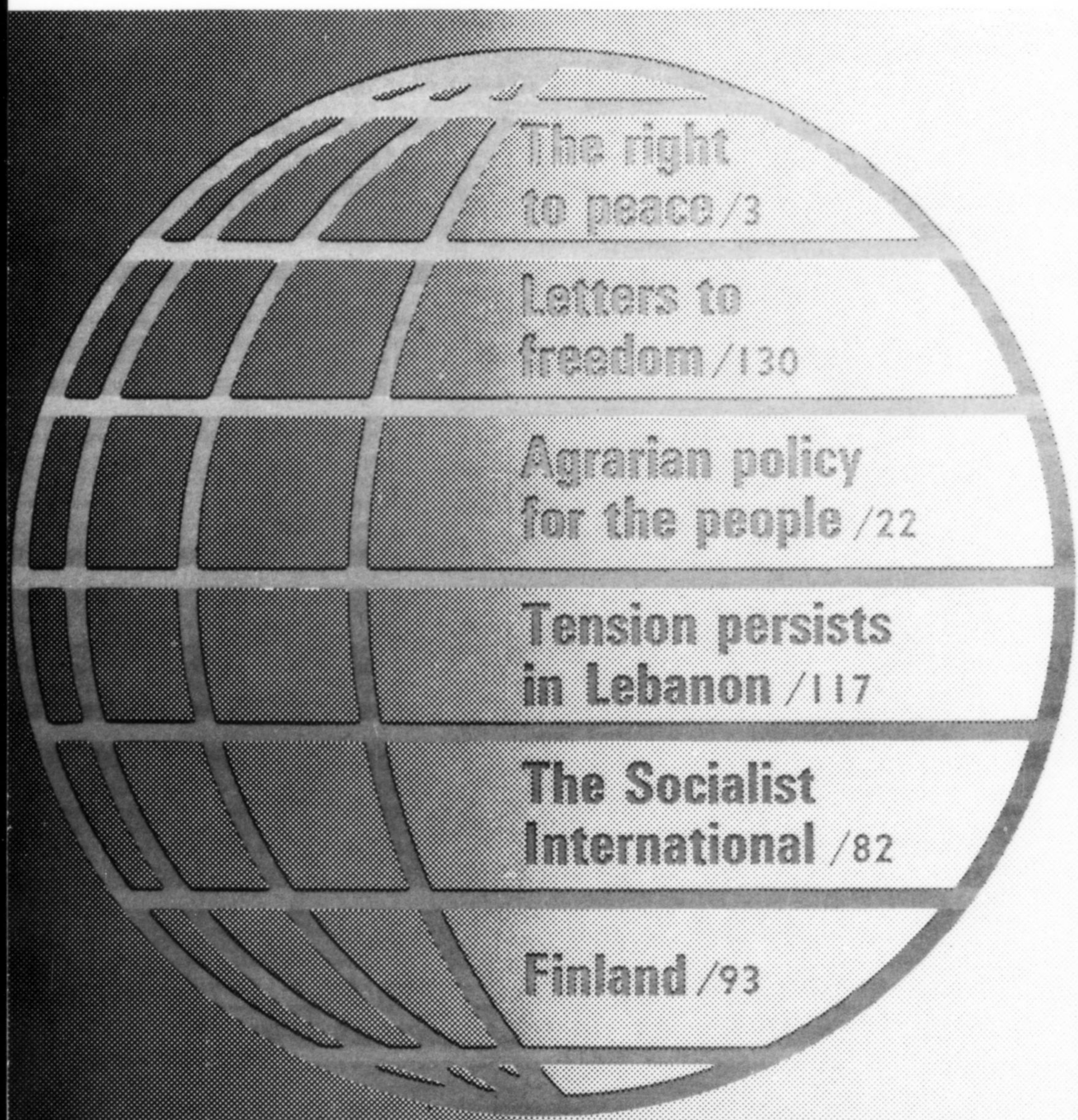
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REVIEW

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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The right to peace

The successful culmination of the third and concluding phase of the European Security and Cooperation Conference is an outstanding event.

The Final Act signed in Helsinki by the top-ranking statesmen of 35 countries is, in effect, a new charter of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. An outcome of détente, this charter will facilitate the further advancement of détente. And it is gratifying to note that the public at large tends to receive the Helsinki document as at once a collective confirmation of the results of World War II, of which Europe had been the main theater, and as ushering in a new era in inter-state relations. For the first time in Europe's history its states have subscribed to the principle of the inviolability of the existing frontiers.

The present development of weapons of war endangers the very conditions of human existence. Beyond question, therefore, the right of the peoples to peace, freedom from the threat of imperialist aggression and a new world war, should have the top priority. And the document confirms this inalienable right.

The merit of the All-European Conference decisions is that they are concrete, and by no means an agglomeration of commonplaces, as enemies of détente would have us believe. The problems and future development of European security and cooperation, for instance, are dealt with in great detail. The provisions pave the way to eliminating the leftovers of the cold war, lifting various discriminatory barriers in inter-state relations and international commerce, and to closer bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical domains, joint protection of the environment, and international division of labor.

The paragraphs relating to cultural and educational cooperation, to broader contacts between people and to more exchange of information, are highly significant. There are to be many new developments here that had been impossible in the environment of international tension. These developments hinge on the success of détente and

greater confidence between states. Closer cooperation on an all-European scale will, given observance of the laws and traditions of each country, strengthen the foundations of peace and security on the continent and mutual understanding among its states and peoples.

In sum, the European Conference decisions are undeniably a big contribution to the consolidation of peace and international co-operation. By describing the substance of what has been done as a materialization of détente, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, put his finger on the most salient point of the Helsinki meeting. It has given détente a tangible content, translated it from provisions of principle into international practice.

The thing now is to take the process further, to extend it to more and more fields. The Helsinki Conference gave strength to the political foundations of détente. The turn has come for military détente, for steps to end the arms race. In the favorable climate created by the unanimous signing of the Helsinki document it is necessary to find ways of ensuring rapid progress in the negotiations to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and in the Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation talks. Materialization of détente in this domain would mean a palpable reduction of military budgets, armed forces and the quantity of weapons. Since 35 countries have mutually undertaken to abstain from use of force, why continue piling up force in arsenals? The Soviet Union, as the head of the Soviet delegation declared, is a consistent advocate of increasingly effective military détente after the Conference.

More solid peace and military détente in Europe would have a wholesome effect not only for the peoples of Europe, but for those of the entire world. No one needs to be told of the special role this continent still plays in international affairs. Europe is where the dividing line runs between the two social systems and where the main armed forces of the two chief military groupings confront each other. Hence, finding and securing dependable foundations for enduring European peace and mutually beneficial cooperation means making the political climate more conducive to détente on other continents. By its success in the difficult negotiations Europe has provided the rest of the world with a good example that incontestably deserves to be imitated.

Some bourgeois papers compare the final phase of the European Conference to the much celebrated Congress of Vienna. They do so to bring home the political magnitude of the Helsinki event. In our view, however, the comparison is superficial and unsuitable. In 1814-15 three or four of the most powerful European monarchs gathered in Vienna in the presence of several dozen voiceless princes, mainly heads of small German principalities, to exercise fiat in re-

tailoring the map and destiny of 19th century Europe. The Helsinki document was drawn up and signed by 33 independent European countries, the United States and Canada, all of which took a completely equal part in the Conference. So, is there really anything in common between the two, especially considering how little of the present Europe resembles that of Metternich's day?

At the negotiating table this time were eight socialist and 27 capitalist states, 15 members of NATO and seven members of the Warsaw Treaty organization, and a number of neutral or non-aligned countries. This speaks of the complexity and unusual nature of their task, of how difficult and intricate it was to consider, agree, and formulate in mutually acceptable terms the wishes of each of the 35 partners. After all, their position was influenced not only by differences in size, development levels and history, but also in political philosophy, economic system and way of life. If, for all that, a document has come into the world balancing the interests of all European states, this is testimony enough to the relevance and viability of Lenin's great principles of peaceful coexistence.

It does not follow, of course, that all the hopes attached to the all-European Conference have come true, that all the provisions in its documents met all the expectations of each of their signatories. Some of the decisions necessarily bear the imprint of compromise. But the maximalist rule of 'all or nothing' is not a valid one in international affairs, much less so in our time. To assure peace, countries must meet each other halfway, and accept compromises so long as they do not involve any departure from principle. And, certainly, in assessing Helsinki we must always remember that the accord there does not signify that the ideological, economic and political disparities between the two systems have been obliterated. It is precisely because the disparities remain that a body of rules of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, endorsed by the highest European forum, is so important.

Many of the Conference participants emphasized that there were neither winners nor losers in Helsinki. This is entirely true from the standpoint that all the peoples, all progressives on earth, long for peace. But there is no gainsaying that losers there were. The assorted antagonists of détente, who had hoped literally to the last minute to torpedo the final phase of the Conference, were heavy losers. Among them the U.S. Senators who demanded that the United States should not sign the Helsinki documents. Among them, too, the CDU/CSU politicians who demanded the same from the FRG government. Proved wrong once again were the Sinhua News agency Cassandras, who had virtually waylaid the European politicians heading for Helsinki in order to impress upon them that the Conference

would become 'a new form of struggle between the superpowers for the domination of Europe.'

But the rearguard battles fought by the enemies of détente failed to prevent the conclusion of the all-European Conference at summit level. This was truly a common victory for all the peace-loving forces, all the statesmen and political leaders with a sense of realism in the finest meaning of the word. Yet the socialist countries, the Communist parties of European countries, have special grounds for satisfaction. Not because they had gained any alleged unilateral advantage, as some antagonists maintain. No, their sense of satisfaction derives from the fact that the success in Helsinki, a blow for world peace in the interest of all peoples, was brought about mainly by the initiative of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, by their dynamic efforts and energy. The fight for the Conference was given powerful impulse when the idea was worked into the famous Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, backed by the Communist movement and all progressives.

Though of outstanding significance, the Helsinki meeting is not, however, the end of the road in the struggle for European security and cooperation. The decisions taken in Finlandia House are the maximum that could be reached today. Tomorrow, they will be the starting point for a new advance. To become irreversible, the détente process must continue without interruption. And an essential condition is strict observance of the accords by all concerned.

New and bright horizons are opening for the peoples' struggle for world peace.

Members of Editorial Council:
Vasilis Venetsanopoulos (CP Greece),
Tadeusz Wrebiak (Polish United Workers' Party),
Mel Doig (CP Canada),
John Pittman (CP USA),
Sergio Sierra (CP Uruguay).

THE FOUNDATION FOR NEW RELATIONS IN EUROPE

The following statements were obtained at our request by Pavel Naumov, Editor-in-Chief of *Novoye Vremia*, on the closing day of the Helsinki Conference.

Dr. Urho Kekkonen
The President of Finland

For Finland the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe represents a new and organized multilateral endeavor to consolidate the present positive trend in international relations. The Conference

is a result of the political will of all participating governments to make joint efforts to secure that the state of peace in Europe would continue undisturbed.

I believe, and this was emphasized also in all statements we heard during the concluding stage of the Conference in Helsinki, that the CSCE has eminently attained this goal. We have now a carefully considered set of principles to guide us in our mutual relations and we have a detailed and solid plan of action to put into practice in almost every field of human activity. These two components of the Final Act of the Conference form together a whole on which the peace in Europe can be built with more confidence than ever. Finland values highly the results of the Conference, and we see in it a possibility for Finland to continue her contribution for developing friendly relations and cooperation in Europe. Finland is proud that the initiatives she took for the realization of the idea of convening the CSCE have thus been carried out. I wish to say also that the holding of the third and concluding stage of the Conference in Helsinki was for us an extremely gratifying reward for the contribution we sought to make to the collective effort to enhance the political scene of Europe.

It is now, after the CSCE, the task of all participating governments to analyze the results of the Conference and to give effect to them. Then after two years we shall once again get together and discuss what steps should be taken in order to continue this multilateral process which, I am confident, is considered by all successful and indeed necessary to secure the continuous improving of our mutual relations.

Erich Honecker
First Secretary, Central
Committee, Socialist Unity
Party of Germany

The all-European Conference will go down in history as an event of paramount significance for European peace, security and co-operation. The fact that the top-ranking representatives of 35 countries solemnly confirmed the principles of security and inter-state relations will have a favorable effect on the political situation not only in Europe, but also in the rest of the world.

The initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and the realistic attitude of broad sections of the European public directed to peace and security – as they materialized in the all-European Conference – have become the common cause of the peoples and governments of our continent. The documents drawn up by this representative forum are not only the outcome of the varied efforts of states and governments, but also the result of the worldwide

struggle of diverse public forces for a more secure peace and for equal, mutually beneficial cooperation. The peace movement on our continent has made a substantial contribution to this Conference, whose decisions serve the basic interests of the peoples, of all people of good will.

The results of the all-European Conference open new and extensive opportunities for a large variety of initiatives consolidating and stabilizing peace – the greatest of all possible boons to mankind. A dedicated member of the socialist community, the German Democratic Republic will continue its policy of strengthening peace and promoting the détente process in Europe and other parts of the world. Further improvement of the international situation requires dynamic and constructive efforts in the field of military détente. The German Democratic Republic is prepared to participate in effective measures to curb the arms race, promote disarmament and arms limitation.

Alessandro Menchinelli
Political Bureau Member,
Italian Socialist Party;
Deputy to Parliament;
Member of Presidium of
World Peace Council

The Helsinki Conference is a historic event of unprecedented magnitude, aimed at assuring the progress of the peoples. The Conference has acknowledged that some international problems derive from the existence on one continent of states of different social systems, motivated by opposite ideologies. And it expressed the firm intention to lay down for all time the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation in relations between these states, affording each people the right to decide its own destiny.

Cold war, international tension, opposite military blocs, the arms race – all this inhibits the free will of the peoples and the growth of democracy, and has a negative effect on the economy of all countries. They are compelled to spend huge sums on military needs, and the poor social strata and the population of the world's least developed regions are the first to pay for this.

The Helsinki Conference expressed the determination to create a new situation in Europe, blocking the way to the former negative trends influencing the policy and economy of many countries.

For example, the Helsinki accords pose the question of change in Italy, where the urgent need is manifest for a new government, a new mechanism of development, a new manner of administration, that is, a broader democracy. Now, with the guaranteed international balance, this is becoming more attainable. It stands to reason that the

fight against possible resistance and attempts to distort the very spirit of the accords must continue.

In this context, I take the liberty to make one more point. The Helsinki Conference also owes its success (both as regards the content of the negotiations and the opportunities for using its decisions) to its worldwide implications. Indeed, it was conceived not only as a means of improving the situation on one continent, but as an important European contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems of the whole world, such as development of backward regions, consolidation of the independence of peoples, combating hunger and exploitation.

This is why the decisions reached in Helsinki have won the keenest response all over the world.

The socialist way of life and national consciousness

Sharaf Rashidov
Alternate member of Political Bureau, CC CPSU,
First Secretary of CC
CP of Uzbekistan

I One of the great results of the transformations effected in the Soviet Union during the building of socialism and communism has been the birth of a new, international social and economic community of people, the Soviet people. It arose on the basis of the identical interests and aims, the ideological unity of the socialist nations and nationalities, and reposes on the same social and class structure, common territory, and a socialist culture of identical content.

The Soviet people has entered history and the consciousness of progressives as a great revolutionary and creative force, the builder of socialism. Also, it stands before the world as the bearer of the new, socialist way of life, of a new spiritual make-up. Another significant distinguishing feature of the Soviet people is its common social psychological fabric or, one may say, its single Soviet character, its socialist national consciousness – an essentially new social phenomenon brought into the world by the victory of socialism and the socialist ideology.

It is important for theory and practice to understand how, concretely, the socialist way of life took shape on different national foundations, to understand the dialectical interaction of the socialist way of life and national consciousness, to understand how this interaction is influenced by the present-day international processes.

The importance of understanding this derives, first and foremost, from the needs of socialism's development on a world scale. 'At present,' said L.I. Brezhnev at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 'several countries of the socialist community have entered a phase of development which their Communist parties describe as building mature or developed socialism. Large-scale and highly complicated tasks face them at this stage.'

The maturity of socialist social relations and the finished form of the main features of the socialist way 'of life make for closer co-operation among socialist nations both within the socialist state and on the international scene. On the other hand, given the rise of the national consciousness of each socialist nation, even the slightest manifestation of nationalism is particularly intolerable and dangerous. A deeper understanding of the dialectics of socialist society and national consciousness, analysis of available historical experience, will therefore enable us to advance still more effectively.

There is also this other factor: interest in the socialist way of life in general, and in the question of its development on concrete national foundations in particular, is running high throughout the world. This is not surprising, because in the capitalist countries theories which promised prosperity and welfare are backfiring, prices are spiralling, moral ideals are collapsing, disenchantment over the ethics of the existing society is spreading, and people are beginning to see that it has no future.

To counter the peoples' growing sympathy with existing socialism, bourgeois ideologists argue that the socialist way of life is essentially incompatible with the very existence of national consciousness. The socialist way of life, they aver, reduces the nations to a common denominator, obstructs the achievement of national ideals (which bourgeois ideologists portray as something inordinately abstract), and denies scope for the spiritual potentialities of the nation (and, likewise, of the individual). They fall back on an old but highly typical inference by U.S. historian Alfred Low that the treasures of individual national cultures have been swallowed up by the sea of socialism and internationalism.

There are all kinds of theories of 'national socialism,' under which, it is argued, exploiters and exploited live together in harmony. Various 'models' of socialism are also offered by Right and 'Left' revisionists, who usually ascribe the need for them to specific national factors.

Modern bourgeois ideologues are, in fact, trying to revive the long since disproved theory of Sultan-Galiyev, a bourgeois nationalist of the 1920s, according to whom 'the Russian variant of German Marxism' (read Leninism) is unacceptable to the 'Moslem peoples' of Russia, because, allegedly, it does not take account of their national distinctions and is incompatible with their traditions and psychology. The inference is that Marxism should be adapted to, or 'blended' with, Islam, the essence of the 'specifically national,' the symbol of the national, the 'basis' of the social, political and cultural life of Moslems. Leaving aside the various aspects of the relationship between socialism and religion (which we shall consider farther on), it may be useful to look at this 'theory,' a peculiar variant of so-called 'national communism'; doubly so since bourgeois propaganda is trying to portray it as the ideal of intellectuals in the Soviet East.

It follows that the real experience of moulding the socialist way of life in its dialectical connection with the development of national consciousness, is highly valuable.

II The inception of the socialist way of life is associated with the victory of the October Revolution. In substance, the emergence of the new economic and political system signified the emergence of a new civilization, the starting point for an intensive evolution of the new social psychological make-up of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of their new national consciousness.

The socialist way of life is relatively new. And theorists of the world Communist movement are showing an ever greater interest in it. In their studies they proceed from views expressed by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, who wrote that the way in which men produce their means of subsistence is much more than mere reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. 'Rather,' they wrote, 'it is a defiinite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode *of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are' (*The German Ideology*).

The socialist way of life is the totality of the more substantive features of socialist living, socialist social relations, the totality of forms of the material and spiritual activity of people, social groups, society as a whole – forms connected with the concrete conditions of this activity in all spheres. Consequently, the socialist way of life is determined by both the socialist mode of production and the specific aspects of the social and political system, ideology and culture of socialist society. It is a factor in the formation of socialist nations, and, conversely, is actively influenced by the socialist nations, the subjects of historical activity, the makers of the forms of life in society.

The emergence of the socialist way of life has a history of its own, in which its separate elements arose in close interaction, but not simultaneously. On the whole, it is not a precondition, but rather the result of the victory of the revolutionary forces of different nations in socialist construction. As it arises and develops, the socialist way of life overcomes the old lifestyle, which had its own social and national foundations. Note the following: as a result of the socialist revolution the main features of the old economic basis change more or less swiftly, whereas the national consciousness evolved on the basis of past history is much more tenacious. This strongly affects the very emergence of the new way of life.

The national consciousness is the consciousness of belonging to a definite social-ethnic community, the consciousness of one's relation to the material and spiritual needs of the community's existence and development. It expresses the interests of the nation not only in direct relation to the interests of other nations, but also in relation to the class structure of society, the interests of the revolutionary movement in general and the national-liberation movement in particular. It is not immutable and, like national psychology, is subject to change in step with the historical development of the people. Any radical change in the social system leads naturally to changes in the quality of the national consciousness. And the national consciousness of the peoples of the Soviet East has, indeed, changed quality in the process of socialist transformations.

The forming of the socialist way of life on the concrete national foundation of the Central Asian republics fully confirms Lenin's precept that the international identity of principles in the approach to the same problems 'demands, not the elimination of variety, . . . but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . . , which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92). This postulate is highly valuable for Communists methodologically in analyzing the features of the socialist way of life and determining the regularities of its evolution on specific national foundations. 'All nations will arrive at socialism – that is inevitable,' Lenin wrote. 'But all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life' (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

The distinctiveness of the passage to socialism of the Uzbek people was determined by distinctions in its conditions of life. Before the revolution Uzbekistan was a land of feudal, semi-feudal, even pre-feudal patriarchal relations, with practically no industry in the modern

sense of the word, with an almost totally illiterate population, a land where the life of people, their relationships, were governed by the laws of the Shariat and the dogmas of the Koran.

It was specific features of this sort that Lenin had in mind when he warned Communists in the national outlands against blind, mechanical copying of the Russian Communists' policy and tactics. He censured attempts to perform revolutionary changes for which the situation had not yet ripened, and opposed ultra-revolutionary actions. The Communist Party displayed the maximum of understanding and tact toward all nationalities in the country. The Address of the Council of People's Commissars 'To All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East' issued in November 1917, said: 'From now on your faith and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are declared free and inviolable. Arrange your own life unimpeded in freedom. You have the right to it. Remember that like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, your rights are protected by all the power of the revolution and its organs, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants Deputies.' Accordingly, the laws of the Shariat continued to be observed alongside the standards of Soviet law, the law courts of the *cazas* and *beyliks* functioned parallel to Soviet courts of law, and Moslem schools and madrasahs parallel to Soviet educational establishments in some of the republics, including Uzbekistan, during the early years of socialist construction. The population was not yet ready for the abolition of the old institutions. When the political awareness of the people grew, they themselves stopped going to the *caza* and *beylik* courts, preferring the Soviet people's courts. The same thing happened with the Shariat and the religious Moslem Schools and madrasahs.

This may provoke the question: do the special features of socialist construction in Uzbekistan attest to the necessity of 'national models' of the socialist way of life? The facts and practice provide a negative answer, because the talk of 'national models' usually accentuates the national aspects and relegates to the background the international basis, the class essence, the fact that the working class holds the leading role in moulding the socialist way of life.

As we see it, the following may be listed as the most general, fundamentally new features of the socialist way of life, irrespective of national peculiarities: public ownership of the means of production assuring the whole people's participation in management; labor for the good of society; social and political unity of all society; society's concern for the individual and the individual's concern for society; equality of all people irrespective of national origin or race; basically identical socialist national consciousness; internationalism of the entire people; scientifically organized functioning of all spheres of life

according to plan under guidance of the Party.

Implementing Lenin's national policy, the CPSU has always borne in mind one of the most crucial aims – the international unity and cohesion of the workers and thereupon, of all working people of all nations and nationalities in building socialism and communism.

Past history shows the chasm between the national policy of the working class and that of the bourgeoisie. The former serves the international unity of the toilers of the oppressed peoples, while the latter is directed to their division, segregation, friction and animosity. The difference is fundamental. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists – even the sincere advocates of democracy and humanism among them – usually did not and could not set the objective of resolving the national and national-colonial question created by capitalism, by the exploiting classes. To be sure, in certain conditions, say at the stage of struggle for national and social emancipation, the nationalism of an oppressed nation may play a historically progressive role. But after the socialist revolution it becomes one of the main obstacles to the evolution of the new society and the forming of the socialist way of life. Nationalism comes into collision with the internationalist foundations of the socialist way of life, and directly obstructs cooperation among socialist nations, in the absence of which it is impossible to consolidate the new, socialist order.

The practice of socialist construction shows that the friendship and cooperation of the peoples is a decisive factor of revolutionary change in all spheres of society, in the material and spiritual life of the peoples. It was thanks to mutual assistance and cooperation with all the other peoples of our country, first of all the great Russian people, that Uzbekistan accomplished her swift leap from backwardness to the peaks of modern social progress. Present-day Uzbekistan differs from the colonial outland of the former Russian empire as day differs from night. Under Soviet power, by the will of the Communist Party and the efforts of all the Soviet peoples, the republic has achieved successes in economic and cultural development that has amazed the whole world.

An up-to-date industry has risen through the years of socialist construction. At present it has more than 100 branches, including iron and steel, engineering, energetics, chemicals, gas, gold, etc., all equipped with the latest technology.

Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan had just 18,000 industrial workers – less than the one Tashkent Textile Combine has at present. Furthermore, workers of the indigenous nationalities comprised an insignificant portion of these workers and were mostly illiterate, doing back-breaking manual work. The consistent implementation of Lenin's national policy has produced a modern industrial working class,

which plays the leading role in all spheres of society. Tens of thousands of workers from the indigenous population are employed in industrial enterprises of the highest technical level.

Capital construction is on a grand scale. Indeed, Uzbekistan has become one gigantic building site. Investments in building are rising continuously: under the Eighth Five-Year Plan, for example, they totalled 13,700 million roubles, and under the Ninth – 19,000 million.

Our republic is famous for its cotton, that priceless gift of our sun-drenched soil. Cotton is our pride and the main source of our wealth. Before the revolution, annual cotton production within the limits of Turkestan* was about 600,000 tons. Now, Soviet Uzbekistan is the main base supplying the entire country's cotton needs. In 1974 it produced 5,330,000 tons. Plant-breeding, animal husbandry, vegetables, vine-growing, and many other branches of agriculture are prospering.

Large-scale irrigational development is under way. We have built water reservoirs, irrigation canals, and a ramified meliorative irrigation scheme with up-to-date hydro-technical installations. This enabled us to transform large tracts of wasteland into thriving ones in the Hungry and Karshin Steppes, the Surkhan-Sherabad Valley, Central Fergana, the Karakalpak ASSR and other regions.

In the past, Uzbekistan had no higher educational establishments. Now it has 41, and 177 specialized secondary schools. Students total more than 400,000. Nine higher schools and 74 specialized secondary schools were opened in just the past eight years. Science is advancing at a rapid rate. The numbers of local scientists and researchers are growing steadily, the system of research institutions is expanding. Tashkent has an atomic reactor and institutes of nuclear physics, cybernetics, electronics, energetics and automation, geology and geophysics, chemistry, and many others. They have the latest research appliances and equipment, and constitute a mighty scientific potential.

Uzbekistan has produced a brilliant galaxy of writers, poets, artists, composers, architects, dramatists and actors, whose work is known far outside the republic and the Soviet Union. The network of cultural and educational institutions is growing from year to year, our radio and television and our book publishing, are prospering, and more periodicals are being put out.

All these achievements are the fruit of the splendid friendship and cooperation of all the Soviet peoples.

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic is peopled by members of more than a hundred nations and nationalities. All our collectives are

*Turkestan – the Central Asian part of Russia's former colonial empire. – *Ed.*

multinational. The republic's Party organization, too, consists of members of almost 90 nationalities.

In the family of the Soviet peoples friendship and cooperation are a vital source of energy and success in the undertakings of today and tomorrow.

III As mentioned above, bourgeois ideologists and revisionists allege that the socialist way of life and national consciousness are incompatible, concel out each other, that by its very nature socialism is hostile to national concepts, disregards the territorial integrity of nations, obstructs their cultural growth, impairs national feelings, perverts national psychology, etc. The purpose of these allegations is to ascribe to socialism the irreconcilable contradictions on the national question that are part of capitalism. For it is capitalism that artificially incites national discord and distrust and suppresses national consciousness. Capitalism distorts everything it touches, including national consciousness. Feelings of national separateness and exclusiveness, racial superiority, ethnocentrism – they all stem from capitalism as a social system.

Genuine national consciousness, which fully refiects the fundamental interests of the entire people and not merely of a privileged group, comes only with socialism, and is further strengthened, deepened and enriched in developed socialism. The CPSU Program says: 'The steady growth of the class and national consciousness of the masses is characteristic of the present period of social development.' And the CPSU makes a special point of assuring the continued development of the consciousness of the Soviet socialist nations.

Let us take the history of the Uzbek socialist nation. Before the revolution the consciousness of the Uzbek people was formed in struggle against their 'own' and 'foreign' exploiters, in battle with foreign conquerors, whose invasions took a heavy toll of life and destroyed material and cultural values created by the labor and genius of many generations. After the Great October Social Revolution the Uzbek people, experienced as all other peoples of the former Russian empire in the liberation struggle, built socialism and are now successfully building communism under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the help of the Russian and other Soviet peoples. In the consciousness of the socialist Uzbek nation the glorious past merges with the grandeur of today providing one of the stimulating factors in its efforts and achievements. The Uzbek socialist nation has retained all that is best of its national culture, is developing it and continuing all the progressive and humanist traditions. The new, socialist content of Uzbek culture is a powerful stimulus in developing and enriching its national form.

Developed socialism makes for still closer unity of the different nations, bringing their peoples together in a single family of builders of communism, in which love for one's homeland and for socialism goes hand in hand with internationalism, with a deep respect for all the peoples of the USSR and the countries of the socialist world system.

The Soviet state is a major factor in developing the consciousness of socialist nations. Both the union state and the statehood of each of the national republics are internationalist in class nature and social essence. They express and uphold the interests and aims of the working class and of all working people, uniting them on the basis of internationalist, class principles. The internationalist character of socialist statehood is embodied in the Leninist principles: free and sovereign self-determination, voluntary union in a single federal multinational state, national equality, statehood for nations and nationalities in their respective communities, democratic centralism. Experience has shown that, far from disuniting peoples, these principles make for firmer unity on an internationalist basis. The Soviet socialist nations have a vital interest in uniting to solve cardinal development problems, and no interest in isolating themselves. What to the bourgeois mind seems an insoluble contradiction (unity is allegedly incompatible with independence) is to the socialist mind a perfectly natural basis of genuine national equality.

Two dialectically connected tendencies, but with a single purpose, are characteristic of the development of relations between nations in the period of building socialism and communism: the Soviet socialist nations develop rapidly and comprehensively, while at the same time drawing together under the banner of proletarian internationalism. Development, flowering and convergence are mutually determined processes. Closer relations and cooperation are a major factor in the development and flowering of socialist nations and nationalities. In turn, the development and flowering of the Soviet nations and nationalities strengthen their mutual ties.

Unity in economics, politics and socialist ideology is accepted by all and has led to the rise and development of a qualitatively new, uniform social consciousness of the multinational Soviet people, and of a new common feature of its psychology, national pride.

The national pride of the Soviet citizen is expressive of everything he has gained as a result of the socialist solution of the national question. It is indicative of the friendship and cooperation of all nationalities and of the *internationalist thinking* common to all Soviet people. L.I. Brezhnev declared in his address on the 50th anniversary of the USSR: 'The national pride of the Soviet man is a sentiment that is great, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is more far-reaching and profound than the natural national feelings of each of

the peoples making up our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of the labor, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people.'

Socialist internationalism is firmly engraved on the minds of Soviet people and is the basis of their individual consciousness, psychology and morality. Its main feature is the feeling of belonging, irrespective of nationality, to the new historical community, the Soviet people, pride in the achievements of one's own people, of the socialist Motherland and of the socialist community, a feeling of participation in revolutionary transformations in all parts of the world. The Communist Party educates the people in a spirit of patriotic duty and stimulates their creative activity and independence. The effect of such education is vividly manifested in the active participation of each socialist nation in attaining high results in production and culture and in the building of communism.

The consciousness of a socialist nation differs fundamentally from that of a bourgeois nation. First, we wholly reject the idea of an antagonistic contradiction between the interests of various nations. Many years ago Marx and Engels pointed out, in the *Communist Manifesto*, that 'in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.' Second, a most important distinctive feature of a socialist nation's consciousness is that it harmoniously blends the national-patriotic with the internationalist: the absence of class antagonisms means that the genuinely national is at the same time the genuinely international. Third, there is purposeful orientation, an objective requirement for the development of the socialist nation which stimulates accomplishment of its tasks.

The national consciousness of the Soviet socialist nation is of a new type, born in the process of fundamental socialist transformations in the economic, political and cultural fields. Its objective basis is public ownership of the means of production, which rules out exploitation of one nation by another or antagonistic contradictions between them. Consequently, when we say that the national consciousness of a socialist nation is expressive of its economic, political and cultural aims, we mean that these aims are identical with those of all the other Soviet socialist nations. In this, too, we see the fundamental difference between the national consciousness of a socialist and bourgeois nation.

The most important qualitative distinction of the national consciousness of a socialist nation is its class nature, its concrete social content. The class approach consistently followed by the CPSU in carrying out its national policy, as worked out by Lenin, organically unites with the nation's historical development. Both in theory and

practice the Party takes account of concrete conditions and specific national traits, for without this there can be no proper understanding of the manifold and complex phenomena and processes associated with the rise and development of a socialist nation's consciousness.

Socialist national consciousness expressed in systematized views denotes, I think, not merely awareness of belonging to a definite nation, but primarily and chiefly appreciation and understanding of the profound qualitative changes in national life, of the new national traits in culture, psychology, customs, etc. In other words, what we have is appreciation and understanding of all that is new and developing in the process of building socialism and communism. A socialist nation's national consciousness represents the unity of the national and international and stems from and accords with the socialist way of life.

The formation of socialist national consciousness is a complex and contradictory process. It is influenced by the sum-total of objective and subjective factors: general conditions determined by economic, social and political factors, the concrete circumstances that shape the life of the individual, his world outlook, value judgments, etc. Reality is such that the past, with its isolation of people, ingrained traditions and customs, reacts on the consciousness, oftentimes also on the subconsciousness, of the masses. This makes for the persistence of national prejudices and backward customs. People are not always aware of this, but in a definite setting it all comes to the surface. When consciousness is at the level of 'systematized views' it is, in a way, easier to cultivate the class approach as a crucial element of socialist national consciousness. But at the 'social psychology' level the task is much more complex. And here we can clearly see that socialist national consciousness does not arise automatically, but is formed through the interaction of long-standing traditions and customs.

An important problem in this context is the battle against religious survivals. Religious, particularly Moslem, ideology divides people according to nationality and religious reliefs. In the relatively recent past it exerted a powerful influence on people's conduct and on public opinion. Some Moslem rituals are passed off as 'truly national' in an effort to play on the national feelings of believers. The standards of behavior formed under the influence of religious ideology keep alive prejudices and stereotyped thinking based on national narrow-mindedness and bias. Our experience shows that it takes much time and painstaking effort to overcome such prejudices and stereotyped thinking. The process should not be prodded, but neither should it be left to spontaneity.

Patriotic and internationalist education, carried out primarily in the process of communist construction, plays an important part. Socialist

reality, the internationalist nature of the Soviet way of life, the internationalization of the material and spiritual life of the socialist nations, the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people, provide an objective basis for promoting internationalist consciousness.

Our Party is doing much to cultivate an internationalist mentality. It is constantly improving forms of internationalist education aiming, in particular, at their emotive impact.

IV The development of national consciousness is strongly influenced by world events. The rise and growth of the socialist world system, the mounting working-class struggle in developed capitalist countries, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and détente – the result of the firm and consistent peace policy of the USSR and other members of the socialist community – affect the destinies not only of individual countries and peoples, but of the whole of mankind, and are bound to influence also the growth of the socialist nations' national consciousness.

In common with other republics of the Soviet East, Uzbekistan has a meaningful share in international political, economic and cultural cooperation. This is a qualitatively new and important chapter in the history of the Uzbek people and is characteristic of developed socialist society. It is also clear evidence of the intensive process of internationalization of the Uzbek people's national consciousness, evidence of a wider national outlook, of the appearance of new traits in national consciousness.

Uzbekistan's territorial seclusion when it was a tsarist colony, its practically complete isolation from the outside world, and the narrow national awareness that followed from this, are now things of the past. Nor can there be any doubt that only thanks to socialism, which brought equality, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance to all the peoples of the USSR, assuring the flourishing of their economy, culture and science, was Uzbekistan able to form political, economic and cultural ties with other countries. They expanded with the continued success of the Uzbek people, led by our Leninist Party, in building socialism and communism and in fashioning and developing the socialist way of life.

Of prime importance in this context are the integration processes within the socialist community and the fact that each constituent Soviet republic makes its distinct contribution to foreign economic contacts. The Uzbek SSR plays a significant part in economic and other intercourse with socialist and capitalist countries, both independently and as part of a multinational state. The Uzbek republic holds third place (after the Russian Federation and the Ukraine) in volume of exports. Cotton and karakul skins, electric cable and

excavators, cotton-harvesting and textile machinery, tractor trailers and transformers – this is only part of a list of more than 190 goods exported to fraternal socialist and to developing countries. Naturally, this is bound to promote socialist national consciousness, for every citizen of our socialist republic is made aware of the *international implications* of his work. The labor achievements of the Uzbek working class, collective farmers and people's intelligentsia enhance the economic potential not only of our republic, and not only of the USSR, but of the entire socialist community. That thought is gripping the minds of our people, pushing out the survivals of national seclusion and isolation.

Soviet Uzbekistan is helping developing countries which not so very long ago broke out of colonial and semi-colonial dependence and are now exerting every effort to break out of economic backwardness. And our assistance is manifold: products of our industry and agriculture and, perhaps even more important, the dispatch of trained personnel, workers and engineers, to help build industrial enterprises and train personnel in Egypt, Syria, India, Afghanistan. This has a twofold impact on national consciousness: first, direct assistance to the national-democratic revolutions in the East, to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, makes for closer international solidarity; second, Uzbeks working abroad receive added confirmation of the great advantages of the socialist system, which gives all the Soviet nations broad opportunities for economic, political and cultural development.

Cultural exchange is still another factor in promoting national consciousness. Uzbek literature and art have won worldwide recognition, and this generates a feeling of legitimate pride in the achievements of our national culture in conditions of socialism. On the other hand, the assimilation by our people of the finest achievements of world literature and art extend the horizons of our own culture.

The socialist community is a family of independent countries with one and the same type of economic basis, common fundamental interests and a common ideology. That is the objective basis of the constantly growing feeling of belonging to the socialist world, a feeling of pride stemming from the knowledge that one is part of this great community. What we have, in other words, is socialist internationalism which has become the basis of national consciousness among the vast majority of the population of the socialist community. This, too, greatly extends the bounds of national consciousness.

However, this should not be taken to mean that people of different nationalities have lost their sense of belonging to a definite nation. On the contrary, every member of a socialist nation takes legitimate pride in the heroic past of its people, its liberation struggle, its great men, its

language and culture. With the socialist way of life, national consciousness acquires a new content and is expressive of the desire of everyone to see 'his' nation make the maximum contribution to the economic upbuilding and cultural advance of all the countries of the socialist community, to its political life and defense capacity. There is the growing realization that he who wants to see the maximum all-round prosperity of his own nation and state must work for the maximum all-round prosperity of the socialist community as a whole.

All this suggests that the socialist way of life, with its immense advantages over the capitalist, holds out the prospect of socialist national consciousness growing over into the consciousness of a socially homogeneous society, communist society.

Agrarian policy in the interests of the people

Jan Baryl
Alternate member of Presidium
and CC Secretary,
Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia

Unlike the capitalist world with its massive crisis upheavals, socialist Czechoslovakia, in common with other CMEA countries, is dynamically expanding production, attaining the goals of its development plans and steadily raising prosperity standards.

Agriculture is an important factor in this. Its socialist reorganization began with the Ninth Party Congress in 1949. Today, socialist production relations predominate, with the agricultural cooperatives accounting for 63 and the state farms 31 per cent of all the farmland. And our farms are equipped with new technology, have trained specialists and an extensive research and maintenance network. The agricultural cooperatives are gradually developing into highly efficient socialist enterprises based on large-scale production and capable of accumulating investment funds. This has made for higher living standards throughout rural Czechoslovakia.

The successful consolidation process following the 1968-69 crisis

enabled the 14th Party Congress to adopt a comprehensive program of continued and uninterrupted development of our socialist agriculture. The main goal of the fifth five-year plan set by the Congress was higher food output. This could be achieved only by more efficient farming based on concentration and specialization, and the April 1972 CC plenum worked out a series of integrated measures to that end.

The sustained efforts of the Party, the dedicated labor of our cooperative farmers and all workers in agriculture, closer cooperation between agriculture and industry, have produced good results, both in terms of higher output and a more pronounced socialist pattern. Agriculture has entered a new stage.

Agricultural cooperatives were founded in the late 40s and early 50s to assure more effective use of manpower and technical resources. In the early postwar years manual labor predominated. The priority task, therefore, was to provide machines, electric power, fertilizers, etc. Expansion and structural changes in industry enabled us to do this and set a new pattern in agriculture. Beginning with the mid 60s and particularly in recent years, thanks to the assistance of the working class and big state investments, the technical re-equipment of agriculture has been appreciably accelerated.

The process can be spelled out in the following figures: the supply of mineral fertilizer per hectare in 1974 was 265 kgs or more than in France, Austria or Italy. Grain harvesting has been mechanized practically throughout and more harvesting equipment is being used for other crops too. The transition to large-scale production of meat and dairy products is making good progress: already in 1973, 76 per cent of eggs, 67 per cent of poultry and 40 per cent of pork came from farms using the new technology. Czechoslovakia is ahead of several Common Market countries in production of concentrated cattle feed.

More investment is the objective prerequisite for steadily increasing output, and more initiative and higher skills by the farmers is the subjective factor. And the farmer knows that a higher living standard depends on development of large-scale production. The management structure both in the cooperative and state farms is being improved to adapt it to the wider use of the new technology.

These, then, are the factors that have gone into the steady rise of agricultural output over the past nine years. Annual increase for 1966-72 averaged 4.5 per cent, compared to 2.9 per cent in the Common Market countries. In many branches of agriculture, Czechoslovakia ranks with the foremost European countries.

We have always had to import a relatively large share of our requirements in grain, cattle feed and many types of raw materials. Buying grain and other agricultural produce from the USSR is much more advantageous than importing them from capitalist countries

where prices have risen steeply. Successful completion of the fifth five-year plan 1971-75 has enabled us to produce most of the meat, butter and eggs for the home market, despite the constantly growing demand. In the past four years per capita meat consumption increased by 7 kg. and in 1974 stood at 79 kg., a figure considerably higher than in most EEC countries. We have achieved much also with grain: last year production was up nearly 90 per cent on the annual average of 1961-65, and for the first time grain output topped the 10m. ton mark. Wheat yields in 1974 amounted to 4 tons per hectare.

However, the Party is not prepared to rest content with these achievements. We are encouraging farmers to tap potential reserves and eliminate existing shortcomings. We often compare the levels achieved by farms working in similar conditions and encourage critical examination of their results, widely publicize the methods used by front-rank farmers, the aim being to help the average farm reach up to the level of the more advanced. Much has been done also by way of land improvement, acceleration of scientific and technical development, improving construction methods and making maximum use of investments. Production structures are being modified as part of the drive to increase food output.

The present level of agriculture makes this a feasible, and the situation on the world food market a necessary aim. At the November 1974 plenum, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Party, emphasized that our goal should be self-sufficiency in grain within the next few years and a substantial increase in all other foods. The July 1975 CC plenum reviewed preparations for the sixth five-year plan (1976-80). The new plan will aim at further strengthening the worker-farmer alliance, higher farm productivity and output to make the country less dependent on food imports. It envisages a 15 per cent increase in agricultural output. In line with this, it provides for the supply of more machines, complete mechanization of all production processes, wide use of scientific achievements, and closer cooperation between industry and agriculture. That will keep our farming advancing at a high rate. More importance is attached to international socialist integration, which already plays a big part. For instance, the use of highly productive Soviet wheat varieties has been a decisive factor in boosting grain output in the past few years.

All these achievements notwithstanding, we are actually only now beginning to make full use of the opportunities presented by the scientific and technological revolution. On the basis of our experience we can say that these opportunities, inconceivable under capitalism, will make for higher production and the continued revolutionary transformation of agriculture. Unlike in capitalist countries, agricultural development is planned and balanced, with due account to the

interests of the farmers and with uninterrupted growth of their prosperity standards. Our experience provides convincing refutation of bourgeois and revisionist theories about socialist big-scale farming being unprofitable, and about the advantages of small peasant farming and capitalist agriculture in general. The more developed capitalist countries have since the war intensified agricultural production, but this has given them only a temporary advantage over us. It does not follow from the nature and forms of the capitalist economy, but is due primarily to larger investments made possible by a high level of industry built in the past. However, this advantage is gradually being wiped out by technical progress in the socialist countries and by the growing ability of large-scale socialist agriculture to make maximum use of new investments. The prospect, therefore, is for the full victory of socialist agriculture in its competition with capitalist agriculture. In recent years the accent has been on advancing concentration and specialization. However, more technical equipment coupled with more construction require that conditions be created for their optimal use. Practice has shown that the small agricultural cooperatives, usually confined to one village and following the traditional multicrop pattern, hamper expansion of the productive forces. That is why we have been amalgamating the cooperatives into bigger units. This year their number declined to 2,800, from 6,270 in 1970, but the average size has increased from 638 to nearly 1,500 hectares. The number of state farms is down to 252 from 336, and average cultivated land is now 5,700 hectares compared with 4,275. Amalgamation is on a voluntary basis, by decision of the cooperative members after discussion of all the economic factors involved. Amalgamation makes for more efficient use of available land, machinery and manpower, increases output, reduces costs and, most important, creates the conditions for further concentration and specialization.

Cooperation between farms is a major element in this process. In crop farming, to take one example, farms pool their resources for cultivation, harvesting, raising industrial crops, etc. This is becoming a regular practice and is planned beforehand.

Cooperative and state farms also pool resources in building and operating joint enterprises. In July 1974, there were 334 of these engaged in building and land improvement, pig farming, production of concentrated fodder, mineral fertilizer, poultry, etc. The state helps these enterprises by providing easy term loans, tax exemptions, etc. Every district now has a long-range plan for developing large-scale agricultural production.

The cooperation of cooperatives is socially and economically promising. Enterprises jointly founded by several cooperatives represent a higher degree of socialization and facilitate convergence of socialist

cooperative enterprises with state enterprises. And in mixed enterprises jointly set up by agricultural cooperatives and state farms this trend is still more pronounced. Here the convergence, even merging, of the two forms of socialist property – state and cooperative – is quite real. It is now the Party's concern to assure that such cooperation proceeds according to plan, taking account of the country's economic capacity and the capacity of agricultural cooperatives, and that it does not fall behind the needs and targets of agriculture, for this may injure the interests of the individual cooperators, the economy and the worker-peasant alliance.

Alongside the cooperation process within agriculture, there is more cooperation between agriculture and industry, especially the engineering and processing industries. Since the social and economic character of socialist farming and industry is the same, the emergence of the agrarian-industrial complex makes for wholehearted comradely cooperation as distinct from capitalist society, where it is accompanied by more intensive exploitation of farmers (as the monopolies appropriate the greatest possible portion of the surplus-value produced in farming). The growth of ties between industry and agriculture benefits the working people, assures maximum effectiveness of investments and conforms with the interests of society as a whole. This shows that we have come to a phase in the concentration and specialization of socialist agriculture where the organic synthesis, the fusion of agriculture and industry, predicted by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, has begun to come true.

The growth of the productive forces necessitates improvements in the socialist relations of production within the individual cooperatives and the cooperative sector as a whole. A bill on agricultural cooperatives, recently put up for public discussion by farmers, will provide a legal basis for the changes of recent years, for a further extension of the cooperatives' socialist character, for bringing cooperative property closer to state property, improving the management and structure of the cooperatives, and raising their responsibility to society for production results.

As in several other socialist countries, land in Czechoslovakia was not socialized when the cooperatives were formed because of the enduring tradition of peasant land ownership. But the many years of collective land use, and the common (cooperative) ownership of the other means of production, are tending to alter the peasant psychology. The private land ownership tradition is gradually receding. This represents a process of economic, that is, factual, socialization, though legally the land is still the private property of the farmers. This is why, reflecting and stimulating this tendency, the bill proclaims the cooperatives' right to the free use in perpetuity of land submitted by

the farmer cooperators, though their formal title to it is preserved. This factual socialization is entirely in keeping with the interests of the farmers and the further development of the cooperative system.

Industrialization and specialization entail far-reaching changes in the inner structure of cooperatives. It has become necessary, for example, to introduce the same management principles as in socialist industrial enterprises, such as cost-accounting, one-man management of production units, and the like. Apart from the elective bodies, the larger cooperatives need an executive managerial apparatus comprising section chiefs to discharge the functions of operational control. Other forms of farmers' participation in management are also being improved, such as the system of consultative farmers' committees working with the local agricultural departments; the Union of Farmer Cooperators is being given a bigger role as a public organization representing the interests of all working farmers in general matters related to the cooperative system.

Planning is another area we are improving to heighten the influence of the state's financial and economic levers on production and distribution. Thanks to the stability of the prices of manufactured goods and farm products, cooperatives can operate on the basis of long-term plans, and farmers can live in security and confidence.

This is evidence of the Party's concern that in the new conditions, too, the socialist pattern of the agricultural cooperatives should not be impaired and its advantages preserved, including the material incentives, intramural democracy, and the like.

The industrialization of agriculture is tending to improve the cooperators' conditions of life and work, are bringing them closer in status to the working class, and gradually obliterating the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labor, between town and village. Thanks to the effective system of material incentives the farmers' incomes are rising in step with the rising productivity of labor. In fact, the farmers' average monthly earnings are already equal to the overall national average.

An important point here is the far-reaching modification of the system of farmers' emoluments. The cooperatives have, in the main, gone over to cash wages. Every cooperator is guaranteed cash earnings, the amount of which depends on his proficiency, the quantity and quality of work, and the production results of the cooperative. The principle of equal pay for equal work is also promoted by the system of single state purchasing prices with differentiated increments, which assure a fair redistribution of the differential rent. Cash earnings add to the cooperators' material interest in expanding the commonly-owned farm and stimulate their productivity.

Another interesting sidelight: the role of individual plots in satisfy-

ing the farmers' needs has visibly declined. Only recently, individual plots meant a lot for the farmer both materially and psychologically. But the commonly-owned farm has grown richer, the cooperators' cash earnings have gone up, their cultural and professional standards have risen, and their interest in having a private plot has declined accordingly. More and more of them, especially the young, are giving up their plots altogether. In 37 per cent of the cooperatives, in fact, individual plots no longer exist. At present, individual plots account for only 11 per cent of the gross agricultural output. The social implications of this process are that now, like the workers, the farmer associates his material improvement exclusively with socialized production. Furthermore, the farmers acquire more free time, which is a special boon to women, who are able to put in more work on the commonly-owned farm, and to improve themselves professionally and culturally.

The state is gradually balancing the social, labor and legal status of farmer cooperators with that of employees of state enterprises. Provisions of the labor code are being increasingly extended to cover agriculture. The cooperators' social maintenance is financed out of state funds as in the case of all citizens, and also partly out of the funds of the cooperative. There are no differences in the dispensation of child benefits, maternity leave and sick benefits. Most of the cooperatives provide annual leave to their members on the same terms as state enterprises. Out of their social and cultural funds they finance farmers' training, leisure facilities, child-care institutions, and the like, and help the local authorities in building creches, kindergartens, medical centers, shops, service establishments, sports and cultural facilities. Furthermore, there is no substantial difference between the housing of farmers and town-dwellers.

The decisions of the April 1975 CC plenum provide for a single pensions scheme that will, as of next year, cover all working people, including cooperators.

Farm labor is now essentially more like industrial labor. Technical progress has wrought far-reaching changes in trades and skills. The number of specialists with a secondary and higher education, and of skilled workers such as tractor and combine operators, truck drivers, mechanics and repairmen, is rising continuously. There are now 220 skilled workers and 40 specialists with a higher or secondary education per 1,000 farmers.

The Party is seeing to it that growth of production and the economic consolidation of cooperatives harmonizes with the social and political development of the cooperators themselves and that it strengthens the worker-peasant alliance. Vestiges of the old proprietorial peasant psychology are gradually disappearing. The farmers'

socialist consciousness and sense of allegiance to the Party are growing.

Lenin's ideas on large-scale agricultural cooperative production are taking ever deeper root. The farmers are learning from experience that they conform fully with their interests. They know that the village has never had so high a level of prosperity and culture. Though due to the rapid growth of labor productivity the number of cooperators and their share in the population are declining, they still remain, as allies of the workers, one of the main and dominant classes of our socialist society.

Large-scale agricultural production is inconceivable without extensive political and organizational Party work. And in the new stage the Party's functions of guidance and organization are greater still. Rural Party organizations formed after the war on the territorial principle played a crucial part in collectivization, and later in guiding the Communists' work in cooperatives. But with the establishment of large cooperatives we need independent Party branches there working on the same principles and with the same powers as those in industrial enterprises. However, the matter must be dealt with gradually. Party organizations of this type have been activated in many of the cooperatives, but elsewhere we are still keeping the rural organizations, which also provide political guidance to the National Committees and public organizations. To complete the estblishment of Party organizations in cooperatives we must first strengthen local Party ranks.

Many of the farmers in the Party joined it during the national and democratic revolution, at the time of the struggle for land and land reform. At the same time, for years there had been a steady outflow of the rural youth to the cities, where working and living conditions were more to their taste and interests. This explains the present relatively higher average age of the Party's rural membership. But now, acting on the resolutions of the 14th Party Congress, we are working to increase the influx to the Party of young farmers. The conditions for this have become more favorable.

In the capitalist countries, the concentration in agriculture is ruining small and middle farmers, compelling millions of them, especially the young, to look for jobs in towns or abroad. This massive migration has depopulated large agrucultural areas, while overcrowding the urban centers. There is nothing of the sort in Czechoslovakia. Admittedly, a drain of manpower from village to the city exists. The growth of socialist industry and in other economic fields requires additional labor, while the rising efficiency in agriculture enables us to dispense with some of the rural manpower. In the past five years 142,000 people moved from villages to cities. Most of them have found em-

ployment in fields other than farming. For us this is a positive development, and we are planning to reduce the rural work force by another 90,000 people. On the other hand, industrialization of farming is arousing the interest of young people in farm labor. The youth, including the urban youth, has changed its attitude and finds work on the farms increasingly attractive. Thousands of graduates from universities, technicums and agricultural schools return to their villages each year, which is naturally reducing the average age of the rural population. Now, farmers of 34 and under comprise more than 30 per cent of the rural labor force.

This has helped us in invigorating the Party membership in the rural areas. We regard it as an important political achievement that recruitment of probationary Party members has increased: nearly 40,000 most of them under 35, have joined Party organizations in villages and cooperatives since the 14th Congress of the CPC.

The results achieved by our large-scale cooperative farming fully confirm the ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan and their international relevance. The force and vitality of these ideas, the basis for the Party's agrarian policy formulated by the Fourteenth Congress, are fully in evidence at the present stage.

While farmers in capitalist countires bear the brunt of the current economic crisis, the upswing of socialist agriculture in Czechoslovakia is additional proof that only Lenin's program of agricultural reconstruction provides the many millions of farmers with a sure perspective of deliverance from back-breaking toil and insecurity, and with continuously improving social conditions.

For the complete independence of our America

Volodia Teitelboim
Member of Political Commission, Communist Party of Chile

A century and a half after the battle of Ayacucho marking the end of Spanish colonial rule on the continent, the solid and unqualified independence of our America has yet to become a reality. This is the opening statement of the declaration adopted by the Communist

parties of Latin America and the Caribbean at the Havana conference in June 1975. In today's conditions, solid, unqualified independence cannot be won without a revolution leading ultimately to socialism. To promote the fulfillment of this task, 24 Communist parties of the continent met in the first free American territory, a country where socialism speaks the language of Simon Bolivar and Jose Marti[1] and which has initiated a new liberation of the continent, whose people will still have the last word.

We Communists, in common with all genuine revolutionaries, are participants in a new epic of liberation. We have inherited the uncompleted cause of America's liberation. The struggle begun in the last century is continuing. Needless to say, the very nature of our epoch has substantially changed its content. Complete and final liberation will come with the defeat of neo-colonialism, U.S. imperialism and its Latin American allies. This is part of the struggle to free the whole of mankind, part of the world revolution, and victory will not go to the ideas of the bourgeoisie as in Bolivar's days, but to the ideas of the working class, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and the people's interests.

The forces of regress have always tried to minimize revolutionary ideas, describing them as 'foreign.' Bolivar, leader of the epic struggle which culminated in the battle of Ayacucho, was anathematized by the colonialists with most of the last century's freedom fighters. He was accused of 'consorting with the devil,' of reading the 'devil's own' literature (Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau).

Present-day obscurantists are at pains to disprove the national character of Communist parties. Now while our teachers are not the same as Bolivar's, we, like him, regard the whole of world revolutionary culture as our own. We draw on a new source of knowledge, the modern science of society – the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Marxist-Leninist writings are not a collection of sacred books or sacramental dictums but a guide to action in specific conditions. They tell us that in Latin America it is not enough to shake off foreign domination and bring about the political changes sought by the freedom fighters of the last century. Genuine liberation implies a revolution in every public sphere.

In his letters from Jamaica, Bolivar pointed out that to expel the Spaniards and form a free government, an alliance was needed and that it would not come as a gift from heaven but would be the result of meaningful effort. The Havana conference re-emphasized this. It demonstrated our unity, the basis for the cohesion of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist, progressive forces of the continent.

Forces of the world revolution

The declaration rightly notes that changes in Latin America are part

of a worldwide trend toward social progress in this epoch of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The new international situation, characterized by the growing strength of socialism and a steady weakening of imperialism, is beneficial to our continent. The changed alignment of forces found its most vivid expression in the Vietnamese people's great victory, which had strong repercussions in Latin America. The head of the Chilean fascist junta, Pinochet, was understandably depressed by the fall of that bloodthirsty puppet, Thieu, seeing it as a presage of his own downfall.

The Vietnam victory ranks among the greatest historic events since the defeat of fascism in Europe, whose 30th anniversary we recently observed. Fascism can re-emerge on any continent today. However, it is not a strengthening of fascism or ultra-rightist imperialist dictatorships that is the decisive feature of our time but the advance of the forces of freedom, democracy, peace and social progress. This is illustrated by the victory of the people of Portugal, where the alliance of the people and the armed forces is a guarantee of the revolution. Mindful of Chile's costly lessons, the Portuguese revolution presses forward, foiling the subversive maneuvers of imperialism, reaction and fascism, which now has donned a pseudo-democratic mask. And it has to be repeated: 'The revolution has a right to defend itself and must do so. Portugal must not be a European repetition of Chile.'

The cold war is receding under the impact of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Socialism has come to Europe, Asia and America as an ireversible achievement of the peoples, of all mankind. Latin Americans see fraternal Cuba as the materialization of the dream of the fighters for freedom and complete independence of the continent, against the exploitation of man by man.

Geographically Cuba is an island, but politically it is inseparable from the continent, which seeks complete liberation. Nor is Latin America an isolated continent but a sizable part of the world, which awakened to the fight for the new life begun with the storming of the Winter Palace in October 1917. Since then, the existence, influence, growing strength and activity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have changed the face of the planet. This is the decisive sign of the new period.

The struggle of the working class and other democratic forces of capitalist Europe and other continents is a decisive factor in the favorable change of the balance of world forces. Winning peace on earth is not an idyllic goal. It involved struggle against reaction in every sphere, against fascism and neo-fascism as the main source of the war menace. Capitalism and imperialism have imposed on people the heavy burden of the arms race and sky-rocketing military expenditures. The working class of the developed capitalist countries

of Europe and other continents is fighting for a better life and, to a still greater extent, against the militarist policy of aggression, for détente, against monopoly and reaction.

Another stream of the powerful revolutionary movement of today is the liberation movement in developing countries. Among them are countries at varying levels of historical, social and political development. However, they have one feature in common and that is the fight for genuine independence, against backwardness.

Everywhere the Communists – revolutionaries and fighters – are catalysts of progress. This is why, now as in the past, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the political and ideological mainstay of reaction, fascism, imperialism and aggression no matter how they manifest themselves or how they are disguised. Anti-communism is not directed against Communists alone, but against all fighters for democracy, social progress and revolution, and runs counter to the national interests of individual countries and the interests of mankind as a whole.

The sharp aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is the distinguishing feature of this stage of history. But it is not a world-wide crisis as apologists for the capitalist system allege. Indeed, socialism is not only exempt from the ruinous effects of the crisis, but marches on with firm step. This contrast shows undeniably that socialism is a guarantee of a crisis-free world. As well as ending the exploitation of man by man and bringing people jobs, bread, justice, prosperity and culture, it provides détente and disarmament.

New situation in Latin America

Socialism is the only system capable of assuring real and rapid progress, which Latin American countries need, says the conference declaration. Cuba has shown to brother peoples that today one could set about building socialism on the American continent, and it has scored amazing gains. But socialism, the declaration adds, will become a program for the whole of Latin America only after a period of sustained struggles and radical changes, based on the working people's own experience and consistent and persevering ideological struggle.

The victory of the Cuban revolution – a nightmare for U.S. imperialism, a specter terrifying the whole of Latin American reaction – marked a sharp historic turn in the life of the continent. And just as the imperialists tried to strangle the young Soviet Republic, attempts were made to strangle the Cuban revolution. But the staunchness of the people, the wise and courageous leadership of their vanguard headed by Fidel Castro, support from the socialist world, primarily from the Soviet Union, and the sympathy shown by the peoples of

Latin America and the world enabled socialism in Cuba to take firm root and become an irreversible reality.

We are now witnessing the bankruptcy of U.S. strategy. Crisis has gripped the so-called inter-American system, a military and juridical complex based on cold war dogmas and falsehoods about the 'threat' of Soviet 'aggression.' The U.S. State Department comes up against growing antagonisms even in what was once its 'colonial ministry,' the Organization of American States. The continent refuses to remain a preserve of multinational companies. More and more countries have established diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Cuba and other socialist countries.

It is not only the workers and other working people, not only progressive segments of the population, that see imperialist domination as the cause of ruin, subservience and backwardness. Even those who until recently looked on imperialism as their invincible ally are beginning to feel doubtful in the presence of obvious and disheartening facts.

What is Latin America after almost a hundred years of imperialist penetration backed by feudal and semi-feudal oligarchies and a docile bourgeoisie? It is a vast continent whose people live on the borderline of hunger. One in every three Latin Americans does not get enough to eat.[2] In this age of the 'education explosion,' Latin America still has huge areas of illiteracy. Many children do not attend school, and higher education is still a class privilege.

In areas which are still largely undeveloped and where everything has yet to be started almost from scratch there is appalling unemployment. Even today, the continent is virtually only a supplier of raw materials. Its economy is chaotic and patchy. Peasants pursuing the mirage of a livelihood migrate to the towns, only to sink into the anonymous depths of poverty and unemployment in suburban slums.

But for imperialism, the chief usurer, Latin America is the source of fabulous profits. In 1975 Brazil and Chile alone have an external debt in excess of $20,000m. Yet the continent's share in world trade is dwindling and its balance of payments deficit is mounting, while the profits of U.S. monopolies go up from day to day. In 1964-71, their declared profits stood at $23,000m. In the past 15 years, Latin America's per capita GNP growth rate of 2.8 per cent was one of the lowest in the world. And while the prices of imported goods went up fantastically in the same period, the prices of raw materials sold by Latin America dropped. The inflation rate is one of the world's highest. And fascist-dominated Chile holds the record.

Neither imperialism, nor reaction can check the march of history. The proportion of the working class in the population is increasing,

and in a number of Latin American countries it is acquiring a new image as it concentrates in big factories where higher skills and more knowledge are required. The workers join trade unions, acquire political awareness and become the pivot of current changes, preparing to play a leading role in society.[3] More and more women are entering industry. Young people form a majority and they demand their rights, rising more and more frequently against a social order which denies them a place in the sun. In many countries, the urban middle strata are becoming proletarianized as their numbers grow.

We are entering a period favorable to united action by the trade unions on a national and continental level. There are many more organized workers now, with the various trends and union centers showing greater unity and with their class consciousness growing faster. The working class is closing its ranks and more and more non-proletarian strata are becoming aware of the consequences of dependence on imperialism and are uniting to protect natural resources by joining in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and national independence. The time has come when the working class can win numerous new allies.

The economic process going on in Latin America, the conference declaration says, has resulted in the top section of the domestic bourgeoisie becoming part of the machinery of imperialist domination. This is not to say, however, that the Latin American bourgeoisie does not include those who are aware of the contradiction between their interests and the imperialists' and whose position coincides with the position of the workers, peasants and other non-capitalist sections in the fight against imperialism, for economic independence and complete national sovereignty.

In the light of these changes it is not mere chance but a manifestation of the dialectics of history that some progressive-minded civilian or military governments uphold national sovereignty, demand restitution of the nation's wealth and are in direct or indirect confrontation with imperialism. The processes going on in Peru, Panama, Ecuador and Honduras, and those in Mexico and Venezuela, as well as the signs of change in the Caribbean and other areas of America, have their distinctive characteristics, but merge in one stream of change aimed chiefly at winning economic independence and freedom from foreign domination.

Washington is anything but indifferent to the attacks made on its positions by the peoples of the world and our continent. It does everything to stop progress toward liberation, even resorting to fascism. In Chile, imperialism's image stands out in all its repellent ugliness. It backs the Brazilian regime and tries to use the reaction in Guatemala, Uruguay and Bolivia. It poses a serious threat to Argen-

tina. Operating behind the scenes, it persistently foments border conflicts.

Our America faces a common enemy. However, the situation varies greatly from country to country, for there are over 20 nations representative of almost every level of social and economic development, ranging from Cuba, which is building socialism, to Puerto Rico, a country under colonial rule. There are underdeveloped, mostly agrarian, countries with survivals of a feudal or semi-feudal system, countries where capitalist development is average, and even countries which are entering the period of state-monopoly capitalism. These distinctive aspects of the social and economic situation from country to country form the basis of the people's struggle and are the starting point for the activity of Communist parties and vast liberation movements in the universal battle against the chief enemy.

Temporary setbacks and retreats neither obscure the meaning of events, nor reverse the trend of their quickening development. The working people are stepping up their struggle. The Communists' role is growing. There is a mounting trend toward the unity of forces of differing origins and views. Marxists, and religious and non-religious people can and should cooperate, for the fundamental contradiction between the aspiration to independent national development and domination by imperialism has spread to every nation of the continent. No patriot can be impassive.

The conference called for joint action. It showed the way to unity and outlined the forms of solidarity with embattled peoples undaunted by repression, and prompt measures to coordinate the fight against the common enemy and contribute to the unity of the working class, of all strata and mass movements. Counter-revolution has shown its infinite baseness and its incredible dexterity. U.S. imperialism engineered the Chilean coup by modern methods, those of scientific and technological counter-revolution. The time to meet the challenge has come. We must learn from the enemy how to use the achievements of science and technology in the interest of the revolution and beat him at his own game.

The lessons of Chile

The drama of Chile was a central item at the conference. The unprecedented scope of the solidarity movement is more than a manifestation of homage to a fallen fighter. It is an expression of profound internationalism. But there is more to it, for the problem of Chile is of concern to people all over the world, it is a harsh reminder of the need for vigilance in the face of imperialist strategy.[4] But nothing is more alien to us than pessimism. Through the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905 Lenin perceived the future victory of October 1917.

Learning from our own mistakes, we see the defeat of 1973 as the beginning of a new road that will lead to the triumph of a people capable of defending itself and successfully opposing imperialism and its agents. We fully subscribe to Comrade Fidel Castro's remarkably apt words: We see the decline of imperialism on this continent, we started the decline of imperialism on this continent, and our peoples shall see the end of imperialism on this continent!

Chilean Communists consider it necessary to discuss the so-called Chilean problem. It is not an empirical question for the pragmatic clarification of tasks but an intricate set of questions from which neither the ideological aspect nor a scientific analysis of the lessons to be drawn can be excluded. Nor is it a Chilean monopoly, but a duty of the international revolutionary movement as a whole.

The Chilean experience has provoked heated debates and different interpretations. The causes of what happened are being studied, lessons and conclusions are being drawn and prospects outlined. The reflections of our comrades and friends in all parts of the world help us, they contribute to a more thorough analysis and enrich the process of self-criticism, provided they be based on an objective scientific approach, facilitate our people's struggle, and do not bring grist to the enemy's mill. It was in this spirit that the fraternal parties spoke at the conference.

The study of the problem has not ended. It will go on for a long time for it involves a key issue: the possibility of performing the revolution not necessarily through armed struggle. We hold that the overthrow of the popular government does not negate this possibility, which Lenin called rare but extremely valuable. The Popular Unity experience, we believe, has also shown that a revolutionary government cannot consolidate if it lacks the means to repulse armed counter-revolutionary attacks. We do not doubt that the Portuguese revolutionaries, for example, have learned a lot from the Chilean drama. Perhaps by carefully studying its lessons other peoples will be able to avoid a tragedy like the one written with the blood of the Chilean people.

But obviously, the main lesson must be drawn by the Chilean revolutionary movement. We have no intention of stumbling twice over the same rock. That is why we must view the events in Chile not just as a tragedy or episode of history, but first and foremost as a source of experience that has already enriched the political strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of Chile and the Popular Unity and is helping the formation of a broad front. It will lead to the defeat of fascism and the establishment of a system that will not be an exact replica of the Popular Unity regime, a system that will assure the revolution's development and suppression of fascist, reactionary con-

spirators, and see to it that the CIA tentacles are cut off and its agents with their blood-smeared dollars are kept out.

The people, the whole nation are witnessing the dissipation of the gains won not only in the thousand days of the Allende government, but in the more than half-century of working class and popular struggle. Today ordinary people look back longingly to the days of Popular Unity when they not only had a share in power but lived in greater freedom and democracy than ever before in Chilean history. They recall those days as a period of economic and social transformation.

It is our view that the debacle was not inevitable. One reason for the dramatic turn of events was that counter-revolution succeeded in striking before the revolution did. The massed offensive of the ultra-rightists and their ultra-leftist minions did not receive the swift and powerful rebuff that should have come from the continued strengthening and expansion of the popular government's social base and position.

We now realize that when a ruthless and unscrupulous enemy accepts election results, the will of the people, this is sheer hypocrisy and pretense. The people should not have put off solution of the problem of power. Of course, this is easier said than done, and in Chile it would have been exceedingly difficult. But there were moments, notably after the 1971 minicipal election in which the Popular Unity won an absolute majority, when it would have been possible to increase control over the state apparatus and carry out changes in the army with the concurrence of the incumbent command, i.e., to eradicate the fascist camarilla. All this, naturally, should have been done alongside continued expansion of the broad front and all working-class forces as the center and prime mover of revolutionary change, consolidating every new achievement in the changing structure of society and winning the support of the masses and the armed forces purged of anti-democratic elements.

The Army

The Havana conference also examined the problem of the army which, in our view, is of key importance. It must be admitted that in our policy we did not give it the attention it deserves. Illusions were widely held about the professionalism and neutrality of the armed forces, their loyalty to the law and non-participation in politics. This was so, but it was secondary and dependent on the correlation of forces. One should never forget Lenin's warnings or underestimate the class character of the army. There is no such thing as an army outside the state or outside politics.[5]

As in many other countries, the Chilean armed forces are a heterogeneous body, with reactionary and democratic elements.[6] In some

Latin American countries, democratic, national-patriotic elements among the military have prevailed over the reactionaries. Peru is a case in point. The existence of different ideologies and political position in the army is connected with the struggle between the forces of reaction and progress, between the patriotic and pro-imperialist elements in each country.

The awakening of many army officers and their growing understanding of the new realities of the world can be traced to the strengthening of the socialist community, to the realization that the Soviet armed forces had defeated Hitler's army, once held up in Chilean military schools as undefeatable.

On the other hand, they see the national realities, the struggles of the working people and the nation as a whole, the new trends in society weakening the traditional citadels of the ruling classes and penetrating the churches and barracks. Latin American armies will not remain the support of reaction forever. They also change, for they cannot remain isolated from the life of society. But change is not just a function of time, it is also brought about by thorough, painstaking work of the popular forces, which must acquaint the soldiers with their thoughts, with their genuinely patriotic, liberation political platform.

In this sense the Communist Party of Chile intends to start a long period of difficult, patient work. This is absolutely essential for winning freedom, and the armed forces, or a part of them, must also contribute to it. That is why nothing is more alien to us than sectarian anti-militarism.

We draw the dividing line not between the military and civilians, but between fascists and anti-fascists, inside the barracks as well. The September 1974 Communist appeal to the armed forces and carabineros explains that a vicious egoistic minority is using them to plunge the overwhelming majority of the people into the abyss of poverty. Soldiers serving the country have been turned into jailers of its people. The appeal urges them to join the majority yearning to see an end to Chile's hour of shame and rise against the unlawful, tyrannical, criminal, corrupt and incompetent government.

There is already indubitable evidence that the junta's internal and external isolation and its total political and economic failure are causing cracks in the armed forces. A time of debate has come for the military (as yet restricted to financial and economic issues). Despite brutal repressions against democratic elements the process has begun, it will grow more intense under the impact of the political situation, the mounting hatred of the people and mass action.

With due account of all specific features, which must be carefully studied, the armed forces also represent a mass front which is in the

final analysis, subject to the laws of class struggle. That is why winning over a part or the majority of the military to the side of the democratic, national-revolutionary forces is a prime task of the popular movement. Military institutions capable of preventing a rebirth of fascism can and should join the revolutionary process, as is the case in Portual.

Broad unity

It is, therefore, essential to create a powerful mass movement, an anti-fascist front in which all anti-imperialist, democratic forces would rally around the working class. Its cornerstone is the close unity of Communists and Socialists. And popular unity is the nucleus of a broader coalition. It is a front open to all who opposed the junta, even if yesterday or at the time of the coup they held different positions. It should unite all forces that want to see the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the beginning of a new period in Chilean history.

There is considerable controversy concerning the boundaries of such an association. No one opposing the junta can or should be barred from it a priori; we know that a broad, strong coalition for the overthrow of fascism must necessarily involve representatives of different classes, ideologies and political views and the appearance of differences, notably over formulae for the future. We must have a clear idea on this score and not delude ourselves. Our position is that the political amalgamation must form around the working class, the front's backbone; it will comprise a large section of the middle strata, including Christian Democrats, on the basis of mutually acceptable interests. New factors are crystallizing in the crucible of underground struggle, and will play a significant part not only in the confrontation with fascism but also in moudling the future Chilean society. Despite their class and ideological heterogeneity, the broad masses, notably of Catholics, by and large hold active positions, denounce the junta's trampling on human rights, and favor a government that would serve the nation.

As for the forces that call themselves the 'left,' we urge unity without discrimination, excluding none but those who exclude themselves. Communists do not claim a monopoly in questions of unity, nor do they arbitrarily decide who is to join the anti-fascist front and who is to remain beyond its pale. That is an issue the participants themselves must settle by deed, not words. The ultra-leftists caused great harm to the revolutionary movement and played an important part in the imperialist conspiracy, involuntarily abetting it by their inflammatory statements and reckless actions. But there are doubtlessly among them people who have learned the lesson and honestly wish

to fight against fascism and not play the part of a Trojan horse undermining unity from within. Let such people come. The doors are open to all Chileans of good will, to all genuine anti-fascists. As to MIR, it has yet to show that the tragic experience has taught it anything.

United action of the most diverse forces is an urgent necessity. But the parties of the working class cannot and should not forego their independence. That is an important condition for strengthening the front. Only then will it not collapse tomorrow or wallow in internal discord. It must have a unified leadership, unified strategy and tactics enabling it to oppose a united enemy: imperialism and its fascist accomplices.

One of the junta's first decrees was to ban the Communist and all other Popular Unity parties. But history has again demonstrated that the Communist Party cannot be destroyed. The Party has been reorganized underground and is active throughout the country. The Secretariat, Political Commission, Central Committee, all regional committees, and thousands of cells are functioning. The same is true of the Communist youth. The Party apparatus is illegal, but it is conducting daily work among the masses. Pinochet and other junta leaders are forced to concede the Party's existence. They tried to stamp it out by brutal repressions, but the Party is immortal.

International solidarity

At the conference our Party thought it necessary to explain its stand with regard to the dangerous political course of Maoism, which facilitates the creation of a world front of reaction, attempts to prevent détente and preaches anti-Sovietism. Chileans cannot remain silent on the problem, if only because the Peking government is openly cooperating with the fascist junta and has earned the gratitude of Pinochet. Thereby it has trampled on the principles of internationalism and solidarity.

We try to speak calmly, without rhetoric. But on the issue of solidarity with the Chilean people we have nothing to thank the Chinese leadership for.

On the other hand, we are profoundly grateful to the CPSU and the brother parties of the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries. At the conference we also expressed our gratitude to all Communist parties on our continent and elsewhere, the architects of the international solidarity movement. Their actions are neither a desperate cry for help nor a mere angry denunciation of crimes; they are manifestations of a stand based on proletarian internationalism, the cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism. In this field, too, Communists are in the van, for solidarity with Chile is one of the most comprehensive and deepest common denominators bringing together strata and

people of the most diverse views. It is the Achilles' heel of fascism and a prime factor in the development of our people's struggle.

We join the demand for the release of comrades Antonio Maidana and Jaime Perez, and of non-communist Lolita Labron, we demand freedom for all Chilean political prisoners irrespective of party affiliation. The ceaseless efforts of those who cherish freedom and democracy and fight for human rights have more than once stayed the executioner's hand and saved Luis Corvalan. But the threat has not been removed. Luis Corvalan must be rescued from the clutches of the fascist junta.

The conference's main conclusions are not a secret to be kept under lock and key. The declaration adopted by the brother parties is a program of revolutionary action for the proletariat, peasantry, students and youth, urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The seeds of the liberation ideas of scientific socialism have been sown in the minds of broad sections of the masses. The ideas of the Havana declaration must also reach the minds of the patriotic military. It represents a mighty counterbalance to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The conference also stressed that the Communist parties' independence is based on ever closer collaboration in the struggle against imperialism and local reaction. It is essential for us to meet more frequently so as to be able to respond with coordinated action and creative revolutionary initiatives to enemy actions directed from Washington.

The Communist Party leadership inside Chile wholeheartedly welcomed the idea of a conference of Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean and took an active part in drawing up its declaration. Similarly, it thinks it useful in due course to hold a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

Jointly with the foremost forces of the continent and the world, we can put into effect the idea unanimously endorsed in the declaration of achieving complete and lasting independence for our America. We shall devote all our experience and energy to the achievement of that goal.

1. Heroes of the struggle for the liberation of Latin America. – *Ed*.

2. In my own country, fascism has robbed children of even the daily half-litre of free milk they had under the Allende government. Today, hungry children faint in the classroom. Child mortality is on the rise and infant mortality is four times as high as in the developed capitalist countries.

3. The working class has increased roughly by half in the past 15 years. The proportion of industrial workers has grown, providing a fount of strength for almost all of Latin America's Communist parties. Forty to 60 per cent of wage workers

belong to trade unions. While this figure is smaller than in Europe, it is almost three times as large as in Asia and even more than this in Africa.

4. In his cynical statements, the declaration says, President Ford has acknowledged that the U.S. government directed subversive activities on the continent; he also high-handedly claims that he is entitled to continue them in future 'in the best interests of his country.'

5. See B. Ponomaryov. 'The World Situation and the Revolutionary Process.' *WMR*, June, 1974.

6. The Chilean armed forces had always maintained close ties with U.S. military agencies. Virtually the whole officer corps received training at U.S. military schools. And it is common knowledge that the Yankees attach special importance to subversive activity in the armies of Latin American countries.



Socialism and the technological revolution

Werner Krolikowski
Political Bureau member and Secretary, CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the people of the German Democratic Republic are successfully building a developed socialist society. They are working perseveringly to carry out the main task set by the Party's Eighth Congress: assuring the further growth of the material and cultural standards on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production and its mounting efficiency, on the basis of scientific and technological progress and growing labor productivity.

In its approach to this strategic task, our Party proceeds from the assumption that the prime condition of higher efficiency and labor productivity is socialist intensification of production, above all the continued acceleration of scientific and technological progress. Supporting the idea voiced at the 24th CPSU Congress, SUPG First Secretary Erich Honecker stressed in the CC report to the Eighth Congress (1971): 'Science and research decisively influence the growth, structure and productivity of our economy . . . It is necessary organically to blend the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the economic system of socialism, and promote closer links between science and production inherent in socialism.' Involved is the whole process of creating the material and technical base of communist society and the numerous relevant theoretical and practical problems that are being resolved step by step. That is the only road presenting broad vistas of higher productivity and efficiency, better living conditions, the development of the individual, and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people. Only on this condition is further progress of the productive

Continuing our series, 'Socialism and the Scientific and Technological Revolution.' See *WMR*, May and June 1975, as well as Tadeusz Jaroszewski's article elsewhere in this issue.

forces possible, together with qualitative growth characterized by the interpenetration of science, technology and production. In controlling these processes the SUPG draws on Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience of existing socialism.

Karl Marx was the first to theoretically substantiate the role of science in industrial progress and reveal the law-governed trends in its evolution into a direct productive force. He wrote: 'To the degree that large industry develops, the creation of real wealth comes to depend less on labor time and on the amount of labor employed than on the power of the agencies set in motion during labor time, whose "powerful effectiveness" is itself in turn out of all proportion to the direct labor time spent on their production, but depends rather on the general state of science and on the progress of technology, or the application of this science to production.'*

A characteristic feature of the socialist system indicative of its superiority over capitalism is that it assures the continued correspondence of the relations of production to the character of the productive forces and the requirements of their development. Only a socialist society led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party is capable of consciously using the vast potentials of the scientific and technological revolution for the good of man and social progress. This has been reaffirmed by our work to carry out the directives of the Eighth SUPG Congress.

The GDR has a unified, long-term program of development of the natural sciences and technology up to the year 1990. It is the basis of our efforts to accelerate scientific and technological progress and utilize its achievements for the continued moulding of a developed socialist society. The program embraces a wide range of problems, from creating a bank of scientific and technological ideas designed to satisfy the growing demand for high-quality commodities and services, to expanding the power and raw-material base, to using resources more thriftily, and to building up export capabilities.

Our Party attaches great importance to the State Science and Technology Plan, which sets the key targets for our economic advance. Industries and factories also draw up plans of their own. This plan is an increasingly important component of the annual and five-year plans, as well as of integration measures in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). It focuses the efforts of workers, engineers and scientists on the prime tasks of intensification and concentration of production. It assigns a special role to the modernization of existing production facilities and acceler-

*Karl Marx. *Grundrisse*. Penguin Books, pp. 704-5.

ation of their reconstruction, the most efficient use of raw materials and fuel, and the search for substitute materials.

Since the Eighth Congress, at which the Party concentrated on problems of scientific and technological progress, more than 10,000 new or modernized items were put into production. Labor productivity grew 22.5 per cent in the past four years, above all thanks to scientific and technological gains. In 1974 alone, measures within the framework of the Science and Technology Plan yielded a saving in industry of 100 million man-hours, the equivalent of work by 50,000 workers. Since 1972, the rate of growth of top quality goods has been higher than the overall rate. New developments and improvements in technology have been largely responsible for a more than 10 per cent average reduction from the 1971 level of labor time for the manufacture of comparable items. Improvements of technological processes helped to reduce production costs in 1974 by around 1.3 billion marks.

As a consequence the national income over the four years of the current five-year plan has been 6.6 billion marks above the planned figure. The plan of output of manufactured goods in the same period was topped by 10 billion marks. And livestock farmers had surpassed the five-year plan targets already by the beginning of 1974.

Two examples offer a vivid picture of the achievements behind these figures. In the course of a year at the Leuna Works several highly effective catalysts were devised for such important chemical processes as synthesizing methanol, ammonia and raw fiber, paraffin production, etc. Raw materials supplies for the consumer goods industry improved, and it is no longer necessary to import the formerly used, and less effective, catalysts from capitalist countries.

The introduction of automatic lignite briquetting has resulted in better quality, higher productivity and improved work standards. The new technology was introduced at all briquetting factories in the GDR. a point that is especially characteristic of socialist relations of production, to which private enterprise and monopoly 'secrets' are utterly alien.

Planned dovetailing all along the 'science-technology-production' line, from the formulation of a task to its realization, plays a tremendous part in the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. Where all concerned work in harmony and accord there is no waste of time and money in parallel reasearch and development, and ultimately this has a tangible effect not only on purely production indices but on raising living standards as well.

We are in no small measure indebted for our high results to the fact that since the Eighth Congress our Party and people have been striving for the broad application of science in the economy as a whole and at every enterprise. The Party orients the economy on

perfecting scientific and technological plans and all-out encouragement of the movement of production innovators and mass initiative in improving quality. It emphasizes the key significance of new technologies in raising industrial efficiency. Party organizations at enterprises and shops continuously exercise control over the solution of these problems, and in this have the support of the workers.

It can justly be said that the four years since the Eighth Congress were the most fruitful in the history of the GDR, albeit the most intense. Much was done to improve the proportions and shape a more efficient economic structure; the power and raw materials base and contacts between industries developed faster than in the preceding five-year plan.

The Eighth Congress opened a new stage in the development of the GDR as a worker-peasant state – the stage of the further formation of developed socialist society. Our Party's scientifically based policies are backed up by the creative and vigorous efforts of the people. These two powerful forces interact energetically and dynamically. The vitality of the SUPG, the initiative of the masses, the confidence of the working class and the whole people in the Party line are stronger than ever.

Seeing scientific and technological progess as a decisive factor in the intensification of production, we work to assure that labor productivity continues to increase at a faster rate than the growth of output, and that the latter, in turn, increase faster than the material assets and labor reserves. These are tasks that are not so easily achieved. 'Economic and planning bodies,' Erich Honecker has stressed, 'should make still more effective use of the rich experience and high education standards of the working class, cooperative farmers and socialist intelligentsia in our country.'

The continued steady growth of production and labor productivity on the basis of scientific and technological progress ensures the balanced development of society, creates the prerequisites and makes possible the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements in services and utilities, public health, culture, education, reacreation, etc. 'Real economy – saving – consists of the saving of labor time .... This saving (is) identical with development of the productive forces. ...The saving of labor time (is) equal to an increase of free time, i.e., time for the full development of the individual, which in turn reacts back on the productive power of labor as itself the greatest productive power.'*

The fundamental purpose of the social policy program adopted by the Eighth Congress is, in effect, to use economic gains for the good of

*Karl Marx. *Op. cit.*, p. 711.

man. Since the Congress, the living and cultural standards of many categories of working people have been rising faster than before. The people's devoted effort in 1971-74 made it possible to exceed targets in such fields covered by Congress guidelines as housing, individual and public consumption and incomes.

Under the next (1976-80) five-year plan, our economic policy will have to meet new qualitative demands. Greater importance will be attached to intensifying social production by promoting socialist emulation under the slogan: 'In honor of the Ninth Party Congress – the greatest economic effect out of every mark, every hour of work and every gram of material.' The 14th plemum of the Central Committee (June 1975) stressed that Party organizations, the working class, economic executives, the intellectuals and other working people must speed scientific and technological progress on the following lines:

– making research more effective; providing the most favorable conditions for creative effort;

– putting the more promising results of research and the best designs to use in production more speedily and vigorously. To this end, scientists, designers and planners should establish contacts with technologists and production experts, coordinate research and investment plans with them and work together to carry out these plans;

– using the achievements, ideas and experience of innovators as widely as possible and extending the application of innovations from where they originated to the entire economy. This can only be done under socialist relations of production and is an advantage which adds to economic efficiency.

The formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR is conditioned by growing socialist economic integration. Our Party regards close economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries as a most important principle and sees to its steadfast application. 'Our efforts toward intensifying production,' said Erich Honecker, 'are not confined to the territory of the GDR. It is close cooperation with the USSR and other CMEA countries that affords the greatest and most beneficial opportunities. Here's how we look at it: rapid scientific and technological progress in our republic implies rapid socialist integration. The sooner our cooperation leads to direct interaction between research and production capacities and the more it encompasses the development of whole economic branches and complexes, the more effective it becomes. We are working actively and creatively in this direction.'

The brother countries' joint use of achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is a major advantage of socialism. Planned growth and expanding economic relations between CMEA countries under the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic

Integration enable all partners to make optimal use of the latest achievements of science and technology.

Contractual cooperation with other countries in solving scientific and technological problems, furthering specialization and coordination of production, making joint investments, carrying out major joint building projects, setting up international economic combines, coordinating plans and jointly creating a number of complexes has greatly benefited the economy of both the GDR and other fraternal countries, as well as the economic growth rate and the structure of our economy.

Functioning today under multilateral agreements are 41 coordinating centers, international institutes, laboratories and other organizations. In 1971-73 they carried out roughly 1,400 research assignments. Specifically, they prepared specifications for more than 70 production processes, 30 new types of machinery and equipment and 60 types of instruments and aparatus. Operating in our economy today are 25 international teams of researchers, engineers, technologists and workers from the Soviet Union and the GDR. Eleven of them work on a permanent basis. This is a sphere of fundamentally new relations typical of the socialist internationalization of research in science and industry.

The CMEA countries have for years been following a common policy in raw materials, fuels and power resources. The Soviet Union supplies us with oil and natural gas. This enables us to meet nine-tenths of our demand for oil products and the whole of our demand for natural gas with a high methane content. Soviet deliveries make up 60 and 40 per cent of our coal and coke imports, respectively. Electric transmission lines link the economies of socialist countries. We plan to continue solving fuel and energy problems by joint effort, in line with the CMEA Comprehensive Program. Typical of this cooperation is the Friendship gas pipeline.

The close interlocking of the power grids of CMEA countries, unparalleled in world practice, demonstrates the superiority of existing socialism and its planned economy over the crisis-torn capitalist economy.

The GDR is linked with other CMEA countries, particularly with the Soviet Union, by numerous inter-government and other agreements on cooperation in research and production. Many thousands of scientists, engineers, technicians and operators of the GDR and Soviet Union are doing important chemical research. This cooperation is of a high standard. One result is the wide range of polyethylene. The first polyethylene plant has already gone into operation in the Soviet town of Novopolotsk.

Socialist international division and coordination of labor help to

save a great deal of labor and to devise progressive technological patterns and effective methods of organizing production, management and research.

Joint utilization of the achievements of science and technology is intensifying, with mixed economic agencies playing the leading role. Assofoto, an international firm founded by the Soviet Union and the GDR, manufactures and markets film, recorder tape and photographic paper, and has its own research facilities. This makes for fuller use of available facilities, closer coordination and faster scientific and technical progress.

We know from experience that integration is a complicated process. The ground we must cover is largely unexplored. On analyzing progress in the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program, the 29th CMEA Session (June 1975) noted that many more new ideas and initiatives and further efforts will be required to make full use of the advantages of cooperation and carry out the CMEA program step by step. It is important, moreover, that none of the partners should depart from the agreed plan for multilateral integration measures whose main lines were approved by the 29th Session. The GDR, for its part, will do its utmost to this end.

The scientific and technological revolution also makes new and higher demands on knowledge, political maturity and professional competence. Our Party therefore gives the closest attention to the systematic training of highly skilled personnel. Working people are free to study in any educational insitution. Our new, socialist intelligentsia has risen mainly from the ranks of the working class and is closely linked with it. In all industrial enterprises, engineers and technologists participate along with workers in the movement of innovators and are active in research teams. Our economy had 580,000 innovators in 1963 and as many as 1.4 million in 1973. In 1974, the results achieved by them helped to save 3,500 million marks. The number of research teams rose from 25,648 in 1959 to 43,499 in 1974.

We owe it to the Party's sustained effort that between 1970 and 1973 the proportion of people with a higher and specialized secondary education who held jobs in our economy rose from 4.1 to 5.5 per cent and from 7.1 to 8.7 per cent respectively. Over 120,000 graduates of higher and specialized secondary institutions entered industry during this period and some of them were assigned to key supervisory positions.

The Soviet Union helps us in personnel training. Almost 4,000 citizens of our republic have graduated from Soviet universities and other higher institutions. They are among the most active promoters of science and technology in industry. In addition, many thousands of

people have acquired higher skills by cooperating with their Soviet colleagues.

The long-term training programs of our industrial enterprises take account of scientific and technological requirements, and this, too, contributes to the improvement of science workers. Enterprises cooperate with higher and secondary specialized schools and sign labor contracts with future graduates. During the difficult period of transition from study to work, they help young specialists to adjust themselves to their new functions and make the most of their knowledge.

Enterprise Party committees exercise control over work with new personnel, to analyze it and draw conclusions regarding the education and training of executives of the socialist type.

Our Party's policy of speeding scientific and technological progress and of combining the advantages of socialism with the gains of the scientific and technological revolution has proved effective. It increasingly links growing satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements with the growing efficiency of labor, the country's entire economic potential and the increasing socialist economic integration of countries of the socialist community, which are solidly united around the Soviet Union.

To mark the Ninth Congress of the SUPG, due to meet on May 18-22, 1976, the Communists and working people of the GDR will do all in their power to reach and exceed plan targets and to carry further the socialist intensification of production by speeding scientific and technological progress as they go on building up the power of the GDR as an inseparable component of the socialist community.

Labor, the individual and creativity

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The scientific and technological revolution (STR) is visibly transforming production and, along with it, the conditions, character and content of labor for hundreds of millions.

To gain a deeper insight into the roots of this transformation, it is useful to compare the results of the current STR with those of the first industrial revolution in terms of the character and content of labor.

The first industrial revolution ended handicraft labor, which was widespread and, while not very productive, exceedingly varied in form and content. Mechanization was followed by a far-reaching division of labor and the break-up of continuous processes into separate operations whose monotonous repetition has since become the main content of industrial labor.

The STR shows an entirely different trend. Already today automation tends to eliminate minor operations, with the worker repeating a few well-learned manipulations. And the greater the number of purely mechanical, uncreative operations performed by sophisticated up-to-date machinery, the greater the need for creative and imaginative workers and for much more versatile and skilled adjusters, operators, maintenance and other personnel. An increasing amount of work is done not by directly operating machines, but by planning and managing, designing and research. These important changes have given rise to claims that labor is bound to change radically. Everyone admits that labor demands ever greater talent and skill, creative thinking and moral responsibility for immediate and long-term results.

It follows that the situation is changing drastically compared with the first industrial revolution, during which economic growth depended, above all, on investment in buildings and plant and the worker, as a personality, hardly played any role at all. Now, the competence and creative imagination of the worker as a personality are becoming a primary condition for economic progress and an important production potential.

The important fact is that the all-round development of man, once a humanist dream, is becoming an urgent economic necessity. The character of labor and the structure of the productive forces are undergoing a serious change.

There is another equally important fact. In discussions on the STR, some participants one-sidedly stressed the increasing role of knowledge in natural and technical sciences. This is true, of course. But what has been said about the new significance of 'human factors' implies that the functions of social science are changing very greatly and their importance is growing. It is primarily its progress that conditions the humanization of labor, that is, the solution of such major problems as stimulation of work, improving the organization of production and management, perfecting relations between workers as individuals, and, of course, steps in keeping with the change in social relations. It is not accidental that new humanitarian sciences, such as manpower economics, industrial psychology and sociology or the

science of management, have come into being or that education and vocational training are being drastically reformed.

At this point, I think, we can draw our first major conclusion. The first industrial revolution, which marked the advent of capitalism, inevitably reduced the worker's role to that of a live appendage of the machine. In the setting of the general crisis of capitalism and the victorious advance of the new, socialist relations of production, the STR helps to make labor richer in content and raise the worker's role as an individual. To be sure, trends are not the same as reality. The social system leaves a decisive imprint on the course and real effects of technological progress.

The necessity of humanizing labor was perceived gradually, and accepted by the most realistic and far-sighted bourgeois leaders. Ever since the 1930s, capitalist countries have been doing large-scale research into various factors on which labor intensity and efficiency depend. Research projects include people's mental and physical abilities and working pace, temperature and humidity at the place of work, safety, labor hygiene and aesthetics, and relations between principals and subordinates. It has been repeatedly ascertained that excessive job division, petty, fault-finding supervision and a high production pace are counter-productive. They discourage initiative, blunt interest, make for monotony and nervousness, reduce quality, etc. Accordingly, capitalist experts have devised and tried to carry out certain social and technological measures. In particular, they see to it that the workers are acquainted with problems of the firm concerned, take part in the search for technologically and organizationally optimal solutions, and so on. Some works deal with the so-called dealienation of labor. They point to the need to end the alienation of the individual worker in the process of labor and help him to take more interest in his job.

All in all, a considerable effort is being made to bring capitalist production into line with the spirit of the times. True, it is argued sometimes that 'minimal humanization' can solve the problem. Attempts are made, for instance, to normalize labor safety, hygiene and aesthetics, eliminate overstrain, bring the workers into minor rationalization measures, and so on. However, 'minimal humanization' side-steps the fact that sophisticated production requires competent management, which under capitalism is increasingly taken over by a new elite assigning workers to purely technical functions. This is done with a lesser degree of brutality (by 'up-to-date,' 'humanist' methods), but it is done none the less.

Realizing this threat, sociologists do not restrict themselves to experimenting in labor organization and so-called managerial social techniques. There is much discussion of production democracy and

the psycho-social potentialities that can be brought out if the workers are prevailed on to take an interest in the operation of the enterprise and are encouraged to cooperate on the level of the firm. This calls for both measures to humanize labor and attempts to 'humanize relations,' to 'democratize economic activity.' This accounts for various experiments by supporters of neo-capitalism to bring the workers into 'management' and give them an interest in the profits of the firm.

But even these initiatives are limited under the capitalist system, because the do not affect the mainstay of the system, private property. 'Partnership' and 'technological and economic consultations' are encouraged only for so long as they pose no threat to vital business interests. By issuing 'people's shares,' the employers hope to make the workers feel 'co-owners.' But the income derived from these shares is negligible and so is the workers' influence at the enterprise. The facts show that all these innovations are not meant to emancipate labor, but to manipulate people by more refined and disguised methods. Logically, these experiments often lead to increasing resistance by organized labor.

In capitalist society, the STR has a serious effect on everyday life. It aggravates old problems and creates new ones, such as environmental pollution or a lower quality of life. At a time when scientific achievements could reshape production virtually overnight, people feel less and less secure, less and less certain of keeping up with their job, and retaining their livelihood. It takes ever more time to learn a new trade and costs the family more, whereas the period of physical fitness in relation to general life expectancy decreases. Lastly, spurred by fierce competition, the monopolies tend to economize on safety, resulting in a higher accident rate.

In short, under capitalism the STR by no means guarantees automatic solution of today's challenging problems. On the other hand, it does not pose a 'total threat to human values,' as some bourgeois authors contend. Actually, it is not the technological but the social machinery of bourgeois society that makes technologoical progress a threat, that is, makes it possible to use scientific achievement against man's interests. Contemporary Western sociology confirms, in its own way, the need to humanize labor and production relations on a large scale. But that is more than capitalist society can do.

The STR is most effective when it relies on a social revolution and links up with the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas and with the construction and development of socialism. 'Men,' Marx wrote, 'never relinquish what they have won, but this does not mean that they never relinquish the social form in which they have acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary, in order that they may not be deprived of the result obtained and forfeit the fruits of civilization,

they are obliged . . . to change all their traditional social forms' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 35-36).

Under socialism, the development of the productive forces and the distribution, training and retraining of manpower are decided beforehand thanks to society's planned use of the means of production. Society ends unemployment for all time and thus also the fear of losing one's job. The saving of labor achieved through technological progress goes hand in hand with the reduction of working time. Depersonalizing people and manipulating them in the process of labor is impossible, for political power, like the means of production, belongs to the people.

It has been said that the STR provides the material prerequisites of giving labor a richer content and increasing the role of the workers as individuals. While under capitalism it is unnatural for so seemingly abstract a moral value as humanized labor to become useful in terms of production, it is perfectly natural under socialism. Communists have always regarded the emancipation and exaltation of labor not only as a technico-economic or socio-technical problem (efficient management), but as one of their ideals, the supreme goal of society.

To Marxists, labor has never been merely a means of subsistence, but an expression of the creative nature of man, of his gifts and dignity, of his responsibility to society and his desire to serve the people. Labor brings the individual into public life and this binds society to provide him with every opportunity of cultivating his abilities.

These possibilities are not used automatically even under socialism. Further measures to humanize labor require effort, competent personnel and organizational skills. Difficulties do arise sometimes, when greater attention is paid to the technical rather than social and personal aspects of the workers' labor. This technocratic approach must be remedied by humanizing the training specialists, by universities providing a profound knowledge of philosphy, political economy, the science of management, sociology, social psychology, general and professional ethics, and by educational work among technical and managerial personnel.

Socialism, Lenin wrote, is a system under which 'the *mass* of the population rises to taking an *independent* part, not only in voting and elections, *but also in the everyday administration of the state*' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 487-488). It is perfectly obvious that Lenin's idea of the masses participating in management is a general one and that its concrete forms must vary according to the distinctive conditions of each country and the given stage of socialism.

Turning to practice, Lenin's idea is expressed in workers' control in the early years of Soviet rule, and subsequently in the right to

control the activity of the management granted to factory Party and trade union organizations. There are also special managing bodies, such as the standing production conference in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, or the workers' self-management conference in Poland.

Socialist production democracy does not come ready-made in final form. The STR affords new opportunities for its progress. Specifically, it eliminates two long-standing difficulties of exercising democracy: the lack of free time and the inadequacy of the educational and cultural standards of many working people. The socialist countries are effecting changes in the management of the economy and public affairs to suit the steady development of diverse forms of mass participation in management. The trend is to extend socialist democracy and raise the role and activity of the working class in every sphere of management: the economy (eliminating excessive centralization, extending the powers of factories and combines, the trade unions and scientific and technical societies), local administration (promoting territorial self-government), education and culture, political (representative) democracy.

The highly relevant problem of free time gives an idea of the fundamental differences between socialism and capitalism as regards the effects of the STR. Many bourgeois authors traditionally regard free time and cultural pursuits as a factor offsetting the strains of labor, which depersonalize and deform human life. Marxist-Leninists cannot regard labor as a price for rest and recreation, as a function of free time, any more than they can regard free time as a mere function of labor, an ordinary form of reproducing or renewing labor power. They visualize future man, not as *homo faber*, or a one-sided being, but as an individual dialectically integrating the various qualities of *homo faber, homo economicus, homo politicus, homo sapiens* and *homo ludens*. As Communists see it, every individual must assimilate the spiritual achievements of mankind, understand the world and his place in it and work according to his calling.

Compensation theories are added evidence of the serious contradictions of the capitalist system. In upholding their power, the ruling classes cannot afford any substantial changes in the character of wage labor. They try, therefore, to reduce the interests of the masses to fatuous entertainment, and substitute the cult of individual enterprise and acceptance of pop culture for the ideal of public activity.

The 'war on poverty' in a number of so-called 'welfare states' has not brought the working people spiritual wealth or genuine cultural progress. There is ample evidence to the contrary – culture in those countries is endangered by meaningless consumption substitutes produced for purely commercial reasons, and people feel tired and

useless in both their working hours and their leisure time.

Socialist society cannot restrict its conception of the meaning and quality of life to growing mass consumption or increasing free time. Working time and labor are just as valuable, for they constitute the fundamental concept of human life and are a requisite of the all-round development of the individual.

The progress of socialist civilization helps, as has been stressed, in inducing more and more people to work creatively, deriving personal satisfaction from their work. Hence labor is not the antithesis of free time, for the problem is entirely different – it consists in training people for creative effort in every sphere of life. If people active both in and out of the production sphere are to be regarded as the model, we must see to it that both spheres develop harmoniously. It would be wrong to give all our attention to organizing leisure time and just as wrong to concern ourselves solely with the production sphere.

With the STR, the division of the economy (and public life generally) into productive and non-productive spheres undergoes appreciable modifications. Some educational fields and a number of sciences become a 'direct productive force,' as Marx predicted. This calls, in particular, for a reappraisal of investment policy. More and more frequently, what was non-productive spending speeds economic growth and becomes productive.

It is now important to us to know how far we should increase appropriations for non-productive processes and how far this will go toward accelerating economic growth. Would more investment in social recreation amenities produce a definite economic effect? Transport, medical care and efficiently organized recreation are admittedly useful and money spent on expansion here pays off several times over. But here the moral and educational aspects are important. If the atmosphere in a residential neighborhood or recreation center is conducive to individualism, petty-bourgeois alienation and selfishness, is this not bound to make itself felt in the production sphere, where we still come across absenteeism, neglect, irritability, waste of public property, and so on?

Increasing attention to the non-productive spheres is in keeping with the humanist values of socialism. For socialism, especially developed socialism, is not only public ownership of the means of production and economic planning. It is also new relations between people based on justice and comradely cooperation. It means increasing participation by the working people in cultural activities and in government, a new conception and quality of life, and lastly, the new, harmoniously developed man. In the context of the STR, the idea expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, is confirmed that the place of the old, bourgeois society will be taken by an association in which

'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.'

Social progress and détente

International research group

Participating in the discussion organized by the *WMR* commission for peace and democratic movements, were: *Pavel Auersperg*, member of CC, CP of Czechoslavakia and *WMR* Executive Editor; *Amath Dansoko*, member of Political Bureau, African Independence Party of Senegal and its representative on the journal; *G. Diligensky*, Dr. Hist. (USSR); *Mel Doig*, member of Central Executive, CC CP of Canada and its representative on the journal; *George Kwiatowski*, representative on the journal of the German CP; *Milton Paredes*, member of the CC, CP of Honduras and its representative on the journal; Prof. *W. Paff*, Institute of Social Sciences, CC SUPG (GDR); and *Hamid Safari*, Alternate member of Executive Bureau, CC People's Party of Iran and its representative on the journal. A paper was also submitted by Prof. *Harald Neubert*, Institute of Social Sciences, CC SUPG.

The research group examined the following questions:
– class content of the policy of peaceful coexistence;
– the revolutionary process in conditions of stable peace;
– new opportunities resulting from international détente to secure progressive changes;
– the ideological struggle between the two systems.

The peace policy is a class policy

In the present conditions, the members of the research group agreed, a scientific and creative Marxist-Leninist analysis is required of the forms and opportunities of the peace struggle, and of its connection with the struggle for progressive social changes, national independence, democracy and socialism. The need for such study derives from the basic changes on the international scene wrought by the active peace policy of the socialist states and the fight for peace by the Communist movement and the progressive forces.

Tremendous progress has been achieved in implementing the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Relations of peaceful coexistence are unfolding in Europe, with the result that a broad European security system is gradually taking shape. Progress has been made in improving relations between the USSR and USA, and between the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. A truly historic victory – the defeat of imperialism and rout of pro-imperialist anti-people's regimes – crowned the long liberation struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina, setting the stage for lasting peace in the region. International tensions have been greatly eased, and the ominous shadow of cold war is receding. These are results of intense struggle by all peace-loving forces. Many political and psychological barriers have been removed. A common language has been found in many difficult international areas despite divergent political and ideological programs. There are no winners or losers in the battle for détente, members of the research group pointed out. Extension of the détente, making it irreversible, is mutually advantageous and consonant with the interests of the world and of each nation.

The research group drew attention to conclusions flowing from the détente process in relation to the struggle for social progress. The working-class and national-liberation movements are able to act in an entirely new international climate as the principles of peaceful coexistence take root in relations between socialist and capitalist countries.

Banishing world wars has always been one of the main strategic goals of the Communist movement. It has always known that successful struggle for peace facilitates the growth of the world revolutionary process. Imperialism is a source of wars, of the war danger, in the modern world. Hence, the struggle for peace is inseparable from the anti-imperialist struggle. However, the link between revolutionary struggle and the struggle for peace is acquiring new facets not yet sufficiently studied by Marxist-Leninists. To begin with, consolidation of peace is no longer a remote aim. The principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with opposite social systems formulated by V.I. Lenin are taking ever firmer hold in international relations. The radical change in the relation of antagonistic world forces, which has brought this about, underscores socialism's role as the decisive factor of world development. On the other hand, the successes to date do not warrant complacency. The facts prove again and again that, as Marxism-Leninism maintains, the danger of war will continue as long as imperialism exists.

The peculiarity of the present situation, therefore, is that the struggle for social progress takes places in conditions of peaceful co-

existence and growing international cooperation. At the same time the peace forces are fighting to safeguard and extend the détente.

Examining these questions, the research group stressed the profound and radical nature of the changes in the system of international relations. *Diligensky* pointed out that the changes are not of a short-lived or transient nature. They reflect irreversible tendencies in the world's social and political development, the growing might of the peace forces, and their ability to stabilize the relations of peaceful coexistence. Given increasing efforts by the peace forces, peaceful coexistence will in the long run determine the international conditions for the class struggle in capitalist countries, and for the struggle for national independence and social progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is from this angle, in the context of the increasing connection between the consolidation of peace and the advance of democracy, national liberation and socialism, that the opportunities and forms of the world revolutionary process should be analyzed.

For the Communists, said *Auersperg*, the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente is a long-term strategic line rooted in the basic humanitarian interests and aims of socialism, the international working-class and national-liberation movements. Lenin, it will be recalled, considered the passage from capitalism to socialism not as a single action but a long-term process covering an entire epoch. It was inevitable, he held, that socialist and capitalist states should live together for this long period, and maintain peaceful relations. At that time, when the civil war had just ended and the imperialist intervention had been crushed, he saw that there was 'a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155). In his recommendations to the Soviet delegation to the 1922 Genoa Conference, he advanced a program of inter-state relations based on principles of peaceful coexistence, envisaging non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, cancellation of war debts and revision of military treaties, peaceful settlement of conflicts, general reduction of armaments and banning of mass annihilation weapons. The policy of peaceful coexistence paved its way against the resistance of aggressive imperialist forces. Its basis grew broader when socialism became a world system.

The content of the policy of peaceful coexistence, *Kwiatowski* said, is deliberately distorted by its ideological adversaries. Rightist bourgeois ideologues maintain that it serves Moscow 'interests' and is designed to facilitate the spread of 'communist domination.' Ultra-leftist and Maoist propaganda, on the other hand, dismisses peaceful

coexistence as 'revisionism' and abandonment of the class struggle. The class content of the struggle for peaceful coexistence is determined by the fact that it is directed against the most reactionary and aggressive groups of monopoly capital. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, enemies of peaceful coexistence are found mainly among the war-industrial monopolies and their political agents in the leadership of the CDU/CSU. The struggle for peaceful coexistence is consequently directed against the same adversary as the struggle of the working class for higher wages and against soaring prices, in defense and for the extension of its democratic and social rights. The link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress is therefore obvious.

There will be no final liberation from monopoly domination, from the economic and political influence of imperialism, said *Safari*, until world peace and security are safeguarded and consolidated.

One of the principal aspects of the class content of the peaceful coexistence policy is its link with the world contention between socialism and capitalism. *Paredes*, who made this point, stressed that the positive changes on the international scene epitomize socialism's success in the fight against the forces of imperialist reaction, and that they reflect the changed relation of world forces. They stem, he added, from the consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which combines firm response to aggressive imperialist acts with a constructive line for stable peace and greater international cooperation. The fact that many of the imperialist powers are expanding cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis of the peaceful coexistence principles, that they participate in efforts to reduce the war danger and change the international climate, does not mean that the class nature of their policy has changed. All it means is that their capacity to follow an aggressive line against the socialist countries and peoples fighting for independence, has diminished substantially.

The research group noted that contrary to bourgeois and ultra-left claims, the peaceful coexistence policy does not lead to any social *status quo* or a slowing down of the world revolutionary process. Peaceful coexistence, as rightly noted by *Neubert*, refers exclusively to the domain of inter-state relations between socialist and capitalist countries. It rules out just one form of struggle between socialism and capitalism – the form of direct military collision. Political dialogue and mutually beneficial economic and cultural cooperation do not signify any dampening of the class struggle on the international scene. They invigorate the socialist positions, and conform with the vital interests of the working people in capitalist countries, facilitate the resolution of urgent social problems on a world scale (environmental protection,

health, and the like), and help spread the truth about the socialist community among the masses in non-socialist countries, adding thereby to socialism's power of attraction.

The imperialist policy of stoking up international tension and building up the arms race is aimed, among other things, at retarding the economic and social progress of the socialist countries by necessitating large military expenditure and reducing the influence of socialism on the working people in the non-socialist countries. *Neubert* stressed that the policy of peaceful coexistence assured peaceful construction for the socialist countries; inhibited the imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other countries, especially suppression of the national-liberation movement, thereby blocking imperialist 'export of counter-revolution' and creating favorable conditions for the struggle of the revolutionary forces against imperialism, oppression and exploitation. The policy of peaceful coexistence is the Communists' alternative to a military counter-revolutionary solution of the main contradiction of our time sought by bellicose imperialist forces.

Dansoko drew attention to the general-democratic content of the program for lasting peace and international cooperation. The problems of war and peace are of concern to all mankind; peace is a vital necessity for the peoples of all countries and continents, their most burning and essential requirement. That is one reason why such different class forces, including representatives of the bourgeoisie, come together on a platform of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, the future of the world socialist revolution also depends on the way problems of war and peace are settled. Thermonuclear war could mean the physical annhilation of a substantial proportion of the very masses in whose name the revolution is promoted, causing unprecedented destruction of the productive forces; it would throw human civilization back and to a tremendous degree reduce the material prerequisites essential for building a socialist society. That is why any counter-position of revolution and the struggle for peace is a distortion of the very essence of revolution and its objectives, divorcing the latter from the needs and interests of the working people. Those who, like some over-zealous 'revolutionaries,' contrary to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, see war as a means of promoting revolution 'forget' that the purpose of revolution, which destroys only the moribund exploiter system, is creative: the building of socialist and communist societies. A destructive thermonuclear war would postpone the achievement of that objective for a long time.

Auersperg elaborated on the dialectical combination of class and general-democratic aspects in the policy of peaceful coexistence. Firm relations of peace among states is doubtlessly a general-democratic slogan. But the very possibility of such relations is a

consequence of the class struggle on the international arena, of the victories of socialism and the international working-class and national-liberation movements in that struggle. The present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, unlike its first two stages, is not associated with world war. This is because the influence of socialism has spread to all aspects of world development. At the same time, the socialist countries' struggle for peaceful coexistence is an expression of the humanitarian character of socialism.

Peace – ally of revolution

As the members of the research group noted, despite difficulties, obstacles and temporary defeats in some countries, the revolutionary process has, on the whole, advanced considerably in the conditions of détente. A number of new countries have broken away from the imperialist system. The socialist revolution has triumphed in Cuba, the revolution in Portugal has ended many years of fascist rule, the peoples' liberation struggle in Indochina has culminated in historic victories, and progressive national-democratic regimes have been established in many developing countries.

The application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, *Diligensky* said, is not a manifestation of imperialism's 'good will' or 'acceptance' of world socialism on certain conditions. It reflects a specific correlation of world social forces in which imperialism's ability to attain its objectives by force is drastically reduced. Of course, this does not mean that imperialism has completely abandoned use of force against the revolutionary movement. However, it can no longer resort to force wherever and whenever it wants to, guided solely by its desire to crush revolution. Nowadays imperialism's attempts at *armed* export of counter-revolution inevitably come up against the might of world socialism and the revolutionary movement, against a system of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence; there is also a realization of the futility of propping up decayed puppet regimes by force. The example of Vietnam shows the tremendous importance, in the climate of détente, of non-military, political methods of combating the export of counter-revolution, alongside armed revolutionary struggle with the diversified assistance given it by the world of socialism. Those methods (the negotiations between the DRV and the United States on the Vietnam question, the 1973 Paris Agreement, diplomatic recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam by more than 40 countries, etc.) played a significant part in the successful development of the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam.

The research group noted that détente neither removes all dif-

ficulties and obstacles to the revolution nor does away with the resistance of counter-revolutionary forces. As, notably, the experience of Chile shows, the center of gravity of their activities is shifting increasingly to economic sabotage and efforts to split the revolutionary forces. That is why those who imagine that the help of socialist states alone is capable of averting counter-revolution in one country or another are deeply mistaken. Such ideas can only mislead the revolutionary movement and distract it from such vital tasks of the struggle against counter-revolution as drawing up and carrying out socio-economic measures aimed at overcoming the resistance of local and foreign big capital and ensuring economic development and social progress; consolidating the unity of all democratic forces and using every opportunity for the peaceful development of the revolution, because civil war provides the most favorable opportunity for the export of counter-revolution; pursuing a foreign policy capable of guaranteeing the stability of revolutionary gains and paralyzing reactionary attempts to provoke direct intervention against the revolutionary forces. Of tremendous importance for the economic and foreign-policy tasks of the revolutionary forces is the all-round assistance and support they get from the socialist states and the solidarity of the international working-class and liberation movements.

The 'theory' of development of revolutionary processes through wars between states, *Doig* noted, is clearly aimed at belittling the importance of the revolutionary initiative of the working-class movement in capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement. That is a stand that dooms revolutionary forces to passive expectations of some kind of extraordinary world upheaval. As indicated in the discussion, the importance of peaceful coexistence lies primarily in the optimum conditions it creates for the stimulation of the internal motive forces of revolutionary processes in each zone.

The impact of the policy of peaceful coexistence on the working-class struggle cannot be viewed as automatic process, said *Kwiatowski*. Monopoly capital, even its realistically-minded element, fears the influence détente may have on internal political processes. That is why it frequently combines normalization of relations with socialist countries with anti-communist actions at home. Successful opposition to anti-communism and effective utilization of favorable opportunities for the workers' struggle in defense of their interests depend in decisive measure on the degree of united action of the working class and all democratic, peace-loving forces. The political and ideological activity of the Communist Party is decisive. Members and activists of the GCP are resolute defenders of the interests of the working people of the FRG. They strive to expand links with the masses and develop their ability to influence processes taking place in the country and its labor movement.

The political changes produced by détente, *Doig* said, have opened up new opportunities for Communist work among the masses and lowered or removed many of the barriers that had prevented the spread of its mass appeal. This is seen in the strengthening of Communists in trade unions and on shop stewards committees, in youth and other mass organizations, their growing influence on the class struggle. Of tremendous importance for labor unity, not only in promoting immediate socio-economic demands, but politically as well, is the cooperation among trade unions of different affiliations that has been developing in a number of countries.

The international situation, the research group pointed out, is favorable to extending the workers' class alliances, establishing closer links between the revolutionary working-class movement and non-proletarian democratic forces and forming a broad anti-monopoly coalition. In the climate of détente, with the smoke screen of the 'Communist menace' dispersing, the peasants, intellectuals and urban and rural petty bourgeoisie concentrate more and more on their economic and social problems whose solution is held up by state-monopoly capitalism. They are stepping up their protests against monopoly oppression and are coming to realize the need of alliance with the working-class movement.

The political implications of this process are noteworthy. In some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties linked with broad social strata, as well as in army quarters – judging, for instance, by the situation in Portugal – there are growing trends toward revising political dogmas of the cold war period. On this basis the working-class movement and other social and political forces, including left-wing currents of the ruling bourgeois parties urging democratic changes against monopoly power, join in united actions ever more frequently. In some cases, united action paves the way to *political alliances* between working-class and democratic forces on a broad social basis against monopoly reaction. Whatever their form, these alliances help to isolate monopoly reaction and contribute to the struggle against monopoly.

In developing countries the formation and consolidation of united national fronts of all anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and anti-oligarchical forces is visibly gaining pace. The operation of factors putting developing countries on the non-capitalist road – first of all the influence of world socialism – is intensifying in the new international situation.

Winning new positions for peace and international cooperation, *Auersperg* said, facilitates the struggle for the working people's pressing social and economic interests and for social progress. The policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the hand of parties and alignments demanding a reduction of unproductive government expenditures devoured by the military-industrial complex and breeding in-

flation and the use of the material resources provided by mutually beneficial international economic cooperation for putting the economy on a healthier basis and improving the standard of life. It follows that this policy helps the people to fight for the solution of urgent economic and social problems and to ease the social consequences of the acute crisis phenomena arising from the monopolies' uncontrolled economic activity.

The fight for disarmament is particularly important to the working-class movement in capitalist countries, *Kwiatowski* said. In Federal Germany the trade unions demand cuts in military expenditure and the use of the funds thus released for pressing social needs. Support for this demand could be won only in the new situation brought about by the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The struggle for these aims is also an effective means of consolidating détente.

The immense sums spent on armaments, *Safari* said, are among the main reasons for the backward state of the developing countries. One-third of Iran's appropriations under the 1975/76 budget is earmarked for defense. Imperialist powers create artificial tensions and foment discord and mutual suspicion in developing countries so as to sell them increasing quantities of modern weapons and bring them under neo-colonialist influence. Sustained struggle against militarism and the arms race is a requisite of achieving national independence and economic and social progress.

Paff spoke of the new opportunities in the fight for disarmament and peace resulting from the growing contradictions over these issues among the monopoly bourgeoisie. There are serious tactical distinctions between the section of the ruling class which profits from armaments and monopolies that have nothing to do with arms production. The huge profits that some groups of monopoly capital make from the arms race and the almost complete absence of arms contracts in the case of other monopolies form the economic basis of opposite trends in imperialist policy – the trend toward international tension and arms race, and the realistic trend toward better relations with socialist countries. The existence of the latter trend shows that cutting armaments is a workable goal even while imperialism still exists. This is important for the correct orientation of the working-class movement and other peace forces and for seeking sound solutions to the problems of war and peace free from both pacifist illusions and dogmatic fatalism.

Détente strengthens the hand of fighters against imperialism

The interconnection of peaceful coexistence and the class struggle,

research group members noted, is part of a more general question, that of the relationship between the internal growth factors of progressive anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist movements – factors operating in every country and every region – and external, international factors. Recognition of the significance of international factors does not, of course, detract from the importance of the struggle which the working class and other progressive forces carry on under national programs, *Paredes* said. Nor does it mean, in particular, that the class struggle and the national-liberation movement are subordinated to peaceful coexistence or that it determines their development.

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, the level, trends and forms of the working class and democratic movement in any country are determined by internal conditions, such as the intensity of class antagonisms, peculiarities of the economic and social structure, the experience of the working class or the growth of its social consciousness. But how far the working-class and democratic movement can use its internal potentialities, operate as a united force and successfully attack the position of imperialism, *Diligensky* said, depends directly on the global international situation and the position of each country in the system of international relations.

The interconnection of the class struggle and the state of international relations was analyzed in detail by *Doig* in the light of postwar experience. In the early postwar years there was a powerful upsurge in the democratic and national-liberation movement. The working class substantially extended its social and political positions, and the Communist parties and the more militant trade unions extended their influence among the masses. All this was made possible by international conditions arising from the greatly enhanced prestige of the Soviet Union and the impact of the experience of the anti-Hitler coalition, in which the socialist country worked together with the major capitalist countries. Demolishing the coalition and launching the cold war, the imperialist bourgeoisie started a vicious campaign against democratic forces and took the counter-offensive on the social, inner political and ideological fronts.

Of course, the cold war could not stop the struggle of the working class or the movement against imperialism. It was at that time that the people's fight for peace, against the threat of a nuclear war, assumed a vast scale. However, the cold war seriously hampered and deformed the progress of the working-class and democratic movement in capitalist countries and the growth of the class awareness of the masses.

The cold war logic of 'global confrontation' of the two hostile blocs was spread from the international to the inner political scene and from

relations between states to relations between working-class organizations of diverse ideological orientations. The working-class movement split, the ideological and political differentiation among the Social Democrats and within reformist trade unions slowed down sharply. Opportunities for the growth of trends opposed to compromise with the bourgeoisie decreased and so did opportunities for pressure on the policy of party and union leaders. The most outspoken forms of opportunism and class collaboration gained ground. The cold war climate and the resultant difficulty of explaining and defending the internationalist objectives of the working class helped the bourgeoisie to increase its ideological influence on certain groups of working people. It was only the gradual thaw in the international political climate and the change in the general trend of development of international relations which began in the mid-50s that enabled the working-class movement and progressive forces in capitalist countries to fight successfully for new positions in social politics.

In the 60s, *Auersperg* said, bellicose imperialist forces succeeded in launching a counter-offensive against the revolutionary and national-democratic forces in several regions, specifically in Southeast Asia, Latin America and Africa. Détente helped the revolutionary forces to resume the offensive and score serious gains. The 70s, marked by important achievements in the sphere of peaceful coexistence, have also seen a considerable intensification of the class struggle and major victories of the national-liberation movement.

Kwiatowski described the situation in Federal Germany to illustrate the beneficial effect of détente on the revolutionary working-class movement. The cold war in the FRG led to the banning of the Communist Party of Germany. For more the 12 years there was no legal Communist party. In 1968, when détente had begun, the German Communist Party came into being. This is highly important for the struggle of the working class.

The research group gave much attention to the impact of détente on the national-liberation movement. Completely eliminating the economic and political influence of imperialism, *Safari* said, is unthinkable with maintaining and promoting world peace and security. The Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence has begun to benefit developing countries. This applies, in particular, to the oil-rich Persian Gulf, where imperialism is particularly aggressive. In the recent past, especially during the cold war, the peoples could not regain control of their natural resources, being blocked by reactionary military coups or even armed intervention by imperialists. One has only to recall the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran in 1953, the armed intervention of Britain in Jordan and of the U.S. in Lebanon in 1958, the landing of British troops in Kuwait in 1961, the suppression by British

troops of the rising in Bahrain against the oil colonialists in 1962-63 and other tragic events which occurred in the area. The situation has changed of late. Most oil-producing countries are carrying out complete or partial nationalization of their oil industry. The new balance of forces makes it possible to expel imperialist monopolies from the oil industry of these countries.

The new international situation enabled the UN General Assembly to discuss at its Sixth Special Session problems of raw materials and economic development and adopt documents stating that every country has a right to control its natural resources, not short of nationalization.

In Afro-Asian countries, *Dansoko* said, it is often alleged that the policy of peaceful coexistence is carried on at the expense of the national-liberation movement and is intended to perpetuate the *status quo* in the national-liberation zone. This assertion has nothing to do with the facts. By far most of the independent African states were founded in conditions of peaceful coexistence, which enabled the socialist community to render revolutionary-democratic regimes in Africa effective aid that played a notable part in strengthening them. The political situation on our continent benefits from détente. This is seen, among other things, in the evolution of the Organization of African Unity. In 1963, when it was set up, the OAU represented all national-liberation forces, pro-Western ones included. With vestiges of the cold war lingering, there was a real danger of Africa being involved in imperialist military blocs. Attempts were also made to organize on the continent a blockade against revolutionary-democratic states, but they failed. Progressive anti-imperialist forces carried the day on all decisive issues of national liberation, and now they continue to hold the advantage; there is not a single pro-imperialist regional organization in Africa like those active, for instance, in Latin America under U.S. aegis.

The influence of détente on the political situation in Latin America was pointed out by *Paredes*. It expresses itself in the Latin American countries' growing effort to get rid of U.S. hegemony, extend relations with socialist countries, achieve genuine sovereignty and protect their natural resources. There is an increasing trend toward an independent foreign policy. The position of Peru, Argentina, Panama, Mexico, Ecuador, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Colombia and other countries coincides with that of Asian and African countries on disarmament, the fight against colonialism and racism, and economic independence. More and more countries of the continent favor nonalignment. The imperialist policy of blockading socialist Cuba has miscarried. These changes for the better would have been impossible in a cold war climate, at a time when imperialism was able to keep the

overwhelming majority of Latin American countries in the meshes of its policy and to use bellicose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as a means of building up its influence in the region.

The progressive changes achieved in the national-liberation zone are part of the transition to détente from tension between countries with different social systems and stem from the gains of socialism which have a restraining effect on imperialist countries.

No compromising in ideology

All research group members agreed that whatever the type of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, the irreconcilable antagonism between socialist and bourgeois ideologies remains and the struggle between them continues.

On the other hand, détente largely changes the forms and trends of the ideological struggle in many ways, and imports certain new features. That détente helps to overcome the influence of anti-communism on the working people and their organizations in capitalist countries, *Auersperg* said, and to expose the main tenets of reactionary bourgeois ideology. This makes it an important factor in fostering the class consciousness of the masses, increases the influence of socialist ideas and helps to create subjective prerequisites of revolutionary change. The growing isolation of anti-communism, with its ideology and policy of crisis, is an important result of détente.

Inasmuch as the military way of settling contradictions between the two social systems is becoming less and less practicable, the struggle for people's minds is taking precedence. Indeed, the very existence of capitalism depends largely on how far it succeeds in keeping its ideological hold on the masses in face of the growth and consolidation of world socialism.

In present-day conditions, *Paff* said, the ideological struggle has a tangible effect on economic and political developments. The monopoly bourgeoisie is compelled by détente to make a serious reappraisal of its social strategy conceived in the cold war period, adapt to the new world situation, maneuver and resort increasingly to reformist methods. More and more frequently, it calls for changes which supposedly make it possible within the framework of the capitalist system to achieve important social aims and improve the 'quality of life.' All these political, social and economic measures are used as an ideological weapon.

The fact that the bourgeoisie is forced to use these methods is, in some measure, a reflection of the mounting influence of socialist ideas and socialism as a reality. Peaceful coexistence, the group pointed out, greatly contributes to the appeal of the socialist example. It

creates favorable international conditions for fully revealing the objective laws of socialism and its superiority over the capitalist system, and adds to the ability of revolutionary forces to counter capitalism with the ideal of the new society, an ideal being translated into reality in socialist countries.

With détente making progress, *Kwiatowski* said, the working people of capitalist and developing countries extend their links with the socialist world, obtaining authentic information on life in socialist countries. Every year hundreds of thousands of West Germans visit socialist countries, first of all the GDR. These contacts, plus growing crisis phenomena in the capitalist world, prompt more and more working people to ask themselves why there is no unemployment in socialist countries, why consumers goods prices are stable, why the education system is more effective, why rents and transport fares are so low. In other words, they see the advantages of socialism with their own eyes. Expanding economic relations with socialist countries have a beneficial effect of job security. Thus, 220,000 people in Federal Germany have jobs because they are filling Soviet orders.

All this shows the opportunities of publicizing socialism afforded by developing cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries. The working people of capitalist countries are coming to form a new, more accurate idea of existing socialism. This is vastly important in the ideological struggle and helps to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

It would, of course, be naive, *Diligensky* said, to expect changes in the international situation to lead automatically to a complete change in the social consciousness of the masses. Stereotyped notions are generally quite tenacious and, besides, bourgeois ideology introduces and maintains stereotypes preventing the adoption of socialist ideas. Changes in mentality and social consciousness usually develop much more slowly than social, economic or political changes at home or abroad.

Without discounting all this or the distinctions in the class consciousness of diverse national and professional contingents of working people, it is safe to say that the stereotyped conception of socialist and communist ideas formed by the bourgeoisie through years of effort, is crumbling everywhere. And this benefits the class awareness of the masses and reduces the influence of bourgeois ideology. The deepest root of this process is the capitalist crisis, that is, the social and economic manifestations of the crisis and, above all, the crisis of values of the bourgeois way of life. The increasing acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence greatly facilitates and speeds the remoulding of the working people's mentality. The pace and results of this remoulding depend to a tremendous extent on the Communist

parties' ideological and political work among the masses.

Paff drew attention to the need to take full account of ideological processes going on among Social Democrats and to approach them dialectically. The key aspects of social-democratic ideology remain hostile to our own, revolutionary ideology. Many a slogan of the social democrats, such as so-called 'democratic socialism,' is directed against real socialism. Hence the task of combating social reformism and its anti-communist postures. However, international social-democracy – the social reformist current of the international working-class movement – is not homogeneous. It comprises in effect undisguised advocates of state-monopoly capitalism; those whom the intensifying contradictions of imperialism and the growing appeal of socialism prompt to support the workers' democratic and class demands, if only in word for the present; and lastly, left-wing socialists joining in the class struggle and taking an increasingly firm stand against monopoly policy. Therefore, the changes occurring in the international social-democratic movement can hardly be regarded as uniform. In recent years the political and ideological differentiation between and inside social-democratic parties has increased greatly. It is to be hoped that this trend will help large sections of the working people now under socialist influence to adopt a consistently anti-capitalist class position.

There is no ignoring the fact that the offensive of the forces of social progress makes reaction try harder to turn back the wheel of history and recapture positions lost in the ideological front, *Dansoko* said. This accounts for ceaseless propaganda campaigns against socialist countries and for the wide use of revisionist ideological currents to combat socialism. These campaigns are intended to offset the fact that contemporary capitalism lacks a system of ideological values which it could oppose to Marxist-Leninist, socialist ideology. Communists firmly resist every ideological diversion aimed at eroding the influence of socialism.

A very important objective of the ideological struggle is to dispel illusions about the allegedly peaceful character of present-day imperialism. These illusions are spread by bourgeois propaganda, which would like to impose its own interpretation of détente. Therefore, to understand the true nature of imperialism and exercise constant vigilance toward the intrigues of the aggressive, militarist forces is essential in the struggle for peace.

The inseparable interconnection of peace and social progress means that there is no promoting peace without carrying on a sustained ideological struggle against every manifestation of imperialist, anti-communist ideology. Furthermore, to assure the advance of the revolutionary process, we must combat all ideas hostile to the princi-

ples of peaceful coexistence, whether they come from the bourgeoisie right or the ultra-leftists.

The peoples' fundamental interests, research group members stressed, make it necessary in the circumstances to press forward the peace offensive and to make détente irreversible. The revolutionary forces' class battles for progressive social change at a time when détente is acquiring an ever more solid basis produce tangible results. The thinking, plans and activity of fighters for peace, democracy and social progress are inspired by optimism and confidence in the future.

In the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle

Enrique Pastorino,
Secretary of CC, CP of Uruguay, and Chairman of World Federation of Trade Unions

Many of the points raised in the theses of the Institute of the Working-Class Movement (USSR Academy of Sciences) have a direct bearing on Latin America.* This is why I did not hesitate to accept the journal's invitation to take part in the discussion and examine the role played by the working class in the tasks facing our continent – winning complete independence and ending the oppression of foreign monopolies and the local capitalist-landlord oligarchy.

History shows that the involvement and leadership of the working class, the flexibility and effectiveness of its policy of alliances, is crucial for the success of the revolution. No, we do not 'deify' the proletariat. We stress the power of the working-class movement, but also admit its weaknesses in some countries. However, we challenge anyone to deny its revolutionary potential.

The social and political processes in Latin America were strongly influenced by the socialist revolution in Russia. After nazism and

*See 'The Working Class and Its Allies,' International Marxist Discussion. *WMR*, July 1975.

Japanese militarism were defeated in the Second World War, the proletariat moved into the center of Latin America's social and political stage, thus corroborating one of the main objective laws of modern history.

The biggest and the most militant class

What has made the working class on our continent the main political force and the spokesman and organizer of the broad masses? It is first of all the changed structure of the working class, its increasing concentration in large industrial enterprises, and the growth of its professional and political organizations and parties, notably the Communist parties.

By 1970 wage-earners comprised 62.5 per cent of Latin America's active population. This adds up to something like 50 million in construction, industry and transport, and over 15 million in commerce and the service industry (36 per cent, about 30 per cent and over 30 per cent, respectively).

These groups are alike because all of them work for wages and are all ruthlessly exploited. The rate of exploitation in some Latin American countries is four times that of the United States. Impoverishment and proletarianization is rampant among peasants, and pauperization ravages large groups, including small and medium urban and rural independent producers and shopkeepers. Large segments of the intelligentsia and many white-collar workers are now close in status to the working class.

Our figures show that though the truly proletarian industrial core of workers is relatively small in number, its growth into the most numerous exploited group in Latin America is a foregone conclusion, and a special feature typifying our continent.

All this is adding to the role of the working class as the main productive and social-political force, says the declaration of the Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist parties held in Havana last June. The working class is becoming better organized: In some countries it is able to determine the political climate. It strives to become the main factor in the rallying of all the other democratic and anti-imperialist social strata. The history of the Latin American revolutionary movement, rich in heroic workers' actions, shows that the working class represents the essential principles of solidarity with the other peoples fighting against imperialism, for the victory of the national-liberation revolution, and for democracy and socialism.

The active participation of the Cuban proletariat in the revolutionary movement and armed struggle against the Batista tyranny and the general strike in January 1959 powered the victory of the rebel army and the seizure of power by the revolutionary government.

The working class was the organizer of the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile in 1970. And it is a big power behind the revolutionary reconstruction in Peru, and the vanguard of the massive democratic anti-imperialist movement in Argentina, Uruguay, and other Latin American countries.

The scale of the class struggle is reflected in the banana workers' actions against U.S. monopoly and in support of independence in Panama, Costa Rica and Honduras, in the miners' successful actions against the reactionary Banzer regime in Bolivia, in the Uruguayan meatpackers' and building workers' struggles, and in the strikes in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

The peasants, who are the workers' main allies, are increasingly active. In most Latin American countries they have formed their own organizations. Their voice resounds more loudly and they coordinate action with workers' organizations against the reactionary classes. In Peru, Panama, Ecuador and Honduras they cooperate with the democratic groups in the government, and have committed themselves to the struggle against reactionary regimes in such countries as Bolivia. In the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle the farmers are ranged on the side of the proletariat.

The progressive intelligentsia and the students are seen more and more frequently alongside the working class. The middle strata are in motion too, and so are patriotic elements in the army and Church. This is paving the way to broad unity. But before the working class can unite the masses, it must put its own house in order and overcome the split in its ranks.

The trend toward unity

Many of the obstacles to unity are due to the relative 'youthfulness' of Latin America's working class. Much of it consists of people who had only recently been peasants or artisans, or came from the middle strata. Due to the special pattern of capitalist development (domination of foreign monopoly capital and survival of latifundism from pre-capitalist times) small enterprises predominate, in which class antagonisms are not always as distinct as in larger industries, and the conditions for uniting the proletariat and accumulating revolutionary experience are not always favorable.

In the days when the Latin American proletariat only began to build its class organizations, reaction struck back heavily. In some countries the working-class leaders were eliminated, in others the movement was split. This was due to the objective conditions, which the class enemy used for his own ends, but also, and to no small degree,

to our own errors, flaws and immaturity.*

Now the situation is changing. The sharpening crisis of capitalism and imperialism's attempts to shift its burdens on the workers and peoples, first and foremost in the developing countries, including those of Latin America, tend to intensify the class struggle, on the one hand, and are improving the chances of mending the rifts and uniting the unions on the basis of a common program centered on the interests of the entire working class and oriented on radical and anti-imperialist changes in each country, on the other.

The trend toward unity is sweeping out the leftovers of the cold war. Progressive proletarian organizations are becoming centers of attraction for those who oppose monopoly and the landowners, and the blood-stained fascist-type dictatorships, and aspire to economic and social progress.

Despite the exceedingly difficult conditions, the United Trade Union Center of Chile is active in rallying the masses against fascism.

In Uruguay, government attempts to set up yellow unions and destroy the National Convention of Labor, the workers' class organization, have, in effect, fallen through. Not only does the Convention organize powerful actions (e.g., this year's powerful May Day actions in defiance of 1,500 arrests), not only does it promote the workers' vital demands, but is also playing a prominent political role and has called on all mass organizations and political parties to form an anti-doctatorial front.

The Second Congress of the Labor Confederation of Colombia, held in March, was backed up with actions by workers, bank employees, and plantation laborers. As a result, another 80 labor unions joined the Confederation. The culmination point of this was a militant demonstration of more than 50,000.

In Costa Rica, there is a trade union coordinating committee, and in Venezuela, too, the trend toward unity is in evidence.

Earlier this year and in connection with May Day, the Venezuelan Confederation of Laboar (an affiliate of ORIT and ICFTU), supported by the United Trade Union Center of Venezuela (WFTU) and the Confederation of Autonomous Unions, issued a call for unity and is planning to convene a conference of union centers of all orientations to coordinate joint action, and build up working-class activity

*The Latin American unions are either autonomous or belong to the three main international groups: the Permanent Congress of Working People's Unity of Latin America which encompasses independent national centers and members of the World Federation of Trade Unions; the Latin American Labor Center (former Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions) and an affiliate of the World Confederation of Labor; the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

against the aggressive U.S. policy and in defense of the continent's natural wealth and national interests prejudiced by the trade reform act.

Moves toward unity are observed in countries ruled by patriotic military governments. The attempted fascist putsch in Peru in February is additional proof that it is very difficult to extend the revolutionary process and at the same time repulse the counter-attacks of the imperialists and the oligarchy without a mass movement organized and cemented by a progressive political program. This is precisely why an organization was formed in Peru to coordinate the three trade union centers and the peasant federation. This will raise unity to a higher level.

In Panama, the progressive trade union center is lining up the working people to support the Torrijos government's policy of protecting national interests.

The progressive trade union center in Ecuador held a congress recently and decided to participate in the country's anti-imperialist process, while retaining its independence. It has resolved to support the progressive aspects of the policy of the Rodriques Lara government, but reserved the right to criticize its flaws and inconsistencies. Aware of the importance of unity, the center has reached an understanding with other labor groups. The 14-point agreement is an outline of the main anti-imperialist, democratic aims of the working people.

A national development plan was announced in Honduras in January 1974. A conference of the progressive trade union center in November made a class analysis of the anti-imperialist and democratic process in the country. The center stands at the head of the worker-peasant masses supporting the process. Its militant stand for unity strongly influenced the recently announced agrarian reform law.

Special mention must be made of the efforts for unity by the labor center of Cuba. In the presence of delegations from all the Latin American trade union centers, the Cuban comrades displayed an exemplary and broad approach to the question of unity at their 13th Congress. This is in step with the times. The varied ties maintained by the Cuban center with labor centers in Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Panama and other countries contribute to the unity trend on the continental scale. The Cuban center's contacts with the Venezuelan unions are highly important. During a visit to Havana by a Venezuelan delegation, negotiations were conducted about a united Latin American trade union center. This can and must end the nearly 30-year-old split in our trade union movement.

The fifth session of the General Council of the Permanent Congress of Working People's Unity held in Panama (February 1975) and

attended by representatives of 22 affiliates representing 20 million workers in 16 countries was an important action for unity on the continental scale. Panama's Minister of Labor and Social Security, who spoke at its opening, exposed colonialism, emphasized unity, and commended the Permanent Congress for promoting the unity of the workers and peoples of Latin America.

There was complete unanimity at the session on such matters as solidarity and unity against imperialism and fascism and for freedom and independence, and in defense of national resources and sovereignty. It resolved to mark May Day 1975 under these slogans. A call was issued to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution. Special stress was laid on socialist Cuba's role on the continent and the significance of the progressive changes in Peru. This wide range of questions is a good basis for united action with unions outside the Permanent Congress.

The WFTU makes a considerable contribution to the unity of the working class and the anti-imperialist democratic forces in Latin America. In October 1973 we held our Eighth Congress, which will go down in the history of the trade union movement as the 'congress for broad unity.'*

In October 1974 the General Council of the WFTU met in Havana, for the first time on Latin Ameican soil and in the continent's first socialist country. That was significant in itself. It also signified recognition by the progressive trade union movement of the gains of the Latin American proletariat and the scope of its class struggle. The Council discussed the struggle and unity of the working class, and the workers' vanguard role in the broad continental anti-imperialist front. Concrete measures and extensive plans were outlined, and are now being implemented.

All these facts and events are not mere statistics, not projects, not thoery, but practical signs of the trend toward working-class unity. And to promote this tendency at all levels we must, first of all, take stock of its content and orientation contingent on our class aims.

It is common knowledge that the WFTU is working for united action with other international trade union centers on the basis of a concrete, albeit minimum, program. We want united action with all trade union groups, but do not confine ourselves to just top level meetings. We are also concerned with the workers in the Right unions who, like ourselves, understand that unity is the key to success in the class struggle.

*As many as 210 million working people (or 60 million more than at the 1969 Seventh Congress of the WFTU) were represented by 170 organizations, out of which 110 (or 40 more than in 1969) are not affiliated with the WFTU.

As we see it, it is much easier to forge unity within separate countries, because leaders and organizations must provide answers to what the masses are striving for precisely at national levels. This is especially true of countries where the marked aggravation of the structural crisis is facilitating unity between the working class and broad non-proletarian strata facing the dilemma of either fighting imperialism or admitting defeat.

In short, the working class is gradually turning its back on a past tainted by division and reformism. The hour of decision has come, and there must be no place for anti-communism, for ghosts of bygone times, which slow up the unity process. It is not an easy process. But we are sure that unity will finally be forged in the crucible of the class battles. Immersed in struggle, the working class always strives for unity, knowing it to be necessary and repulsing those who act against it.

The proletariat is the core of popular fronts

The forms of unity are strikingly diverse and complex, and different in content and degree. In some countries, such as Chile and Uruguay, there are broad popular fronts under anti-fascist slogans. They are extending the scope of their activity. But the emergence of anti-fascist fronts does not mean that the former, politically more advanced organizations should be dissolved. Nor should they be opposed to each other. Already, the working class plays the leading role in these fronts.

In August 1974 the opposition parties in Bolivia coordinated a patriotic anti-imperialist program. In November the youth organizations and political parties extended this program and agreed to joint action. The struggle of the miners won solidarity not only among workers and students, but also among certain groups in the Church. The success of the Bolivian workers would have been inconceivable in the absence of a united democratic opposition, in which the underground Communist Party holds a conspicuous place.

In Nicaragua, where the conditions are just as difficult, two union centers and the democratic opposition parties held a meeting, at which 2,000 delegates voted for a democratic, anti-fascist front.

In Brazil (imperialism's 'best-loved ward,' the 'show window' of the U.S. way of life in Latin America), the economic miracle of 10 years culminated in a serious defeat for the dictatorship in the rigged and limited elections of November 1974, though the opposition was denied freedom of activity and its vanguard – the Communist Party – was subjected to ceaseless terror.

Success of opposition forces is a symptom of a burgeoning anti-fascist front. And this also in countries with so many obstacles to the

birth of a militant alliance between the working class and the whole people.

A variety of forms of popular unity is in evidence in other countries as well. Progressive forces in Argentina and Colombia have made substantial progress toward anti-imperialist democratic fronts. In Venezuela, nine parties, including the ruling party (Democratic Action), have come out in favor of a patriotic front. The Association For Venezuela (non-monopoly national bourgeoisie) is also working for it. This is a noteworthy development.

The Venezuelan Communists have shown vision in their approach to anti-imperialist unity, have advanced the necessary slogans and, in effect, facilitated the involvement of the entire nation in the fight against the main enemy of all the peoples. This is naturally only the beginning. But there is evidence that the country is entering a stage of broad anti-imperialist unity, in which the working class and the Communist Party are playing an increasing role.

Fronts are taking shape in Peru, Panama, Ecuador and Honduras, backing the progressive measures of the respective governments. They give impact to patriotic unity in the fight against foreign and home reaction and enhance the role of the working class and its political vanguard.

On the national bourgeoisie

How are we to assess the new developments from the class standpoint, and particularly the anti-imperialist position of the patriotic army elements or, say, certain sections of the national bourgeoisie? None, of course, could better describe the policy of the revolutionary-patriotic Velasco Alvarado government than the Peruvian comrades, and none could more accurately assess the process in Venezuela than the Venezuelan comrades. They alone can produce a profound class analysis of the situation.

We can only try to reply in general outline to those who see a 'red menace' in some of the new positive developments on the continent, who want to use them in the interests of the bourgeoisie, or who reject them out of hand as 'non-socialist.' An examination of this is highly relevant for the working-class policy of alliances.

The deep-going social-economic changes in Peru are still a far cry from struggle for socialism. So is the nationalization of iron ore by the bourgeois-democratic government of Venezuela. When state or mixed Latin American capitalist enterprises are formed under the Andes Pact or when Cuba is almost unanimously invited to participate in building a Latin American economic system (excluding the USA), that, too, is still worlds removed from struggle for socialism. But it does not follow that we must treat these things as 'all equally bourgeois.'

Most of the Latin American countries are in the anti-imperialist democratic stage of the revolution, and must still pass that stage before tackling the building of socialism. The spectrum of forces involved in the revolution at its democratic stage is a fairly wide one. The objectives of this stage bring together highly disparate social strata.

Take the demand to recover control of national resources, to nationalize monopoly enterprises and services. What does it mean? First, it undermines imperialism's main economic pillars in the Latin American countries. Second, it puts an end to imperialist exploitation.

The objective needs of development, history as such, spur the national bourgeoisie to oppose U.S. imperialism. Their sturggle for the second liberation of the continent, for economic independence, is not confined to mere recovery of national wealth. They also demand fair prices for raw materials, limits to monopoly profit, sovereignty over imperialist-occupied territories, and the like. Certainly, all this undermines the foundations of imperialist rule.

And we support these anti-imperialist actions, though we know perfectly well that the national bourgeoisie is serving its own class interests, is motivated by the development of capitalism (the talk of the Right extremists about a 'red menace' sounds absurd and ridiculous). But though we support these actions, we are no advocates of tailism. To cite Marx and Engels, the times are long over when the working class promoted 'its own interests side by side with those of the bourgeoisie.'

We Communists are against reformist conceptions, which cast the proletariat as the infantry in the battle against imperialism and concede all the gains to the national bourgeoisie. We see the latter's weaknesses. We know that its capacity for all-out struggle against imperialism is limited. For the national bourgeoisie is aware that an offensive against imperialist property is likely to develop into an offensive against all capitalist property.

The lessons of history, of the October Revolution in Russia, show the worth of bourgeois nationalism and revolutionism. In the case of Latin America, imperialist blackmail, coupled with dread of the working class, sees the national bourgeoisie pull in its shoulders, retreat and, ultimately, surrender to U.S. imperialism and betray national interests if the masses, the progressive forces, do not exercise counter-pressure.

History also shows that individual members of the national bourgeoisie, the most advanced ones, may be driven by the logic of events to accept revolutionary democracy and even side with the working class in its struggle for socialism.

This is why the role of the masses, the proletariat and its political

vanguard, is bigger than ever before, for they can make the most advanced segment of the national bourgeoisie act against imperialism more consistently and with greater determination.

To prevent the wave of anti-imperialist nationalism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism in Latin America from fizzling out or even precipitating savage repressions against the people, we must do everything to accelerate the unification of the working class, which should become the rallying center for the broadest possible anti-imperialist forces.

Anti-imperialist alliance, says the declaration of the Havana conference, is first and foremost united action. It is unity in mobilizing the masses and enlisting population groups that are still uninvolved in the struggle though exposed to plunder and living in poverty. It is unity in coordinating concrete and varied forms of struggle. It is unity in daring and inventive actions, combining firmness of principle with the necessary breadth of vision so as not to lose the forces which have a stake in struggle.

The Communist parties, powerful catalysts of revolutionary processes and guarantors of the continent's second liberation, will play a decisive part in this drive for unity.

Notes on the theory and policy of the Socialist International

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After the Second World War the balance of forces between the Communists and Socialists, who represent the two main trends in the working-class movement, changed sharply in favor of the former. Social-reformism's sphere of influence decreased. The Communist movement became the most influential political force of the times. But in some developed capitalist countries the Social-Democratic movement retained, even increased, its influence. The Socialist International (SI) founded in 1951 consists of 57 parties, many of which either head or participate in the government of their country. Their

election candidates in the various countries command nearly 80,000,000 votes. Though the percentage of non-proletarians in the ranks of the Social-Democratic (Socialist) parties has risen, a considerable section of their membership consists of industrial workers.[1] Social Democrats are in control of many mass trade unions, youth groups and other working people's organizations.

The task of repairing the split in the working-class movement in the capitalist world is still relevant. The Communists, says the Political Declaration of the Brussels Conference of capitalist Europe's Communist and Workers' parties (January 26-28, 1974), wish 'to take joint action' with the social Democrats 'in favor of objectives reflecting the urgent needs of the workers and the cause of security and cooperation in Europe.'[2]

Since working-class unity depends in many ways on the political and ideological positions of the SI and its member-parties, Marxist scholars must analyze them. In these notes we shall touch on just a few aspects of the ideological, theoretical and political evolution of the SI.

Ideological positions

The workers' growing urge for unity, for cooperation among their political parties and other organizations, has in recent years powered a tendency toward broader contacts between Socialists and Communists in the struggle for peace and the vital interests of working people. One of the biggest obstacles is the Socialist International's ideology of social-reformism and anti-communism.

The Communists, as we know, adhere to the standpoint substantiated by Marx and Lenin that neither socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society nor the development of the revolutionary movement are possible without a scientific world outlook and revolutionary theory. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, have renounced revolutionary theory and proclaimed the principle of ideological neutrality. The SI statement, 'Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism,' adopted by its inaugural congress in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1951, defines socialism as 'an international movement which does not demand a rigid uniformity of approach.' It says: 'Whether Socialists build their faith on Marxist or other methods of analyzing society, whether they are inspired by religious and humanitarian principles, they all strive for the same goal – a system of social justice, better living, freedom and world peace.'[3] This formula was reaffirmed in a later statement of the SI Bureau, 'The World Today ... The Socialist Perspective,' adopted by the Oslo Congress in 1962.

Such ideological pluralism speaks of the social diversity of present-day Social-Democracy. The parties in the SI differ in stand-

ing, ideological and political views, and in their attitude to the main problems of social development.

Within each party, too, there are different currents and tendencies – left, center, right, and their varieties.[4] This lack of ideological uniformity is the main reason for the absence of a common concept of socialism. Asked, 'what is socialism?', Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme, leader of the country's Social-Democratic Labor Party, replied: 'There are 71 definitions of socialism. If I were to produce one more, this wouldn't make matters any simpler. There is no "universally accepted" definition . . .'[5]

The SI opposes existing socialism with a model of its own or, more precisely, a variety of 'models' of social development under the head of 'democratic socialism.' It was emphasized during the discussion of the above-mentioned statements that they draw a dividing line between Marxist socialism and 'democratic socialism.'[6]

The advocates of 'democratic socialism' portray their 'democratic model' as something distinct from the existing bourgeois system. They appear to seek a 'third' or 'middle' road. But the program documents of the SI, and the corresponding activity, contain no evidence of this being so.

And Julius Braunthal, who was the SI Secretary-General in the early 1950s, concludes in his study that though Marxism had prevailed in the Social-Democratic movement before the Second World War, 'in the Socialist International . . . reformism became the predominant ideology.'[7]

For all the variety of postures and viewpoints, the ideologues of 'democratic socialism' negate class struggle in modern bourgeois society, and regard the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, as the main contradiction of the present epoch.

'Democratic socialism' is not opposed to the pillars of the capitalist system. The Social Democrats merely want to 'improve' and 'modernize.' They counter the teaching of scientific socialism on the law-governed character of socialist revolution with the idea of 'capitalism's transformation into socialism by means of social-democratic reforms. For Social Democrats, said Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria, 'it is essential . . . to be in power,' but more essential still to be strong enough 'to instigate an uninterrupted process of social reforms' even under governments headed by other parties.[8]

The idea of 'social partnership,' that is, class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, is the determining line in the ideology and policy of the Socialist International. Accordingly, the two SI program documents avoid the word 'capitalist' in naming the social system of the developed capitalist countries. They call it 'free,' 'democratic,' or

'industrial,' and the section on the situation in these countries in the SI statement, 'The World Today ... The Socialist Perspective,' is entitled 'Socialism and the Industrial Countries.'[9] However, it would be wrong to infer from this that they also avoid criticizing capitalism. There is fairly sharp criticism, but mostly of the capitalism of before the Second World War.

The 'Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism' defines socialism as political democracy (a multiparty system with opposition rights), economic democracy (mixed system with, among others, private capitalist forms of ownership), and social-democracy (equal opportunities and social justice). A special reference to the moral concepts of freedom, justice and solidarity treats them as non-class categories.

The SI documents declare the ideology of reformism and pluralism to be, as it were, the main condition of progress, the epitome of democracy and of respect for the private convictions of the members and followers of Social-Democratic parties. 'The Godesberg Program of the SPD,' wrote West German professor U. Lohmar, 'recognizes Christian beliefs, the Marxist analysis of society or humanitarian philosophical convictions as equal approaches to free socialism, without thereby creating a closed system of convictions.'[10] In fact, however, this 'openness' advertised by the SI leaders is simply a projection of the attack on scientific socialism, since the ideological principles of social-democracy owe their existence to its contention with Marxism.

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism has in recent years fixed the attention of the Socialist International on ideological problems. This is borne out, among other things, by the discussions and theoretical conferences held by the Socialist parties of Belgium, Austria and other countries, and also by the fact that the SI has set up a research council. Its seminars in different countries discuss questions of international monopoly, production democracy, and the like, important for the working-class movement of capitalist countries.

The ideological discussions revealed a growing interest in Marxism among a definite section of the Social-Democratic youth, and its (highly indicative) desire to separate the reformism it conceives as envisaging socialist-oriented changes in the system from the reformism aimed at buttressing the existing capitalist social system. There is more concern for social problems, worker participation, ecology, etc.

These tendencies are symptomatic, though SI publications are visibly trying to preserve intact the essence of the 'democratic socialism' doctrine. The now greater interest in ideological work and propaganda, and the slogan of 're-ideologization,' do not mean that the SI is turning toward Marxism. They merely signify a certain ideological rearming in the conditions of the sharpening class struggle.

The Socialist International and existing socialism

Criticism of social-reformism and anti-communism is an important factor in the development of positive trends in the international Social-Democratic movement.

The Socialist International was formed in 1951, at the height of the cold war, and anti-communism and anti-Sovietism pervaded its policy. The SI and most of its member-parties backed the imperialist drive to stoke up tension and fear, and to form aggressive blocs against the socialist countries, and worked against working-class unity. When imperialism's military-political strategy foundered, so did the foreign policy line of the right-wing Social Democrats. This aggravated the differences between diverse Social-Democratic currents and led to the emergence of realistic tendencies in SI foreign policy.

The conflicting processes generated in the international Social-Democratic movement by a variety of factors, are developing by fits and starts. But it is safe to say that, first, there is a definite positive change in its foreign policy orientation, and, second, the tendency toward contacts and cooperation with Communist parties has gained some ground. The invigoration of these tendencies speaks of a decline in the influence of the extreme right forces and the rising influence of Social-Democratic leaders inclined to respond to the demands of the masses in the economic and social domains, and in questions of peace and progress.

On this plane, the European climate has benefited from the normalization of relations between the FRG and the socialist countries following the conclusion of treaties with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia by the Social-Democratic government of the West German state. When the present Labour government came to power in Britain, there were positive changes in that country's foreign policy. Harold Wilson's visit to the Soviet Union in February 1975 signalled important headway in Anglo-Soviet relations, with a salutary effect on Britain's relations with the other countries of the socialist community. The Social-Democratic governments of Finland, Sweden, Austria, Norway, Denmark and Holland, and most of the SI-affiliated parties, have acknowledged the policy of peaceful coexistence and international détente.

Realism is gaining the upper hand in Social-Democratic foreign policy. This has forged visible changes in SI policy, with its 11th Congress in 1969 endorsing the convocation of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. Realism was also in evidence in the discussions and resolutions of the SI Council on European security at its Helsinki session in 1971, and in the documents of the 12th SI Congress in Vienna in 1972, at which the question of European security again held a central place.

In contrast to the cold war period, the SI refrained from one-sided simplistic interpretations of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, and recognized the positive part of the Soviet Union in bringing about the process of détente. 'The foreign policy of the Soviet Union Government has played a constructive and active role, and there is no reason to doubt the ambition of the Soviet Government to further the policy of détente,' wrote the Swedish Social Democrat Krister Wickman in the journal *Socialist Affairs*.[11]

There are also certain changes in the Social-Democratic assessment of the relations within the community of socialist countries. As long ago as the early 1960s Willy Brandt called on the Social-Democratic movement to give up the notion that the East European states were 'satellite countries,' and argued in favor of equal relations with them.[12] Similar ideas turn up in the Social-Democratic parties of other West European countries today, though certain leaders still tend to distort the substance of the mutual relations between the socialist countries. This applies, among others, to K. Czernetz, a theorist of the Socialist Party of Austria and member of the SI Bureau.[13]

In assessing the changes in SI foreign policy we must, of course, bear in mind that realistic trends encounter many obstacles. Positive changes of position in some areas are matched by marking time and maneuver in others. Some SI leaders cling to the anti-communist theses of the need to strengthen NATO, the 'Soviet menace,' the two superpowers idea, and see no fundamental difference between the consistent Soviet peace policy and U.S. policy. It is therefore premature to speak of a conclusive outcome of the battle between supporters of realism and supporters of the cold war in the international Social-Democratic movement.

Judging from official statements, the present SI leadership wants to steer a 'middle' course – siding neither with imperialism nor with existing socialism – with regard to major international problems. 'With the rapid progress of détente in the late 1960s Social Democrats were again able to take up their natural position on the middle ground,' British Labourite Alan J. Day wrote.[14]

It should also be noted that emigre groups styling themselves East European 'Social-Democratic parties' continue to enjoy consultative status in the Socialist International. These 'parties,' which represent no one, are loud in demanding 'liberation' of the East European countries, and the SI publishes their statements and other 'documents.' Their continued presence in the SI runs counter to the new tendencies in international relations and within the SI itself. That, possibly, is why in 1971 the SI Bureau suggested modifying the status of these 'parties' by abolishing the category of consultative-vote members.[15] This met with opposition from the right wing and under

its pressure the SI Bureau dropped the subject from the agenda of the 12th SI Congress.[16]

Though obliged to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis of relations between states with different social systems, the SI has not changed its attitude toward the internal affairs of the socialist countries. Little has changed, for instance, in the biased attitude of its leaders toward the social system of these countries. In 1969 the 11th SI Congress declared that it 'reaffirms its position toward Communism as expressed' in its 1951 and 1962 declarations.[17] And the position set out in these declarations, it will be recalled, was one of bellicose anti-communism.

Today, too, the SI attacks on existing socialism are focused on its political system. The SI leaders use fabrications about its 'non-democratic' nature to discredit existing socialism, weaken its revolutionary impact on the working people in capitalist countries and extol 'democratic socialism' as the alternative to communism. All the evidence suggests that the shift to more realistic positions in leading SI circles is anything but smooth, with many zigzags and in some cases backtracking.

The anti-communism of the Social Democrats is the chief obstacle to the working class in the capitalist countries utilizing all available opportunities to fight imperialism and discharge its historic emancipatory mission. Overcoming anti-communism will help the Social Democrat masses understand their class interests and the Social-Democratic movement to shift to consistent anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly positions. That is borne out by all the experience of the working-class movement. Principled criticism of opportunism and social-reformism remains a constant task of Marxist-Leninists.

Attitude toward cooperation

'The Communists and the Social Democrats represent two worlds,'[18] writes K. Czernetz. The Social Democrat right, whose anti-communism is responsible for the split in the working-class movement, are using this thesis to prove that cooperation between Communists, Socialists and Social Democrats is impossible. The Communists believe, ideological and political differences notwithstanding, there are opportunities for cooperation in the interests of the workers and of international peace and security. To the strategy of the world bourgeoisie of splitting the labor movement, the Communists oppose the Leninist revolutionary strategy of strengthening the movement's unity through alliance with all the democratic forces.

The recent history of the labor movement shows that that strategy is gaining ground. The 1957, 1960 and 1969 international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties played an important part in

developing and enriching it in present-day conditions. The 1969 conference document declares: 'Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favor of cooperation with the Socialists and Social Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future.'[19]

United action is supported by the left and a definite part of the center trends in the Social-Democratic movement. And it is important to note that when these trends prevail, the Communists and Socialists find a common language. The experience of Communist-Socialist cooperation in the Popular Front in France in the 30s and during the Republic and civil war in Spain was of immense importance. Cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats was a factor in the defeat of fascism, in the victory of the people's democratic revolutions in Central and Southeast Europe, and made possible a series of democratic reforms in France, Italy and other capitalist countries in the early postwar years.

With the outbreak of the cold war in the late 40s the Social Democrat right wing stepped up their anti-communist campaign. In Western Europe, they had a part in the persecution of Communists, who were expelled from the French, Italian and other governments. They engineered a split in the World Federation of Trade Unions and other mass organizations.

The SI took over and continued that policy, proclaiming communism enemy number one. The SI Bureau statement, 'Socialism and Communism,' published in April 1956, said that 'changes of Communist tactics provide no grounds for departing from the position taken up by democratic socialism which firmly rejects any united front or any other form of political cooperation with the parties of dictatorship,' 'socialism and communism have nothing in common.'[20]

The ban on contacts and cooperation with Communist parties did much damage to the working-class movement. However, thanks to the Communists' consistent efforts and growing authority, the idea of working-class unity continues to live and is winning more and more supporters within the Social Democrat ranks. Obstacles to trade union unity and joint action by the parties are gradually being removed. The 60s saw the beginning of a Communist-Socialist dialogue in France. In 1966 the Finnish Communists and Social Democrats joined the government. In the late 50s relations improved between the Socialist Party of Japan and the Communist parties in the socialist countries.[21]

Mindful of these new trends, the SI was compelled to moderate its irreconcilable attitude. Meeting in Amsterdam in April 1972, the SI Bureau left the whole question of relations with the Communists to the discretion of the affiliated parties.

Communist-Socialist relations continue to be discussed in the Social Democrat press. And the view is gaining ground that, ideological differences notwithstanding, cooperation is possible on a number of questions. That is the line taken by B. Pittermann, the SI Chairman. He admits that there are situations in which Communists and Social Democrats reach similar conclusions independently, from their different positions. He cites the war in Vietnam and the European Security Conference.[22]

The growing urge for unity of the trade union, youth and peace movements is strongly influencing the development of relations between the Social Democrat and Communist parties. This had found expression in the unity of Italy's trade union centers, trade union cooperation in France, and in more contacts between reformist unions and the unions in the socialist countries.

The common government program of the French Communist and Socialist parties and Left Radicals is proof that a common platform can be worked out on fundamental home and international issues affecting the country's advance to socialism. Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, writes: 'The Communists want cooperation with the Socialists ... this is not merely a pious wish, nor a mere statement of intent. Our record shows that we want jointly to operate this program tomorrow in governing the country together with all democratic forces concerned for the renewal of our society ..., with stringent adherence to commitments jointly pledged to the people.'[23] The trend toward cooperation of Communists, Socialists and Social Democrats is forging ahead also in a number of other countries. The Communist position is undermining the argument of opponents of cooperation, primarily the right-wing Socialist argument that the Communists want to deprive their party of an independent organization and place the labor movement under a 'dictatorship,' etc.

The events in Chile exerted a definite influence on the SI, particularly on the question of employing revolutionary means of struggle. Czernetz admits that the SI found itself faced with 'a new problem ... should the International support movements and parties employing revolutionary non-democratic means in the battle against poverty and military dictatorships in Latin America? ... After much discussion the Council decided to recognize the special position of Latin America and accept a political strategy that allows for the seizure of power and the establishment of democracy in order to work for socialism in these countries. In this way, the Popular Unity in Chile was accorded recognition, but only to the extent that it worked for socialism within the framework of democracy.'[24] The SI held a special Bureau meeting in Santiago and engaged in other activities. For the first

time in its history it recognized a government that included Communists and had begun the practical transition to socialism.

The movement for peace and security, cooperation of countries and peoples, has made impressive progress. Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and representatives of other ideological and political trends and movements attended the two Brussels Assemblies for European Security and Cooperation and the 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow. Cooperation between youth organizations of differing political orientation on peace and specifically youth problems began about five years ago and has been developing successfully.

Contracts are being formed and relations improved also between Social-Democratic parties and Communist parties of the socialist countries. Speaking at a Kremlin dinner on July 3 in honor of Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and referring to the problem of cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in the struggle for détente and a peaceful future for Europe, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said: 'We have different ideological views and political programs. Despite this we have found a common language on many complex problems concerning relations between the USSR and FRG and the situation in Europe and the world.'[25]

The consistent Communist policy of upholding the workers' interests, operated against the détente background, has sharpened the crisis of anti-communism in the international Social-Democratic movement. Cooperation has won more support though it is still adamantly opposed in many Social-Democratic parties, especially on national policy issues. More, in some countries – the recent events in Portugal are a case in point – the Social Democrats, far from doing anything to heal the split in the labor movement, are actually trying to widen it, are intensifying their anti-communist campaign and are impeding development of the anti-monopoly movement and attainment of its goals. But cooperation and unity of the working class is a dictate of the times, a key factor in the revolutionary process. That is why the Communists support it.

Many difficulties will have to be surmounted on the road to unity of the working class and all working people. The monopoly bourgeoisie, the anti-communists, are inventing new ways and means of hardening the split in the labor movement. Vigorous efforts are therefore required to overcome within the Social Democrat ranks distrust and prejudice in relation to the Communists. The experience of class struggle and the objective character of the permanent factors that power the trend for unity give grounds for optimism. The strength and

international cohesion of the world Communist movement is the earnest that this trend will assert itself.

1. The percentage of workers in the more influential Social-Democratic parties: Social-Democratic Party of Germany – 44.5, Italian Socialist Party – 45.2, Socialist Party of Austria – 42, Labour Party of Great Britain – about 80, etc.
2. *L'Humanité*, Jan. 30, 1974.
3. 'Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism,' in J. Braunthal. *Geschichte der Internationale*, Vol. 3, Hannover, 1971, pp. 613-614.
4. See I.M. Krivoguz, 'Communists and Modern Left Social Democrats' in *Problems of the Modern Communist Movement* (in Russ.), Moscow, 1972.
5. From *Experience and Prospects of Joint Action by Communists and Social-Democrats* (in Russ.), Moscow, 1974, p. 71.
6. See *Socialist International Information* (SII), Vol. I, 1951, Nos. 29-30; Vol. XII, 1962.
7. See *SII*. Vol. XVIII, No. 9, 1968, p. 100. Also, J. Braunthal, op. cit., p. 581.
8. *Socialist Affairs*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, 1972, p. 78.
9. See *The World Today ... The Socialist Perspective*, A Socialist International publication, London, p. 6.
10. U. Lohmar, Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus, *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, April 21, 1972, p. 56.
11. *Socialist Affairs*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1973, p. 88.
12. See *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 12, 1963, pp. 184; Nos. 31-32, pp. 457-458.
13. See *Socialist Affairs*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1973, p. 87.
14. Ibid., No. 1, p. 5.
15. See *SINEWS*, Vol. II, 1971, No. 12.
16. See *Socialist Affairs*, Vol. XXII, No. 5, 1972, p. 94.
17. *SII*, Vol XIX, No. 14, 1969, p. 147.
18. K. Czernetz, *Die Sozialistische Internationale*. Idee and Wirklichkeit, Wien. 1972, p. 50.
19. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 24.
20. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 15, 1956, p. 249.
21. However, there is no bypassing the fact that part of the Japanese Socialist leadership takes a Maoist stand. The joint statement signed in Peking in May by Socialist Party Chairman Tommi Narita fully coincides with Maoist concepts and is contrary to the policy the Party has pursued over a number of years. It has brought understandable protests from many prominent Socialist Party members.
22. *Socialist Affairs*, Vo. XXIII, No. 1, 1973, p. 8.
23. G. Marchias. *Le défi democratique*. Paris, 1973, pp. 128-129.
24. K. Czernetz, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
25. *Pravda*, July 4, 1975.



The strategic aim of the Finnish Communists

Aarne Saarinen
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The situation is in many ways favorable for the Communist Party of Finland. The prospects of cementing unity are better, its influence has increased, its ranks have grown, the membership is younger, the circulation of the Party press has gone up, and its educational work is more lively. In sum, the Party's positions on the country's political scene have improved, and the outlook is more promising than before.

The 17th Party Congress assembled during the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. There were large-scale rallies and other functions in different parts of Finland to mark the occasion, attended by representatives of the CPSU and the Soviet people. The Congress noted that the efforts of the Communist movement, the international working class, all revolutionary and progressive forces, had wrought major positive changes in the world, and in our country.

The cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union is extensive and varied, and is a good example of peaceful coexistence in action, showing its viability and effectiveness. Past experience shows that this Leninist principle is beneficial to both nations, and in particular to the working class and people of Finland. It is safe to say, for example, that the capitalism-induced crisis would have hit us more severely, and its consequences for the working class would have been much more disastrous, if Finnish-Soviet relations had not developed so favorably. It is also clear that this positive development would have been impossible in the absence of a strong Marxist-Leninist Communist Party or without the fraternal cooperation between the Communist Party of Finland and the CPSU.

In the three years between the latest two CPF congresses the country's economic difficulties have grown and the political crisis is more acute. A capitalist country, Finland is still tied to the capitalist world by economic and ideological bonds. The cost of living is rising an average 15 per cent yearly. Last year it went up 17 per cent, and as

much as 8 per cent in the first four months of this year. Real wages, on the other hand, have stopped growing, and in some cases have even declined. Only in a few industries where employment is still relatively sound, the workers are able to fight for wage hikes in excess of those envisaged under official labor agreements. Workers' actions, and the numbers participating in them, have reached a record high. The strikes do not usually drag out, and end in victories. The Communists stand at the head of the struggle, winning increasing support among the working people. Their positions in factories and the trade unions are stronger.

The country's economic development is affected by the steeply rising trade and balance-of-payments deficit, which has been escalating since 1968 and last year reached an unprecedented nearly 5 billion marks. Meanwhile, currency reserves have almost all melted away, and the foreign debt is mounting. At the end of last year it was 16 per cent of the gross national income, which, of course, adds to our dependence on the financial centers of the capitalist world.

The CP of Finland is demanding effective measures to remedy the situation by, among other things, restrictions on both volume and range of imports, and by promotion of commerce and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The capitalist world's share in Finland's foreign trade is close to 80 per cent, and that of the USSR and the other socialist countries only 20 per cent. This ratio ought to be reversed. That would go a long way in balancing our economy. In this respect, the deepening crisis of capitalism is making an impact: with the sole exception of the extreme right, the country's political forces are taking more serious notice of the Communist Party's arguments. In the past year, the growth of the Soviet Union's share in our foreign trade and other economic cooperation was, in fact, quite considerable.

The economic and social problems have also precipitated a political crisis. Shortly after the 17th CPF Congress, the government of the Social Democrats and the bourgeois center resigned and the President ordered interim parliamentary elections on September 21-22. The political crisis stems directly from the policy of the now defunct government, which had for two and a half years promoted the interests of big capital and monopoly, and satisfied only few of the workers' needs. It had rejected all the important Communist proposals to fight the crisis. Yet the Finnish Democratic People's League, of which the Communist Party is the most influential and strongest constituent, had polled 17 per cent of the votes in the last elections, and may, according to estimates, gain 19.5 per cent in the September voting.

The present situation in Finland is reminiscent of that in Italy, with

the difference that in our country none but the extreme right flatly rejects Communist participation in government. The obstacle is that the Social-Democratic Party and the bourgeois center have so far lacked the political foresight to accept reforms that could give the Communists sufficient grounds to enter the cabinet. True, they say, 'the door to government is open for the Communists.' That is good, but not good enough by itself. There must be a government that would, first of all, take to heart the situation and interests of the working class and the needy sections, eliminate the gravest social ills, and perform deep-going social changes.

The main strategic aim of the Communist Party is to form a union of left forces and forge close cooperation between the left and the center on the basis of a jointly elaborated program. This was the keynote of the 17th Party Congress, which accentuated the point more strongly than it was ever accentuated before. The Congress adopted an extensive program document, 'Proposals of the CPF for a Cooperative Program of the Democratic Forces.' Soon after the Congress, the proposals were handed, among others, to the Social Democrats and the Center Party, who are the most important of our possible partners. The CPF suggested that negotiations should begin at the earliest possible time.

A few weeks after the CPF Congress, a congress of the SDP worked out a stand conducive to talks and consultations. Furthermore, there is no reason to expect a negative answer from the Center Party. The negotiations will show if there can be broad left and center cooperation at the governmental and other levels. Naturally, the outcome also depends on the election results. A change in the country's policy can be achieved only if the electors' support of the Communist Party shows a visible increase and if the working-class parties gain a majority in parliament. The outlook is promising. The resolutions of the SDP Congress have improved the chances of cooperation between the Social Democrats and Communists. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the right has launched a strident hate and fear campaign against socialism.

The CPF Congress has shown once again that our Party is an integral part of the world Communist movement. This was borne out by the large attendance and solidarity of representatives of brother parties. The CPF participates actively in all collective fraternal meetings and conferences, in preparing them, in all undertakings designed to strengthen the ranks of the world Communist movement, and in the struggle against imperialism, and for the freedom and independence of the people, for social progress, peace and socialism.

On the whole, the 17th CPF Congress added to the Party's unity and laid a still more dependable foundation for its cohesion on the basis of scientific socialism, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Theoretical activity of the French Communist Party

Jacques Milhau
Editorial Board member,
La nouvelle critique

To appreciate the vitality of Marxism, one should, first of all, see it in action in the revolutionary working-class movement, and in its theoretical interpretations of economic, ideological and political events and issues. Those whose practical work requires a study of theory turn increasingly to Marxism.

Over the past two decades, the assimilation and creative application of Marxist principles by French scholars who take account of historic changes and the revolutionary tasks arising from them have become more systematic. Communist researchers work individually and collectively, under the guidance of various Party Committees, or in universities, or in teams set up for a definitie project. In all cases the building principle is Marx's injunction to 'uphold revolutionary interests in a way corresponding to changed circumstances.'

Thus the French working-class movement, in which Marxism took root almost a hundred years ago, strives constantly to perfect its weapon, scientific theory, well knowing that the very capacity for theoretical work does not come easily. It depends mainly on the degree of maturity of the movement, which, in turn, depends on the conditions of the class struggle in a given country, and on internal and external factors. However, it also depends to a considerable extent on the scholars' awareness of their responsibility and on how the Party encourages fundamental research. Furthermore, it is very important not to isolate theoretical from political work, nor mechanically blend the two.

The French Communist Party has long encouraged creative development of theory. Before the war, it helped to work out the theoretical aspects of the Popular Front strategy. After liberation it initiated research into the forms of democratic development and new ways of transition to socialism. There have been significant changes in our theoretical work, and it would therefore be useful briefly to review our past experience.

As everyone knows, the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956) criticized the personality cult and violations of socialist legality. The process of overcoming dogmatism started at that time has in France followed an intricate course and has been closely linked with the struggle against overt and covert revisionism and bourgeois ideological influences. While carrying forward Marxism, we had to critically assess opportunist deviations which gradually led people like Roger Garaudy to substitute for Marxism speculative anthropology under the guise of combating dogmatism. Ultimately this deviation degenerated into an idealized religion, intended, among other things, to justify the drift to political opportunism.

There is another aspect, one that is just as important, to our theoretical work since the 20th CPSU Congress. The development of the third phase of the general crisis of capitalism provided new opportunities to raise the political struggle to a higher level, and this, in turn, called for new research. The conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 International Conferences, which may be said to have directly continued the 20th CPSU Congress, stressed the Marxist principle of carefully considering the historical situation. The chief characteristic of the 1955-60 period was a decisive change in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism. Imperialism lost its historical initiative with the collapse of colonial empires, the growing strength of the socialist system, progress of the peaceful coexistence policy, and the sharpening class antagonisms in developed capitalist countries. And all this in spite of the special position adopted by China.

Thus the Communists were faced with the need to deepen analysis of key problems of Marxism relating to the contemporary class struggle. They had no ready-made solutions for problems posed by the construction of a developed socialist society, by problems arising from the new crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, the different ways of peaceful revolution determined by national conditions, or the material and ideological prerequisites of a struggle that would bring millions into the work of carrying out cardinal democratic changes.

The establishment of the Gaullist regime in 1958 made it still more imperative to step up theoretical work. More than ever before, our vanguard Party had to rule out political empiricism, theoretical dogmatism, voluntarism and pragmatism. This also applies to present-day France, which has been hit by the structural crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. On the other hand, however, it has since 1962 been building up strength for an advance that will bring us nearer to a democratic solution of the crisis. Hence, the Party has to prove in practice its right to the role of vanguard, of trail-blazer of social progress, speeding the accumulation of anti-monopoly energy and clearing the way for a democratic replacement of the power of big

capital. This right is won also by offering solutions for the many problems posed by the deep crisis in developed capitalist countries.

This trend of theoretical work was spurred by our 15th Party Congress (1959), held after the first international Communist forum.

The Congress encouraged Communist intellectuals to take the initiative in discussion and research. Maurice Thorez called for closer analysis and critical assimilation of all that was valuable in research studies, including those by non-Marxists. The Congress formulated the fundamental provisions of a program for genuine democracy which was to become a platform for the unity of large anti-monopoly sections of the people and for an FCP alliance with other left-wing parties.

These fundamental provisions, carried further by the experience of another decade, led to the 'Manifesto for an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France,' approved by the Central Committee at its Champigny meeting in 1968. They were later incorporated in the 'Change Policy' statement and in the common government program of the Left, for which almost 13 million Frenchmen, or 49.2 per cent of the electorate, voted in the 1974 presidential elections. Those who have read Lenin's 'The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 319-365) know where to look for the theoretical substantiation of these interconnected programs which, in the distinctive conditions of France, serve as a guide to revolutionary strategy. They provide for nationalization and democratic economic planning, the democratization of existing social institutions, and for important measures to meet the requirements of society and each of its members. The Congress was the starting point for developing the main lines of Marxism-Leninism and for specifying them through everyday Marxist research.

In 1966, seven years after the 15th Congress, the Central Committee met at Argenteuil to discuss problems of ideology and culture. It defined the general lines of theoretical work in the light of the early results of the effort to bring theory and practice closer together.

'There is no such thing as pure theory,' the CC resolution stressed. 'In politics, science, art and public life, Marxist theory is enriched by the experience of history and the contribution of experts, Communist and non-Communist alike, providing vast opportunities for research and theoretical work. These opportunities are commensurate with the social changes of our epoch, the rapid advance of science and technology, and the new problems facing society. The development of Marxist philosophy, Marxist generalization of the achievements of the natural and social sciences, the study of key economic problems, the study of society and its history, and theoretical elaboration of the new problems of political struggle, as well as of all problems of the

cultural and moral development of society, require sustained creative effort. And there are the forces to inspire and stimulate this effort: there is no dearth of gifted Communist experts, nor has there ever been, as the significance and diversity of their writings show. It is up to them to coordinate their efforts more closely. The Communist Party will provide the most favorable conditions for theoretical work. It will pool the efforts of all, coordinate the activity of various research teams, assist collective investigations, which is a modern form of research, and the indispensable work of individual researchers and facilitate their publication.'

To put the above provisions into effect, the Central Committee instituted several new volunteer working groups on economics, public health and sports. The purpose of the Marxist Research Center is to bring all Communist intellectuals into research, train young scholars, foster exchanges of views between Marxists and non-Marxist scholars. The Maurice Thorez Institute has become an important center of research into the history of the working-class movement. Lastly, the Party has allocated more funds for the periodicals *Économie et politique, Les cahiers du communisme, La nouvelle critique, L'École et la nation* and *La pensée*, sponsored seminars and national study days and assigned more teams to work on theoretical problems.

Some noteworthy results have been achieved. The CC economics group made an in-depth Marxist analysis of state-monopoly capitalism, thus providing a solid base for our economic policy. It proceeded from the ideas set out in chapters 13-15 of Volume III of *Capital*, in which Marx elucidates the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and examines counteracting influences. The group followed the example of Lenin, who drew on the Marxian theory of realization in studying the development of capitalism in Russia. In the same way, our scholars continued research into the forms of reaccumulation and depreciation of capital, as well as analysis of the economic, social and political effects of these phenomena under a state-monopoly capitalism in crisis. The results of their research are set out in *State-Monopoly Capitalism**, a Marxist treatise, numerous writings on problems of the evolution of monopoly, development of new territory, the tax system, planning under capitalism, financial management, multinational companies and the socialist mode of production. Recently the Center for Marxist Studies and Research published an *Economic and Social Dictionary*.** In the sphere of fundamental theory, work is carried out to analyze the capitalist mode of production and socio-economic formations and a probe into the theory of

**Traite marxiste d'économie politique. Le capitalisme monopoliste d'état*. Paris 1971.

***Dictionnaire économique et social*. Paris 1975.

production modes generally. A number of investigations deal with the Asian mode of production, feudalism, transitional forms, the bourgeois revolution and imperialism. A telling blow has thus been struck at primitive interpretations of historical materialism and at the mechanical correlation of historical development with the five main social formations. The research done to date has fully restored the heuristic significance of the materialist conception of history.

Marxist publishing through Éditions sociales has made notable progress. Theoretical works in various fields and the Marxist-Leninist classics are being brought out with the aid of a team of competent translators and scholars. Besides, the Central Committee has decided to prepare a comprehensive collection of the works of Marx and Engels. The edition, to be arranged chronologically, will constitute an important event in the French working-class movement and benefit theoretical efforts in other French-speaking countries. All these measures, aimed at ensuring a thorough mastery of the Marxist-Leninist classics, have fostered Marxist studies and research over the past decade. It is clear, for instance, that without certain translations accomplished to date, it would have been impossible to go back to the problem of production modes, solve theoretical disputes over Marx's views on humanism or unify terminology, or even the forms of Marxist conceptualization.

We have a fund of processed information on culture and its components, the cultural revolution and the role of the intellectual, forms of transition to socialism, the complex problems that are part of the theory of the state, ideology and its many ramifications, the theory of the personality, the Marxist theory of man. Epitomized in all this information is the manifold knowledge, the need for which Lenin so strongly emphasized. In short, Marxism is steadily penetrating every field of research, though its ideological and political influence is not always and everywhere immediately felt.

Criticism of psychoanalysis, linguistics, literature and literary criticism, pedagogics, religion, scientific methodology – they are all fields of research, comparison and re-assessment. In our annual Marxist Thought Weeks we can draw up a balance sheet of achievements. The work done is reviewed and future work planned at the many seminars we sponsor on urban renewal, linguistics, the writers' craft, etc. These and related measures sponsored by the Marxist Research Center have resulted in fruitful discussions between philosophers and natural scientists. The Center is gradually overcoming the traditional separateness between representatives of these two disciplines that opened the way to positivism and deductivism.

This should not be taken to mean that things could not be better. Definite progress has been made in studying the workds of Gramsci

and Rosa Luxemburg, but much has to be done on the works of such theoreticians as Plekhanov and Mehring. Nor should we ignore the fact that our studies in such fields as the state and the state apparatus, law and its present and future role are below the level we have attained in political economy, historical materialism and scientific socialism. Uneven development of our research is most keenly felt in philosophy. It might be attributed to survivals of dogmatism, but we have also to reckon with the different trends in research, and this is further evidence of inadequate elucidation of a number of theoretical problems. Much more effort is needed in this area as in others.

The bourgeoisie has no convincing comprehensive explanation of the world. Hence the tendency to accelerate 'replacement' of obsolescent ideological shibboleths. The ruling class, now in a state of ideological disintegration, is implanting obscurantism, irrationalism, pessimism, and amoral views, and is predicting the death of philosophy. Marxist philosophers must therefore find solutions to problems posed by life, must conduct research which, with the help of materialist dialectics, will enrich the Marxist world outlook, make it more accessible to the masses and turn it into a reliable guide, both for the scholar and practician, in every field of endeavor. That calls for closer contact between philosophers and natural scientists, a bold approach by both to new problems and a qualitatively higher level in assimilating Marxism-Leninism.

The situation makes it necessary for the French Communist Party to explore possibilities for using all forms of research and promote advances in both the fundamental and applied sciences, avoiding superficial judgments and shortsighted pragmatism. It was only by investing time and effort in organizing discussions – which at first might have seemed too abstract – of the theoretical implications of Marx's *Capital* that we could properly analyze state monopoly capitalism. There has always been a gap between theory and the pressing tasks of political struggle. It is therefore important to show the close interconnection between the historical-materialist understanding of the development and succession of socio-economic formations and the Party's policy principles. These principles apply to advanced democracy as a stage in the transition from state-monopoly capitalism to socialism and to the French road to socialism.

The outlook is for the Communists to become a government party with top-level cabinet posts. The Party must therefore be prepared to resolve the problems of socialist development, whether in the material or cultural sphere. Besides, it will have to step up its ideological sutrggle against the bourgeois interpretation of the fundamental problems of science and its objectives. Hence. under no circumstances can the Party afford to disregard theoretical work.

Whether we are dealing with industrial uses of nuclear energy, now and in the near future, ecology, education, financial policy or culture, our ideological struggle is increasingly based on research findings and on philosophical concepts following from the scientific theory of cognition. We have to demonstrate the theoretical and practical importance of these problems for society. Hence, we must take the initiative in all fields of investigation. The Party is doing that, but it had first to build up the necessary material and ideological preconditions.

It can now rely on the growing role of the intelligentsia, its alliance with the working class and the greater number and prominence of intellectuals within our own ranks. Under state-monopoly capitalism the intellectual plays a much bigger part in production (and in the production of labor power). Intellectuals are steadily and rapidly being integrated in the system of wage-labor and are subjected to capitalist exploitation, albiet in different, specific forms. Consequently, they share common interests with the working class, and this presents a basis for a firm anti-monopoly alliance of the two. Our studies convincingly show that the aspirations of the intellectual can be attained only under socialism. The Party fully appreciates that tomorrow's democracy will require active participation of intellectuals in promoting science and technology, artistic creation and other forms of culture. And considering the intellectual's unique social function, the Party is exploring possibilities for a joint campaign to defend and reform culture as an inseparable element in the fight for social change. At the same time, the Party is endeavoring to bring to bear the vast practical experience of intellectual activity in various fields. For example, it is devoting more attention to research by non-Marxist scholars and scientists. It favors a dialogue with them, in which concessions on matters of principle are ruled out, but which could add new data to our fund of knowledge. The Party does not make a single decision on national issues, nor a single proposal, without prior consultation to form a rounded out picture of achievements of unsolved problems in one or another sphere.

Competent experts help us draft and implement Party policy. That does not mean, of course, that the Party has gone technocratic. The central ideas of all our policy statements are the result of thought and work by the entire Party. For we abide by the principle of democratic centralism, and this provides the conditions for collective work, the basis for critical analysis and interpretative summation of experience. The Party needs both collective theoretical work and independent research by Communist scholars, which is part of their Party work, their personal contribution to the Party's cause. Nor is it merely a matter of acknowledging the need for such work. We must take into

consideration the specificalities, the amount of time and effort it requires, the difficulties it has to cope with, the facilities it needs, the principles on which it rests, personal motivation and, of course, its scientific and political value.

The resolution of the Argenteuil plenum says: 'The development of science requires discussion and quest. The Communist Party must not interfere with such discussions or suggest a priori truths, and still less must it impose its assessment of unfinished discussions between specialists. Artistic creation is also inconceivable without search, without the competition of diverse trends and schools of thought. The Party values and supports different forms of contribution to human progress made by creative workers free to apply their imagination and tastes, and express their individuality. The Party wants creative workers to understand and support the ideological and political positions of the working class. Like every science, Marxism is not a dogma that takes precedence over reality. While rejecting dogmatism, which renders all search and creation barren and futile, we should not relax our fight against opportunist retreat from principles. Communist intellectuals must boldly, and with independent approach, tackle the problems that arise in science, philosophy and the arts.'

That position is, naturally, directed against unprincipledness, which leads to abandonment of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and leftist nihilism. The latter regards science, art and education merely as ideological, or even only political, weapons of the bourgeoisie; in other words, it negates their role in the development of society. No one will deny that the ruling class exploits the different forms of creative activity for its own reactionary purposes. But does this justify negation of their contribution to cultural life? Addressing a gathering of intellectuals on December 18, 1973, Roland Leroy, secretary of the Party Central Committee, said: 'The cultural revolution implies recognition of the *rapport* between intellectual activity and the entire social movement, between the revolutionary movement and the development of culture. The implications of this are not always apparent and are not expressed directly, automatically.' In its own specific way and by its own methods, intellectual activity interprets, in some cases even anticipates, production and the social and political struggle. This, Leroy noted, is an essential feature of intellectual, scientific and artistic creation.

The Party accepts the specific character of intellectual work, takes into account the concrete data that follow from it, collates and processes these data to facilitate change in material conditions and social relations. This is basic to all our theoretical and political work, for Party policy must be scientifically grounded. This also enhances the Party's prestige, particularly among intellectuals, for an objectively

substantiated attitude lends more conviction to its arguments, which are backed by in-depth theoretical investigation.

And so, the Party endeavors to become the collective brain and conscious organizer of the revolutionary struggle, drawing its strength from the interaction of its practical and theoretical work. It is generally ackowledged that ours is the only Party with a meaningful policy toward the intellectuals and culture, a Party that facilitates theoretical research undaunted by the fierce crossfire of bourgeois ideologists. Marxist research rests on reality, on an immense theoretical arsenal. In the words of Comrade Leroy, this research 'stands opposed, at one and the same time, to those who want a new doctrine – to believe them, Marx, Engels and Lenin never existed – and those who maintain that nothing has changed since Marx, Engels and Lenin, that everything has already been said and re-said. The Communists, however, will never abandon their effort to develop the revolutionary movement on the basis of scientific theory and practice.'

Constant attention to theoretical work strengthens the link between theory and practice. And this explains, to a very large extent, the Party's realistic approach to the questions posed by the deepening of the general crisis of society and the class enemy's tactics of exploiting the crisis. It also explains why the Party was able to give leadership to the people's struggle and prepare its next stage. This is what distinguishes a revolutionary party from a reformist one. The Socialist Party, which lacks firm theoretical principles and shuns serious research, often builds its theoretical conclusions on an exaggerated, superficial assessment of developments. Unable properly to understand the contradictions of state monopoly capitalism, it inclines to the thought that crises are inevitable and takes up some of the arguments used by the bourgeoisie; at one time it actually yielded to the bourgeois austerity policy. Empiricism and opportunism complement each other and with the ebb and flow of the class struggle lead to political vacillation in the Socialist ranks. It should thus be clear that the Communists' fidelity to principles, and their creative activity, can enhance the role and scope of the left alliance, can defeat Socialist attempts to go back on earlier commitments, and win the Socialists over for the practical unity necessary for the continued progress of the democratic forces.

The Communists are a vanguard party and they want to be in the vanguard also of the theoretical struggle. This naturally implies that our policy toward theory must accord with the Party's character, its activity and role in the class struggle. The Party must also work out an integrated concept of the role of the intellectual in society and of the ways and means of assisting those within its ranks who devote a

considerable part of their time to the development of revolutionary theory.

As the struggle forces the big bourgeoisie onto the defensive, new problems will arise requiring tremendous effort from Marxist researchers. They must extend their work to every area and contribute to the political struggle in which the French Communist Party is today the main motive force.

political panorama

Peace linkup in space

In July 1975 people everywhere followed with admiration an event of truly epochal significance: five cosmonauts representing two space powers performing an immensely complicated scientific experiment in space. A new page was thus written in the annals of the space age and in the history of human civilization.

This outstanding scientific and technological achievement has been hailed by scientists, statesmen and public leaders of many countries. True, some capitalist journals have tried to dismiss it as a purely propaganda exercise. These are pitiful attempts against the background of universal recognition of the great scientific feat of Soviet and U.S. scientists and the daring exploit of Alexei Leonov, Valery Kubasov, Thomas Stafford, Vance Brand and Donald Slayton. The launching of the Soyuz and Apollo on a pre-charted orbit and the faultless linkup opened the way to a series of unique space explorations. All this extends the horizon's of man's knowledge. The space complex, with its international crew, launched on July 17, 1975, is the prototype of future international orbital stations.

In welcoming this scientific achievement, Communists note with satisfaction its great political significance. For this experiment was carried out by men and states which deliberately joined their efforts to make a new contribution to solving the crucial problems facing mankind. And though there are some who cling to the evil traditions of the past, claiming that this first international space journey was the beginning of 'the division of outer space,' it should be perfectly clear to every sensible person that this experiment cannot be measured by cold war yardsticks. 'The Soyuz and Apollo flight is of historic importance as a symbol of the present process of international détente and improvement of Soviet-American relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence,' L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed in his message to the President of the United States.

The more than billion people in every part of the planet who watched on television this joint flight of cosmonauts representing

countries with different social systems, could not but reflect on the fundamental changes taking place in the world and on the benefits of the resulting healthier international climate. And an understanding of that will, in turn, create new real opportunities for making détente irreversible.

When, 18 years ago, the USSR launched the world's first earth satellite, and when, in 1961, a Soviet Communist, Yuri Gagarin, first blazed the trail into outer space, the Land of Soviets proclaimed its intention to cooperate with other countries in exploring interplanetary space. That has not remained a mere proclamation. The Intercosmos program of the socialist countries, the USSR-French laser moon probe, the first Indian earth satellite, Aryabhata, launched by a Soviet rocket – these are a few examples of the Soviet Union's consistent implementation of its peaceful plans.

The joint USSR-U.S. space flight crowns the efforts of many men of good will. The Communist appeal to make outer space a sphere of international cooperation for the progress and prosperity of mankind is meeting with growing response and support.

J. Calan

The crisis and the economic struggle of the working class

Felix Burdzhalov
Soviet Economist

Capitalism's instability was accentuated in the early 70s, when the crisis spread to every area of capitalist society.

The present crisis has a number of qualitative differences from earlier postwar crises. First, it was started by a steep price increase and shortages of raw materials and fuels, primarily oil. This was acutely felt toward the close of 1973 and exerted a sharply adverse influence on the balance of payments position and on capitalism's currency and financial system generally. The people in the imperialist countries are now paying for their governments' ruinous economic policy toward the developing countries, while monopoly profits continue to soar.

Second, unlike earlier postwar crises, this one originated and has

been developing *almost simutaneously* in all leading capitalist countries. It involves the entire capitalist system. The synchronic course of the economic cycle is largely due to the increasing internationalization of production (integration, the multinationals, lowering of trade barriers, closer international economic ties). The fact that the crisis began simultaneously restricts opportunities for rapidly overcoming it in individual countries and adds to its negative effects in all of them.

Lastly, the present crisis has not been accompanied by a price decline, it has not even stopped the rise of prices, as was the case in the 50s and 60s. For the first time there is an inflationary rise in prices at the crisis and not at the boom phase of the cycle. See Table 1.

Table 1.

Rising living costs[1]

	Percentage increase over preceding year			
	1970	1973	1974	Jan.-March 1975
USA	5.9	6.2	12.2	10.4
Japan	7.7	11.7	24.5	16.5
FRG	3.8	6.9	7.0	5.9
Britain	6.4	9.2	16.0	19.5
France	5.2	7.3	13.7	14.0
Italy	5.0	10.8	19.4	24.0

A drastic decline in economic growth rates or a recession combined with runaway inflation are worsening the social climate in the capitalist world, aggravating all fundamental contradictions, the labor-capital contradiction above all. Continued economic crisis threatens further deterioration of the workers' living standards. How deep the process will go, who will be the first to pay for the crisis, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, will be resolved by the class struggle.

Faced with unparalleled postwar economic difficulties, the ruling element in the capitalist countries is in a state of confusion, even consternation. And there are sufficient reasons for that. For the present situation is of their own making, the product of state-monopoly regulation. The policy based on encouraging and stimulating unbalanced economic growth has failed dismally. The same goes

for the policy of ignoring the social problems of society and concentrating on the egoistic interests of the financial and industrial oligarchy. The doctrine of neo-capitalism, which rests on faith in stable and sustained economic prosperity, has collapsed.

The men who make capitalist policy have thought up nothing better than the old and patently hopeless method of cutting down the basic components of aggregate demand, especially expenditure on the social services. In short, they are continuously worsening the material position of the worker. A recent example is the British government's decision to restrict wage increases on the plea of combating inflation.

The only effective answer to that is organized proletarian struggle for a genuine solution of pressing economic and social problems. And this struggle is directed against the traditional bourgeois method of overcoming economic difficulties at the expense of the working people.

Marx, it will be recalled, pointed to the link between the proletarian economic struggle and the cyclical character of capitalist production. During a crisis the worker must fight against excessive reduction of wages, during a boom period he must demand higher wages. Marx wrote: 'If, during the phases of prosperity, when extra profits are made, he did not battle for a rise of wages, he would, taking the average of one industrial cycle, not even receive his *average wages*, or the *value* of his labor.'[2]

Since those words were written there have been important changes in the capitalist economy, in the functioning of the labor market and the reproduction of labor power as well as in the evolution of its value. For one thing, the working class is incomparably better organized to resist, even prevent, reduction of nominal wages. Nonetheless, even today the state of the economy, the level of economic activity, are of immense importance for the workers' economic struggle and especially its most militant form, strike action.

High business activity levels usually mean high strike levels. At times of economic crisis, when competition on the labor market is especially keen, the number of strikes and strikers is relatively small.

The non-conventional character of the present crisis is matched by the non-conventional character of the strike movement. Despite the extremely unfavorable economic conditions and the weaker position of the unions resulting from growing unemployment, in a number of countries it is on a much larger scale.[3] The main charcteristics of these strikes are mass involvement, long duration and hard bargaining on both sides, indicative of union determination to uphold living standards against encroachment by big business.

'The trade union struggle,' Lenin wrote, 'is one of the constant forms of the whole workers' movement, one always needed under

capitalism and essential at all times' (*Coll. Works*, vol. 34, p. 356). And, of course, it is especially important during economic crises, with the all-out attack on the workers' vital interests.

The crisis and inflation processes and their social and economic repercussions play a big part in shaping trade union demands. The biggest threat is to employment and wages, the two main components that are at the very heart of the present economic struggles, as distinct from boom periods, when the struggle is over such 'untraditional' issues as shopfloor democracy, trade union jurisdiction in all areas of labor relations, better safety arrangements, etc.

The most common immediate demands on employment are no closures, even if dictated by the 'logic' of capitalist production, no layoffs, lower pension age, higher unemployment benefits.

However, the mass job security movement has not prevented a drastic deterioration of the employment situation. Last year and in the first half of this one unemployment was on the rise in all capitalist countries. In some of them (USA, Japan, France, FRG) it reached a record for the past 15 years.

In July there were one million unemployed in Britain. See Table 2.

Table 2

Unemployment in leading capitalist countries

	1973		1974		March 1975	
	Monthly Average (000)	Percentage of labor force	Monthly Average (000)	Percentage of labor force	Monthly Average (000)	Percentage of labor force
USA	4,304	4.9	5,076	5.6	8,359	9.1
Japan	664	1.1	726	1.4	1,120	2.2
France	394		498		755	
FRG	274	1.3	583	2.6	1,114	4.9
Italy	669	3.5	560	2.9	603*	3.1
Britain	611	2.7	600	2.6	796	3.2

Source: Main Economic Indicators. June 1975.
*First quarter.

These figures are only part of the picture. In Britain, for instance, they apply only to registered unemployed, but in 1971 there were

300,000 (including 230,000 women) who did not register. In fact some estimates put the number of unemployed in February 1975 at 1,100,000, or substantially above the official figure.[4]

Unemployment is not 'selective,' that is, not confined to certain industries. In one or another degree it extends to all industries and all main categories of wage and salary workers. Indicative, too, are the following statistics showing the makeup of America's jobless army in December 1974.[5] See Table 3.

Percentage of unemployed

White-collar	3.7	*Blue-collar*	8.2
of whom professional		of whom skilled	5.3
and technical	2.6	semi-skilled	9.7
managerial personnel	2.1	unskilled	10.9
clerical	5.0	*Service industries*	6.9
shop assistants	4.9	*Farm workers*	2.6

Growing white-collar unemployement is evidence of the objective trend toward evening out the social and economic conditions of wage and salary earners, with both categories being subjected to similar methods of capitalist exploitation.

Concealed unemployment is widespread, too. With the competition of the two systems and the growing political awareness of the workers, the monopolies can no longer simply sack workers as 'redundant.' They have to reckon with mounting resentment and resistance from the working class, with the fightback against mass layoffs. Monopoly capital therefore has to maneuver. The National Council of French Employers gives its members a few pointers on the subject: follow a 'flexible tactic,' avoid mass layoffs by reshuffling your staff, put workers on part time, send them off on forced vacations, and so on.[6] The monopolies are using these and similar methods in an attempt to prevent further social aggravation and maintain a work force in the hope that things will brighten up.

These tactics are particularly widely used in the automobile industry. Layoffs and the short weeks – with corresponding wage cuts, of course – are now the lot of hundreds of thousands. In the U.S., for instance, about 230,000 auto workers out of a total of 750,000 were laid off at the end of last year. 'Layoffs,' *Newsweek* remarked, 'are reaching epidemic proportions.'[7]

The combination of protracted crisis and accelerating inflation is playing havoc with the workers' living standards. Massive unemployment is painfully felt: a Louis Harris poll in the United States

early this year showed that more than half of the population is in one way or another affected by unemployment. Thus, 30 per cent said that one or more members of the family were without work, 9 per cent of those still in jobs could not get overtime work, 13 per cent had been put on a short work week.[8] Many families have lost their main source of livelihood, the wages of the family head. Unemployment benefits cannot, of course, compensate for loss of wages, and besides are paid only for a restricted period. Not all the unemployed get the benefits: in the U.S. about two million people actively looking for work at the beginning of the year were not receiving any unemployment benefits at all.[9] In France, only 340,000 (44.4 per cent) of the 766,000 officially registered unemployed were receiving unemployment benefits.[10]

Capitalism's economic difficulties are recoiling on the living standards of those still with jobs. Recession or slower growth rates naturally reduce the material basis for raising wages. Inflationary price rises cut deep into real wages, and price rises are especially steep on essentials. The damage done to the people's living standards, and opportunities for neutralizing inflationary price rises, largely depend on the correlation of class forces and the scope of the workers' counteraction to the capitalist offensive.

Wage demands are primarily aimed at keeping wages in step, or a step ahead, of higher prices and taxes. The unions also demand improvement for the low-wage groups, a guaranteed minimum wage and escalator clauses to tie wages to the retail price index.

A new development is to tie family grants, unemployment benefits, etc., to the price index.

In this respect, the Italian workers won a big victory in March 1975 when the united trade union federation and the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare agreed that pensions would be tied to wage rises in industry.

The working class is increasingly acting as the leading and organizing force in the fight to check inflation. On the initiative of the Italian trade unions, thousands took part in the civil disobedience campaign by refusing to pay higher transport fares, higher electricity charges, etc. In Japan, a national coordinating council against inflation, higher prices and lower living standards was founded by the country's leading trade unions, opposition parties and about 60 youth, women's, peasant and cooperative organizations.

Inflation, however, is not the only factor in depressing real wages. Other factors are higher direct taxes and social insurance contributions.

The following example is typical of the monopolies' policy of 'compressing' consumer demand. According to the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research,[11] income taxes rose by

18.7 per cent and social insurance contributions by 14 per cent between April 1973 and April 1974. The Institute figures show that in April 1974 this reduced weekly wages by 20 per cent and higher prices reduced them by another 40 per cent. As a result, despite a 12 per cent rise in nominal wages, real net earnings were 4 per cent below the April 1973 average of £19.22.

Much the same applies to other developed capitalist countries. As a result, the workers have to economize even on bare essentials. A study has shown that 55 per cent of American families have had to 'drastically' change their consumption patterns and 47 per cent were buying less food than a year ago. *Newsweek* comments: 'More than simply lowering their living standards, Many Americans have had to adopt an entirely new life-style.[12]

These processes are a clear reply to the apologists for capitalism who only recently were dismissing as 'obsolete' the Marxist-Leninist thesis that in capitalist society the tendency is toward relative, and in certain conditions absolute, worsening of the workers' position, a tendency that can be countered only by active working-class struggle.

The working-class economic struggle has a definite effect on the economic policy of bourgeois governments and can moderate its more adverse social and economic consequences. Strike struggles are not only a form of protest against economic policy; they are also a major weapon in achieving the social and economic aims of the workers and their trade unions.

In some countries the unions have drawn up comprehensive positive programs as a counterweight to the policies of the ruling class. The Communist parties, which are consistently working for a broad democratic anti-monopoly front, support alternative economic policies based on the interests of the people and directed against monopoly rule.

The economic programs of bourgeois governments are designed to improve the business situation by lowering consumer demand or slowing down its growth, in other words, lowering the living standard of the workers or preventing its improvement. The purpose of the alternative, working-class democratic policies, is to prevent depression of living standards and take measures to raise them. Economic growth does not, by itself, resolve social problems, though it does create the material basis for their solution. But whereas bourgeois government programs give priority to economic aims, the alternative democratic programs concentrate on social problems. One example is the common program adopted last year by the leading French trade unions, the General and the Democratic Confederations of Labor.

All these alternative trade union programs contain concrete measures. They go beyond demanding improvement of the workers'

position – they show how it can be improved and do not hesitate to put forward political demands. The program adopted by the British Trades Union Congress in November 1974 calls for raising the industrial growth rate to 3.5 per cent, cuts in military spending, nationalization of key industries, £1.5m. more for the social and other services and £1m. for technological re-equipment of industry.[13]

The Italian unions demand a 'new economic policy' that would, on the one hand, freeze prices and establish so-called 'political' prices on vital goods, repeal all taxes on pensions and low earnings, and, on the other hand, revise investment policy to allocate more to the backward southern regions and raise agricultural earnings.

Support by a number of national trade union centers for international détente, cuts in military expenditure and closer economic cooperation with the socialist countries is of major importance.

The comprehensive social and economic programs advanced by the Communist parties go even farther in defending the workers against the consequences of the economic crisis. The central demand, however, is for deep-going structural change through restricting the power of monopoly capital, expanding the state sector, and introducing democratic programming.

There is also this distinguishing feature: all these programs organically combine the concrete tasks of upholding the immediate interests of the workers with the longer-range tasks of the labor movement generally, its fight for socialism. This cannot be achieved only by day-to-day economic struggle; it requires more active political struggle at all levels.

1. *World Economy and International Relations* (Russ). No. 6, 1975, p. 102.
2. Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*, Chapter XIII.
3. Thus: FRG, 185,000 strikers in 1973 and 250,000 in 1974; man-hours lost, 563,000 in 1973 and 1,051,000 in 1974. The respective figures for Britain are 1,528,000 and 1,605,000, and 7,197,000 and 14,740,000; USA, 2,251,000 and 2,700,000; 27 m. and 48 m. (computed by author from official national statistics; figures do not include political and short-term strikes).
4. *Morning Star*, March 27, 1975, p. 5.
5. *U.S. News & World Report*, December 23, 1974, p. 56.
6. CNPF. *Patronat*. February 1974, p. 49.
7. *Newsweek*, December 2, 1974, p. 42.
8. *Time*, March 17, 1975, p. 34.
9. *Time*, February 24, 1975, p. 29.
10. *L'Humanité*, February 27, 1975, p. 1.
11. *National Institute Economic Review*, August 1974, p. 28.
12. *Newsweek*, December 2, 1974.
13. *The Times*, Nov. 2, 1974, p. 1

soaring prices of essentials, rising land and house rents, chronic stagnation in trade, the service industries and construction, the decline in transit shipments. Other crisis signals are widespread concealment of profit to avoid taxes, numerous financial scandals. etc.

It should also be noted that the transport system – ports, railways, motor transport – and telecommunications are sadly in need of renewal and modernization and can no longer cope with the growing volume of traffic. This can have dangerous consequences for an economy dependent largely on revenue from transport services, and yet there is no money for modernization.

More, Lebanon is rapidly losing its role of chief Middle East financial market. This is due firstly to competition from Iran and Kuwait, secondly to the continuing Israeli aggression against Southern Lebanon (now in its eighth year) and thirdly to the growing instability of the political situation at home.

Nearly all governments sought and failed to find solutions for this amalgam of complex problems. This is only natural, for they approached these problems determined to uphold the interests of the big bourgeoisie and consolidate its power by curtailing the rights of the people. The people could not and would not accept that.

Lebanon is thus becoming the scene of sharp class struggle. Workers, peasants, other sections of the laboring population are taking action in defense of their economic, social and political rights. They want better conditions, concrete energetic measures against inflation and soaring prices and long-overdue democratic reforms.

The forces of democracy and progress are gaining strength in this struggle. This applies especially to the Lebanese Communist Party which is working in alliance with the Progressive Socialist Party and other democratic organizations. The Communists' appeal to defend and strengthen our democratic gains is meeting with a favorable response from the majority of the people, including patriotically-minded sections of the national bourgeoisie, as more and more Lebanese come to see the need for deep-going change and a way out of the crisis. This is creating a new alignment of forces and favorable conditions for mobilizing the masses and extending the struggle.

The Palestine problem holds a special place in Lebanese politics. The leadership of the Palestine Resistance Movement and its armed forces are in our country. There is also a large number of Palestine refugees (officially estimated at over 300,000) influenced by the PRM. All this has a visible impact on the political situation.

A revolutionary movement, the PRM is working in close unity with the Lebanese patriotic forces. Fraternal relations exist between the two, as between the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese people. This is of special importance, considering that after the October 1973

agriculture since the war has not appreciably altered the economic structure.

The Lebanese economy is thus unstable and dependent on outside factors. It proved especially vulnerable to the effects of the present world capitalist crisis, with employment one of the first victims. Every new generation of Lebanese is faced with the almost insoluble problem of finding work. This has meant more migration, with Lebanon 'exporting' specialists and skilled workers and 'importing' unskilled labor from neighboring Arab countries.[4] The unbalanced economic structure is complemented by a widening development gap between the various parts of the country. Capitalist penetration and 'prosperity' are confined to areas around Beirut (primarily in Mount Lebanon Province). The South and North, Bekaa (in the East) have hardly been touched by this process. This development differential affects the economic and social position of the two main religious communities, Christians and Moslems, who make up the great bulk of the population.[5] The Moslem areas are considered the most backward and their population has been migrating to the cities, mainly Beirut, to swell the army of low-paid workers. The outskirts of Beirut are a sea of unmitigated poverty.

But capitalist development in the economy and in social relations, though relatively rapid, has in no way affected the system of government. More, government institutions have for years acted as a brake on development. Lebanon still lives by the Constitution imposed by the French colonialists nearly half a century ago.[6] When independence was proclaimed in November 1943 its more objectionable clauses restricting sovereignty were deleted but everything else was left intact.

Beside the 1926 Constitution there is the unrecorded – and still operative – September 1943 National Pact concluded by the bourgeois and nationalist leaders of the Christian and Moslen communities, which perpetuated the confessionist character of the Lebanese state.[7]

But the social processes now at work in Lebanon have broken through this framework. Besides, the religious communities represent complex class pyramids with tiny exploiter minorities and vast exploited majorities. Deep-going antagonistic contradictions are developing within each of them. To this should be added the sharp contradiction between the country's social and economic level and the archaic judicial and legislative structures. Mounting economic difficulties in recent years have made this more keenly felt than ever.

There is evidence that Lebanon is about to be engulfed by the devastating economic crisis of the capitalist world system. That conclusion is based on the rapid growth of unemployment and inflation, the growing trade and payments deficit, fantastic land speculation,

Tension persists

Nadim Abdel-Samad
Political Bureau member
and CC Secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party

POLITICAL EVENTS IN LEBANON

The dramatic events in Lebanon in the first half of the year represent one of the most serious and profound political crises the country has experienced since independence was proclaimed in November 1943.

What are the main causes of the crisis and what, in the view of Lebanese Communists, is the way out of the present dangerous situation? A brief review of Lebanon's development will provide some of the answers.

Post-independence development, particularly since the mid-50s, has been marked by the accelerated growth of capitalist relations. The process has been influenced by internal and external – Arab and international – factors; Lebanon, and espeically its capital, Beirut, has become the financial and trading center of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. But capitalist development could not remove the ugly negative features of the economic and social structure, a carry-over from the days of the feudal Ottoman Empire and the French administration.

In the Ottoman Empire Lebanon's social and economic, and notably industrial, development was artificially stymied. Capitalist France, which in the mid-19th century made Lebanon a target of its colonial expansion, followed much the same policy. Lebanon was cast in the role of purveyor of agricultural raw materials (silk cocoons),[1] operational base for penetration of the Arab world, and French entrepot in the Middle East.[2]

This role continued throughout the French domination and assumed a hypertrophic form after independence. Today, too, the country's economy is polarized, with a high level in finance, banking and the service industries and a woefully low level in industry and agriculture.[3] A certain growth of industry and of capitalist relations in

war the positive trends within the PRM have become more pronounced, its realistically-minded wing carries more weight and its leadership is working toward closer contact and cooperation with the world revolutionary forces, the socialist community.

The changing relations of forces, favoring progress and democracy, has frightened Lebanese and Arab reactionaries, imperialist groups and Israel's Zionist rulers. They are the engineers of the political crisis that has been gathering strength over a number of years. Their present aims are to block the changing balance of political and social forces, install a 'strong' regime to smother the rising wave of popular struggle, wipe out its gains, and strike at the PRM.

Many attempts were made to reach these aims. In May 1973, for example, reaction called out the army (one cannot help drawing comparisons with the September 1970 'slaughter' in Jordan) against the Palestine Resistance and, at once, against the Lebanese patriotic and progressive forces. The venture failed, frustrated by the unity and joint action of Lebanese progressives and the PRM. The May events sealed their alliance and secured them broader support among the masses.

However, our common enemies did not lay down their arms. They began priming for revenge, launching a drive to form a fascist-type militia. Money for arms and training was no object. The Kata'eb (Phalangist) Party,[8] whose leadership is intimately connected with the ruling reactionary financial oligarchy, was cast as the chief trouble-maker.

The Phalangists kindled religious strife. They portrayed the country's patriotic progressive and democratic movement, its alliance with the PRM and the all-Arab anti-imperialist struggle, as a 'Moslem threat' to the Christian community, and the sharpening class struggle as an assault on the rights and privileges of Christians, first of all the Maronites. A mighty Moslem majority, they claimed, was about to engulf the Christian minority.

The outright and subtle lies (for, clearly, the privileges referred to were not those of the Christian community as a whole, but of only its capitalist upper crust), the unbridled demagogy and incitement of religious feeling, achieved their purpose. Planting seeds of confusion and fear, the Phalangist leaders succeeded in creating an explosive situation.

Priming for an offensive, Lebanese reaction was encouraged by the U.S. imperialist effort to score at least a semblance of success somewhere in the world, primarily the Middle East, to make up for the succession of its failures – defeat in Indochina, overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal, collapse of the Black Colonels' dictatorship in Greece, and deterioration of Greco-Turkish relations over Cyprus.

Not least of all were the reactionaries motivated by the U.S. wish to offset the failure of U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' in our region in the spring of 1975. The imperialists, their Israeli allies, and the Lebanese reactionaries, placed considerable hope in the Salzburg meeting of the U.S. and Egyptian presidents on June 1-2.

One of the main obstacles to the 'step-by-step' solution of the Middle East problem, Washington holds (and rightly so), is the Palestine Resistance. Hence the decision to strike at the PRM, to paralyze, or at least undermine, its power and influence. The Palangist shock troopers were to have executed this scheme.

But the march of events upset the plans of the imperialists and reactionaries.

True, they succeeded in provoking bloodshed in April-June, with casualties running to more than a thousand dead and many thousands wounded. To camouflage their conspiracy, directed simultaneously against the Lebanese forces of democracy and progress and against the PRM, they first assaulted the Palestine refugee camps. These became targets of attack by armed Phalangist gangs. The reactionaries sought to trigger a civil war, expecting the army to intervene and set up a 'strong' regime or, more precisely, a military dictatorship. They created economic chaos and paralyzed a number of major economic sectors. Preliminary and naturally incomplete estimates place the damage in the first six months of 1975 at nearly one-third of the country's annual national income, well in excess of L£2,000 million.[9] Reaction compelled the cabinet headed by patriot Rashid Solh to resign and prevailed on the President of the Republic to turn over power to a military cabinet backed by the extreme right wing of the Lebanese bourgeoisie.[10] But that is about all it managed to achieve.

The country's democratic forces headed by progressive and patriotic organizations, in close and friendly cooperation with the Palestine Resistance Movement, parried the sinister reactionary designs. They prevented the reactionaries from starting a civil war and installing a military dictatorship. This was blocked by the mighty democratic front of workers, toilers of town and village, students, intellectuals, and the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie. The military government was denied even a minute's respite, and was not allowed to consolidate in power. It survived a mere 60 hours, and fell under the threat of a general strike and armed popular resistance.

The stake the reactionaries had put on the army was beaten. The army was itself in a state of crisis.

During the tumultuous February 1975 events in Saida, the command had used the army as a punitive force,[11] while acting as stolid and

impassive bystander during Israel's aggressive attacks along Lebanon's southern borders and repeatedly hindering PRM action. In effect, the army had neglected its basic duty: defense of the country's sovereignty. By implication, it was a mere guardian of the interests of just a small social group.

The Prime Minister and ministers who represented the forces of democracy and progress not only specified the causes of the political crisis, but also outlined remedies in their statement of resignation in May 1975. One of the measures they suggested was to reorganize the army and redistribute the posts of command in accordance with the existing alignment of political and social forces. And the entire patriotic movement threw its weight behind their proposals. Conscious of the public mood, of the people's determination to resist, the army command was therefore compelled to remain relatively neutral.

Further dangerous developments were thus arrested. The patriotic progressive and democratic forces retained their positions and made some unmistakable gains. Their ranks are more solidly united, their determination to repulse reaction is firmer, their solidarity with the Palestine Resistance Movement is of a higher order.

Now that the armed clashes have ceased (though that may be only temporary), a political battle of mammoth proportions is unfolding, highlighted by an abrupt aggravation of class collisions.

The political situation is still extremely tense. It is as acute as ever, and pregnant with the danger of a new explosion. The causes of the crisis have not been removed, and are liable to create a still more perilous crisis situation.

A new, civilian government has replaced the military cabinet. But though the popular forces have isolated the Kata'eb Party and kept it out of the government, the progressive and patriotic parties hold that neither the methods of forming the cabinet nor its composition accord with the present alignment of political forces and the tasks posed by the existing situation. The new government, whose complexion is essentially reactionary, they hold, is not likely to meet any of the national demands. It is even hard to image how it will go about repairing the chaos. And doubly so, since there is obvious collusion between reaction, a section of the government and the army groups, encouraging the criminal conduct of the fascist Kata'eb Party and its allies.

The Lebanese Communist Party is convinced that the demands formulated by the progressive parties show the way out of the crisis. They correspond with the expectations of all strata and population groups longing for a return to normal and for conditions that would rule out a renewal of tragic events.

The progressive parties are calling for an end to anomalies in

Lebanese-Palestinian relations, for recognition of the PRM presence and activity in Lebanon, and for close cooperation and coordination of action against the common enemy.

They also urge democratic amendments to the Constitution; abolition of the articles on the state's confessionist character, and inclusion of guarantees of basic civil rights; a definition of presidential powers in a democratic context, securing a balance of power between the different governmental institutions; amendment of the law on elections to parliament and local representative bodies based on the principle of proportional representation and reflecting the predominant political tendencies and the class structure of the population; a law making the army a truly patriotic guardian of the country's security, integrity and interests; abolition of the post of supreme commander and institution of a command council responsible to the civilian government; a new citizenship law lifting confessionist barriers which are denying citizenship to thousands of persons born in Lebanon.

The progressive parties demand immediate steps to resolve the urgent social and economic problems affecting chiefly the working people. They are working for the consolidation and extension of the country's democratic traditions – respect for civic and personal freedoms, including the freedom of speech, press, assembly and activity of political and trade union organizations. They demand the repeal of all laws restricting or impinging on these freedoms.

The nation, its main political and social forces, are beginning to rally to these demands. And we Communists hold that they could be a sound foundation for the program of a broad front that would take Lebanon out of the crisis, secure conditions in which all struggle would be by peaceful means, barring bloodshed and communal strife that could plunge the country into fratricidal civil war.

Such a program does not transcend the general-democratic framework. The Communists support it, though its objectives are short of the minimum program advanced by the Lebanese Communist Party. Implemention of the minimum program of the LCP, which envisages a national-democratic regime, would open the way to deep-going democratic transformations and assure the country's advance to freedom and progress.

Beirut, middle of July, 1975

1. The Lyons silk industry was particularly interested in a dependable supply of silk cocoons from Lebanon.
2. French companies shared in building the Beirut port, the Beirut-Damascus railway and the network of storage facilities. French banks more largely responsible for building up Lebanon's banking system.

3. In 1970 trade and services contributed 62 per cent to Lebanon's GNP while industry and agriculture accounted for only 25 per cent. – *Ed.*

4. Their number is nearly equal to the number of Lebanese employed in the economy.

5. According to the last (1932) census Christians (Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Church) made up 52 per cent of the population, and Moslems (Sunni, Shi'i and Druze) 48 per cent. There has been no census since then because, in the opinion of many, the Christian ruling element fears that a new count of the population would reveal a Moslem majority. – *Ed.*

6. The French colonialists had their own interests in mind when framing the Constitution, but were obliged to reckon with the Organic Regulation imposed on the Ottoman Empire by the European powers in 1864 on the pretext of defending the Christian community. Under the Regulation, Lebanon became an autonomous province administered by a Christian governor. Relations between the communities were defined in a way that favored the Christians. This made for the growth of the privileged section of the Christian community, which has always been regarded as supporting the imperialists. – *Ed.*

7. The confessionist principle provides for apportioning top government posts between the religious communities in proportion to their numerical strength. Under this arrangement, the President, who has very wide powers, must be a Maronite (a member of the Christian Church founded by Maron in the seventh century; though subject to the Vatican, it has its own Patriarch). The Prime Minister must be a Sunni Moslem, and the Speaker of Parliament a Shi'a Moslem. Parliament is elected on the principle of community representation, with the Christians holding 54 and the Moslems 45 of the 99 seats (there figures are based on the 1932 census and do not truly reflect the present size of the communities). Members of Parliament must belong to one of the religious communities – *Ed.*

8. Founded in 1936 as a paramilitary organization of the Maronite Christian community. Has been a political party since 1943. Numbers more than 50,000 members and has more than 200 branches in Lebanon and 40 branches abroad. A rightist party closely associated with and oriented on the West. Denies Lebanon's affinity to, and common interests with, the Arab world. – *Ed.*

9. At the July 1974 rate of exchange the Lebanese pound = U.S. $0.444.

10. The leaders of only two reactionary parties declared their support of the military government – the Kata'eb and the National-Liberal. – *Ed.*

11. At the end of February in Saida the army opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in support of fishermen protesting plunder by capitalist middlemen. Among the killed was Maaruf Saad, former member of parliament and prominent progressive figure.

Decolonization: gains and difficulties

Revolutionary Portugal is steadfastly carrying out decolonization. In September 1974 it recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, proclaimed one year earlier. Mozambique was declared an independent state on June 25, 1975, the Cape Verde Islands on July 5 and the Sao Tome and Principe Islands on July 12. Angola is to become independent on November 11. Progress in the new life of peoples who for centuries were ruled by Portuguese colonialists, and the difficulties encountered in achieving genuine independence are dealt with in the following interview with *Alexandro Nunes Correia*, a prominent leader of the Guinea-Bissau liberation movement, notes by *Amath Dansoko*, member of the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review*, member, CC Political Bureau, African Independence Party of Senegal, who represented the journal at the celebration of Mozambique's independence, and brief comments on events in Angola.

'THE PARTY ALWAYS SHOWS THE WAY'

Alexandro Nunes Correia answers questions put by *WMR*.

Q: On September 10, 1975, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau marked its first anniversary of the recognition of its independency by Portugal. What problems are the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)* and the country's government solving today?

A: The whole world knows of the economic, social and political conditions in which our country won independence. We began almost from scratch in September 1974.

The economy of Guinea-Bissau is based on farming, or, more precisely, farming is our economy. Accordingly, the Party has adopted an economic and social program giving absolute priority to agriculture, which is to be developed by organizing and promoting agricultural and consumers' cooperatives. The program devotes special attention to the all-important problem of halting migration to the

*The PAIGC has also formed the government of the newly proclaimed Republic of the Cape Verde Islands. – *Ed*.

towns and combating over-urbanization. To this end, it envisages measures for using the bulk of agricultural revenue in the countryside itself, building schools there, setting up a network of medical and cultural institutions and resettling townspeople in the rural areas in an organized fashion. Our aim is to bring the overwhelming majority of the population into farming. We are carrying out these measures with help from loyal friends – the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We will soon start comprehensive planning on the national level, one of the prime movers of economic and social progress.

During the war of liberation we carried on both an armed fight and an economic struggle. In the liberated areas, we took steps to abolish colonial economic structures. In particular, we set up 'people's shops' selling necessities that were paid for in kind.

On winning independence, we were faced with a money economy. The Party knows that this system will sooner or later spread to the whole of Guinea-Bissau. But to foil the schemes of traders who hoard goods, we decided to set up people's shops in the towns as well. This measure is proving useful, for it compels private traders to sell their goods at low prices. We are gradually switching to a money-leased economy. The monetary unit still in use is the Portuguese escudo. The Party is in no hurry to create a national currency because it considers that we must first lay a solid economic groundwork and solve the problem of banking.

There is also a social problem. It should be borne in mind that the population of Guinea-Bissau is composed of two groups: the indigenous people and the *assimilados*.* The latter group forms the basis on which a bourgeoisie, mainly a petty bourgeoisie, is developing. This bourgeoisie is not numerous, however, and is made up mainly of traders and of owners of small factories for the primary processing of farm produce.

The politically conscious, patriotic section of the pettty bourgeoisie took part in the liberation war and played, as Amilcar Cabral** stressed, the role of a leading force of the revolution, whose mainstay is the peasantry. Cabral pointed out, however, that if the bourgeoisie really wants to be useful to the revolution it must come out as a progressive force on which the country can rely in building its new life.

Q: The struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau was backed by the revolutionary forces of the world. What forms do alliance and co-

*Privileged Africans in the former colonial Guinea-Bissau. – *Ed.*

**Amilcar Cabral (1924-1972) was one of the founders (1956) and General Secretary of the PAIGC, which in January 1963 became the leader of the war of liberation. He was assassinated by agents of the colonialists.

operation between your country and those forces take today?

A: Our country won independence primarily at the cost of much sacrifice on the part of the people. At the same time, we think very highly of the all-round aid and support given us by the revolutionary forces of the world, especially the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

At present socialist countries support us politically, diplomatically and economically. I wish to point out, first of all, their direct and specific participation in rehabilitating and developing our economy.

We have always distinguished between the people of Portugal and its fascist colonialist rulers, between its progressive and reactionary forces. Our people saw that the Portuguese people were oppressed and were carrying on a bitter struggle for liberation. That is why we hailed the victory of the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal, which also hastened the triumph of freedom and independence in our own country. We consider that close cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal today is a form of supporting the revolutionary process initiated by the AFM. It is gratifying to note that normal and, indeed, fraternal relations are developing between us and the Portuguese authorities. Not long ago we signed several agreements, including very important ones on economic, scientific and technological co-operation.

However, there is still much to be done. We agree with Vasco Goncalves, the Portuguese Premier, who stressed the vast importance of close cooperation between the liberation movement in ex-colonies and the democratic movement in the former metropolitan country.

We maintain special relations with the Republic of Guinea, which extended tremendous support to our liberation struggle. We were also aided by Senegal. But we know that operating in various countries are forces hostile to our republic, whose peaceful and democratic progress they are trying to hamper.

Our policy of close cooperation with the forces of freedom, progress, democracy and socialism throughout the world is unchanged.

Q: The liberation war of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands was led by the PAIGC. Now that you have achieved independence, the Party's role must have changed because it now leads the effort for national development. How would you describe present relations between Party and state?

A: We abide by a principle invariably upheld by Amilcar Cabral, namely, that the Party is the leading force of the state.

We have to be on our guard above all against reactionaries, who try to divide us by suggesting to our people that the Party is no longer needed. They allege that since the Party has accomplished its task,

the state is the chief factor now. We know what these people want — they would like to split our country and disrupt the unity which has developed between the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

We counter the reactionaries' intrigues by intensive ideological work among the masses and in the Party itself, on both the continent and the islands. The main purpose is to bring home to our people that the existence of the Party and the guidance it provides are absolutely necessary in every sphere if the country is to make headway. At a time when the people are faced with the titanic task of bringing about national renaissance and advance, the Party must be as strong as in the years of the liberation war. We must not allow its role to be minimized either now or later. We must be loyal to what Amilcar Cabral said and what we see as a behest: 'The Party always shows the way.'

FRELIMO: 'THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUING'

Amath Dansoko

The jubilation, songs and dances amid which the state flag was hoisted marked the end of the protracted struggle which the FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) had carried on against the Portuguese colonialists.

The hostilities which started in 1964 lasted 10 years. The corrupt regime of Salazar and his successor, Caetano, hoped to crush the Mozambique people's patriotic rising with the aid of an army of 80,000. The colonial war was also waged in Angola and Guinea-Bissau. Portugal's fascist rulers claimed that the collapse of colonial empires in Africa was merely the result of the 'defeatism' of metropolitan countries and their renunciation of the 'civilizing mission of the Christian West.'

The fascist regime closely linked its interests with those of the biggest monopolies of other imperialist powers, which had unlimited opportunities to exploit the peoples subjugated by Portugal. Lisbon supplied cannon fodder and its NATO allies helped it with arms, money and diplomatic action.

Yet only a moribund regime, one incapable of learning the lessons of its own reverses and of the modern liberation movement, could keep on hoping for success in fighting against FRELIMO and other liberation movements in Portuguese colonies. On the eve of April 25, 1974, when the Caetano regime fell and Portugal's democratic renaissance began, FRELIMO was in control of over one-third of Mozambique territory. On June 25, 1975, Premier Vasco Goncalves of demo-

cratic Portugal congratulated Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, the first President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on the declaration of independence.

The new republic is faced with numerous problems and serious difficulties.

Mozambique has a considerable economic potential. Its fertile lands and favorable climate are suitable for diversified farming. But the colonial authorities gave priority to export crops, such as cashew nuts (first place in the world), cotton or sisal, to the detriment of food crops. In 1971 foreign trade accounted for almost 30 per cent of the gross national product. Meanwhile Mozambique had to import food.

There are large farms and plantations, including 219 holdings of 2,500 hectares or more each, which provided the greater part of marketable output. They are all owned by Portuguese settlers, many of whom have fled to the South African Republic (SAR). The government is now considering the future of this property.

Mozambique is rich in minerals but they were neither prospected nor mined on any appreciable scale.

The energy potential of the country is an important component of its wealth. The giant Cabora Bassa hydropower station on the Zambezi went into operation in June. In 1978 its five turbines will be generating 17,000 million kwh. of what is estimated will be the world's cheapest electricity. But the project which is being carried out by the South African, French, Italian and West German companies, was so designed as to rule out the prospect of an independent Mozambique. The power generated at Cabora Massa is to go, first of all, to South Africa and its ally, Rhodesia. Already there is a transmission line running all the way to Pretoria. Mozambique itself has neither power-intensive industries, nor a national power grid.

The country's ports and roads are linked with the SAR and Rhodesia, two countries ruled by racists. Since 1973, the SAR has replaced Portugal as the main economic partner of Mozambique. Moreover, the Portuguese colonialists had turned the country into a source of cheap labor for South African mines. Independence day found about 150,000 Mozambiquans in the country of apartheid.

The new republic will also have to solve formidable social problems. To cite an example, 90 per cent of the population cannot read or write. There is a shortage of trained personnel.

One should take account of all these factors in assessing the significance of independence. It is not accidental that posters reading 'The struggle is continuing' are prominently displayed in Lourenco-Marques. FRELIMO leaders stress the need to be prepared for solving new problems and resisting the threat posed by a racist encirclement and imperialist intrigues. They believe that in these

conditions the struggle will be no easier than during the national-liberation war.

President Samora Machel constantly stresses the democratic and popular character of the present stage of the Mozambique revolution. This calls, among other things, for a state apparatus upholding the interests of the masses in town and country and being the main instrument of building up genuine national independence.

Under the FRELIMO program, the future society is to have an anti-imperialist, socialist orientation. This necessitates a complete restructuring of the economy.

At the present stage of the revolution, FRELIMO is making a special effort to develop agriculture, to the interests of which industrial activity will be geared. It sees one of its imperative tasks in stopping the massive exodus to the towns, a legacy of colonialism which is seriously injuring the economy. There is a campaign to induce migrants back to the land.

The FRELIMO program emphasizes the need to organize the peasants and industrial workers. The new state must have a solid popular base. The program condemns attempts to replace the 'white' bourgeoisie by a 'black' one.

Accordingly, the FRELIMO leadership underlines the importance of the Front as a party, a vanguard organization expressing the people's democratic will. Only a party can bring about the unity of dozens of tribes among whom imperialism has tried, and will yet try in various ways, to cultivate disruptive tribalism.

FRELIMO, Samora Machel has said on more than one occasion, relied in its struggle on the effective solidarity of socialist countries, independent African states and the democratic forces of the capitalist countries of every continent.

In an interview with me, Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, favored closer and more extensive relations between his party and *World Marxist Review*.

The presence of numerous foreign guests at the independence festivities was evidence of the prestige of the Mozambique revolution and the growing solidarity of the revolutionary, progressive forces of the planet with the people of Mozambique, who are fighting for the democratic future of their country.

THOSE WHO DISAPPROVE OF A FREE ANGOLA

The law-governed and irreversible process of decolonization is not everywhere proceeding smoothly. World opinion is concerned about developments in Angola. The growing violence this summer claimed

many hundreds of lives. The press of various countries notes that right-wing forces backed by foreign monopolies would like to prevent the proclamation of independence in Angola at the scheduled time.

It is an open secret that those tragic clashes were triggered by neo-colonialists, agents of multinational companies intent on retaining their control of Angola's huge mineral resources, including oil, uranium and diamonds.

Subversion against Angola follows the 'classical' pattern of exploiting differences between various ethnic groups to set one group of Africans against another. However, the events in Angola are not a tribal conflict as the capitalist press often asserts. The conflict is between a patriotic and progressive orientation and a reactionary, neo-colonialist one. This explains why the neo-colonialists' agents aim their main blow at the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Angolan people's most representative and genuinely national organization, which has put forward a vast program for radical social and economic changes and for drastic curbs on the uncontrolled operation of foreign monopolies.

Reaction's tool today is the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), founded in the early 60s with U.S. imperialist support. The FNLA, said Antonio Silva Cardoso, Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, is to blame more than anyone else for this summer's loss of life and property. The FNLA terrorizes the African civilian population, which, the Portuguese newspaper *O Seculo* comments, regards this organization 'not as a national liberation movement, but as an occupation army that does not want peace in Angola.'

Press reports say that China's Maoist leadership has lately undertaken to maintain the FNLA. 'All my soldiers have been trained by the Chinese,' Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA, told *Le Monde*. 'The Chinese help me without reservation.' (*Le Monde*, June 6, 1975). Peking also supplies the FNLA with arms through Zaire, where Roberto has set up headquarters. Thus the Peking leaders make, in effect, common cause with U.S. imperialist agents in Africa.

The FNLA understandably sees its chief opponent in the MPLA, whose political influence is steadily mounting. And judging from a statement published in Zaire this summer, the FNLA has taken an outspokenly hostile stand on revolutionary Portugal's progressive policies.

By mid-July, MPLA units backed by the population had succeeded in dispersing bands of rioters in Luanda, the Angolan capital. News agencies reported, however, that the FNLA leadership refused to put up with its defeat and planned to march its 20,000-strong army on Luanda.

Portugal's leaders are searching with MPLA support for a political solution that will guarantee the unhampered transfer of power to the patriotic forces of Angola at the appointed time. But the situation is very tense.

V.R.

Letters to freedom

Our editorial mail includes letters from all over the world, from people of all walks of life. Many of them have reached freedom from countries in the grip of fascist terror and reaction.

Letters from Communists in the underground, in prisons and concentration camps, offer vivid testimony of the courage, fortitude and great ideological integrity of these fighters for their people's freedom and happiness. They expose the counter-revolutionary forces whose bloody crimes before humanity are multiplying from day to day and from year to year, and provide graphic accounts of how the heroic traditions of the international Communist movement are carried on.

In publishing such letters we think of the importance and necessity of collecting documents, materials and eyewitness testimony of the revolutionary courage of Communists. It is important to us, it is necessary for those who will come after us.

'One thing I ask of those who survive these times: never forget!' wrote Julius Fucik in his Gestapo dungeon. 'Never forget the kind or the evil. Patiently assemble the testimony of those who feel for themselves and for you . . . I should like everyone to know that there were no nameless heroes: they had names, character, hopes and aspirations, and the sufferings of the least among them were no less than those of the person whose name will go down in history.'

So let there be no nameless heroes, let people know the names and fates of those taking part today in the bitter struggle against fascism and reaction. That is our duty, comrade reader, our duty to the living and to the dead.

THE BASQUE COUNTRY

The Basque Country sprang into the headlines on April 26, 1937, the day fascist bombers demolished Guernica, which has since become

the Basques' spiritual capital and symbol of freedom.*

Exactly 38 years later to the day a state of emergency was proclaimed in the Basque province of Viscaya (Biscay) and Guipuzcoa. The repressive agencies were given a free hand. Mere suspicion was enough to arrest, beat, and imprison. Laws no longer counted. People could be detained for indefinite periods. No search warrants were required to ransack homes. The omnipresent and omnipotent police received official license to kill.

The measure is officially motivated by the need to 'combat terrorism.' But on the very first night the authorities used it to jail most of the prominent labor leaders. The police broke into their homes, and brutally manhandled some of them in front of their families before taking them away.

Between April 25 and May 13 more than 2,000 were arrested. Police brutality, beatings and torture, became commonplace. Priest Eustasio Erquicia, arrested in Bilbao on May 8, was put in a hospital the following day with internal bleeding. His kidneys were displaced, and for several weeks his life hung on a thread. He is kept alive by an artificial kidney.

On April 25, the anniversary of the overthrow of fascist rule in Portugal, a group of students distributed red carnations in Bilbao University. They were arrested and beaten. The police made them eat the flowers they still had in their possession.

Among the detained and tortured are hundreds of members of workers' commissions, neighborhood groups, committees against repression and ordinary cultural clubs. Amado Mugies of Varmejo: 'I was tortured twice a day for nine days. They put me on a short narrow table and told me to hold up my head and legs. When I lowered them, I was beaten. Several times I fainted.'

Carmelo Jayo Ibarlucea of Bilbao was beaten with iron rods for six consecutive days. Jose Luis Zuaits Lasa recounted: 'at first they only punched and kicked. Then they started in with chains . . .' Berazategi, detained 12 days in a San Sebastian police station, was given intravenous injections of a preparation to deprive him of his willpower. When Joaquin Diez de Fortuny was brought to the provincial prison in Marutene he has bruises on his back, arms and legs. His hearing was impaired. Most prisoners cannot walk to their cells after interrogations. Guards drag them back.

In early May, the prisons were so crowded that four or five de-

*In the Spanish civil war and the Italo-German intervention on 1936-39 the Basques fought on the Republican side. On April 26, 1937, Guernica was bombed by German planes for many hours. The autonomy granted to the Basque Provinces in October 1936 was abolished in June 1937, when Franco troops moved in. – *Ed*.

tainees were put in cells meant for solitary confinement. When there were still not enough cells, many prisoners were kept in corridors.

To intimidate the population there is a virtual state of siege. At nightfall streets are patrolled by police in steel helmets, carrying batons, revolvers and tommyguns. At intervals they block off the streets and stand pedestrians against the wall. The men's trousers are lowered, and women are subjected to insults. Shoes are carefully inspected and handbags turned inside out. Patrols break into bars, cafés and dancing halls, ordering women to one side and men to the other. Searches, insults and other mistreatment follow. Persons without their identification card are detained. On May 8, for example, 370 people were brought to the bullring and manhandled.

On May 7 the situation became still tenser when fascist gangs joined in. In three days, May 8 to 11, terrorists raided more than 20 shops, bookstores, bars and private homes suspected of ties with the Basque cause. On May 12 ultras held a demonstration in Bilbao. They distributed leaflets saying, 'Guns aren't to break show windows, but to kill. So start killing.' Deputy interior minister Peralta Espana called on them to settle scores with Basques taking asylum in neighboring France, which he showered with insults. The fascists marched to the French consulate shouting, 'Down with France.' They set fire to nine cars with French licenseplates and attacked pedestrians who refused to return their nazi salute.

The number of criminal acts in France has increased. A bomb exploded in the Paris Center of Information and Solidarity with Spain. Bookstores, cultural centers and private homes in the French part of the Basque Country were raided by fascist thugs. It has been proved that they are connected with the Spanish police. The fact that Franco's policemen perform punitive missions in French territory is a provocation and insult to democratic Europe.

These and hundreds of other cases speak of the scale of fascist terrorism in the Basque Country. It is hard to describe the full extent of the hate campaign. Words fail us to describe the intangibly sinister fear saturating the air and reflected in the people's eyes.

But the Basques and the general public in Spain have not surrendered to despair. The day after the state of emergency was proclaimed, the Communist Party of the Basque Country called for resistance and exposed the Franco government's move as an aggression against the Basque people. 'The fascist regime is crumbling,' said the Party appeal. 'To preserve its essence the Arias government is rushing through Operation Juan Carlos. "Liberalization," "democratic" blandishments and everything now termed "permissible opposition" is the anesthetic. The present escalation of brutal and bloody repres-

sions in the Basque Country is the lancet. If not resisted they are likely to spread to all of Spain.'

For the police the most wanted prizes are Communists and other democrats. One police report claimed that following the arrest of a number of Communists, the Executive of the Basque CP was disabled. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Communists are in the front ranks of the struggle, rallying the labor movement at trade union elections, calling on workers to mobilize, and aiding persecuted democrats.

On June 11 more than 50,000 workers downed tools to protest the repressions. Democratic candidates are highly successful in union elections. Expressions of solidarity come from all over Spain and the rest of the world. The World Peace Council and other international organizations are demanding an end to the repressions, lifting the state of emergency, and observance of human rights.* The three biggest ideological movements in Europe (Communists, Socialists and Christians) are making continuous firm representations against the abuses of the fascist regime.

In European cities thousands go into the streets to express their indignation. French, Belgian and Swiss democrats join Spanish immigrant workers at meetings, assemblies and conferences, informing the public of what is happening in Spain.

The repressions have altered nothing. The muzzling of the press has altered nothing. The state of emergency has altered nothing.

A. Perezagua

INDONESIA

'Are you Dirjo? Follow us!'

Thus began the morning that ended my freedom. The armed soldiers who had broken down the door of my home began prodding me out with their rifle butts. I couldn't even look back and heard the sobbing of my wife and three children.

That was 10 years ago. The people I share my cell with today are simple workers like myself, members of left parties or of none at all. We are all accused of the same offence: 'involvement' in the coup of September 30, 1965. At interrogations we are called 'red terrorists' or 'bandits with blood-stained hands.' And we are all doomed to remain lifelong prisoners without indictment or trial.

*At the time of printing reports came in that Madrid had lifted the state of emergency in Viscaya and Guipuzcoa. This concession to public opinion does not mean, however, that repression in the Basque Country has ceased. – *Ed*.

What is our crime? As a young man I took part in a demonstration against a savage crime in Tanjungmorawa village, where on the local landlord's orders, a tractor ran down a peasant who had refused to yield his land to him. I realize, of course, that to such as him we demonstraters were criminals.

Our crime, evidently, was that we had always dreamed of seeing our land free and called for the nationalization of foreign capitalist enterprises, opposed CIA conspiracies, the crooks and bribe-takers in governement offices, and wanted agrarian reform to benefit the peasants.

I accuse my jailers of detaining tens of thousands of my fellow countrymen who are genuine patriots, of separating honest people from their families, of making orphans of children. I accuse them of inhuman treatment of their victims, of causing rivers of blood to flow. My fate is the fate of a whole nation groaning under the military jackboot. Just listen now I was treated in jail.

The first interrogation took place the day I was brought from the preliminary detention center, where 20 of us were squeezed into a cell designed for four. I was roughly ordered to state my name, place of work and affiliation to any organization, but before I could answer I was beaten with rubber truncheons.

The second interrogation began with a brutal beating, I was thrown to the floor and kicked. I lost consciousness several times and each time was revived with a douse of cold water accompanied by demands to confess. I had nothing to confess and rejected all accusations. This drove my torturers to a frenzy. They beat me, then stripped me, tied me to a pole and tortured me with electric shocks and burned my body with lighted cigarettes. Other prisoners were being tortured together with me.

All subsequent interrogations were held at night. We were not left alone for one moment. And those not called for interrogation could not sleep for the pain that racked their mutilated bodies and piercing shrieks of others being tortured.

We were always hungry, the prison fare consists of several spoons of low-quality and gritty rice and water. Our clothing has turned to rags.

The authorities use us prisoners as free manpower to build roads and bridges, clear forests, drain swamps, etc. Many are in precarious health, many are dying, unable to stand the cruelty of their jailers or the unbearable work.

Much could be told about our suffering. But the main thing is that prison hasn't broken us. More, on those rare occasion when we are able in some way to contact the outside world we see that the ordinary people are warm and sympathetic toward us political prison-

ers. And that in spite of anti-communist terror and the shameless lies of official propaganda. If you could only see the faces of the ordinary people who give us food or water or some clothing when a column of prisoners is marched to another place of forced labor! Small wonder our guards now keep us farther away from villages.

When you see and feel human sympathy you feel that you are right and gain strength for the struggle. Not long ago we rebelled. Many paid dearly: some died from severe wounds, others were 'neutralized,' as the authorities say, that is, simply murdered. Information has been reaching us that there were other jail uprisings.

It is very hard, but we are not alone. When paper and pencil were smuggled to me so that I could recount my experiences I felt that not only my own people were with me, but the whole world of upright people fighting for freedom, sharing our ideals of democracy and national independence, that the whole of progressive mankind is with us. On behalf of my comrades languishing behind bars and myself I express profound gratitude to all fighters in solidarity with the cause of Indonesia's political prisoners.

Dirjo

URUGUAY

Dear Editors,

I decided to write you after reading the letter printed in the July issue of your journal.* I think your readers would be interested to know what happened in Uruguay on June 27 of this year.**

Ever since Bordaberry and Co. came to power they have known no peace. Our people's struggle against the dictatorship does not cease for one day and takes the most diverse forms. So it was on Friday, June 27. The authorities had hoped that the repression and arrests, which have become daily, would deter the people from any expression of protest on that day. But they were mistaken.

June 27 became a day of civil resistance. At the call of various political and public organizations opposed to the dictatorship, non-working inhabitants of Montevideo stayed at home. The usually bustling central streets were deserted. Cafés, restaurants, bars, cinemas, clubs, stadiums were empty, the customary bar queues were gone. Shopowners say it was their worst day of the year, with hardly a customer coming in. The town of Las Piedras seemed deserted.

*It described the May Day celebrations in Uruguay. – *Ed.*

**On June 27, 1973, the reactionary government of Bordaberry came to power as a result of a coup d'état. In protest the workers called a general strike, which continued for 15 days. – *Ed.*

None of the usual auctions were held in the villages. Thousands of anti-government leaflets were distributed in many communities.

Resistance day showed that the broadest sections of the people demand the restoration of democracy. And as always, the working class is in the forefront of the struggle. It has more and more allies: students, intellectuals, urban middle strata, peasants. An anti-dictatorial front bringing together all civilians and servicemen concerned for national salvation and progress is shaping up. The urge for unity is great, as I could see for myself. In the block where I live special groups were set up to prepare for the June 27 action. Mine included a veteran member of the National Party, a Catholic woman and a young Communist. One should have seen the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants welcomed the idea of unity in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Inspired by the success of Resistance Day, the opposition forces have begun preparing for new and more extensive action which will hasten the downfall of the hated regime. The Uruguayan people's faith in a better future is indestructible.

A.M.

Montevideo, June 30, 1975

the press

The inertia of bias

Vladimir Vinogradov,
Yuri Igritsky,
Leonid Shkarenkov (USSR)

Marxism, Communism and Western Society. A Comparative Encyclopaedia in eight volumes. Ed. by C.D. Kernig. Herder and Herder, New York, 1972-1973.

Western scholars are displaying a heightened interest in problems of socialism and communism, the development of socialist countries and the activities of Communist parties. They range from rabid anti-Sovieteers blinded by hatred toward communism to scientists attempting to gain an insight into Communist activities.

Communist and Workers' parties and Marxist scholars for their part study 'the work of sundry Marxologists,' 'Leninologists and 'Sovietologists,' tracing their evolution and changing strategies and tactics.[1]

Material for analysis

Marxism, Communism and Western Society was put out in 1972-73 in New York by a branch of the West German firm Herder und Herder.[2] Its scope makes it possible to trace many important trends characteristic of the present state of bourgeois studies of socialism and communism.

The encyclopaedia was 10 years in the making, its eight volumes contain 400 alphabetically arranged articles on social, economic and political topics, and 700 authors and editors from 15 countries worked on it.

Significantly, the editorial board includes such known anti-communists as Z.B. Brzezinski, M.F. Fainsod, B. Meissner, L.B. Schapiro, G.A. Wetter, G. Grossman, K.C. Thalheim and A. Inkeles, all united by hostility to Marxist philosophy and by efforts to discredit the policies of socialist countries and Communist parties. The reader familiar with the convictions and record of the Encyclopaedia's 'godfathers' will not be surprised on encountering such by now habitual statements as the one that historical materialism has 'not solved the

riddle of history and will not be in a position to do so' (Vol. 4, p. 150), that Marxism does not and cannot present an objective picture of society as a whole (Vol. 2, p. 85), that Leninism has turned into a 'theory of industrialization,' giving up the idea of social emancipation of the masses (Vol. 5, p. 198).

The most prolific author of the Encyclopaedia, Klaus von Beyme, lecturer in politology at Tübingen University (FRG), declares that 'Communist political theory is antiquated' and extols the 'functional theory' current in contemporary bourgeois sociology with which, he alleged, 'the old ontological, materialistic way of thinking can be overcome' (Vol. 6, p. 374). Lecturers at the Free University in West Berlin, Hellmuth Bütow and Hans-Joachim Liber, accuse Marxism of 'irrationalism' (Vol. 4, p. 209). In his article, 'Marxism-Leninism,' Philosopher Casimir Kobernicz declares that 'the most striking feature of all Marxist-Leninist teaching is its dogmatic character' (Vol. 5, p. 362).

All the key articles of the Encyclopaedia are in the spirit of these and similar calumnies endlessly bandied about by anti-communists, but at the same time the Encyclopaedia offers graphic evidence that this domain of bourgeois science is not immutable, that there is a desire to adapt to changing conditions, and that from time to time old values are reappraised. An analysis of the eight volumes reveals a peculiar intertwining, and occasional confrontation, of traditional anti-communist dogmas and new ideas.

Hard lessons of history

The main lesson of 20th-century history for anti-communists is that attempts to halt the spread of revolutionary ideas or destroy socialism by force are in vain. Most capitalist ideologists now concede that socialism is here to stay and do not dispute the impact of the socialist system and Marxist ideas on world development. There are quite a few admissions to that effect in the Encyclopaedia. Hans-Josef Steinberg (West Germany) writes that as a system of political views Marxism has had 'the strongest influence upon the last hundred years of European history, thus earning a place of the first importance in world history' (Vol. 5, p.342). Other authors express themselves in similar vein. Under the entry, 'Historical Scholarship,' we read: 'Marxism has thus enriched historical research generally without dogmatizing it' (Vol. 4, p. 158). Quite a significant concession in view of the frequency with which bourgeois ideologists (in this Encyclopaedia, too, as mentioned before) picture Marxism as an ossified dogma incapable of creative development.

The Encyclopaedia reveals that sober-minded bourgeois authors are parting ways with the traditional efforts of anti-communism to

counterpose the ideas of V.I. Lenin and Marxist theory. U.S. historian Allan Wildman writes, contrary to the traditions of bourgeois historiography, that 'it is wiser to regard him (Lenin) as a flexible Marxist than as a covert populist' (Vol. 5, p. 179). True, these words are submerged in dozens of others (including Wildman's own) distorting Lenin's role in the socialist revolution.

It is significant that lately the foes of Marxism have often been constrained to change the very methodology of dealing with Marxist literature. If formerly it was either ignored and obscured or mercilessly doctored and distorted, lately bourgeois scholars occasionally refer the inquisitive reader interested in the scientific theory of communism, and not satisfied with biased and superficial interpretations, to works coming from 'the other side,' to Marxist sources. Many of the Encyclopaedia's articles contain bibliographical references to Marxist literature which, however fragmentary, suggest where the reader can glean some information about the Communist viewpoint.

All this, however, does not mean that bourgeois sociologists, philosophers and historians have broken with the more than century-old tradition of opposition to the Marxist methodology of studying society. On the contrary, the pages of the Encyclopaedia are replete with evidence that bourgeois scholars specializing in criticizing communism are clinging stubbornly to their basic dogmas.

Paucity of arguments

In its efforts to present the socialist countries in a distorted light, bourgeois science arbitrarily resorts to the most diverse constructions: 'totalitarianism,' 'bureaucratic society,' 'erosion of socialism,' etc. They all share in common a total denial of any successes of existing socialism. A symbiosis of right-wing reformist, revisionist and orthodox bourgeois positions occurs in the process, with existing socialism, for example, declared 'undemocratic' in comparison with the socialism envisaged by Marx (an old reformist claim) or with present-day capitalist society (the updated stand of modern anti-communists).

Socialism is ascribed various faults, which are pronounced inherent. Socialist society is declared undemocratic by its very nature. This is the view of Leonhard, Schapiro and Klaus von Beyme. The latter declares categorically that the Soviet system and the People's Democracies do not need democracy to achieve government objectives because they are laid down in advance by the ideology and interpreted by the party (Vol. 2, p. 333).

Such assertions are testimony to the persistence of the so-called 'totalitarian' theory in Western Sovietology that dates back to the height of the cold war. Its supporters depict the socialist system in the

Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as an historical anomaly, a system imposed by force.

And the Encyclopaedia tries hard to uphold the 'totalitarian' concept. Schapiro, while conceding that the term 'totalitarianism' is an echo of 'Mussolini propaganda,' nevertheless calls for its continued usage and expresses gratitude to those who helped popularize it in the English language (Vol. 8, p. 800). Supporting Schapiro, Klaus von Beyme calls the multi-party system of capitalist countries 'a democratic institution contrasting to the one-party system.' He declares that unless the multi-party system and an opposition are accepted, a democratic representative system cannot remain 'democratic' (Vol. 2, p. 321).

This kind of reasoning is merely evidence of the anti-communists' lack of arguments. They prefer not to say that the so-called free world's multi-party system does not spare its people bloodshed or suffering, that there wars of conquest are waged, democratic parties banned, trade unions dissolved and millions of people left jobless, that racism is rampant. Even in the Encyclopaedia, Downs, an American scholar, admits that the two-party parliamentary system paves the way for all manner of machinations and for curbs on democracy (Vol. 2, p. 319).

Anti-communist allegations cannot alter the fact that the political system created in socialist countries is backed by the solid ideological and political unity of their peoples and the Communist parties' steadfast effort to foster and perfect socialist democracy.[3] It is in these countries that people are rid of unemployment, the arbitrary practices of employers, inflation and racial discrimination. Now as in the past, it is the socialist countries that fight unrelentingly for world peace.

As détente gains ground and more truthful information on socialist reality is spread, the theory of 'totalitarianism' is discredited more and more. This theory has been criticized by several noted Sovietologists, including R.C. Tucker, A. Inkeles and T. Rigby, and even some of those who advocated it at one time, such as A.G. Meyer. Professor Rigby, whose field is politics, proposed treating the term 'totalitarianism' in the same way as theologians in the past proposed treating the word 'god,' namely, refraining from its use for at least one generation to avoid confusion. W. Schieder, a West German historian writing in the Encyclopaedia, describes the concept of 'totalitarianism' as simplistic (Vol. 3, p. 294).

However, the stand of those who criticize this concept and similar constructions of diehard anti-communism is rather shaky. Their views of social development are just as far removed from scientific ideas as the views of those whom they rightly criticize. These critics replace the concept of 'totalitarianism' by something as fantastic, the

theory of 'convergence,' which claims that a synthesis of the capitalist and socialist systems is inevitable. While 'totalitarianists' regard socialism as a system 'incapable of developing,' the advocates of 'convergence' expect socialism to evolve toward capitalism. The former group wants the capitalist world to pursue the toughest possible policy toward socialist countries, while the latter group is willing to settle for the policy of détente, which it believes will make possible what it calls 'pluralizing' the socialist world.

History has proved these anti-communist theories untenable. The growing solidity of the economic, social and political foundations of socialism, progress in building the material and technical base of communism, the ever closer internationalist unity of fraternal socialist countries, and other developments typical of contemporary socialist society, have shown that the hope of 'eroding' socialism is illusory. So is the hope that the economic reforms which have been under way in socialist countries in recent years would help to undermine the economic foundations of socialism. These reforms are by no means a return to capitalism, but a 'logical and necessary evolutionary process' in a centrally managed, planned economy. This is the conclusion drawn by sober-minded economists to the discomfort of the partisans of 'convergence.'[4]

Mutual understanding or interference?

In his preface to the Encyclopaedia, C.D. Kernig announces that the edition endeavors to cover all the areas in which there is disagreement between East and West and to 'pave the way to a better understanding in the future.'

It must be borne in mind, however, that in saying they are ready to pave the way to mutual understanding, bourgeois ideologists put forward their own conditions. J. Laloy, staff member of the Paris University's Institute of Political Studies, accuses the Soviet Union of not showing the slightest desire to end the ideological conflict and of never trying to effect 'ideological coexistence' (Vol. 2, p. 26). Kernig, for his part, accuses Soviet policy of abiding by its ideological principles. He complains that this prevents complete détente (Vol. 2, p. 42).

It follows that the authors of the Encyclopaedia see the road to mutual understanding in 'ideological coexistence,' which is expected to change the nature of socialist society. This is stated frankly enough by Professor K. Grzybowski of Duke University (Durham, USA). Klaus von Beyme contends that if the Soviet Union abandoned the 'principles which form the essence of Marxist ideology,' the differences between East and West would be removed (Vol. 2, p. 333).

The thesis of 'deideologization' will not hold water. Social de-

velopment at this stage is bringing the ideological struggle to the fore. Indeed, this is even pointed out by some authors in the Encyclopaedia. H.-J. Lieber and H. Bütow write: 'The tenet that modern industrial culture is inaugurating its post-ideological phase is . . . false: ideology is to be found today even in the production process' (Vol. 4, p. 209).

They only talk about ideological coexistence to provide anti-communism with better opportunities for an offensive against socialist countries. Besides, this talk helps to keep up a climate of 'cool' if not 'cold' war.[5] The imperialists hope that in this climate it will be easier for them to pursue the strategy of 'peaceful interference' in the affairs of socialist countries and to exert economic and political pressure.

The main purpose of the strategy of 'peaceful interference' is to undermine the internationalist unity of the socialist commonwealth and 'disintegrate' the system. The Encyclopaedia abounds in statements saying that proletarian internationalism is 'utopia' (Vol. 4, p. 341), that 'centrifugal trends' are growing stronger in socialist countries (Vol. 6, p. 276) or that the communist ideology cannot prevent 'clashes of interest within the socialist camp' (Vol. 7, p. 456).

As for 'better understanding,' it must not be based on 'de-ideologizing' Communist policy, which its ideological opponents hope for in vain, but on giving up attempts to impose on the Communists the demand for idological disarmament in exchange for recognizing the principles of peaceful coexistence and international détente.

The main positions of the authors and editors of the Encyclopaedia are clear enough. The facade is recognition of détente and peaceful coexistence, and behind this facade is an anti-communism which does not content itself with the role of mere witness of progressive changes in the world but wants to launch a regular offensive against socialism and communism.

However, it is only through a biased selection of facts and by stretching them that the real alignment of contending forces can be concealed. Having chosen the comparative method of analyzing 'Marxism, communism and Western society,' by far most of the Encyclopaedia's authors mechanically use categories and concepts applied to capitalist countries to define the nature of the socialist system. This is why entries on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries abound with terms current in bourgeois society, such as 'elite,' 'pluralization' or 'liberalization.' The method of discrediting Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism, used in many Encyclopaedia entries, is not unlike the method of falsification exposed by Lenin: 'first to misinterpret socialism by making it out to be an absurdity, and then to triumphantly refute the absurdity' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 144).

Incidentally, even Sovietologists admit that misrepresenting reality has become something of a rule in anti-communist writing. Professor A. Dallin of Stanford University, USA, deals with the subject in a special article which calls attention to the American analysts' 'persistent failures' in efforts 'to understand and explain Soviet reality – past, present and future.' Dallin sees one of the reasons for this in the political bias and groundless presumption of bourgeois analysts.[6]

The Encyclopaedia shows that contemporary anti-communism has a certain capacity for adaptation to changing conditions. On the other hand, it is dogmatic, narrow-minded and biased when studying its opponent. The ignorance and class blindness of anti-communism are such that the tendency to reproduce mistakes invariably proves stronger in it than the tendency toward critical self-analysis. This has also told on the work under review, which is prevented by bias from being an encyclopaedia, that is, a source of strictly scientific and objective knowledge.

1. See, for example, L. Figueres. 'L'anticommunisme, formes anciennes et nouvelles,' *Cahiers du communisme*, 1972, No. 7-8; G. Dama. 'L'anticommunismo nella Dc.' *Critica Marxista*, 1973. No. 3-4; W. Abendroth. 'Zur Rolle des Antikommunismus heute,' *Marxistische Blätter*, Sept/Oct 1973; V.V. Kortunov. *Ideology and Politics*. The Battle of Ideas and Evolution of the Ideological Concepts of Anti-communism in 1950-1970. Moscow, 1974 (in Russian).

2. Although there is no acknowledgement, the Comparative Encyclopaedia is obviously based on *Sowjetsystem und Democratishe Gesellschaft* (The Soviet System and Democratic Society). Eine vergleichende Enzykopdie, Herder. Freiburg, Bazel, Wien, publication of which was completed in 1972. By putting out the encyclopaedia in English its editors and publishers sought to reach a new readership. Also, the changes in the world political climate since it first appeared and the successes of the policy of détente influenced the new publication.

3. See account of the international theoretical conference on 'The Present-Day Problems of Socialist Democracy and Its Perspectives.' – *WMR*, February and March 1975.

4. See, e.g., J. Wilczynski, *Socialist Economic Development and Reform*, London 1972.

5. The term 'cool war,' coined by Western authors a few years ago, is intended to stress that détente is an unstable and reversible process. See W. Laqueur, The Cool War. *The New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 1972.

6. See *Slavic Review*, September 1973.

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