationalized industry for this purpose, and urged ending the efforts to change the character of the state, terming this as 'unrealistic' in the present stage. In defiance of the facts, they held that the material premises for socialism had not matured in Austria, and wanted the struggle for it to be called off. There is very little to choose between this standpoint and that of Kreisky, who has set out to 'modernize' the present capitalism on the basis of 'social partnership' and step up the concentration of capital to make it more 'competitive' and lay the ground for a 'welfare state.' If the Left Socialists fall for the theory of alliance with 'progressive capital,' they will in due course come back to Kreisky's policy, some aspects of which they now oppose.

The CP of Austria wants joint action with anyone who is prepared

for it. But it will always draw a line between reformist and socialist conceptions. By joint action the CPA understands just that and nothing more – joint action but not identical attitudes.

Any strategy designed to eliminate the capitalist system in Austria (and that is what the critically-minded Socialists call for in their pamphlet), must be directed at creating an anti-monopoly alliance. A revolution with a clear socialist perspective is quite possible, even if it does not undermine the political and economic power of monopoly capital in the intermediate stage, but impossible until there is a broad anti-monopoly movement.

And since both nationally and internationally the present SPA leadership is in league with monopoly capital described as 'progressive,' no enduring united action by the majority of the working class, no broad alliance of the anti-monopoly forces, is possible without struggle against this SPA policy. We refer here to united action not with worker Socialists alone – though that is crucial, considering the numbers of the SPA – but also with all those working people who have but recently become part of the working class and continue to give their votes to the Austrian People's Party.

Some progress has been made. Despite the SPA leadership's ban, socialist and communist students in some of the universities have agreed on joint action. Despite the trade union leaders' instructions, styled in the 'social partnership' spirit, socialist, communist and unaffiliated workers of the larger enterprises have made joint demands for a radical tax reform and higher wages. And despite Kreisky's repeated reminders about the ban on cooperating with Communists in actions of solidarity with Chile, there was an impressive demonstration in Vienna, in which Communists, Socialists and progressive Catholics took part.

All this bears out the CPA document, 'The Political and Ideological Principles of the Struggle of the CP of Austria,' which stresses that the Austrian Social Democrats are headed by functionaries and managers who in ideology, income and privilege, that is, in material standing, belong to the oligarchic upper crust of state-monopoly capitalism. Not so the hundreds of thousands of SPA members, who belong to the working class. This is why joint action by the working class is, in the long run, sure to come about.

1. The winner of the June 1974 interim presidential elections following the death of socialist President Franz Jonas was Rudolf Kirchschläger, who, though not formally a member of the SPA, has had a long association with, and was nominated by it. – *Ed.*

2. See Bruno Kriesky, 'Aspekte des demokratischen Sozialismus,' List-Verlag, p. 176.

3. Elected by shopfloor trade union groups – *Ed.*

4. See *Die Zukunft*, Jan. 1974, No. 1/2, p. 2.

5. See *Die Zukunft*, January 1974, No. 1/2, pp. 46, 49.

6. Like the Parity Committee, these organs draft parliamentary resolutions on prices, wages, customs tariffs, credits, investment, and the like. They consist of representatives of the Economic Chamber (industrial capital), Agricultural Chamber (landlords), the Labor Chamber and the Gewerkschaftsbund. — *Ed.*

7. The Hainfeld Program of 1889 was the ideological foundation of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. — *Ed.*

8. See Günther Nenning, *Rot und realistisch*, Europa-Verlag, p. 368.

For recognition of the French-Canadian nation

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Canada is inhabited by two nations: the French-Canadian whose homeland is Québec,* and the English-speaking nation. Each of these two historically-evolved nations possesses its national identity and consciousness, the formation of which, particularly in English-speaking Canada, has been influenced by the cultural traditions of the ethnic groups of non-French and non-English origin which have migrated to the country and are gradually merging with the two nations. But the French-Canadians are subjected to oppression which arises from the time of the victory by the British over Canada more than 200 years ago.

The Program of the Communist Party of Canada recognizes that the French-Canadians in Québec are an oppressed nation, while rejecting the theory that Québec is a colony of English Canada. Québec today is not a colonial appendage. It has all the basic features of a developed capitalist country. How, then, does national oppression of the French-Canadian people manifest itself?

Let us examine the political aspects of this question. The British North America Act (its very name reminds us of Canada's colonial past), which serves as Canada's constitution, does not recognize the existence of the French-Canadian nation, not to speak of its right to self-determination. Québec, the national territory of the French-Canadian nation, is considered a province equal to each of the nine

*Québec — one of the 10 Canadian provinces.

Area — 1,540,000 sq.km.; population — 6 million (1971), mostly French-Canadians. Was a French colony until taken over by the British following the Seven-Year War, 1756-63. — *Ed.*

English-speaking provinces. It has the same autonomous rights, but does not have the sovereign rights of a national state within a binational federated state.

Indeed, the powerful Anglo-Canadian monopolist bourgeoisie, in a moment of sharp crisis in Québec, chose Pierre Elliott Trudeau as Prime Minister because, despite his French-Canadian background, he insisted and still insists on: 'One Canada, One Nation.' In October 1970, Mr. Trudeau showed how faithful and even eager a servant of the monopolist bourgeoisie he was when he ordered a Canadian army of occupation into Québec and invoked the Canadian War Measures Act followed by over 3,000 searches and 500 arrests without warning, claiming there was a state of 'apprehended insurrection,' following the kidnapping by separatist terrorists of two public personages. Subsequent remarks by Mr. Trudeau revealed that he had been looking for just such a pretext to invoke the War Measures Act, or some equally repressive new legislation, in order to enforce by coercion his 'One Canada, One Nation' policy. Thus, to deny the acuteness of the national question would simply be giving support to Anglo-Canadian chauvinism.

In the economic sphere what emerges most sharply is that the annual per capita income in Québec has always been well below the all-Canadian average, and even today is at least 10 per cent below this average, whereas unemployment in Québec is double that of the all-Canadian average.

Greater Montreal has a population of two million (one-third of Québec's six million population). A special group, which studied income in relation to ethnic origin there, established that out of the 14 ethnic groups examined French-Canadians came 12th in annual income, followed only by Italo-Canadians and North American Indians. Anglo-Saxons were not only on top of the list, but earned considerably more than the average income for all Canadians. It is no accident that strikes frequently occur in Québec for parity with wages prevailing in Toronto, a demand which has always won the support of the workers of Toronto and of English Canada in general.

Inequality and oppression have their roots historically and primarily in the pact, known as the Québec Act, entered into by the British conquerors with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in 1774. At a time when Roman Catholicism suffered severe restrictions in England, it was granted full freedom in Québec and control of the educational system in return for support by the Church hierarchy against the growing rebellious tide in the 13 (largely Protestant and Puritan) colonies to the south, which culminated in the American revolution of 1775-76.

This brought about a situation in which educational standards for

the French-speaking Catholic population of Québec were far below those of the English-speaking Protestant system.

Greater poverty and poorer social service systems, all went into creating a much higher mortality rate in Québec, a greater incidence of many types of disease and other social evils than were to be found in English Canada.

No doubt the rapid accession to independent statehood of many oppressed nations and colonies at the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, relying on the help of the newly-formed socialist camp, struck a responsive chord and helped to bring about a national awakening and a will to struggle even among oppressed nations and races in the advanced capitalist countries. The example of Cuba, 90 miles from the USA, standing up to U.S. imperialism and, with the help of the socialist camp, forcing it to withdraw its fangs, thrilled and inspired many thousands, especially young French-Canadian patriots. During the 1960s the struggle for national-liberation in Québec took hold of broad sections of the working people.

In Québec itself three different sections of society have in turn moved to the forefront in the past 14 years.

The so-called 'Quiet Revolution,' which began in 1960 with the defeat of the Union Nationale and the election of the Lesage Liberal government, was essentially the creation of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie.

The long period of Duplessis-Union Nationale rule was characterized, on the economic side, by highly partisan favoritism toward certain (mostly U.S.) monopolies, to the detriment of the all-sided development of modern monopoly capitalism in Quebec. This was most sharply seen in the failure to nationalize the great hydro-electric enterprises which used their monopoly control of water resources to exact high rates from other industrial monopolies. Furthermore, its political base being in the countryside, the Union Nationale did everything possible to prevent the modernization of agriculture.

At the same time, the Union Nationale, closely allied to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, maintained religious control of the educational system, effectively eliminating higher education for French-Canadian girls, channelling French-Canadian youth into the 'humanities,' and educating the English-speaking bourgeois youth for control of the economy and of the finances of Québec.

The two main objectives of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie – removal of the economic and educational obstacles to the 'free' development of state-monopoly capitalism in Québec – were achieved by the mid-60s through the 'Quiet Revolution' and its nationalization of hydro-electric power on the one hand, and the reorganization and partial 'democratization' of the educational system, on the other.

But the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, whose appetite was whetted by the development of the home market with the rapid, forced exodus to the cities of ruined farmers, were not prepared to accept the order emanating from the continentalist big bourgeoisie to halt the 'Quiet Revolution.' ('Continentalists' in Canada, are the supporters of the economic and political subordination of the country to its neighbor, the United States. — *Ed.*). They were looking for French-Canadian control of the home market in Québec and to replace the Anglo-Canadian monopolists in Québec as collaborators and competitors of U.S. imperialism.

The most dynamic elements of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie rallied around the demand for an independent, separate (or loosely associated) Québec. This came into conflict with the interests and aims of the monopoly bourgeoisie, including the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, and drew fierce denunciation from them. With the expulsion of the petty bourgeois nationalist elements from the Liberal Party and their attempted expulsion from the Union Nationale, the way was cleared for the creation of the Parti Québécois — the first really mass party of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie of Québec since World War II.

In all the sharp national-democratic and class struggle which have broken out since 1970, when the Parti Québécois first gained parliamentary representation, this party has demonstrated its typical petty-bourgeois, vacillating character — never failing to express its 'sympathy' with the aspirations of the working class, and never failing to support the big bourgeoisie in its repressive actions against these aspirations.

Seeking to attract working-class support, the Parti Québécois adopted a social program with a social-democratic coloration wedded to a separatist political program whose most recent expression was seen in its 1973 annual convention which called for a republican Québec with a presidential system modelled on that of the United States in order to maintain presidential independence from the elected parliament and hence 'social stability!' The chief spokesman for this nixonian 'stability' (!), Jacques-Yvan Morin, was subsequently chosen parliamentary leader for the Parti Québécois faction in the National Assembly (the name adopted for the provincial legislature of Québec).

Nevertheless, as a result of the absence of a mass Communist Party or a mass social-democratic party, the Parti Québécois has made inroads in the labor movement, spreading its poison of nationalism, particularly in its reformist sectors.

The reaction among the workers in English Canada to the movement for self-determination, and especially to its separatist tenden-

cies, and even more so to its anarchist tendencies (expressed in a number of terrorist acts) required that the Communist Party of Canada arm the working class of both English Canada and of Québec, not only with a sound theoretical approach to the solution of the national problem but, on this basis, with bold fighting banners of its own. The Communists could not tolerate a situation where the workers of French Canada, for lack of a clear program on the national question, were being taken in tow by the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie; and where the workers of English Canada because of the opportunist ambiguity of the New Democratic Party leadership on this question, as on so many others, were accepting the deadly, chauvinist slogan of 'One Canada, One Nation.' The class solidarity and unity between the workers of English Canada and of Québec, built up over a century of class struggle, stood in grave danger of disintegration.

These were the circumstances when, in October 1970, the day after the adoption by the Federal Government of the War Measures Act, the Communist Party of Canada organized an opposition demonstration on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, and at its 21st Convention in November 1971, adopted the new edition of the Party's Program, 'The Road to Socialism in Canada,' in which the national question in Canada is dealt with more fully than in previous editions.

Since 1935, the Communist Party of Canada has recognized that the French-Canadians in Québec have all the attributes of a nation and should, therefore, have the right to self-determination up to and including secession, if the majority of them so desire.

At no time has our Party advocated separatism. To this very day, however, there are people who charge the Communist Party with advocating separatism because it champions the right to self-determination, that is the *right* to secede. In his time, Lenin replied to such critics very aptly:

'To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce as encouraging the destruction of family ties. Just as in bourgeois society the defenders of privilege and corruption, on which bourgeois marriage rests, oppose freedom of divorce, so, in the capitalist state, repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defense of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration, to the detriment of democratic methods' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 422-423).

The sovereignty of a national state may be expressed in the free national choice of one of three forms: a separate state; a confederation

of equal nations or states; autonomy. Separation is only one expression of genuine sovereignty, and by no means always the expression that is in the best interests of the working people involved.

The autonomy proposal ('special status' under the amended BNA Act) in the circumstances of Canada would continue the non-recognition of the French-Canadian nation. This preferred solution of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, expressed in different words by the Québec Liberal Party and the Union Nationale, would maintain national discrimination. It seeks to win more sovereignty for Québec only by increasing that of all 10 provinces, in the expectation that only Québec would use its new power, thus achieving 'special status.' It is unworkable and would increase the fragmentation of English Canada.

The separatist solution, preferred by a section of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie, would entail severe economic hardships to the working people of both nations and would weaken their political unity against their common enemies – Canadian monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism. In particular the French-Canadian working class would suffer through isolation from the workers of English Canada. Separatism would put a brake on the industrial development of Québec owing to the sharp reduction in the internal market with consequent increased unemployment and a lowering of the standard of living.

Unity, on the other hand, creates the best conditions in the struggle for an independent and socialist Canada. The democratic national forces of French Canada are a powerful potential ally of the labor movement in common struggle against Canadian and U.S. imperialism.

In his report on the occasion of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev said: 'The Communists have always viewed the national question through the prism of the class struggle, believing its solution had to be subordinated to the interests of the revolution, to the interests of socialism. That is why the Communists and all fighters for socialism believe that the main aspect of the national question is unification of the working people, regardless of their national origin, in the common battle against every type of oppression, and for a new social system ruling out exploitation of the working people.' This Leninist principle lies at the heart of the program of the Communist Party of Canada.

The section 'Two Nations in One State' of our program declares: 'The crisis of Confederation has deepened, arising from the refusal of monopoly and its state to recognize that the French-Canadians in Québec constitute a nation. The economic and social inequality in French Canada is perpetuated and intensified because of it.' That is why for many years now the Communist Party has put forward the

proposal of a freely-negotiated new confederal pact between the two nations, a new Canadian Constitution, based on the voluntary, equal partnership of the two nations in a binational, sovereign and democratic state, as being the best sovereign solution in the interests of the working people of both nations.

Such a Constitution can achieve unity only if it recognizes that Canada is composed basically of two nations, each having the right to self-determination, to political sovereignty, up to and including the right to separate if the majority of one or the other nation so desires. The representatives of the two nations will have to decide voluntarily what aspects of foreign relations, defense, customs, immigration, and money and postal matters should be turned over to a confederated government, together with the tax resources to sustain them.

The Communist Party proposes a confederated republic with a government consisting of two chambers: one, such as the House of Commons today, based on representation by population; the other, to replace the present Senate, to be composed of an equal number of elected representatives from each of the two national states. Each chamber should have the equal right to initiate legislation, but both must adopt the legislation before it becomes law. This structure will protect both democratic principles: equality of rights of nations whatever their size, and majority rule.

For English Canada, a new Constitution will make it possible to mitigate the regional inequalities which result from the inability of the Atlantic and Prairie provinces to tax the big corporations centered in Ontario which draw their profits from the exploitation of the country as a whole. It will make it possible to unify and centralize social legislation in all of English Canada without transgressing on the sovereignty of Québec and on the national sentiments of the French-Canadian people. It will reassure all provinces that the great corporations will not be able to escape responsibility for establishing equal opportunities throughout English Canada in education, living standards, social welfare legislation. It will become possible to achieve high uniform standards of education with due regard for needed regional emphasis in all of English Canada. Above all, it will strengthen the bonds of solidarity of the working people of both nations.

The growing disunity between English and French Canada can only be reversed if the causes – inequality and national oppression – are removed.

Support by the democratic forces of English-speaking Canada for recognition of French Canada's right of self-determination and support of French-Canadian democratic forces for unity of the peoples of both nations against the common enemy – Canadian monopoly and

U.S. imperialism – this is the way to overcome the long-standing distrust, friction, and resentments that have divided the two peoples. At the heart of this policy is the principle of working-class internationalism; the unity in action of the working class of French and English-speaking Canada is the decisive factor in this.

'Because its economic and political needs are at stake,' says our Party Program,* 'it is primarily the working class and particularly the central labor bodies of both nations, which must take the lead in fighting for a new genuinely confederal Constitution buttressed by a Bill of Rights, and for overcoming economic and social inequality and the achievement of far-reaching democratic reforms. In the course of such a struggle the fraternal bonds between the workers of the two nations will be strengthened immeasurably.'

With the official support of the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Party of Québec* since 1964 has advocated formation of a mass federated party of the working people, a particular form of the people's front suitable to the conditions of Québec. Such a party would include, on a federated basis, the Communist Party, as it would all other bona fide parties and organizations which defend the interests of the working people around a minimum commonly agreed program, while permitting all such groups to advocate their own, independent maximum program. This idea has been taken up by significant sections of the trade union movement in Québec. It is unquestionably the next big step the working class of Québec will take, which will assure to it not only the leadership of the struggle for the national rights of the French-Canadian nation, but also a powerful role in the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic coalition which the Communist Party of Canada is fighting might and main to forge.

The Communist Party ceaselessly underlines the importance for the revolutionary working-class movement in Canada to correctly assess the broad, contemporary movement for the national rights of the French-Canadian people; to support and seek to develop its overall positive character as well as to combat its exclusivist, bourgeois-egoist features. It underlines, furthermore, the necessity for the revolutionary working-class movement of Canada to conduct a forthright and courageous struggle against all manifestations of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism, as an essential condition for reinforcing the mutual trust between French-Canadian workers and their English-Canadian brothers. To neglect this side of the struggle in the concrete conditions of Canada today is to make a mockery of the call for unity of the entire Canadian working class.

**The Road to Socialism in Canada*, Toronto 1972, p. 23.

*The Constitution of the Communist Party of Canada declares that the Communist Party of Québec 'is a distinct entity, within the Communist Party of Canada, having complete control of its own policies and structures in Québec.' – *Ed.*

Changes in rural Indonesia

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The 'New Order'¹ has robbed the peasants of all that they had achieved in alliance with the working class after the revolution of August 1945. The land allotted to poor peasants under the agrarian reform law was handed back to the landowners and the system of semi-feudal oppression, once eased, was re-established. To the old exploiters – landowners, traders and usurers – a new group has been added, the capitalist bureaucrats, who include many military men.

The Indonesian countryside is divided into two irreconcilable camps: the exploiters with their underlings and the exploited. Let us look at the main social elements that make up the two camps.

Landowners. They own from three or four to several thousand hectares of the most fertile lands and make big profits by leasing land. They also engage in usury, advance buying up of harvests and land speculation. Landowners in uniform are a relatively new development. They combine capitalist activity in the towns with the purchases of peasant farms.

Traders. Some buy up the peasants' future harvest at exceedingly low prices, others prefer to buy at harvest time. The latter also supply manufactured goods at exorbitant prices. This makes the trader a virtual monopolist.

Kabirs (capitalist bureaucrats). Most of them live in the cities but their presence in the countryside is only too evident. With support from the provincial military and civil authorities, they pressure the peasants into selling their produce to enterprises owned by military or civilian nouveaux riches. Like the landowners, the kabirs have armed gangs (some include soldiers), who make short shrift of anyone bold enough to oppose the wealthy.

Usurers. They lend peasants money at very high interest, which inevitably turns the debtors into bond slaves. Chinese capitalists and army officers are some of the biggest money-lenders and harvest speculators.

Rich peasants. They use hired labor, let some of their land, engage in usury, harvest and land speculation. Like the landowners, they combine farming with other business activity.

Middle peasants. The middle peasant usually has a small plot and does not employ hired labor, does a bit of trading on the side. A few years ago middle peasants managed to make ends meet; today, more and more of them face ruin.

Poor peasants. The tiny plot which a poor peasant owns is not enough to maintain his family, with the result that he has to work for a rich peasant or mortgage his land to him, and after a second or third mortgage the land is no longer his. Ruined poor or middle peasants swell the ranks of the rural proletariat.

Rural proletarians. Have no land and make a living as farmhands and in bad years they do odd jobs. They look for jobs in the towns or on other islands. Many of them become lumpen-proletarians.

Handicraftsmen. They make baskets, umbrellas, inexpensive clothing, puppets for the wayang theatre, wood-carvings and the like. Landless peasants and farm laborers often go in for this kind of work, too. Traders buy up the products at absurdly low prices.

Rural intellectuals and craftsmen. Elementary school teachers make up the bulk of the small intellectual community of the countryside. To subsist, they also do physical work, keep shops and occasionally work in the towns.² Wayang actors belong to this category.

Rural proletarians, poor and middle peasants, handicraftsmen, teachers and other working people form the overwhelming majority of the rural population controlled by a small group of exploiters who have land, power and wealth.

Growing economic, social and political oppression makes objectively for mounting peasant discontent.

Land rent is the basis of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in rural Indonesia. More often than not it is paid in kind or worked off. The money form is less frequent and usually leads in the end to the rural exploiter taking possession of the land.

By exploiting peasant labor, usurers, capitalist bureaucrats, army officers, numerous traders and Chinese businessmen amass huge fortunes. The rural working people, who pay official, semi-official and unofficial taxes,³ are also made to sell part of the crop to compulsory funds at a token price. One of the regime's latest inventions in this sphere are the so-called committees for rural affairs⁴ in which the military administrator, village elder and rich peasants set the tone. The peasants are obliged to sell the local committee 10 to 15 per cent of their grain harvest. The committees are quick to collect income taxes but take their time over paying the peasants for the 'purchased'

grain; in some areas they simply do not pay at all.

The military authorities drive peasants off the land, often paying no compensation at all or paying only a nominal sum. The usual pretext is 'afforestation,' 'development,' etc.; actually, in most cases, the land goes to foreign companies or capitalist bureaucrats. The worst hit are villages near the big cities – they are the first target of foreign investors.

The standard of life in the countryside is fast declining as the economic situation deteriorates and prices and inflation grow. Whereas in the mid-60s a farmhand could subsist on what he earned at harvest time for three months, he can now do so for only one month. A poor peasant's crop keeps him going for three months, after that he has to rely on chance earnings. Many peasants and artisans can afford to eat rice, the staple food, only once a day. In bad years they have to rely on whatever they can eke out of the land. Famine has become much more frequent in various parts of the country, especially in Central Java.⁵

The regime affirms that it is aware of the agrarian problem, which its so-called five-year development plan even describes as the principal problem. But that is sheer demagoguery, for how can those who maintain feudal exploitation, the main obstacle to the growth of the productive forces, and establish a reactionary order in the countryside modernize agriculture?

Special mention should be made of the political oppression to which the peasants are subjected. In this respect, the military bureaucracy has outdone the most despotic colonialists. For more than two years now, all political activity in rural areas has been banned. The authorities allege that they have done this to ensure a smooth process of economic and social development. All political parties, with the sole exception of Sekber Golkar,⁶ a tool of the regime, have been denied access to the rural population.

However, the actual reason for the ban is different. The fact is that both the landowners and the military administrators remember only too well what the people's anger is like. When the movement for agrarian reform was on the move (before 1965), the organized peasant movement struck at many landed proprietors, some of whom lost their lands. It was these proprietors who, during the orgy of anti-communist terror (1965-1966), organized the terror in the countryside with the backing of the army. The regime still dreads the peasant millions. The authorities have a stake in the peasants remaining ignorant and downtrodden, lacking even an elementary education, to say nothing of the right of association.⁷

No amount of terror and no repressive methods, however refined, can destroy the Indonesian peasants' revolutionary tradition. The

peasants have participated in political struggles ever since the rise of the national-liberation movement. Led by the working class and its Party, the peasants, primarily rural proletarians and poor peasants, fought first against the Dutch colonialists and then, after independence, against the landowners and military authorities. The rural masses defended the gains of the 1945 revolution. The BTI,⁸ a revolutionary peasant organization, roused the working people to struggle for their rights and campaigned for agrarian reform.

The 1965 events shook the countryside. The reign of terror threw the peasants into disarray. They were disheartened and terrified. Tens of thousands of rural proletarians and poor and middle peasants, many of whom were active members of the BTI, were killed, and many are still in prison.

However, people are beginning to recover from the horrors they have been through. In some villages, the peasants take joint action. They demand the removal of the more brutal administrators and the replacement of military by civil authorities. They refuse to sell their land to domestic or foreign companies or to give away part of their crop as a compulsory contribution. They want a bigger share of the harvest for the tenant farmer and lower prices on manufactured goods. These actions are still spontaneous and poorly organized. The important thing is, however, that a ferment has set in among the peasants. And this is only the beginning. Increasing anti-government activity by the rural population is stimulated today by developments in the towns, where workers and young people courageously challenge the regime, setting an example of resistance to reactionary rule. There is bound to be a revolutionary upswing in the peasant struggle.

The Communist Party of Indonesia does not for one moment lose sight of this prospect. Now that it has been re-established, one of its most important tasks is to revive its greatly weakened links with the rural working people, a loyal ally of the proletariat. We must do all in our power to intensify their struggle and give them timely support.

The CPI is working to bring about a national unity front encompassing the patriotic forces opposed to the regime and to imperialism. This front must be based on the worker-peasant alliance. To achieve this alliance, we must not only carry on agitation, but also steadfastly back the rural working people who demand observance of the law on the distribution of the crop, a limit on the size of holdings, a ban on feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and on the eviction of peasants from their land under any pretext, and democratic administration in the countryside.

By supporting these legitimate demands, our Party will be able to regain its political basis in the countryside. The CPI document, 'Pressing Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia' (1969),

says that when the Party has created this basis it will be able to set about removing the poison of anti-communism, neutralize the activities of reactionary religious organizations and convince the masses of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. The peasants will then see for themselves that it is the Communists who consistently uphold their vital interests. At the same time, we must show the masses the hopelessness and falsity of the tactics which Maoism tries to impose on the progressive movement. The propaganda media of Peking and Indonesian Maoists urge immediately setting up 'guerrilla bases.' They ignore the fundamental differences between conditions in our country today and those in China during revolutionary wars. Underlying this tactic is the proposition that the revolution begins in the countryside and that the peasants must lead it.

Communists refute these anti-Marxist views. The most advanced class is the working class, and the peasants are its true ally. 'Without an alliance with the urban workers the rural poor will *never* rid themselves of all forms of bondage, want, and poverty; except for the urban workers, there is *no one* to help the rural poor . . .' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 410).

The Communist Party of Indonesia is guided by this statement of Lenin and supports the revolutionary forces in the rural areas. The rural proletariat, poor and middle peasants, artisans, and rural intellectuals must form the backbone of the anti-feudal, democratic movement in the Indonesian countryside. As regards the rich peasants, past experience shows that they can be neutralized in the struggle against landowners and capitalist bureaucrats. Besides, some well-to-do peasants have their own grievances against the 'New Order.'

By consistently upholding the fundamental interests of the working peasantry and winning it over to the side of the patriotic, progressive and democratic forces, Indonesia's Communists will hasten the downfall of the hated 'New Order,' to be succeeded by an anti-imperialist and democratic government of the national unity front.

1. Official name of the regime imposed by the counter-revolutionary coup of the mid-60s.
2. The authorities often hold up payment of the salaries of rural teachers.
3. The local authorities often impose taxes unlawfully and pocket whatever they collect as a result.
4. In charge of purchasing grain, selling peasant produce and buying seed and fertilizer.
5. In 1973, famine threatened 250,000 people on the island of Lombok. With no rice, the islanders had to rely on papaya shoots.
6. Official pro-government organization.
7. Illiteracy under the new regime has been growing faster than before 1965, according to Indonesian press reports.
8. Barisan Tani Indonesia, or the Indonesian Peasant Front, under Communist leadership.



Cultivation of Communist convictions

Vladimir Sukhodayev,
Pravda Editorial Board Member

Leonid Brezhnev's speeches and articles of 1964 to 1974 on communist education, the moulding of harmoniously developed individual – one of the Party's main tasks in building communism – have been collected by Moscow's Politizdat (Political Publishers) whole or in part under separate cover, entitled, 'The Communist Education of Working People.'* Some appear in print for the first time.

The book shows how specific moral and political qualities evolve in Soviet people as a result of the varied ideological and educational Party work, priming them for great accomplishments as bearers of the most advanced ideology and ethics. At the other pole, the book examines the crisis of ethics, the moral degradation and ideological paucity of capitalist society.

The collection shows the objectives of communist education in the present stage. 'The grand undertaking of building communism,' Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, 'is inconceivable without the harmonious development of the individual.'

The book provides answers to the set of questions related to upbringing. New problems are pinpointed in Marxist-Leninist theory, science and education. There are references to art and literature, and advice on how to make propaganda and agitation, the communication media and cultural institutions more effective, in particular through the use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. There are also references to the educational role of the family and work collective.

The more complex the aims of society, the more necessary for the masses are strength of conviction, unity, sense of purpose and participation, and learning. No matter what problem the Party may

*L.I. Brezhnev, *O kommunisticheskom vospitanii trudyashchikhsya*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1974, 559 pp.

tackle, it is associated with education. The moral and political make-up of Soviet people is shaped by the socialist way of life. It is therefore safe to say that the individual is moulded by the society – the Party, trade unions, YCL, work collectives, and family. Attitudes combining comradely and considerate treatment of workmates with a high sense of civic duty create a favorable ambiance for societal education. Brezhnev's new book shows the vast moral potentialities of the socialist system, the communist ideology and ethics.

Creative use of Marxist-Leninist theory, the author emphasizes, is an important source of strength and an essential condition of communist education.

In a *WMR* article in August 1969, Brezhnev wrote:

'A creative approach to problems posed by life is the guarantee of further triumphs of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism. We can proudly say that *at no time in human history has a political movement and ideological trend played such a tremendous transformative role as the international communist and working-class movement*. In the face of incredible difficulties it led the peoples of many countries on to the high road of socialist development and moulded a new world outlook and a code of morals and habits that have been adopted by tens and hundreds of millions of people.'

Examining the main objectives of communist education in developed socialist society, the book defines the directions on which the Party centers its efforts.

First of all, moulding the communist world outlook of the masses. This the book describes as the core of Party education. Soviet people should have firm communist convictions and a class approach to all phenomena in society, should correctly assess events at home and on the international scene, and pattern their lives along communist lines. The behavior of all and the activity of every collective and organization should harmonize communist ideas with communist deeds. This was Lenin's view and it is the view of the CPSU.

Second, work education. An individual's place in socialist society depends not on wealth or lineage, but solely on his or her labor, ability, intelligence, initiative, and contribution to the common construction of communism. Wherever Brezhnev spoke – whether to workers or collective farmers, students or scientists, Party, YCL or trade union audiences, or audiences in the fraternal socialist countries – he never failed to stress Lenin's idea that book knowledge of communism is worthless without work and struggle. He spoke warmly of the initiators of the communist work style, of people excelling in their occupations. Studying and using their experience, spreading it to the masses, the Party redoubles the momentum of the country's advance to communism.

The book tells of the Party's effort of drawing the masses into administration of the state and society, of the further development and improvement of socialist democracy.

Third, activation of communist morality. The communist moral code, the book says, projects the ethical legacy created by humanity. Diligence, honesty, modesty, a sense of dignity, comradeship and mutual respect, are all part of the moral make-up of Soviet people. The daily practice of this code of conduct has a direct bearing on society's advance to communism. The new make-up of Soviet people, their communist morality and world outlook take root in continuous and irreconcilable struggle against old attitudes. Communist morality cannot prevail without determined struggle against its antipodes, such as money-grubbing, idleness, heavy drinking, a lax attitude to work and public property, and violations of the rules of socialist behavior. It is the Party's duty to draw public attention to these things and rally action against them.

Fourth, development of socialist internationalism and patriotism. The Soviet Union has been eminently successful in solving the national question, one of the most acute and difficult, and which capitalism has failed to cope with. Once the ideal of a handful of Communists, internationalism has become the creed and standard of behavior for millions of Soviet people of many different nationalities.

Conscious of its internationalist duty, the book says, the Soviet Communist Party follows a foreign policy designed to further the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle and invigorate unity of action.

Analysis of the practice and objectives of Party education points up the need to more closely examine the following topical aspects of communist education: the correlation of the principles of the socialist way of life and education's media; the unity of organizational, political and ideological work; the inter-connection between the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class as the basis for the still closer unity of Soviet society; development of socialist labor incentives; the work collective as a vehicle for moulding the individual, and, last but not least, the further development of national relations and internationalist education.

Much space in the collection is devoted to the communist education of the rising generation. Following in the footsteps of their fathers, Soviet youth is carrying on the work begun by the October Revolution. But young people lack the steeling of revolutionary struggle and sufficient political experience. It is therefore the Party's job to cultivate their political and ideological outlook and ethics, and their skill in employing revolutionary theory creatively.

The book examines the struggle against bourgeois ideology and right and 'left' opportunism. It exposes hostile attempts to exploit the

international détente for interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, and to propagate views and ideas contrary to socialism and the principles of communist education.

The Communists are confident in the triumph of their scientific ideology, because it stands for the essential interests of the working class and other working people. 'Comrades, we have a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideology,' Brezhnev said at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. 'That weapon is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We know how powerful it is. We are witness to the fact that our ideas are spreading more and more among the masses. Marxism-Leninism is on the offensive today, and we must develop that offensive to the utmost.'

Brezhnev's new book, 'The Communist Education of Working People,' demonstrates the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the power of attraction of communist ideals. It is a substantial contribution to the theory and practice of communist education.

Brief information about Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

Founded at its constituent congress November 17-23, 1918. Called the Socialist Workers' Party until 1920.

Except for five or six years, the CPG has always been and still is forced to work as an illegal or semi-legal organization. In the face of difficulties and fierce persecution, the Party has been an organizer of the working people's struggle for immediate demands, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

In 1934 the CPG advanced a program for a democratic revolution with the perspective of its development into a socialist revolution. During the fascist occupation, 1941-1944, it regrouped its forces and became the main organizer and leader of popular resistance to the invaders. The National Liberation Front (EAM) and Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) were brought into being on the initiative of the CPG and with help from other parties. By the end of 1944, the Party had 400,000 members.

Late in 1949, the people's democratic movement and its armed forces were defeated as a result of the armed intervention of the British imperialists (1944), the U.S. imperialists (1947) under the Truman Doctrine and the civil war provoked by the imperialists and home reaction.

In 1951-1967 the CPG played a leading role in the broad mass movement headed by the United Democratic Left Party (EDA). With the imposition of the military fascist dictatorship in April 1967, the Party's activity entered a new phase. The CPG became the vanguard of the forces fighting to overthrow the dictatorship.

The Ninth Party Congress, which met a short time ago and was attended by delegates from all Party organizations and forces, called for broader unity of the working class and other anti-dictatorial forces and for unity of the people and army to overthrow the neo-fascist tyranny, rid the country of U.S. domination and establish a popular government. The congress stated that the road to the democratic development of a Greece independent of imperialism lay through popular government, through a new democracy. The new democracy will be an important step toward the democratic, anti-imperialist stage paving the way for socialism.

The congress stressed that the primary task is to build a strong party with solid underground organizations having deep roots in the working class and other working people and closely linked with the masses, a party capable of putting itself at the head of the people and leading them to victory.

The Ninth Congress adopted the Party Program which states that Greece will arrive at socialism through a revolutionary process consisting of two stages: the democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly stage and the socialist stage. It amended the Party Constitution and passed other decisions.

The congress was a political milestone and a major achievement of the Party and the people's anti-dictatorial movement. It owed much of its success, attained in the difficult conditions of clandestinity, to widespread pre-congress discussion, increased collectivity, precise formulation of tasks and the membership's awareness of its responsibility.

All congress decisions were approved unanimously.

The Party's national newspaper, printed illegally in Greece, is *Rizospastis*. The CPG also publishes *Neos Kosmos*, a theoretical monthly, and has an underground broadcasting station, the Voice of Truth. The Communist Youth of Greece publishes the illegal newspaper *Odigitis*.

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

Founded October 2, 1966. The founding congress, which met in Auckland, approved the Party's program principles, defined its tactical tasks, adopted its Constitution and elected its leadership. It declared that the Party's ultimate goal is to build socialism in New Zealand as the only system which can fully use the production capacities of industry and the scientific potential to raise the working people's standard of living. Congress documents stressed that to build socialism, it is necessary to transform the social system in New Zealand on revolutionary lines. The congress called for political work among the masses.

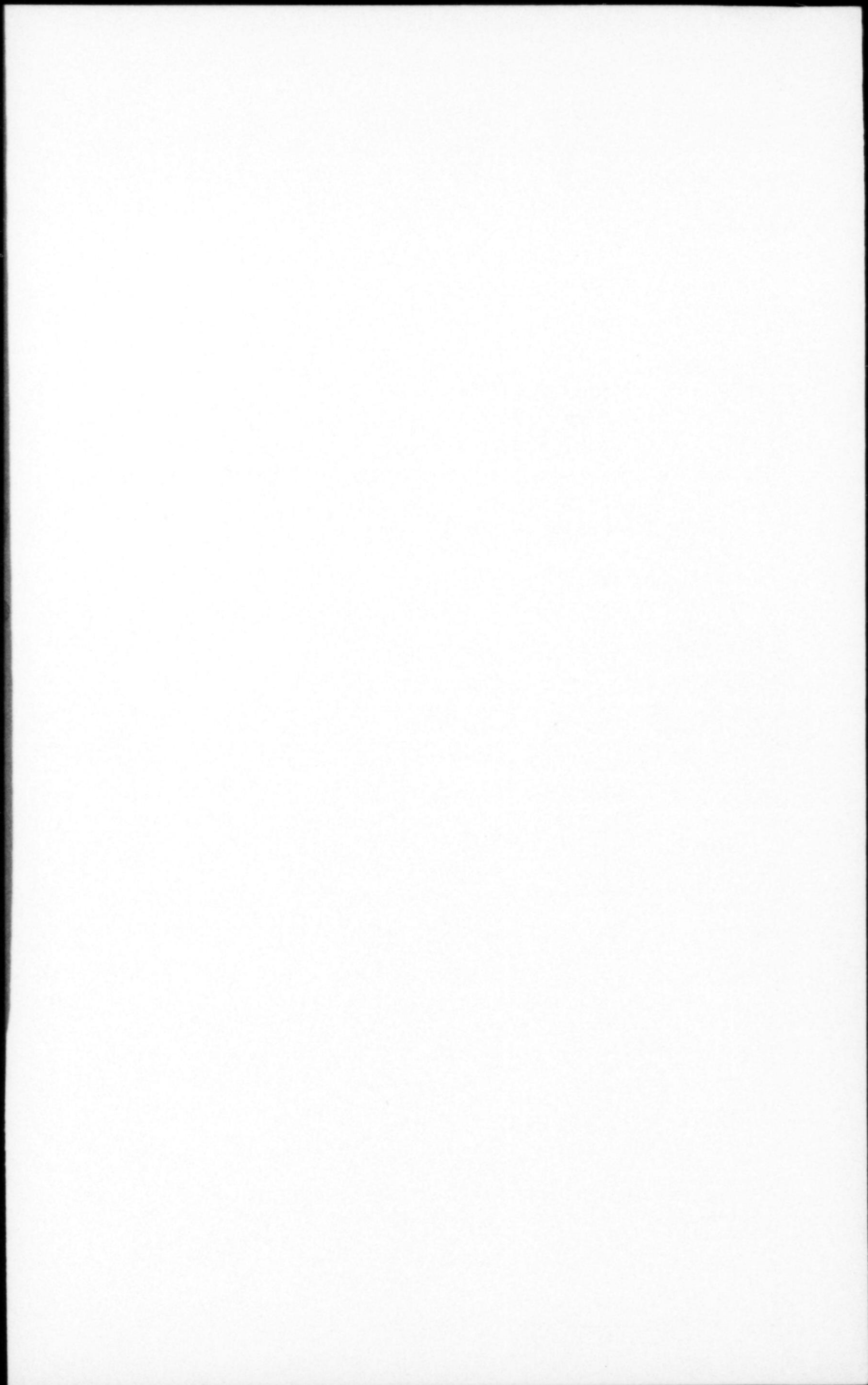
The Second National Conference (October 1970) adopted the program document, 'For Socialism in New Zealand,' underlining the importance of organized political struggle by the masses for their immediate demands and the ultimate goal, socialism. The Party strives to unite diverse social strata in struggle for social progress. It has solid positions in the drivers, meat-packers, seamen, dockers and other unions.

The fundamental political resolution, 'The Road Ahead,' passed by the Third National Conference (September 1973), defined the Party's tasks inside the country. The conference also concerned itself with the problem of building up the Party.

The Party meets in congress every three years.

Eighty per cent of its members are wage-earners and the rest, salary-earners, students and housewives. Women make up 26 per cent of the membership. About 70 per cent of the members have had a higher or secondary education.

The Party's national newspaper is the *New Zealand Tribune* (circulation 2,500). There is also the quarterly *Socialist Politics* (circulation 500).



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