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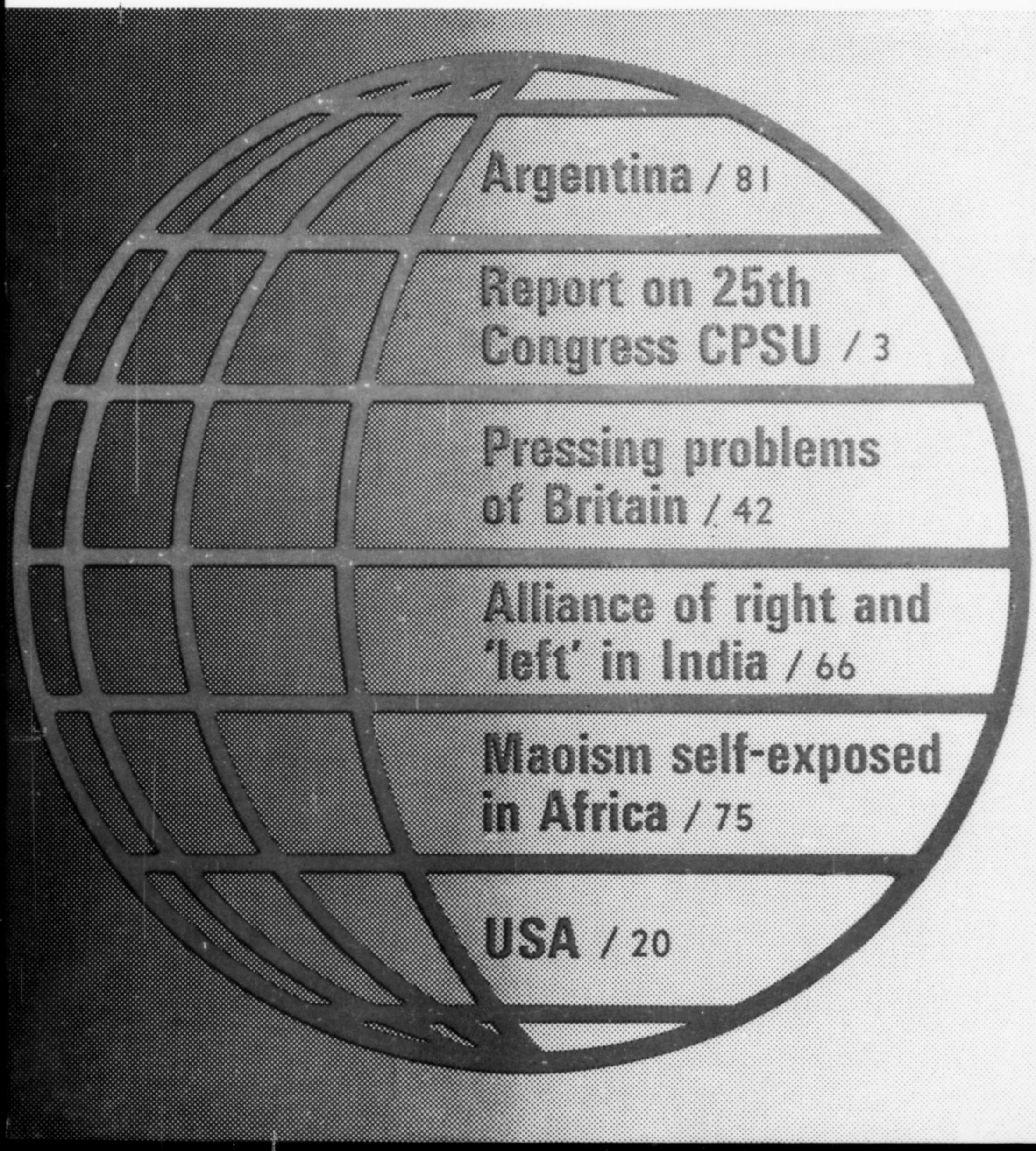

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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feature

Continuing the cause of the October Revolution

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Central Committee member,
CP Czechoslovakia

S. Mitra
National Council member,
CP India

J. Pittman
Political Committee member,
CP USA

We are writing from Moscow. The 25th Congress of the CPSU, at which we represented *World Marxist Review,* has just concluded. It is hard to sort out our wealth of impressions, hard, in so short a time, to assess and deeply analyze the importance of this Congress. We will try to report on what we saw and heard in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, our thoughts in these days, what we were told by the many comrades we met.

When we set out for Moscow we knew, of course, that the Congress discussion of home and foreign policy would have international reverberations. This was not our first Soviet Communist forum, and we knew of their immense impact. Nevertheless, we were astonished by the significance of this Congress, and not only for the present and future of the Soviet people, but for the world, for our revolutionary cause, for every party and every country. This feeling of globality came on the opening day of the Congress.

Each of us met in Moscow friends and comrades from many different countries. For the Congress was attended by 103 delegations of Communist, workers', national-democratic and socialist parties from 96 countries, more than at any previous congress. At the press center, housed in the new hotel on Gorky Street, one could meet journalists from every part of the world, from newspapers and magazines of widely different persuasion. All told, there were about 800 correspondents reporting the proceedings at the Palace of Congresses to every corner of the world: the first part of the Central Committee report was

already being printed in many countries and many languages before Comrade Brezhnev had finished speaking. But our appreciation of the epochal importance of the Congress was not shaped by these external circumstances.

We would draw attention to the words with which Comrade Brezhnev began his report: 'The world is changing before our very eyes, and changing for the better. Our people, our Party, are not passive onlookers, but active participants in these changes. The labor effort of the Soviet people in building communism, the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet government on the international scene — all this is a worthy contribution to social progress.' And somewhat further in the report: 'What the Soviet people are accomplishing today is a direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution. It is the practical embodiment of the ideas of the great Lenin. We have been, and always will be true to this cause and these ideas!'

We can appreciate the truth of these words. One of us, a representative of the Communist Party of the USA, was at one time Moscow correspondent of the Party's paper and recently, after a considerable interval, travelled in the Soviet Union. The other two had likewise been to the USSR at various times. We were thus in a position to compare the recent past and the present, to see how the Party of Lenin, true to his behests, was continuing the cause of the Great October with revolutionary vigor and consistency, see the vastly increased scale of its transformatory activity. Indeed, this could be palpably felt at the congress.

The achievements of the Soviet people under CPSU leadership are truly epochal:

— they have reached new frontiers in creating the material and technical basis of communism, have strengthened the country's economic potential and its defense capacity, which guarantees the inviolability of its socialist gains;

— they have created a new society, the like of which mankind has never known — a society without crises, with a constantly expanding economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom; a society, moreover, firmly confident of its future, of achieving the radiant communist ideals, a society of indestructible friendship of the peoples;

— they have shaped the Soviet way of life, characterized by genuine collectivism and comradeship, unity and moral integrity;

— the principal result of socialist development is Soviet man himself. In line with Lenin's injunctions, he is building the communist future, stinting neither strength nor sacrifice; a man in whom there are fused ideological convictions and tremendous energy, culture, patriotism and internationalism, knowledge and ability to apply it;

— in the eyes of the peoples of the world, the Land of Soviets is a steadily strengthening bulwark of peace, democracy and progress.

The CPSU is carrying forward the banner of the October Revolution. The continuity and consistency of its policy was noted by many of the speakers.

'It is symbolic,' Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said, 'that the concluding quarter of the 20th century, the century of the Great October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in the development of mankind, is marked by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.' Together with all the other delegates we warmly applauded Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban Communists, when he gave his impressions of the CPSU at the time of the 25th Congress: 'One has the impression that this is not a Party which won power nearly 60 years ago, but a Party animated by new and inexhaustible energy and marching forward every day on the road of revolution. This is the same spirit as in the glorious days of the cruiser *Aurora* and the storming of the Winter Palace.'

That was the impression of all os us. Our thoughts turned to the old, momentous issue that had been so clearly and definitely resolved: Lenin's revolutionary line triumphed then, and is triumphing again today, exposing reformism and opportunism as sterile, unable to create anything save modernized recipes for rescuing capitalism.

There was a natural pride of people who had achieved so much, but no complacency; a businesslike approach went hand in hand with broad vision. We saw, could feel, this projection into the future, to the summits of communist civilization. And we knew that we were at the source of a new and powerful forward movement of the first land of socialism. We were, we felt, at a historic juncture on the great road of social progress which, at one time or another, all of us, all the peoples, will traverse. The CPSU is ahead of all other parties in leading its people to our common goal — its today is our tomorrow.

At the same time, this forward movement is intimately connected with mankind's advance on the road of social progress.

Of our delegation of three, one comes from a socialist country, another from a highly developed capitalist country, and the third from a developing country. In assessing the Congress from the common position of international communism, we at the same time assessed it each from his own standpoint. We drew this conclusion: the new achievements of the Soviet Union and its new plans are a tremendous contribution to strengthening the socialist community, which has become the decisive factor of world development. The new gains and plans of the first land of socialism, which stand out so vividly against the background of crisis upheavals in the capitalist world, its uninterrupted ascendant development, its outstanding successes on the

world scene — they all add up to powerful support for the Communist parties in capitalist countries, and are an inspiring example for the newly emergent and developing nations. It was noted at the Congress that the changed alignment of class forces in the world, the consistent support of the national-liberation movement by the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries provide the conditions for its success, enable the newly liberated countries to stand up to imperialist diktat and secure just, i.e., equal economic relations.

And so, the very logic of history has assigned the CPSU and the people it leads a special place in the world revolutionary process. The Congress decisions setting out the fundamental directions of Soviet foreign and home policy, will exert a beneficial influence on all aspects of world affairs.

An essential feature of the 25th Congress, one that determines its vast international significance, is its consistent and, we would add, militant proletarian internationalism.

'We Soviet Communists consider the defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of Marxist-Leninists,' is how this was expressed in the Central Committee report. Retreat from internationalist positions was subjected to open and principled criticism. We agree with the Soviet Communists that on this question there can be no compromise.

For the CPSU internationalism is more than a theoretical principle; it is part of its practical activities. At the Congress this was emphasized by delegates from the socialist countries and from Communist and Workers' parties in capitalist and developing countries. We listened to the moving words of delegation leaders from the Communist Party of Cuba, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Congolese Party of Labor, and other comrades. They all spoke of their gratitude to the CPSU for its solidarity with their struggle and for its disinterested assistance.

The CPSU has demonstrated what genuine proletarian solidarity and fraternal aid to embattled peoples mean in practice: the Soviet Union has never made support of revolutionary fighters dependent on any conditions or commitments, has not sought advantage for itself, nor concessions, nor political domination, nor military bases. What Comrade Brezhnev said on the subject at the Congress can be convincingly confirmed by one of our group, the representative of the Communist Party of India. Latterly there have been many statements, and a good deal of controversy, against military bases in the Indian Ocean. The Congress declared: the Soviet Union has no

intention of building military bases in the Indian Ocean and urges the United States to take the same attitude.

We spoke to comrades from Sri Lanka, Nepal and Puerto Rico and all of them said that the Soviet Communists' internationalist assistance was always disinterested, honest and sincere.

And still another central feature of CPSU internationalism . . . We were strongly impressed by the speech of a Kuzbas miner, E.I. Drozdetsky. For the Soviet workers, he said, internationalism is not something abstract recalled on great holidays; the Soviet workers are on the side of the working class and all working people of the world. Another speaker, Ukrainian collective farm team leader A.V. Gitalov, emphasized that the Soviet Communists appreciate and cherish the gains of their brothers in other countries. The CPSU's international activity, Comrade Brezhnev said, has become the cause of all our people. Its successes are based on experience and knowledge, on the spiritual strength and dedicated work of millions of Soviet citizens. Most of the delegates, and many of those whom we interviewed, were in one way or another associated with international affairs. Thousands of Soviet citizens are working abroad — geologists and construction workers, physicians and teachers, metallurgists and chemists, transport and other specialists. The CPSU has succeeded — and this was clearly demonstrated by the Congress — in training genuine internationalists. The feeling of solidarity with other peoples is deeply rooted in the conscience of the people. This is a truly historic, and admirable achievement.

Our impressions were shared by many comrades. We discussed them in our talks.

Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland:

— the spirit of internationalism is a most important feature of the Congress.

Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana:

— the Soviet Communists' commitment to proletarian internationalism and its practical embodiment, notably in Angola, greatly enhances the Soviet Union's international prestige.

George Jackson, National Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand:

— realization of the 10th five-year plan will demonstrate anew the advantages of socialism and will contribute to the security of all the peoples. It will be a new international contribution by the CPSU to our common cause.

Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman, South African Communist Party:

— this Congress is of immense importance for the success of our

struggle against racism and apartheid; it fortifies our confidence in the Soviet people's solidarity with our struggle.

The international character of the Congress was determined also by the fact that, guided by the principle of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU made a profound scientific and genuinely class analysis of world events and the problems of the revolutionary movement. It advanced a number of propositions of inestimable value to the theory and practice of our common cause. Among these we would single out its emphasis on the common laws governing the development of revolution and the building of the new society, and their creative application in the concrete conditions of each country; the danger of yielding to opportunism for the sake of partial and temporary gains; the importance of détente for peace and social progress and its relation to the class struggle and the fight for national independence and progress; internationalism and the unity of the communist movement on the basis of genuine comradeship and within the framework of established norms of equality and respect for the independence of each party, and, at the same time, fidelity to principle in relations between parties; the inadmissibility of a conciliatory attitude to views and actions contrary to the communist ideology, Marxism-Leninism; the principles of cooperation with non-communist parties, including Socialist and Social-Democratic, and the inadmissibility, in such cooperation, of ideological concessions.

We feel sure that these propositions and conclusions will be profoundly analyzed and discussed by Communists in many countries. The comrades we talked to said that they will stimulate theoretical and practical work in their respective parties.

Understandably, the Soviet Communist Party's analysis of its foreign and home policy, the problems involved and the ways of their solution, have always commanded a keen interest from Communists in all countries. What was most significant in this respect at the 25th Congress?

Our most indelible impression is of the humanism that permeated all the Congress debate and decisions: man was the central figure in all the discussions of foreign and home policy.

Both the report and debate discussed peace, revealing a deep concern for the happiness not only of the Soviet people, but of the whole of mankind.

One of our delegation, the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, attended the previous, 24th Congress. It was at this Congress that Comrade Brezhnev set out what later came to be known throughout the world as the Soviet Peace Program. And one could not help thinking then: how much time and effort will be needed to bring this program to reality? Now we can say: what the Soviet

Union has accomplished over the past five years is of permanent importance.

But the basic provisions of the Peace Program are long-range. The 25th Congress formulated the tasks in the continued effort for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. The delegates were greatly impressed by the proposal for a world treaty renouncing the use of force in international relations, and the constructive initiatives on disarmament.

This subject, too, we discussed with our comrades from fraternal parties. The following are some of their comments.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party USA:

— The CPSU proposals on concrete steps to promote peace are a splendid example the leaders of capitalist countries would do well to follow.

Sripad Amrit Dange, Chairman, National Council, Communist Party of India:

— the Congress emphasized the importance of ensuring Asian security. I was especially impressed by the proposals relating to the Indian Ocean. All this is of vast importance for the people of India.

William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada:

— the Congress has opened new vistas for peaceful coexistence and cooperation, including closer friendship between Canada and the USSR.

Much could be said about the humanism of the CPSU's internal policy. It finds expression in every word and every figure of the Congress documents. However, as our report does not allow for a detailed discussion, we will dwell on the most important points.

The prevailing tone of the speeches was respect for labor and the human personality. In fact, the composition of the Congress was expressive of this, with most of the delegates wearing government decorations and medals. For the key principle guiding Communist Party members in delegating their representatives to this supreme Party forum is one's attitude to his work, his social and political activity. The Central Committee report contained what could be well described as a paean to the man of labor, the builder of the new, communist society. Little surprise, then, that the Congress was so concerned for improving working and living conditions.

Some bourgeois ideologists allege that the Soviet Union is sliding into the 'ideals' of a consumer society. Having been at the Congress, we can confidently say that the authors of such allegations are indulging in wishful thinking. History has never known such a comprehensive social program as the one carried out in the past five years, still less the more ambitious program for the next five years. In it, the Party's concern for higher prosperity standards is combined with

concern for the spiritual development of every man and woman, their education, culture, moral attitudes. This has nothing in common with bourgeois consumerism, when a person's prosperity is measured in how many suits or pairs of shoes he can buy on his weekly wage. The CPSU regards higher prosperity standards as the basis, the prime condition, for the development of the individual, the flourishing and materialization of all his potentialities. The goals of higher effectiveness and higher quality in production, better living conditions for the people and the extension of socialist democracy, approved by the Congress, and the problems of raising the ideological and cultural level of the people, the development of literature and the arts — all these were seen as interconnected, as parts of an integral whole.

The Congress gave an in-depth scientific analysis of the problems of developing socialist society and took a self-critical and principled approach to shortcomings in the work of Party members. There were many concrete proposals from the delegates on how to improve things. In following the debate, we could not help thinking how closely intertwined were solutions of concrete work-a-day problems with the elaboration of long-range aims that will become guidelines in the building of communist society. That was made possible by the Party's immense preparatory work for the Congress, predicated on the Leninist principle of shunning pragmatism and momentary requirements and gains in favor of the chief, ultimate aims of the movement.

The Soviet Union's remarkable achievements accentuate the attractive power of the experience and image of the Party of Lenin. And we tried to form an image of the Party today, its main characteristics.

We drew attention to the proposition set out in the CC report: Now, with developed socialism, the Communist Party has become the Party of the entire people, without, however, shedding its class character. By its very nature, the CPSU was and is a Party of the working class.

One can discern in the work of the Party, its Central Committee, Political Bureau, its General Secretary, Comrade Brezhnev, the characteristics of the Leninist approach to all facets of Party activity, in short, the Lenin style of work.

The Party appeared to us at its Congress: 4,998 delegates representing 15,694,000 members. Who are they?

Most of the delegates were blue-collar and white-collar workers: 34.1 per cent were industrial workers, of whom 77 per cent had come straight from the shop floor, the smelting furnaces, the mines, the Baikal-Amur railway and other major construction projects; 887 delegates were from agriculture, among them 70 per cent direct from the farms. But there were also 103 members and corresponding members of various academies, 442 holders of doctoral or candidate degrees,

writers, artists, teachers. The delegates included Heroes of the Soviet Union, among then 11 cosmonauts, Heroes of Socialist Labor, holders of the Lenin and State Prizes. A quarter of the delegates were women, and the delegate body was representative of 60 Soviet nations and nationalities.

No less significant are the data on educational standards: nearly 90 per cent of all delegates had a higher or secondary education. Gathered in this hall were men and women highly competent in their particular fields.

We visited the Lenin Museum and were reminded of the words of H.G. Wells that the Lenin government was the most educated and erudite in the world. It is safe to say that now this applies to the entire Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We followed the speeches of these men and women, their proud descriptions of successes, their concern for shortcomings, their principled criticism and constructive proposals. All this gave the lie to bourgeois propaganda that in the USSR Communists are a privileged class concerned for their own egoistic interests. Yes, Communist Party membership is a privilege, but only in the sense that it is a privilege to serve the people better, with more dedication. Joining the Communist Party means assuming a great responsibility not only for one's particular job, but for the destinies of one's people, for the destinies of the world.

The Party takes into its ranks the best sons and daughters of the people. And it rids itself of those who have not stood the test, who have proved unworthy of the high calling of Party member: in the exchange of Party cards, 347,000, who had deviated from the norms of Party life, were denied new Party cards.

It is a tradition of the Leninist Party to maintain close ties with the masses. That in fact is the source of its strength. We know that bourgeois propaganda has sought to depict the Communist parties of the socialist countries as a narrow caste that solves all problems behind the backs of the people. But the Congress made it perfectly clear that the Party has no secrets from the people and is vitally interested in all Soviet citizens knowing and passing judgment on what it does and plans. The very preparation of the Congress effectively refuted all these propaganda figments: practically the entire adult population shared in the discussion of its draft documents, and the reports and debate at the Congress itself were immediately published and discussed in the press. On this issue, too, those who would divorce the CPSU from the people are indulging in wishful thinking.

The CPSU today is an effective, dynamic organism. As Comrade Brezhnev said in his report: 'Of course, the Party, the character of its activity, are not something set once and for all. At every stage its

work acquires a new content.' At the Congress we saw how this comes about. For we were present in the main laboratory of creative Marxism-Leninism, and we witnessed the active process of collective projection of the ways and means of social progress at its highest stage, the advance to communism.

We were in the treasure-trove of revolutionary experience, upon whose riches Communists and progressives throughout the world will draw. We saw a great people taking another important and long step on the road opened in October 1917, the road illumined by Lenin's genius.

A powerful force for change

Luigi Longo
Chairman of Italian CP

Comrade Luigi Longo is a prominent personality in the international communist and workers' movement, a noted theoretician and political leader. He was an organizer of the armed struggle against fascism and reaction in Italy and Spain. His book, *Between Reaction and Revolution,* written in the form of a dialogue with his friend and comrade Carlo Salinari, has been translated into Russian and other languages and is widely known outside of Italy. Essentially, it is the author's reminiscences and reflections on the early days of the Italian Communist Party. Comrade Longo is now completing work on the second volume. His analysis, thoughts, judgments and conclusions have a topical ring, for he draws instructive lessons from the events of the past. In view of the wide interest in the problems dealt with in his book and in the struggle of the ICP, particularly its success at the municipal elections of June 15, 1975, we have asked Comrade Longo to reply to a number of questions.

These and the answers are given below.

Q. You describe the 1919-20 controversy over the question: Should Marxists passively adapt to events or make history, guided by Marx's injunction, in his *Thesis on Feuerbach,* to 'change circumstances'? How has history resolved the issue?

A. I have already had occasion to deal with this question. In

reporting to the Eighth Congress (December 1956) on the Party Statutes, I said that ours is the party of those who want not only to explain the world, but to change it. It is a party of fighters, not of hopeless phrasemongers.

The support it enjoys rests on its ability to express, through its main features, historic reality. But it is a result, also — and to a no less degree — of its endeavors to change this reality. Our aim is for the common interests of the people to dominate reality, insofar as this is possible, so that the ideals of justice and freedom are realized in ever increasing measures, thereby advancing the cause of liberating all the people, the cause of socialism.

Q. How did the ICP, in the difficult conditions of clandestinity, manage to keep up the fight against the fascist dictatorship?

A. Ability and determination to carry out its policy in all situations, and change these situations by its activity in order to produce the necessary results, has always been an inalienable feature of our Party. It has to be said that this collective ability, which has always inspired the Party, stems from the enthusiasm of its members, who never accept defeat, never yield to the enemy, though when necessary change the forms of, but never cease, the struggle. It was this ability and this resolve to fight hated fascism that enabled our Party, in every situation and in all circumstances, to fulfill its role of organizer and political leader of the Italian working-class and popular movements.

Q. What were the characteristic features of the Party's work in the difficult years of fascist dictatorship?

A. These features were manifest throughout the long history of our Party, throughout the struggle which made it what it is today. We had to work in an exceptionally complex period of internal and international upheavals, from the very birth of our Party in Leghorn on January 21, 1921, to the national rising of April 1945, which liberated Italy from German occupation and national-fascism. In other words, this was a quarter century of rigorous underground work, with victories and defeats, advances and retreats. In short — a quarter century of sacrifice, successes in the struggle, often armed — from the early clashes with fascist gangs, when our Party had just been organized, and up to the defense of the Spanish Republic and the Resistance.

We were storming a fortress with what weapons we had, and we could only scratch the walls, no more. The Party was still small, with meager means, a few leaflets and papers barely readable because of their small size and poor print. On the other side was the fascist machine of government, which could use against us industry, social relations, organized demonstrations, the press, radio, the courts, the police, and the special tribunals with their savage sentences.

Naturally, there were illusions, mistakes and deviations in our methods of work and political attitudes. But even these (in the course of their overcoming) to some extent contributed to the growth of the anti-fascist struggle. And in the process there matured the conviction among Communists and the oppressed classes that the struggle was necessary and possible despite all the sacrifices it entailed. Heroism was born from the very hardships of the struggle, the sacrifices it demanded, the respect the Communists had won among all honest men who were aware of the tragedy and catastrophe into which fascism had plunged the nation. This inspired our comrades, helped them never to yield to the enemy, cultivated stamina and the desire to return to the battle lines the moment they were released from prison. In this sense, our struggle, though still limited, inadequate and difficult, helped to inculcate in the masses a spirit of hatred of fascism, and in particular helped to instill class, anti-fascist consciousness among the working people, and national-patriotic anti-fascist consciousness among the more enlightened intellectuals, students and the youth, who so enthusiastically took up the battle for Italy's renewal and progressive development, the battle against the abhorrent and discredited fascist regime.

All this might be dismissed with professional contempt as of little or no importance. But in Italy, duped and benighted, and with Mussolini's 'genius' and conquests extolled and megaphoned, organizing underground work and awakening the people's hopes of better times was, in terms of sacrifices and results, no mean accomplishment. And the results had a tangible effect on the anti-fascist struggle of the working class, the cultivation of consciousness and of a firm will to fight. At the crucial moment, all this led to the victory of the democratic, anti-fascist revolution. Naturally, that victory, won by the popular masses and the armed partisan Resistance, was possible also in the context of the popular democratic war waged by the 'allies:' the democratic governments and united peoples, against national-fascism. We know that the Soviet Union played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler, both on the battlefield and by its inspiring example to all the peoples in nazi-held countries.

And so it was not adventurism, nor rash heroism, but conviction that inspired the Resistance. And conviction must be central to the political and organizational choice the Party makes. It helps to achieve its aim, be where the action is, and discharge its mission, which is not only to explain reality, but change it along socialist lines.

The same features have been present in the Party's activities after liberation, in the more than 30 years of struggle by the democratic and popular forces. All this is part of our record of more than 50 years of struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed — a half-century rich in

experience and lessons which must never be forgotten and used to consummate the new phase of our democratic anti-fascist revolution, as set out in the decisions of our 14th Congress (March 1975).

Retention of its dominant features has given our Party continuity, despite the differences in the two phases of its development, before and after the victory over national-fascism. In the new conditions of democratic life our Party has grown considerably stronger, has formed a new pattern of relations with other popular and democratic political and social forces. It became possible to agree and cooperate with these forces for Italy's progress and prosperity. And to an increasing degree, such cooperation accords with Italy's national interests.

Q. And so, how has history resolved the old controversy of whether the Marxists should 'make history?' What would Italy be like today without the decisive role of the Communist Party, its proposals and struggle?

A. I think that the history of the ICP, its fight against fascism and German occupation, provide a clear and positive answer to the question of whether or not the Communists, organized in their Party, should 'make the history' of their country. Of course, there is no point in trying to picture what Italy would be like without the energetic activity of the Communist Party, which has won a place for itself in Italian society through its armed struggle, adoption of the Republican Constitution and all proposals which over the years promoted democratic advance.

The people appreciate not only our fight against fascism and German occupation, but also our championship of their interests, aspirations and ideals, which are central to all Party initiatives and actions. This appreciation and confidence, manifested not only by Party members but also by the broad masses, has been won in years of struggle, sacrifice and gains during the long and dedicated opposition to fascism and in the new conditions of legality, won by the Resistance in the fight for liberation.

Now there are hard-fought battles for full implementation of the democratic gains of the Resistance and of the Constitution adopted in December 1947, and for defense of the people's interests. In factories, offices, residential areas and colleges, the Communists have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with workers, students, intellectuals and women, demonstrating that the ICP is the most devoted and consistent champion of their rights and aspirations. Thus the Party has become part of the people's life and the guarantor of their hopes. That is why the masses have always stood up in defense of the Party whenever it was threatened, persecuted or slandered by the same enemy the people come into contact with every day at work, in the

cities, in the intertwining of social relations. That is why the people's faith in the Communist Party is sincere and natural. It is not induced by some external force, nor bought by currying favor, and it is certainly not associated with the backstage deals and machinations to which the Christian-Democratic Party constantly resorts in an attempt to maintain itself in power.

The ICP has its roots in the people's needs and aspirations. Hence its tremendous political, electoral and organizational gains, its steadily growing achievements. They surprise and baffle all who either do not know or ignore the real political character and moral make-up of our Party. We owe it to the vast popular support that all our measures to build up the Party and strengthen its links with national society are crowned with success. These measures include *Unita* festivals and fund-raising campaigns for the Communist press. Through them we acquire several thousand million lire every year to which are added, also every year, several more thousand millions that we derive as membership dues and as a result of active work for the Party done gratuitously by members and sympathizers whenever necessary.

Those who would really like to know the reason for the Party's invariable strength, prestige and capacity for work should look for it in the history of our Party, in the record of its unity, militancy and firmness, in the distinctive character of a compact political organization faithful to its principles and objectives, but always ready to learn the lessons of experience. All this explains why the Party has none of the negative features intrinsic, in one measure or another, to both bourgeois or inter-class parties and those that are more or less working-class and popular organizations by origin. The ICP has proved its ability to express and discharge the leading national function of the working class and other working people, who are fighting for more durable and advanced democracy, for far-reaching economic and social renewal of our country, for its moral uplift and renaissance. Hence the Party's growing influence on the orientation of other social and political democratic forces, on the ideological and cultural activity of the entire progressive part of the nation.

The ICP derives its capability from a rational interpretation of reality, from the great lessons of Marxism and Leninism, in which it finds the main guiding principles and which make it aware of the need to strive continuously for a correct understanding of the national and international situation, of its exigencies and the role which the working class and the people must play, because the process of history never stops and never turns back. To avoid a biased and distorted interpretation of history, which often results from the opinions of this or that individual, the ICP recognizes and applies democratic centralism. This is fully in keeping with the Party's desire to apply in its

internal life and same higher forms which Gramsci imparted to the 'collective intellectual.'

The need to overcome the narrow scope of particular points of view expresses itself and is embodied in our internationalism, which we see as a requisite of constantly exchanging views and experiences with Communist parties operating in circumstances differing from ours and with all the forces in the world fighting for renovation, progress and the liberation of peoples from imperialism. Of course, we also draw on our own ideological legacy.

Democratic centralism is the main instrument of expressing the Communists' aspiration to control events rather than be controlled by them. This also applies to the Party's effort for unity, to its doing the maximum to achieve its chosen goals and combat manifestations of weakness that express themselves in internal contradictions powered by a system of trends and factionalism. Furthermore, the ICP has always regarded its internationalist and anti-imperialist position as a condition for combating impediments to Italy's democratic development and socialist renovation. This effort goes beyond national bounds and demands our contribution to world history as a whole, a contribution we make as loyal champions of a cause so important to the destiny of each nation and the destiny of mankind.

The ICP owes its ability to express far-reaching demands of the working people, influence a given situation and change it in favor of renovation and progress to its ideological legacy and the experience of militancy gained and accumulated by it in the early phase of the struggle for a democratic and anti-fascist revolution. In the conditions in which it had to fight at the time, the old-type party created certain prerequisites for the renovated party and, along with it, the working-class and popular movement. The Party's constant effort to be an organ of research and collective theoretical work is evidenced throughout the period of underground activity and fascist repression and in the discussions on the revolutionary perspective and unity of action as well as on organizational matters that took place among the rank and file but above all in the Party's leading bodies.

Discussions of the period of illegal activity stressed the importance of firm moral principles and views, of loyalty to the Party, which became solidarity tested in action when dangers had to be faced. In those circumstances, every sign of weakness and every erroneous position or position considered erroneous was condemned and branded as moral instability or loss of confidence in the Party and in communism and hence as something particularly contemptible. Now that the situation is entirely different and we are faced with entirely different problems, all this may be seen as a sign of political narrow-mindedness. I believe, however, that it would be wrong to estimate

our past from only that point of view, in terms of the relative breadth of our views. Such a criterion is applicable solely to present-day problems. It should not be forgotten that the time when we fought was a 'time of iron and fire,' as Cramsci put it. In that school of honesty, sincerity and genuine collective solidarity, in the long period when the Party was formed amid struggles, dangers and sacrifices, there emerged Communist cadres and a style of work that made our Party what it is.

The unity, staunchness and action potential of our Party in the most trying period of its existence were supported by the heartfelt esteem and deep sympathy which its membership had for its leader, Togliatti. At even the most difficult movements of the Party's political and organizational activity, everyone saw him as the most reliable guarantee of preserving the most important gains. It is a fact that every comrade regarded these gains and these basic features of the Party as an absolute necessity in the grim and difficult struggle he was carrying on. There was also an understandable need in those conditions to resort constantly to the lessons of Marxism and Leninism so as to ensure that the Party remained a healthy and viable organization, steering clear of anything smacking of corruption and depravity which sprout continuously in the decaying and corrupting reality of capitalist society with the connivance of strong and cynical opponents.

Q. You gave an apt definition of internationalism and its role in shaping the character of the Party and enhancing its internal and international prestige. Could you describe the ICP's international relations in greater detail?

A. It is safe to say that the lessons and examples of other parties had an appreciable impact on the political and organizational development of the ICP, its structure and relations between its leaders and membership, between its leadership and the people. The lessons we drew from the experience and decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International inspired by Georgi Dimitrov were of decisive importance in pursuing a consistent policy of united action. I remember that it was in connection with preparations for the Congress that Palmiro Togliatti was invited to Moscow, where he stayed for more than a year and made an important contribution to the work of the Congress and to the drafting of its decisions.

It would be foolish to deny all this, just as it would be foolish, while acknowledging it, to question the nature of our Party, a thoroughly national and genuinely internationalist party drawing lessons and deriving encouragement for its development from the experience of all countries. In the long and difficult period of our Party's life and struggle there were not a few members and even leaders who would have liked to counterpose a 'genuinely revolutionary spirit' and 'ef-

fective political autonomy' to the internationalism of the ICP, in particular to its fraternal relations with the CPSU.

We know and have always been convinced that revolutionary consistency and internationalism are two aspects of one and the same truth. The facts prove us correct. We learned exceptionally valuable lessons from our internationalist links and fraternal relations with the CPSU when fascist repression compelled us to carry on our liberation struggle in exceedingly harsh conditions of illegality. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks' experience and its study had their effect on our membership and the Party as a whole which we consider positive to this day. If the Party maintained its morale to a greater or lesser degree and without serious ruptures or splits, throughout 20 years of absolute illegality and terror, we owe this largely to the fact that we studied and borrowed that experience. Amid formidable difficulties, at a time when the outlook for the fight against the Mussolini dictatorship and a fascism on the offensive in Europe was dim, our path was illuminated by confidence in the inevitability of final victory and the creation of a new, socialist society, such as the Soviet Union was building. At certain periods of fascist repression, which greatly restricted our opportunities for work and propaganda, the example of the USSR played a highly important part in gradually raising the working people's social awareness. So did its experience and the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teachings, which our underground press publicized as best it could. The formation of that awareness benefited first of all and undoubtedly from the great progress which the Soviet Union had made in building socialism and which even the press of the regime then in power could not entirely ignore. The fact that the Russian proletariat had succeeded in overthrowing the cruel and hated tsarist regime, which had enjoyed absolute power for centuries, and in doing away with capitalism made the working people oppressed by fascism confident of a free future.

Many of the Party's characteristics that developed in those years were determined historically as well by the pressing exigences of the time, even though subsequently they were reappraised in a definite sense and updated. This helped to make the Party of the period of illegal work a national 'new' party, as Togliatti defined it, a party more in harmony with the conditions created after Italy was freed from national-fascism.

Q. If we may use this occasion, what would you wish the readers of our journal, which is now published in 47 national editions and 30 languages and circulated in 145 countries?

A. As most of the readers of your journal are Communists, I would like, first of all, to wish them success in their noble struggle for the happiness of their peoples, for socialism and peace. I hope the journal

will give greater coverage to that struggle, its complexity, the Communists' strategy and tactics, and their devotion and heroism. I think it is important that the new generations of fighters, who undoubtedly have also new splendid qualities, be educated according to the immense experience gained by the older generations, which they should assimilate in a creative spirit, with due regard to present-day conditions, and at the same time in the spirit of the heroic traditions of our movement.

The barometer points to stormy weather

Gus Hall
General Secretary,
CP USA

THE FORTHCOMING BICENTENARY OF THE UNITED STATES

Centennial celebrations are convenient occasions for observing how different classes reflect on their past and view the prospects for the future. Just as atmospheric pressures provide signals about the weather, these occasions provide sensitive barometers of the political and economic pressures that will shape the future. If the barometers are rising and the path ahead looks promising the celebrations are geared to the future. If the barometers are dropping and the path is blanketed with uncertainties and pitfalls, the festivities turn into memorials to past glories and to editorial commiserations and lamentations on 'what went wrong?'

Mountains of books, articles, columns, tape recordings, TV and radio programs and films are now being produced about the 200th anniversary of U.S. independence from British colonial rule. The majority of these productions provide an account of U.S. history — minus its main content. This is fraudulent but understandable since it is the task of bourgeois historians to cover up the main essence of history.

It is difficult to write about past revolutionary events without stoking the fires of today's struggles. It is embarrassing to condemn the British colonial rule of 200 years ago while ignoring U.S. policies of imperialist aggression today. It is almost impossible to reflect on the great strikes and other historic working class struggles without

admitting that this was in essence a 200-year history of class struggle. It is cumbersome to write about the basic contradiction, the nature of class forces, the law of capitalist development in the past without conceding that they are all still operating today and will be the factors that mould the future of U.S. capitalism. Because of these problems, bourgeois historians who defend capitalism are forced to cover up, to distort the true history of the U.S.

What bourgeois historians spend so much time and effort covering up, Marx and Engels highlighted in *The Communist Manifesto:* 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.' While that observation does not apply to earlier primitive communal societies it is a correct description of the 200-year history of the U.S. It is a coverup to ignore this basic essence.

From centennial to bicentennial celebrations

For U.S. capitalism, the long-range barometer readings between a century ago and today shifted from a forecast signaling a fair climate to warnings of stormy weather. Some try to cover up today's crisis by pointing to the crisis problems of 1876. It is true U.S. capitalism suffered from crises then, but the comparison does not stand up. The problems of 1876 were brought on by cyclical crises. The general crisis of capitalism is of a different quality; the cyclical crises came on the scene and disappeared shortly thereafter. The general crisis of capitalism is deeper and here to stay.

For U.S. capitalism, the 1876 Centennial celebrations cast long-range reflections of a growing and promising period ahead. The United States looked like the eternal 'promised land' not only to the millions of immigrants, but also to the rich of Europe. The land was ready for an extended period of unprecedented growth. The Indian peoples had been brutally eliminated or thrown off their lands, lands rich in minerals and fertile soil for agriculture. A large area of Mexico, also rich in minerals, had been taken by force of arms and annexed to the U.S. The labor pool of both skilled and unskilled was overflowing. The Civil War had cleared the path ahead from the debris of slavery and feudalism, and the millions of Black people who had won their freedom from slavery had become a part of this labor pool. The capitalist class had accumulated capital through their high rate of exploitation of the working class, the flow of capital invested by the wealthy of Europe, and from the riches of nature.

Thus, at the Centennial celebrations all the long-range signs read, 'Go!' Nowhere else in the world has capitalism had such favorable objective conditions. These unique objective conditions created many illusions about U.S. capitalism. Therefore, the defenders of U.S. capitalism cannot cover up the present crisis by pointing to some

negative objective factors. U.S. capitalism has had every possible objective factor in its favor.

In contrast, this Bicentennial period is shrouded in uncertainties, crises and dead-end paths that besiege U.S. monopoly capital. The Centennial barometers and its celebrations were a reflection of an expanding economy in the U.S. and of a capitalism that was the kingpin in an expanding world. U.S. capitalism was on its way to becoming a world power. The Bicentennial barometers and its celebrations reflect the realities of a world socio-economic system in the web of a general and deepening crisis. The Bicentennial barometers reflect the fact that world capitalism has lost its ability and its once awesome power to determine the course of world events. It must now deal with the reality that another class (the working class), and another socio-economic system (socialism), have emerged as the main center of economic, political and ideological gravity.

Because the barometers signal stormy weather the Bicentennial celebrations tend to be memorials to past glories and to editorial commiserations about 'what went wrong.' From the viewpoint of monopoly capital there is no basis for optimism, positive projections, or perspectives.

For the working class, the 1876 Centennial mirrors reflected a different kind of image. Beginning to appear in sharp focus were the harsh class realities of capitalist exploitation; the class division and the class struggle emerged as a clear line of division between the capitalists and the workers.

Frederick Engels wrote in 1886: '. . . Our — and your — bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. . . . Now they (the workers) appear all of a sudden in such organized masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class.'[1]

The working class was beginning to see its self-interests served only by organization and struggle.

For Black Americans, the Centennial mirrors reflected the fact that the Civil War, while a historic step forward in the sense that it broke the chains of slavery, did not end the need to struggle against racism. Slavery was abolished, but racism was not. The nature of the ruling class changed, but the basic structure of racism remained intact.

This was reflected in the prophetic message of the International Working Men's Association to the people of the United States: 'Injustice against a fraction of your people having been followed by such

dire consequences — put an end to it. Declare your fellow citizens from this day forth free and equal, without any reserve. If you refuse them citizens' rights while you exact from them citizens' duties, you will sooner or later face a new struggle which will once more drench your country in blood.'[2] History has proven how accurately and sensitively Marxism read the barometers of racism in the U.S.

Illusions about the 'American Century'

As the Centennial barometers indicated, the first half of the last 100 years of U.S. capitalist development were years of the greatest growth in the history of world capitalism. The U.S. has developed a most formidable industrial establishment. It has made great strides in science and technology.

The riches of nature seemed infinite. In 1881 Engels wrote this about the vast and rich soil available for agriculture advancement: 'The virgin soil of the Western prairie — which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles — is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a Tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labor. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear 20 to 30 crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale. . . .'[3]

U.S. imperialism has become the most bloated octopus in the history of world capitalism, with tentacles that stretch to every corner of the non-socialist world. It has become the loan shark, the money-lender, for world capitalism. U.S. imperialism is the economic, military and political support base for world reaction. It is the home base for most of the multinational corporations. It is the most racist country in the world.

After World War II, U.S. imperialism reached a point where it dominated more areas of the world than any other nation had ever controlled and exploited in history. This led to the illusion that this was 'The American Century' and the world was its oyster. This arrogance was reflected in the motto of the reactionary, militaristic former Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, who stated that, 'The U.S. has no friends, only interests.' In order to support the so-called 'American Century' outlook the economy was shifted to a permanent war footing. Life took on the character and direction of militarization.

The cold war moved on to center stage. All domestic affairs were geared to supporting the policies of imperialist aggression.

In a sense, U.S. imperialism took over where defeated Hitler-German imperialism was cut off. It became the center, the hub, the organizer of the policies of imperialist aggression against the socialist world and the forces of national liberation. It correctly saw the Soviet Union as the main obstacle to its plans for world domination. Hence, the Soviet Union became its main political, ideological and military target. Using Hitler's book, U.S. imperialism became the ringleader in the application of big lie anti-communism.

The myth is shattered

But 'the best laid plans of mice and men' often go astray. And this is just what happened. The Wall Street planners laid the schemes for their conspiracy without taking into account the laws of socio-economic development. Had the architects of the 'American Century' even glanced at the barometers they would have seen the warning signals of decline. They were blind to the fact that the time of imperialist colonial empire building had passed. They refused to accept the reality that a new force, propelling a world revolutionary process had emerged. They refused to believe that the stage was set for a new epoch in human affairs by the explosive emergence of the first working class state, the Soviet Union. This marked the beginning of the end of imperialism. The change in the balance of world forces had become the framework within which all social advances would take place. The Soviet Union had become the protective umbrella for national liberation and for the revolutionary transition to socialism.

U.S. imperialism used its enormous powers to enrich U.S. monopoly corporations. But because U.S. imperialism had become the main base of power, and the main source of the strategic reserves for the entire capitalist world, each setback and the backlash from the waves of defeats and retreats all had their eroding effects on the shores of U.S. imperialism.

As the crisis deepens, U.S. imperialism is learning that indeed it 'has no friends.' And as the contradictions of decline sharpen, 'friendships' evaporate. The world imperialist alliance it had so diligently built began to fall apart.

The Bicentennial editorials try to forget that the last 100 years have been years of the rise and decline of U.S. imperialism. The plans of the 'American Century' are in shambles. The world networks of aggression are scattered. The blockades, designed to fence off the socialist world, have largely been destroyed. The plans to crush the forces of national liberation have failed. U.S. imperialism is still licking the fresh wounds of defeat in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It

has suffered reverses in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. The United Nations is no longer an arm of U.S. imperialism.

To a large extend, the second half of the century coincides with the deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. This has emerged as the most decisive factor determining the course of U.S. capitalism.

The general crisis of decline and decay is a many-sided process. It embodies the law-governed processes of capitalism, and the overall balance of world forces. The shift in the balance of world forces against imperialism has emerged as the most decisive element of the general crisis. In the past some explosive events have marked the beginning of a new stage in the crisis. But there can be new, qualitative stages without such explosive events. The termites are not always visible before some pillars of a building have collapsed. The factors that brought on the present stage are both explosive and evolutionary. The cumulative effect adds up to a new stage.

The breakup of the colonial empire of Portugal and the victory of Indochina against U.S. imperialism were explosive events. The fact that Portugal was the last colonial empire, and that the victory in Vietnam was against the strongest imperialist power adds an additional dimension to the significance of these events.

There is a new quality to the instability of capitalism in contrast to the stability of socialism. There is a new weakness in the economic growth rate of the capitalist countries. The faster growth rate now belongs to the socialist countries.

Because they operate within the framework of the new balance of world forces, the contradictions between imperialist countries take on a new quality.

The forces of progress, because they are the most important forces influencing the course of human events, are able to use such contradictions in a new way. A feature of the new stage of the general crisis is the decline of the reserves — economic, political and ideological — that imperialism can draw on.

The general crisis of world capitalism has been an increasing factor influencing U.S. developments. This will be progressively so in the period ahead.

The oppressive grip of monopolies

The barometer readings have never forecast clear skies or cool breezes for the working class and the people who work for a living in general. The realities have always been exploitation, racism, insecurity, unemployment, hunger and slums.

Shortly after the Centennial celebrations Engels was still able to observe about life in the USA that it is a country 'where the passage from the working class to that of the farmer, trader or even capitalist

is still comparatively easy.'[4] However, it was never an easy 'passage.' It was at best limited to small numbers and has long since been closed. Monopoly capitalism has reversed the flow; from the ranks of capital, the middle class, farmers and traders, the flow is into the ranks of the working class, and for many into the ranks of the unemployed.

The central question facing the people, including the working class, is the oppressive grip monopoly capital has on all phases of life in the U.S. It is like a slowly-tightening vice.

With the development of state-monopoly capitalism there is a steady growth of the non-productive sector of the population. Ever greater numbers are living like parasites, on the backs of those who produce. In the first place, this non-productive sector includes the vampires, the coupon-clippers, the rich. But it also includes the huge military establishment, with its ever expanding officer core. There is layer upon layer of a constantly growing bureaucratic state structure, including the armed forces–sized police departments, FBI, CIA and the dozens more police state organizations. There is also the continuously expanding civil service sector. There is an expanding cadre for the large ideological institutions, supported by the state. The growth of this non-productive sector is a by-product of the development of state-monopoly capitalism. This leads to new contradictions and new cadres. Basically, these developments of state-monopoly capitalism are sustained by a higher rate of production.

As the non-productive sector grows there is the need for ever increasing taxes. Government bodies are forced to sell bonds and borrow huge sums of money from the banks. This has opened up new doors for the moneylenders. However, this escalation of borrowing without repayment of the principal, of necessity comes to a dead end. For most of the big cities the day of reckoning is at hand, or already here. Instead of cancelling the debts owed to the banks, most bourgeois politicians take the path of cutting social services, laying off workers and cutting wages. The urban crisis is but a reflection of the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the new problems faced by state-monopoly capitalism. The loan sharks are closing in on the cities.

Government bodies are forced to borrow from the same money markets as the private corporations. This competition helps to drive up the interest rate. This set of circumstances presents finance capital with new opportunities to further tighten its grip both on the economic and political structure.

As state-monopoly capitalism develops, increasing numbers of people become victims of monopoly oppression. At this stage of capitalism in the U.S. all trends, all movements and struggles, lead

toward the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition. This has emerged as the dominant element in mass consciousness. It is a growing factor in all movements and struggles. It is the one issue that will unite masses of people and bring into being the broadest democratic people's movement. It is the path that will bring the greatest number of people into a process that leads to the revolutionary struggle. Such movements draw on deep-seated anti-trust and populist sentiments. Exactly how these sentiments will coalesce and what forms they will take is not clear at this stage of development. People and movements representing many levels of society will increasingly become involved. But in the first place the working class and the 40 million people who are the victims of racial oppression will play a decisive role in such an anti-monopoly coalition. There is an inner logic within such broad people's movements. As the struggles develop the working class sector increasingly moves to fulfill its historic vanguard role. In fact how these broad people's movements develop will be largely determined by how deeply and to what extent the working class sector becomes involved.

The further development and crystallization of the anti-monopoly coalition will be in the very center of all future developments. It is a bridge the forces of progress, the forces of anti-capitalism in alliance with the broadest of people's movements will have to cross.

Increasingly the question is asked: 'What went wrong?' Even George Meany, the 80-year-old class collaborationist President of the AFL-CIO, one of the few remaining members of the hard core, open defenders of monopoly capitalism, now asks: 'Does it have to be this way?' and laments, 'Are the Communists right about our system?' In their world of class collaboration the Meanys will not find the answers. 'What went wrong?' is not an academic question. In the minds of the people it is related to questions such as 'What has the future in store?' 'Will the same process that went wrong in the past continue into the future?'

Most of the Bicentennial commentators are very reluctant to make a forecast. The majority of those who do base their projections on wishful thinking, some on astrology.

There is nothing in the present stage of capitalist development that can serve as the basis for any optimistic projections. But most futurologists cling to capitalism as to a sinking ship. A representative example of such a projection is one by Prof. Daniel Bell of Harvard University:

'If . . . one speculates on the shape of society 40 or 50 years from now, it becomes clear that the "old" industrial order is passing and that a "new society" is indeed in the making. To speak rashly: if the dominant figures of the past hundred years have been the entre-

preneur, the businessman, and the industrial executive, the "new men" are the scientists, the mathematicians, the economists and the engineers of the new computer technology. . . .'[5]

In Bell's utopia, capitalism will remain intact but the decisions will be made by the intelligentsia. The determining factors, according to Bell, will not be corporate profits but 'long-term national interests.' The purpose of projecting such 'speculations' of course is to create illusions about the future of capitalism.

As the options that remain open to capitalism diminish, the prophets whose horizons are limited to capitalism find themselves increasingly in dead end corners.

Paul Goodman, a writer displaying a left label, typifies the frustrations of people who consider themselves radical but are, in reality, prisoners within the capitalist ideological orbit: 'Innovations yield diminishing returns in enhancing life. And, instead of rejoicing, there is now a widespread conviction that the tremendous advances in genetics, surgery, computer technology, rocketry and atomic energy will surely only increase human suffering and woe. Precisely science, which should have been the wind of truth to clean the air, has polluted the air, helped to brainwash and provide weapons for war.'

This protest is misdirected at science and technology rather than at the socio-economic system that misuses it.

Because both Bell and Goodman are prisoners within the capitalist orbit they cannot see a future. The Bells of the 'liberal establishment' dwell in a dreamworld of benevolent monopoly corporations who do not care if they make profits as long as the 'national interests' are served. If the Goodmans carried their concepts to logical conclusions the result would be, 'back to the caves.'

Because the concepts of Marxist forecasters are not limited to capitalism they face no such problem.

The future of the United States in a basic sense will be moulded by the laws of socio-economic development. The U.S. cannot escape the decaying effects of the general crisis of capitalism. It cannot turn back the clock of national liberation. It must deal with the growing power of world socialism. It cannot ignore or evade the world revolutionary process. And domestically it cannot circumvent the class struggle. The class contradiction will continue to sharpen.

On the horns of the dilemma

All projections limited to a capitalist United States must be made within the realities that surround it. Consequently, in the world arena there are no easy options open. Conceivably, U.S. imperialism could disregard all sanity and try to re-establish its domination by way of a nuclear attack. As insane as that would be, there are circles in the

dark recesses of the Pentagon and the high-paid corporate think tanks that keep updating such a possibility. To any rational person such a course is not even a gamble. It is suicide.

The second option U.S. imperialism has is to try to stop the clock of history by way of military terrorism. This of course dictates a never-ending escalation of military budgets with its disastrous effects on the economy. This policy can present a short-term option, but it is a long-term illusion. Life does not accept periods of status quo or stagnation.

The third option open is to deal with and accommodate to the new realities. This is a realistic option. But for imperialism it is a painful one. The direction of the march of human society is moving against imperialism. Because of this unalterable fact, accommodation to the new realities for imperialism includes the concept of retreat. And this occurs only when imperialism has no choice — when it is forced to accept retreat.

U.S. imperialism in a sense sits on the horns of its Bicentennial dilemma. It has taken some steps of accommodation, but it also hangs onto the old policies related to the illusion of the 'American Century.' It has taken steps of accommodation in the areas of trade, science and culture. But it continues to pursue a policy of military build-up that corresponds only to a policy of military confrontation. This demonstrates that U.S. imperialism has taken tactical steps of accommodation, including steps of retreat, but it has not given up its strategic plans, which include acts of aggression.

Hence, the option open in the field of foreign affairs which is realistic is the option of peaceful coexistence. It is the only option that is in the self-interest of the people of the U.S. Objective factors are never enough to assume that the capitalist class will take a path that is realistic. Mass movements and struggles have a decisive voice in such matters.

Factors in the U.S. future

The future of U.S. imperialism will be affected by major world developments:

— The centrifugal forces within the capitalist world will continue to grow and hence increase the tendency of divisions.

— The magnetic pull of bourgeois ideology will continue to weaken. To the masses it becomes less and less believable. Anti-imperialism is today the broadest mass outlook accepted by the great majority.

— As the balance of world forces continues to shift, the imperialist powers will be less and less able to dictate economic terms, including

the price of raw materials. For imperialism there is no new colonial world to enslave.

For U.S. imperialism the period of its historic apex has passed. This fact will appear in ever sharper focus as the U.S. begins to check off the years of its third century of independence. A primary force that will influence the world scene, including the U.S., will be the growth of the socialist system.

There is today a qualitative difference in the options that are available to U.S. imperialism. The past presented the choices related to growth and expansion. The future offers only the options related to decay and decline.

The future of U.S. monopoly capitalism is programmed by the inherent laws of capitalist development. Consequently, the basic class contradiction will continue to sharpen.

State-monopoly capitalism will continue to tighten its grips on life in the U.S. through more controls and regulations. There will be more talk about 'planning' but the basic anarchistic nature of capitalism will continue to operate. The drive of the monopolies for maximum profits will continue to intensify, and life will become increasingly polarized.

Each momentary solution to a problem will bring with it new contradictions. Increasingly, the 'solutions' will postpone crises by borrowing on the future. The economic growth rate will continue to sputter and flounder. There are no extended periods of economic or political stability in the forecasts.

These objective developments will increasingly give rise to and stimulate the people's movement of resistance. An anti-monopoly coalition will continue to crystallize. Class consciousness will continue to grow. This will result in the further development of a militant rank and file movement. As the contradiction sharpens, as the rank and file movement grows, class-struggle trade unionism will replace class collaboration as the dominent trend in the trade union movement.

The movement to end racism will continue to grow. White workers will reject racism as they begin to understand that it is a capitalist weapon against the best interest of all workers. The movements of 40 million victims of racism — Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, Indian American — will become a greater factor influencing the course of all struggles and movements. The alliance between the victims of racist oppression and the working class will emerge as the foundation stone for all progressive movements.

All the struggles and movements will increasingly move into the political arena and they will break away from the orbit of the two old bourgeois parties. This will give birth to new political vehicles, including a new mass-based political party.

The process of radicalization will continue. The objective developments will force people to seek and probe for more basic solutions. As a result, the program of the Communist Party will be studied and accepted by ever broader circles. The experience of struggle and the lessons presented by the Communists will result in a growing socialist consciousness. Hence, the projection of socialism as the only long-range future for the U.S. rests on solid necessity. The objective developments make this a historic necessity. The organization and the struggles of the working class and people make it a realistic option.

The future of the U.S. will unfold within the framework set forth by Lenin: 'State-monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*.[6]

And speaking directly about the future, Lenin stated that it is precisely socialism which, '... is now gazing at us from all the windows of capitalism; socialism is outlined directly, *practically,* by every important measure that constitutes a forward step on the basis of this modern capitalism.'[7]

Of course, the relationship between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism is an antagonistic one. The very process of state-monopoly capitalism prepares the objective groundwork and forces the working class and people to consider basic and revolutionary changes.

Thus, the barometers are forecasting the winds of stormy and revolutionary changes. This is a forecast that not even the most astute and dedicated bourgeois historians or futurologists can cover up.

1. Marx and Engels. *Selected Correspondence,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp. 393-394.
2. From the 'Address to the People of the United States of America,' adopted by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on September 28, 1865.
3. From Engels' article printed in *The Labour Standard* (London newspaper) on July 2, 1881.
4. From Engels' article printed in *The Labour Standard* (London newspaper) on July 23, 1881.
5. Daniel Bell, 'Notes on the Post Industrial Society,' Part I, *The Public Interest* No. 6 Winter 1967, pp. 26-27.
6. *Collected Works,* Vol. 25, p. 359.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

The force of revolutionary example

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COMMENTARY

The victory of the people's revolutions in Indochina last year is a landmark in the revolutionary refashioning of the world begun in October 1917. An organic part of the common gains of world socialism and the international working-class and national-liberation movements, they embodied the hopes and aspirations of millions for a better life, freedom and justice. The popular character of the Indochina revolutions, in which social and national-liberation goals were so closely intertwined, predetermined the unity under their banners of the broad masses, of all patriotic and democratic strata.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam holds a special place in the development and triumph of Indochina's revolutionary movements. The vanguard role of the working class and its party laid a definite imprint on the character of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam as long as the early 1930s and determined its development. 'The feudal class capitulated to imperialism,' that great leader of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh, wrote, 'while the bourgeoisie, being weak and fearing economic destruction, sought to come to terms with imperialism. Despite the ferment in their midst, the petty-bourgeois sections had come to a dead end. The working class alone, as the most revolutionary and heroic class, kept up the struggle against the colonialists.'[1]

The victory of the August 1945 revolution, in which the revolutionary strategy of the Communist Party of Indochina (from 1951 — the Working People's Party of Vietnam) found such effective embodiment, put Vietnam on the road of popular-democratic transformations. Having once and for all put an end to the stranglehold of the compradors and of feudalism, having accomplished the general democratic tasks and the transition from small-scale production to socialism, the DRV thus brought to reality a provision of the political program adopted by the Communist Party of Indochina in 1930,

namely, the possibility of bypassing the capitalist stage of development. By defeating the French colonialists in 1954, the Vietnamese people — in the North of the country — were able to embark on socialist construction. The popular-democratic state, as the DRV leaders repeatedly emphasized, set out to accomplish the tasks of proletarian dictatorship.

As the outpost of socialism in Indochina and Southeast Asia generally, the DRV became the firm base of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the South Vietnam patriots, and also the main target of the U.S. imperialist war machine. 'Everything for the South, everything for victory' — that slogan was translated into hard work by every citizen. The victory in Indochina, said Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV, was the result of the 'joint effort of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who stood shoulder to shoulder in the battle against their common enemy, for the independence and freedom of their countries.'

Up to 1975 the national-liberation tasks predominated in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, though the revolutionary process in these countries had its distinctive features. This determined also the character of the mass base of the revolution, namely, unity of all patriotic forces within broad national fronts, the core of which was the worker-peasant alliance. The victory scored in 1975 became the victory of national-democratic revolutions. And though the struggle against counter-revolutionary elements and their foreign patrons has still to be waged, the priority task in all these countries is to restructure life along new, progressive lines. The approach to these tasks reflects the inevitable distinctions in the objective and subjective conditions of the revolutionary process, and the uneven social and economic development of the three countries.

The forthcoming reunification of the country[2] opens the road to socialism for the people of South Vietnam. That is the meaning of the decision adopted in November 1975 by the Political Consultative Conference on Reunification. The North and the South, Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the WPPV and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRV National Assembly, said, must perform the socialist revolution and build socialism, albeit at different levels for the time being. The earnest of success is the people's revolutionary government fulfilling the functions of proletarian dictatorship.

The next tasks confronting the South Vietnam Committee of the WPPV, the people and the army of South Vietnam, the Committee's secretary and Politbureau member of the WPPV, Pham Hung, declared, are to establish at all levels, a popular revolutionary administration capable of carrying out socialist reforms, suppress the

counter-revolutionary forces, the comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal class, introduce measures to re-establish and develop production, and wipe out the unemployment inherited from the old regime.

Proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos consummated the national-democratic revolution, which triumphed under the leadership of the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Laotian people, the People's Revolutionary Party, the leading force of the Patriotic Front of Laos. A new era has now begun in the life of the Laotian people, Keayson Phomvihane, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, said — the era of transition from the neo-colonial regime to a genuinely popular-democratic system and the building of socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage. This is envisaged in the action program adopted by the government in December 1975. We must get rid of all remnants of colonialism and of the aftermath of rule by the comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic officialdom, the militarist and reactionary feudal element. We must resolve the contradiction between private backward agriculture and the young industries developing on a socialist basis. The popular revolutionary administrative authorities must be strengthened.

In Cambodia the patriotic forces dealt a shattering blow to the pro-imperialist puppet regime, thereby putting the country on the road of independent development. The conditions have been created for building a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Cambodia. Under the new Constitution, all means of production are being taken over by the state, and supreme legislative power will be vested in the Council of People's Representatives.[3]

The people's revolutions in Indochina triumphed with the all-round support of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union. In solidarity with embattled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, progressives in capitalist and developing countries raised their voices in defense of the ideals of national and social emancipation. The heroic feat of the Indochinese patriots gave a powerful impetus to the world revolutionary struggle. Progressives throughout the world have manifested a keen interest in analyzing the historic significance of the Indochina revolutions.

The splendid success of the Indochina peoples in battle against imperialism and its local placemen is, above all, the result of their own heroic, persevering and long struggle. It underscores the importance for revolutionaries to take account of the main direction of history and shape their policy in line with the main historic trends of our times. The latest and very convincing example is Indochina.

First, the popular movements in Indochina were an organic part of the national-liberation revolution which rose up with much strength in

the colonial and semi-colonial countries after the Great October Revolution. 'Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Vietnam,' Le Duan said at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 'our Party raised aloft the banners of the national democratic and the socialist revolutions, combined the scope of the movement for national independence with the power of socialism . . .'

Second, the Indochina revolutions developed in line with the principal changes in the alignment of forces to the advantage of socialism, democracy and peace and to the disadvantage of imperialism, reaction and war. The imperialist aggressor tried to bring the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to their knees and change Asia's political climate in his favor.

There is plenty of reliable evidence, including the statement of U.S. Senator Stuart Symington, that the U.S. spent about 250 billion dollars on the intervention in South Vietnam. In this situation the defeat of the intervention was not merely of local or national, but of global significance. The will and stamina of peoples faced with the most powerful and insidious enemy were being put to the test on the battlefield. And the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples passed the test with flying colors.

Lastly, the revolutionary events in Indochina were influenced by new, fundamental factors in international affairs connected with the lessening of tensions and expansion of the zone of peaceful coexistence — the result of the successful peace offensive of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. It was against the background of détente that the 1973 international conference on Vietnam was brought to a successful conclusion, the road opened for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Vietnam, an end put to the U.S. air war against the DRV and Cambodia, and national unity achieved in Laos. Conversely, the struggle of the Indochina patriots and the concerted efforts of the worldwide movement of solidarity with embattled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia greatly facilitated the assertion of these new international factors.

Today there is a very real possibility in Southeast Asia for relations between countries with different social systems to be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The defeat of the aggressors signified also the insolvency of the very concept of foreign intervention, of one state imposing its will on others. The idea of national sovereignty has acquired a new strength in this region, its anti-imperialist content has broadened. To strengthen its sovereignty, Thailand has demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the dismantling of U.S. military bases. The new tendencies are felt also in the policy of the Philippines and a number of other countries, where the struggle is unfolding against imperialist economic and political

expansion. The ignominous collapse of SEATO is one more weighty proof that the imperialist strategy of military blocs has no future.

The victories in Indochina have stimulated a serious discussion in practically all Southeast Asian countries on the pattern of their relations in this postwar era. The idea is gaining ground that there has to be a system of collective security for the whole of the Asian continent. In other words, thanks to the beneficial influence of the Indochina victories, the desire to strengthen peace, international security and cooperation is gaining support, and a more pronounced anti-imperialist content, in this as in other parts of the world.

And so, the close interconnection with the main processes of our time assured the victory of the Indochina revolutions. At the same time, however, though powered by the worldwide trends of social development, they show how a popular revolution can powerfully influence the deepening of these trends. Proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was an important landmark in the formation of the new historic community, the socialist world system. At the same time, it revolutionized the situation in Indochina and throughout Southeast Asia. By the mid-40s there was already a sharp rise of the national-liberation movement, with the revolutionary forces in Indochina, Malaya and the Philippines exerting considerable influence on public life in their countries. The victory of the revolutions in Indochina was a blow to imperialism's overall strategy in Asia. It demonstrated the effectiveness of international support and inspired firm confidence in the inevitable triumph of the revolutionary cause in other countries and regions.

The Indochina revolutions logically led to a notable uptrend in the anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries themselves, first of all in the United States, and aggravated crisis phenomena there, especially in the economy. At the same time the movement of solidarity with Indochina's patriots stimulated the growth of anti-imperialist actions in both capitalist and developing countries. Mass actions in support of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia resulted in a further radicalization of social processes in these countries.

Every popular revolution achieves victory by fighting against obsolescent relations and practices. However, it will remain a target of imperialist intrigue and subversion even after winning. The imperialists will try to limit the area of operation of progressive social changes as much as possible and to preserve what some anti-communist ideologists describe as the 'truce line' between the two social systems which is supposed to have appeared after World War II.

After recovering from the shock and confusion of the early months following the defeat in Indochina, the imperialist stepped up their efforts to set up a 'new defense line' of the 'free world.' They want to

form something of a 'common front' in Southeast Asia against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, resorting to the usual devices of 'containing' 'Communist aggression' — economic blockade, arms deliveries to reactionary regimes, anti-communist hysteria. The blockade of Laos last December was typical of these attempts, plainly guided by imperialists. Imperialist strategy in Asia today is prompted by the desire to set up a cordon sanitaire around the more powerful centers of social revolution with the backing of reactionary regimes.

International reaction lays plans of strengthening its positions in Asia to block the peoples' liberation struggle and raise obstacles to social progress. The United States refuses to honor its commitment to help in healing the wounds inflicted by its aggression in Indochina. At the same time it is expanding its Diego Garcia military base. The new Pacific doctrine of the United States is indicative of the intention of imperialism to counter the changes that have come about in Asia under the powerful impact of the revolutions in Indochina and positive developments in international relations with its traditional policy of blackmail and reliance on armed force. The U.S. wants to retain its military presence in the region and derive maximum military and political benefits from cooperation with China's Maoist leadership. It should be noted, however, that while the highly important role assigned to this cooperation by the new doctrine is not so very new (Peking, for its part, has been implementing it for years and advocates a continued U.S. military presence in Asia), a further step has now been taken toward strengthening the front of the imperialists and Maoists in a joint struggle against the revolutionary forces of the world. The Maoists now resist unity of the countries of Indochina where the revolutionary forces have achieved victory.

The imperialists look for new allies among the exploiting classes in Asian countries, incite them against governments seeking economic independence and democratic reforms[4] and devise ever more subtle methods of undermining progressive regimes from within. In other words, in spite of favorable trends on the continent that events in Indochina have intensified, U.S. imperialism, while compelled to renounce large-scale armed intervention, has not abandoned its military and political plans.

Ideologically, the 'tough' line of certain imperialist quarters toward the Indochina revolutions is reflected in bourgeois concepts which distort the nature and causes of these revolutions with an eye to misrepresenting the real meaning of their victories. These quarters see the lessons of Indochina as a 'proof' of their 'export of revolution' theory (one has only to recall that the revolutionary movements in Laos and Cambodia were made out to be solely the 'handiwork of the North Vietnamese'). With this aim in view, they fall back on the

'domino theory' describing the progress of the revolution in Southeast Asia as an automatic process in which the 'conquest' of one country by the Communists is followed by the 'fall' of its neighbor.

We are far from denying the revolutionizing effect of the Vietnam victory on the situation in Southeast Asia. But those who regard it as 'export of revolution' either fail to understand or pretend not to understand that revolution is not an export commodity that can be imposed on a people.

A primitive approach to the cause of revolutions is also typical of the Maoists and ultra-leftists. They show the deepest scorn for an objective analysis of the situation, the motive forces of social revolution and the problem of allies at diverse stages of struggle. Saying that revolutions come from the 'barrel of a gun,' they deliberately put first the methods and not the class nature of the struggle and make an absolute of armed struggle, completely discounting the nature of the regime in the country concerned and never stopping to think whether there is a revolutionary situation there and whether the masses are prepared to take that particular road. This approach, imposed by Peking, led, among other things, to the complete isolation of the Communist Party of Burma and the Indian Naxalites[5] from the masses and causes tremendous damage to the entire revolutionary movement in these countries. Maoist influence proved even more tragic for the Communist Party and people of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the 'leftists' cling to their practice of copying recipes offered by Peking. Some of them even see in the experience of the revolutionary liberation war in Indochina evidence that their policy is 'correct.' Actually it merely proves their inability or reluctance to see the real meaning of the lessons of the years-long heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and to realize what makes the impact of their example on the world revolutionary movement so strong.

Marxism-Leninism maintains that to follow the example of a revolution does not mean merely copying its methods, let alone making an absolute of any one of them. A correct approach to the problems of revolutionary struggle consists above all else in taking account of the given situation and its distinctive aspects in terms of their dialectical interaction. The force of example of a revolution lies in the fact that each of them usually demonstrated definite general development laws of the revolutionary process. This is what makes it possible to internationalize revolutionary experience.

The experience of the Indochina revolutions, first of all of the Vietnamese revolution, underlines the importance of efficiently applying the general principles of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and policy. DRV leaders point out that the Vietnamese people

achieved victory because they creatively applied the general laws of the revolution and the experience of fraternal socialist countries, primarily in establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. 'In our epoch, as a result of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat,' writes Le Duan, 'we who have become masters in the political sphere are entirely in a position to become masters in the social, economic and cultural spheres.'

The Indochina revolutions are a further convincing example of the leading and guiding role of a vanguard party inspired by working-class ideals. In Vietnam, the Working People's Party 'was able to unite a wide range of revolutionary forces behind the working class while the parties of other classes failed and found themselves in isolation.'[6] The Party exercised its vanguard role at every stage, both during the struggle for independence and in the period of socialist construction, when it became the ruling party, nor did it for a moment lose sight of the revolutionary goal. 'The Party,' Le Duan writes, 'must be the highest and most politically conscious revolutionary organization of society.' This lesson is particularly forceful because it comes from participants in a struggle that achieved a victory of historic magnitude.

Inability to solve pressing national problems was also typical of the bourgeois and feudal classes of Laos and Cambodia, which did the bidding of the neo-colonialists without questioning. The experience of Laos, too, shows that the People's Revolutionary Party, closely linked with the country's working class, was the only one to give the people a genuine program for national salvation and assure their victory under slogans of struggle for a peaceful, independent, democratic, united and prosperous Laos. All this shows that without the leading role of a party leaning on the working class, a party equal to uniting the peasants and middle strata on a revolutionary platform and to mastering the Marxist-Leninist science of social transformation, it is difficult to defeat imperialist schemes, let alone to build a new life.

The revolutions in Indochina demonstrated the importance of mass backing to the success of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. The Indochina revolutionaries' policy of rallying the masses together in united fronts became a most important prerequisite of victory for the popular movement in the area. In these fronts, the masses had a schooling in sustained anti-imperialist struggle, in which not only the working class, but the petty-bourgeoisie and intermediate strata assimilated the ideals of freedom. It was the support of the masses which ensured the military successes of the patriots and made invincible the people's armed forces, a reliable bulwark of the revolutionary vanguard.

The revolutionary process in Indochina reflected the existence in the contemporary liberation movement of a marked trend toward the

unification of proletarian with non-proletarian forces — the peasants, middle strata and others — in struggle against anti-imperialism, for social progress. This became evident in recent years in setting up national progressive fronts in a number of countries with revolutionary democratic regimes. In some countries directly threatened by imperialism and its domestic reactionary allies, the working masses are also backed by certain patriotic-minded sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The outcome of the struggle in Indochina also shows that social changes brought about on the revolutionary bridgehead play a special role in ensuring the success of the revolution in areas still under the control of imperialism and its agents. Even before fighting in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was over, the inspiring experience of solving key social and economic problems in the liberated areas served as a powerful stimulus for the growth of popular resistance.[7] Throughout the long years of war, the example of building a new society in the DRV had a tremendous revolutionizing impact on the whole of Indochina.

Lastly, speaking of the example of the achievements of Indochina's peoples, it must be stressed that their experience showed again how very important it is for every anti-imperialist liberation revolution always to enjoy the support of the progressive forces of the world, first of all that of the socialist community, especially of the Soviet Union. This is a requisite of victory.[8] Both at the height of the struggle and in the period following the victory of the revolution, deliberate self-isolation and reliance 'solely on one's own forces' threaten to weaken the patriots' positions. 'Our people are well aware,' says Le Duan, 'that the Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolution and that its victories are closely linked with the sympathy and support of the working class and peoples of the world. In turn, our Party and people will continue to support in every way the international socialist and working-class movement and the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.'

The victory of their revolutions afforded the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia an opportunity gained through much struggle and suffering to devote all their energies to social change in peace-time conditions. There is no doubt that both the experience of the nation-wide liberation struggle and achievements in peaceful construction in these countries will furnish added proof of the irresistibility of mankind's desire for social progress.

1. Ho Chi Minh, 'Thirty years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam,' in *WMR*, February 1960.

2. Reunification will be officially proclaimed by the United National Assembly to be elected on April 25, 1976.

3. Radio Democratic Cambodia reports that the Council will have 250 members: 150 representing the peasants, and 50 each representing the workers and the People's Army.

4. The activity of the CIA in India against the government under Indira Gandhi and the progressive aspects of that government's policies is a vivid example of this 'destabilization policy.'

5. A Maoist alignment comprising former Communists. Many of its members have lately rejoined the Communist Party of India.

6. Ho Chi Minh, 'Thirty years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam.' *WMR*, February 1960.

7. This factor played a considerable part in the victories of liberation movements in former Portuguese colonies.

8. A fresh confirmation of this is the experience of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and, above all, Angola. The socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union and Cuba, rendered the Angolan people effective aid in their liberation struggle. Developments in Angola since its independence was proclaimed stress that in today's climate of international détente the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, are as loyal as ever to their revolutionary duty to support the peoples fighting for freedom and social progress and will never abandon this position, no matter how badly leaders inclined to interpret détente as preservation of the political status quo may want it to remain unchanged.

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comment

Pressing problems of Britain

Gordon McLennan
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CP of Great Britain

The economic crisis affecting all capitalist countries is particularly deep and profound in Britain. This is because successive governments, in alliance with big business, have pursued imperialist aims, fought to maintain London as a world financial center, encouraged heavy investment overseas at the expense of expanding and modernizing our own industrial base, and spent vast sums on arms in order to provide military backing to the whole policy.

The present government, now more deeply in pawn to the international bankers, has no intention of changing course. Wages and living standards are under attack, while the basic cause of Britain's crisis is left untouched.

As 1976 opened a particularly grim expression of the crisis for working people was the January unemployment figures. These showed 1,430,369 men, women and young people in the United Kingdom (Britain and Northern Ireland) out of work — 6.1 per cent of the working population. The highest jobless total since 1945 — the end of the war.

Nor are future prospects any brighter. Reviewing 1975 and looking forward to 1976, Prime Minister Harold Wilson recently stated, 'Britain has suffered, suffered severely, and is still suffering' and forecast, 'some pretty bleak months lie ahead.'

Chancellor Denis Healey etched in the somber picture in his New Year Message. Though arguing that there would be a slow picking up of the economy in the early part of 1976 and more quickly in the latter half of the year, he conceded that in the immediate months ahead unemployment was 'likely to go somewhere above the 1¼ million mark.' Healey's optimism about what will happen in 1976 is based on the twofold theory that 'the crisis is now bottoming out' and that there will be a general economic recovery in the capitalist world in 1976. His optimism is not shared by other commentators on capitalism's crisis, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

In considering the gravity of these projections for working people in

Britain, and their reflection of economic stagnation and decline, it must be understood that the *real* figures of unemployment are usually 25-30 per cent higher than the official figures.

Manufacturing industry

To clearly establish the nature of Britain's crisis, as expressed in growing unemployment, it has to be noted that unemployment is increasingly developing in manufacturing industries. Between mid-1974 and mid-1975, 360,000 jobs were lost in manufacturing industry, with sharp reductions in textiles, electrical engineering, rubber and plastics, footwear, bricks and timber production. This process is now accelerating.

The motor industry, for example, with half a million workers directly employed, faces acute problems. In the middle of 1975 the only major British-owned firm in the industry, British Leyland, was in a critical position and massive lay-offs of workers were being considered. With 160,000 workers employed by the firm, and another 100,000 employed in component firms supplying parts to British Leyland, the government had to act. £600m. was injected into the firm and the Board of Management made responsible to the newly-established National Enterprise Board. Then in November-December, it was the turn of the American multinational corporation, Chrysler with four major factories in Britain, to threaten mass sackings. Chrysler boss, John Riccardo, announced from the U.S. that the corporation's British subsidiaries were losing money and the British factories faced closure. Fifty thousand jobs were placed at risk with this announcement, and of Riccardo's action, Prime Minister Wilson said in Parliament, 'He is holding a gun at the government's head.'

The government finally worked out a deal with Chrysler which involved giving the corporation £162 millions to continue their operations. This deal was worked out without consultation with the workers and their unions, who demanded the public ownership of Chrysler. The Communist Party at the beginning of the Chrysler 'scandal' in October had demanded control of the multinationals and public ownership of the car industry.

The present unsatisfactory deal with Chrysler means one-third of the labor force will lose their jobs immediately, and the long-term future of the British factories remains in doubt. Meanwhile Vauxhall, subsidiary of General Motors, employing about 20,000 British workers, also claims financial problems which threaten future employment of its workers.

Steel

In December also there was a 'bombshell' announcement from the

British Steel Corporation, a nationalized undertaking employing 220,000 workers. The board claimed that it was necessary that they make an annual saving of £170m. Reduction of the labor force by 44,000 and elimination of many of the highest paid shifts was the board's proposal.

A big struggle is now opening up. The main trade union in the industry has not been noted for its militancy in the past. But such is the anger of the steel workers throughout the country at the nature of the board's arrogant conduct and action, that many took industrial action to express that anger despite efforts by right-wing trade union leaders to dampen down the struggle. The problems of the car industry and the steel industry are interlinked and located in the general capitalist crisis affecting every aspect of British life. Therefore the Communist Party in its mid-January statement on the situation in the steel industry was correct to place responsibility on the government and its economic policy, when it said, 'By refusing urgent steps to reflate the economy and thus increase demand for steel, the government has provided the British Steel Corporation with an excuse for its policy.

The Communist statement also drew attention to the relationship of the crisis in the steel industry with British membership in the European Economic Community, and demanded that all imports of steel be stopped and Common Market limitations on British steel production be rejected.

Public services

Railways is another major industry coming under the 'crisis axe.' On December 11 the three trade unions in the industry held a joint press conference and predicted a massive cutback in the rail network from 11,000 to 4,000 miles. The cutback, they said, would mean a decimation of the industry's labor force from 256,000 to about 95,000.

These rail cutback plans menace the vital interests of the British people as a whole. Railways are essential to economic expansion and crucial to a properly organized integrated transport system. Such a transport system is also an essential social service.

Government spokesmen have denied the authenticity of the railway unions' claims, but the unions are conducting a public campaign against the cuts, and thousands of railway workers, supported by other trade unionists, lobbied Parliament on December 16th as the opening shot of the campaign. At a rally in the Central Hall, Westminster, on the same day, National Union of Railwaymen General Secretary, Sidney Weighell said that the government was 'on the point of betraying every policy undertaking, in the transport field, by the Labour Party since the turn of the century.'

The consequences of this approach have been spelled out very clearly by Geoffrey Drain, General Secretary of the biggest trade union in the public services, the National and Local Government Officers Association, when he said, 'Government cuts in public expenditure mean that a crisis of enormous social dimensions is looming — the time has come to speak out before irreparable damage is done to the fabric of our society.'

The concern being expressed by Geoffrey Drain, Sidney Weighell and other trade union leaders about the course of government policy and its consequences, is shared by large numbers in the labor and trade union movement. There is as yet, however, insufficient clarity about the alternative course that must be pursued.

The £6 'wage-limit' policy

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress bears a heavy responsibility for this situation. At the September 1975 Trades Union Congress, the General Council won support (by roughly 6½ million to 3½ million votes) for the government's economic strategy, the lynch-pin of which was the acceptance of a £6 limit on wage increases for the next 12 months. This meant accepting that wages should only increase by an average of around 10 per cent for the next year, while prices continued to rise at an average of 20 per cent. This policy of severe cuts in real wages was justified on the grounds that if trade unionists contributed in this way to helping to 'solve' the economic crisis, the government would implement other policies being demanded by the unions to tackle the crisis and restore full employment. Communists and others on the left argued that limiting wage increases to £6 maximum would only serve to deepen the crisis and increase unemployment.

The correct position of Communists and others on the left in these crucial TUC debates is being demonstrated daily.

As we have shown earlier in this article, unemployment has rocketed. General living standards are also falling. Even before the imposition of the £6 wage limit, real personal disposable income fell by 3½ per cent. This happened during the second and third quarters of 1975, and was the biggest drop in living standards since 1955. The effect of the £6 limit has intensified this trend and the latest available figures (December 1975) show a further drop in consumption by another 2 per cent.

And the government has totally failed to carry out their side of what is known as the 'Social Contract.'

Struggle for alternative policy

Not only has unemployment soared, living standards dropped, the

social services have been restricted and impaired.

The disastrous policies by government and big business that have denied essential investment to the manufacturing industry over many years, have been continued.

Big business is exporting capital at an ever-increasing rate. UK private investment abroad for the first six months of 1975, £1,270m., was higher than the total for the whole of 1974.

Membership of the EEC, advocated by the Labour government, has proved to be a disaster for Britain as the left forecast. More and more British firms are transferring major resources into other Common Market countries because they see greater growth opportunities there than in Britain. Meanwhile EEC industrial and agricultural policies adversely affect Britain and acceptance of decisions of Market institutions restrict the ability of the British government, even if it wanted to, to offset the impact on Britain of the general crisis of capitalism.

Military expenditure continues to soar. The total arms bill is now set at £4,975m. for 1975-76, and the government turns a deaf ear to all those demanding the major cut in armaments expenditure promised in Labour's Manifesto.

On all these questions, and on others, men and women are in action demanding changes in government policy.

The 34th Congress of the Communist Party held in November 1975 saw the need for all these separate streams of struggle to be drawn into unified action for a radical alternative program to that of the government, and advanced its own counter-crisis program:

— An immediate freeze on rents and prices (except of luxury goods).

— Expand the economy and end unemployment.

— Increase wages, pensions and benefits — restore free collective bargaining.

— Stop the cuts — improve the health, education, housing and other social services.

— Impose import controls; stop capital exports abroad.

— Sell overseas portfolio investments; cut interest rates.

— Introduce a wealth tax and an increased tax on profits.

— Take over the big firms and financial institutions, and North Sea oil and gas.

— Increase investment in the manufacturing and construction industries.

— Halve military expenditure.

— Expand trade, especially with socialist countries and the Third World.

This alternative program is the only real way out of the crisis for

Britain. It encompasses an urgent crash program to tackle the immediate consequences of the crisis for working people and would create conditions for getting to grips with the chronic problems of the economy which arise from the pursuit of imperialist policies throughout the postwar years.

It is very significant that it is not only Communists and others on the left who are urging the government to pursue a different economic policy. The General Secretary of the Labour Party, Ron Hayward, in an important speech in late January said: 'Our people cannot live on hopes of a world recovery,' and urged severe import controls which he argued could safeguard 300,000 jobs.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Capitalism's crisis has more than economic consequences for Britain. It is above all a political crisis seen partly in the ever-deepening crisis in British constitutional arrangements.

This is seen at its sharpest point in Northern Ireland where the 55-year-old constitutional 'settlement' has collapsed. It is now also seen in relation to the growing and insistent demand for devolution of governmental powers to Scotland and Wales, and as a consequence the need to devolve equal powers to England.

All this was dramatically expressed when the Westminster Parliament met on January 12 for the reopening of the present Parliamentary session. The first day was devoted to an emergency debate on the situation in Northern Ireland. The next four days were given over, almost entirely, to a debate on the government's White Paper 'Our Changing Democracy: Devolution to Scotland and Wales.'

The continued crisis in Northern Ireland has brought terrible burdens to the people there. Since 1969, close on 1,200 lives have been lost through violence, and thousands have been maimed or injured. Homes, factories, shops and offices have been destroyed. Thousands have been forced to abandon their homes. Army harassment of youth in particular, alongside the sectarian violence, mass unemployment, and the terrible social conditions has a harmful effect on the social outlook of many young people that could leave a scar on their way of thinking for many years. The total cost runs into millions of pounds which should have been used to tackle the serious unemployment and housing situation in Northern Ireland, and the acute problems of social deprivation and insecurity, all of which are important contributory factors to the political crisis itself.

The cause of the crisis in Northern Ireland

The root causes of the present crisis lie in British imperialism's partition of Ireland in 1920, its continued control of the Six Counties

of Northern Ireland, and its support of repression and discrimination.

From the very birth of our Party, we declared our opposition to the partition of Ireland, supported the just struggle of the Irish people to reunify their country and demanded the withdrawal of British troops. This is still our basic position.

The present struggle of the people of Northern Ireland for democratic liberties is a vital stage in the struggle of the Irish people for reunification and full independence. The demand for democratic rights in Northern Ireland is in no way a diversion from or opposed to the aim of ending partition. On the contrary, the achievement of these democratic demands will help to end Unionist domination, break down sectarianism and bigotry, assist the process of uniting the working class, and provide more favorable conditions for the people of Northern Ireland to carry on political activity. It will help to create a new situation, a new political atmosphere, and a new relationship of forces in Northern Ireland which can open up prospects for the people of Ireland as a whole to reunite their country.

Responsibility of British labor movement

It is the responsibility of the British people, and especially the labor movement, to assist the people of Northern Ireland to secure such conditions by removing all the burdens and obstacles to national and democratic advance which have been placed in their way by 55 years of British imperialist control.

That is why the main immediate task before the British people in respect of Northern Ireland is to secure a change in the policy of the British government.

As a first step, a joint meeting of the General Councils of the British Trades Union Congress and Irish Congress of Trade Unions could be held in order to discuss how the British trade union movement should campaign to win support for common policies the two councils could agree on. A basis for such cooperation already exists in the policies already adopted by the British TUC and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in support of a bill of rights for Northern Ireland. This trade union cooperation would contribute toward breaking sectarian divisions.

Such a bill, for which our Party has pressed repeatedly, is essential for democratic advance in Northern Ireland.

Withdrawal of British troops

The question of the withdrawal of British troops cannot be dealt with on its own apart from other factors. The troops are not employed in Northern Ireland for an isolated military purpose. The army is the instrument of an overall repressive policy which is pursued by politi-

cal, economic, judicial and other means as well. The question of the British troops and their withdrawal is therefore connected with the struggle to compel a change in British government policy and to secure the adoption of a democratic political solution, which includes the withdrawal of the troops.

That the troops should go is clear. The issue is how to create the political conditions to secure their withdrawal in consultation with the Irish people and their representative bodies and organizations and under conditions which assist democratic and national progress and do not create obstacles in the way of those struggling for democracy and against imperialism.

From its 34th Congress the Communist Party put forward the demands on which we think the labor and progressive movement should campaign with the aim of compelling the British government to:

1. Release all internees.
2. Introduce a bill of rights for Northern Ireland, as demanded by the 1971 Annual Conference of the British TUC.
3. Repeal all repressive legislation, including the Emergency Provisions (Northern Ireland) Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain.
4. Withdraw British troops in Northern Ireland to barracks pending their complete withdrawal.
5. Replace the Royal Ulster Constabulary by a non-sectarian police force acceptable to the people of both communities and under democratic control.
6. Introduce an economic development program designed to eliminate unemployment and the housing shortage and to meet urgent social needs.
7. Renounce all claims to Irish territory, and recognize the right of the Irish people to decide their own future.

DEVOLUTION WITHIN BRITAIN

Devolution has become a major issue in British politics. The Labour government's handling of it expressed most recently in its White Paper will not satisfy the people of Scotland and Wales. Further, it threatens grave damage to the labor movement and weakens the democratic unity of the British people as a whole in their struggle against the big monopolies.

The government's White Paper published in November 1975, 'Our Changing Democracy: Devolution to Scotland and Wales,' represents a disastrous approach to this great issue. The January 13th-14th meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party said that it was urgent that the labor movement brings about major

changes in government policy on devolution to fully meet the just national demands of the people of Scotland and Wales, take into account the consequential situation for England, safeguard the interests of the labor movement, and give new strength to the struggle for socialism in Britain.

'This,' said the Communist Party Executive, 'can and must be achieved while maintaining the political and economic unity of Britain.'

'Devolution within the political and economic unity of Britain, and its corollary, a single labor movement, is the best political and economic structure for the class struggle and the political struggle, for democratic change, national rights and socialism.'

The White Paper states that 'The constitutional changes proposed are the most fundamental of their kind in Great Britain for centuries, and raise complex and far-reaching problems.' We Communists agree.

But in recent years the issue of devolution has been consistently mishandled by the Labour government. As a result, the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales, particularly the former, have benefited electorally and in other ways. Unless the situation is reversed it could have serious effects in relation to the possibility of maintaining Labour governments in the years immediately ahead.

The case for devolution

The stand of Communists on this issue is based on three interconnected grounds: *First,* as a vital extension of democracy. In modern capitalist society government has become increasingly remote from the people, and more and more bureaucratic.

While recognizing that with the crisis of capitalism, class and socialist policies must dominate solutions to political and social problems of the people, extension of democracy is a vital part of the solution of today's acute problems.

Second, on national grounds. The Marxist view has always been that socialists stand for the guarantee of national rights, including the rights of nations to self-determination.

National consciousness in Scotland and Wales has grown along with the growth of resistance to the economic and social exploitation imposed by deepening crisis of British imperialism.

The solution to the national and democratic needs of the peoples of Scotland and Wales, as of England, is bound up with the fight for a fundamental change in society, to win socialism.

Of course it is the right of the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales to decide their own future and what form of relationship they feel will best serve their interests.

This is one of the major reasons why democratically elected assemblies are needed, through which the will of the people of each country can be expressed.

We are confident that the Scottish and Welsh people would decide that their best interests lie in securing, not separation, but adequate measures of self-government within the framework of continued representative government for Britain of a whole.

The best forms of relationship in the interest of all three peoples will need to be democratically worked out and reviewed in the light of experience. It is this voluntary unity on the basis of self-determination which is the real way forward and the only effective answer to the dangers of division and separation. Adequate and effective devolution now is the first essential for this unity to be achieved.

Third, devolution could provide the best grounds to enable the people to tackle the distinctive problems of each country.

While imperialist crisis has resulted in deep social, economic and political problems for Britain as a whole, these are particularly acute in Scotland and Wales. Both are officially designated by the government as 'deprived areas' and have suffered from years of neglect by successive governments, whether Labour or Tory. Unemployment has been consistently higher. Traditional industries declined. Insufficient new industry was developed. Special problems — the Highlands and islands, Central Wales, transport, extensive urban decay were only tinkered with or largely neglected. Social conditions, particularly housing and health, were usually worse than in most of England. Many youth emigrated, the age structure became older. The consequent decline in many communities has also meant the undermining of much traditional culture and of Gaelic and the Welsh language.

The combination of all these factors has been the main reason for the emergence in recent years of heightened national consciousness in both countries.

All this has been thrown into sharper relief in Scotland by the discovery of oil off the Scottish coast, and the mistaken policies in relation to this important new energy source.

Devolution itself not enough

It is especially important in view of all this to state clearly that devolution in itself will not solve the problems of Scotland and Wales. What is primiarily needed are left policies to solve capitalism's crisis, as we and the left advocate. But devolution is correct in principle and is the best means to tackle some existing problems from a national and democratic point of view. A correct and clear position now on devolution is vital to the fight to win left majorities and policies in the

Assemblies when they are set up, and in the Westminster Parliament too.

The nationalist parties offer no solution. The Scottish Nationalist Party and Plaid Cymru (the Welsh nationalist party) say the 'English' are responsible for the problems of Scotland and Wales, not capitalism. Because the diagnosis of the Scots and Welsh nationalist parties is wrong and has no class or social basis, so their 'solution' of capitalist 'separation' is wrong. Unless, however, the correct solution is found, politics in both countries could be further distorted with ugly overtones of narrow nationalism and political development thrown back for years.

The immediate issue is the specific form of devolution for Scotland and Wales, but consideration of the necessary consequential change for England is now an urgent matter. With the creation of separate assemblies in Scotland and Wales a new dimension will be introduced into British politics. The assemblies can be made, and must be made into powerful democratic forums that enrich democratic life and popular participation. But they require to be assemblies with real powers.

The background of the government's devolution proposals is the political and economic unity of Britain. Parliamentary control is to be retained by the central Parliament at Westminster, of national security and defense, international relations including the EEC, a single framework of law and democratic rights. The White Paper also states that 'The government must be able to manage demand in the economy as a whole — to embrace national taxation, total public expenditure and the supply of money and credit.' It further states that the government 'must also keep the task of devising national policies to benefit particular parts of the United Kingdom, and of distributing resources among them according to needs.'

We support this general approach, subject to three vital qualifications.

The first is that of policy. It is necessary to restate, in the interests of Scotland and Wales and Britain as a whole, that central government powers be used to implement a real counter-crisis policy, as we and others on the left have been demanding.

This policy can only be won by intense class struggle by a united labor movement rallying the overwhelming majority of the people.

Our second proviso is that, in addition to the proposed devolved powers, substantial economic powers must also be devolved.

Thirdly, we are completely opposed to the government having reserve powers in relation to the fields of policy devolved to the assemblies.

These are our fundamental differences with the government's White Paper.

Socialism the real solution

Constitutional questions cannot be separated from politics and policy. Therefore constitutional issues, even under capitalism, cannot be a matter of indifference to Communists and others on the left.

We support devolution as a democratic, national principle, while being clear that the greatest issue is to win a Labour majority and Communist representation in the assemblies and Westminster, carrying out left policies to deal with capitalism's crisis.

For the Communist Party, a single united working class labor and trade union movement is a vital principle if monopoly capitalism is to be defeated and socialism won. In Scotland and Wales we have separate trades union congresses combining the activities of the British trade unions in these countries. This has strengthened the labor movement. The unity of the working class of England, Scotland and Wales in common unions and common political parties is even more important under devolution than before. This will be the guarantee that the common political objectives of the working class will be simultaneously fought for in all the assemblies when they are set up and in Westminster, as well as the specific policies for the three countries.

The carrying through of devolution in the way we propose, far from undermining the struggle for socialism, will assist it.

Socialism is the real solution to the problems of Scotland and Wales, as for Britain as a whole. But socialism needs to be fought for in the context of the immediate economic and political problems produced by the crisis of capitalism.

LEFT UNITY IN STRUGGLE FOR NEW POLICY

To change the economic strategy of the government and force it on to a new course, and simultaneously solve the political and constitutional crises in Northern Ireland and the three countries of Britain requires a new dimension of mass political struggle. It is only possible of achievement if there is in the first place unity in action of the left forces in the labor movement, including Communists. This is the challenge before the left.

The broad alliance

For Communists, left unity is a matter of principle, not a tactical convenience. We work for unity so that the full power of the working class will be expressed in struggle against the monopolies.

Our principled understanding and approach to left unity guides and

determines our relations with comrades and organizations on the left. We recognize that there will be occasions when there are differences between us on important issues. But such differences need not fracture our basic unity against the right wing and for socialism.

The fight for left policies and leadership in the trade unions and in the Labour Party is a complex process. A constant struggle between left and right is taking place at all levels and on a variety of issues. At any moment there may be advances in some areas and setbacks in others. This is clearly illustrated by recent developments.

At both the 1975 TUC and Labour Party Conference, on the central pivot of the Labour government's economic policy, the £6 maximum wage increase and the concept of the Social Contract, the left suffered a serious setback.

This was possible because of the confusion in the movement, even on the left, on this issue. Some trade union and Labour leaders who formerly opposed wage restraint, now support it, though they often continue to take a left position on other issues. We have said, and will continue to argue, that they are wrong in supporting the £6 limit on pay increases. This policy does not help to save the Labour government, as they claim, but puts it in greater danger.

The differentiation between right and left will deepen. Our aim is by principled argument to win the whole left to oppose wage restraint and present a comprehensive alternative policy to that of the government and the right wing.

The winning of left leadership and left policies in the labor movement has a wider political and democratic significance.

The concept of a broad alliance of different sections of the people and their organizations, led by the working class, ranged against the big monopolies and for democratic change, is set out in our program, *The British Road to Socialism*. Because of the increasing involvement of millions of men and women, not part of the labor movement, in struggle against the consequences of capitalism's crisis, there are now new opportunities for building this broad alliance.

The Communist Party, Young Communist League And 'Morning Star'

Achievement of this perspective requires a bigger Communist Party, Young Communist League and *Morning Star* circulation.

The opening up of the road to socialism and the winning of socialism in Britain necessitates the existence, as part of the labor movement, of an independent organized party, firmly based on Marxist socialist ideology and outlook, conducting militant struggle against monopoly capitalism and spreading the ideas and aims of socialism.

It was on the basis of this understanding that the Executive Com-

mittee of the Communist Party at its January 1976 meeting adopted a comprehensive plan of Party, YCL and *Morning Star* growth and development. Introducing the plan to the National Executive Committee, National Organizer of the Party, Dave Cook said: 'The size of the Party is very much a central concern of this plan because the way to get growth in the present situation is to accompany a determined fight for membership with attention to improving our organization and our mass work. This plan sees the strengthening of the fabric of the Party and winning new members as different sides of the same coin.'

International setting

The fulfillment of the plan for growth and development of the communist movement in Britain and the building of left unity in the course of mass democratic struggle, is made all the more possible because of the major victories in recent years of the world forces for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

British Communists and all other progressive forces in Britain greeted with great joy the world-changing victory of the Vietnamese people.

Developments in Europe have been no less significant. The European Conference on Security and Cooperation marks a new stage in the struggle for peace and détente in Europe. Its successful outcome was the product of years of activity by world progressive forces, in which the peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union were decisive. Fulfillment of the Helsinki Agreements will necessitate continued struggle, for the cold warriors will try to sabotage them.

One of the foremost among these is the leader of the Tory Party in Britain, Margaret Thatcher. In a major speech in London on January 20th she made a hysterical anti-Soviet speech reminiscent of the worst kind of 'red scare' of the old cold war era.

'The Russians,' she declared, 'are bent on world dominance and they are rapidly acquiring the means to become the most powerful imperialist nation the world has seen.'

With much more in this vein being uttered by her and other Tory leaders, it was understandable that the Soviet Union should vigorously refute these and other speeches which are violently opposed to the spirit and meaning of détente.

The Thatcher speech was also condemned by Labour members of Parliament and others in the labor movement.

Thatcher and other reactionaries fulminate against the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, for it is that policy which has played a major part in curbing imperialism's aggressive aims.

The consistent, principled fight for détente, peace and disarmament maintained by the Soviet Union since the October Revolution, today

stands as a prime obstacle in the way of those who would follow policies that threaten the world with new wars carrying with them the danger of nuclear holocaust.

Peace-loving people throughout the world recognize this great quality of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and pay tribute to it.

The Helsinki Agreements, of course, do not mean ideological détente and the preservation of capitalism in Western Europe. In all the countries of capitalism the struggle for socialist advance will be stepped up as capitalism's crisis deepens.

The economic situation in Britain and the capitalist world stands in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. All the false references to a 'world' crisis cannot obscure this reality. At this moment of deep capitalist crisis, the superiority of the socialist economic system becomes ever more evident and this assists us in our activity to chart our own way to socialism in Britain.

Democracy in the service of peace and man

Dalibor Hanes
Member of CC, CP
Czechoslovakia, Chairman
Chamber of Nationalities,
Federal Assembly of CSSR

Few problems today provoke so many debates and controversies as the problem of democracy. It has become particularly topical in the conditions of détente, which was given a powerful spur at Helsinki, and against the background of the deep economic crisis that has gripped the capitalist world, laying bare its economic as well as political and moral weakness. It is no coincidence that lately capitalist propaganda has fallen back on the notions of 'pure democracy,' the 'free play of political forces,' pluralism and totalitarianism. Nor is it accidental that more and more frequently, socialist democracy is measured with the yardstick of bourgeois democracy. The reason for this ideological manipulation is not really novel. Whenever the capitalist world is keenly aware of a weakening of its positions, its propaganda centers do their utmost to discredit the social system destined by history to succeed it. Hence the fundamental importance of distinguishing between the socialist and the capitalist approach to

democracy so as to show the social and political forces that advocate the promotion of democracy and those that try to prevent it, the social system that enables the people to participate in government and the system that raises obstacles to it.

World history and the contemporary activity of millions indicate that the bourgeoisie as a class has used up its opportunities of directing social development and has become a barrier to progress. The monopolist upper stratum of the bourgeoisie plays a particularly reactionary role in the economy, government, culture, foreign policy and all other spheres of public life. It blocks far-reaching democratic changes both in its own country and elsewhere.

Lenin regarded the attitude to war and peace as a basic criterion of democracy of any state. 'Socialists,' he wrote, 'have always condemned war between nations as barbarous and brutal' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21 p. 299). The proletarian state, being democratic, offers all nations durable peace and recognizes none but revolutionary liberation wars as just. This approach to war and peace is still more important now that the balance of world forces has changed in favor of socialism and a process of détente meeting the interests of all nations is under way.

Détente has supporters and opponents. We see in the van of its opponents, of those advocating a return to the cold war, the same forces who both at home and abroad, call for curbs on democracy and readily protect and ally themselves with reactionary regimes. They belong primarily to the imperialist bourgeoisie and the social strata linked with it. The class interests of the bourgeoisie and a policy meeting them dragged most countries into two wars, the worst in human history, that cost tens of millions of lives. And was it not the imperialist bourgeoisie that started those infamous wars in Algeria, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia and Laos? Did it not strangle democracy and help to establish fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Chile? It also backs the Israeli aggressors and their provocations against freedom-loving Arab peoples and pulls the strings of counter-revolutionary donspiracies against democratic regimes and governments, against national liberation and democratic movements throughout the world. While the socialist countries reacted favorably to the outcome of the Helsinki Conference, which also won the approval of other democratic and peace forces, the Conference decisions were fiercely attacked by reactionaries, arms manufacturing monopolies and militarists, as well as by the press and politicians expressing their interests.

The monopoly bourgeoisie's hostility to democracy is due to its vested interest in maintaining international tensions and militarizing public life. In such an atmosphere, it is easier to insist in parliament

on large military appropriations that fill the pockets of giant corporations and put a heavy burden on the working people. The monopoly bourgeoisie accuses the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of 'deriving unilateral benefits' from détente while the West is alleged to incur losses. Yet it is a fact that the reduction of the threat of nuclear war and good-neighbor relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with different social systems benefit the overwhelming majority of mankind. The thaw in international relations is only resented by the reactionary section of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which makes fabulous profits from the arms race, as well as by the Maoist leadership, whose unprincipled position ranges it alongside the most rabid reactionaries.

It follows that the effort for extending détente is inseparable from the fight for democracy, since in either case the working people are faced with the same chief enemy, the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie. Détente limits the room for maneuver available to aggressive and reactionary imperialist forces, and makes export of counter-revolution much more difficult while facilitating the fight for democracy and revolutionary change.

Though the bourgeoisie and its anti-democratic rule are irreconcilable with the objective requirements of historical development, this exploiting class is not a passive onlooker in social processes but an active force whose vitality is maintained by the instinct of class self-preservation. It continuously musters its forces and mobilizes such powerful agencies as the state apparatus, the armed forces, the police, the education system, the church, parliament and the mass media. It uses fascist organizations, renegades from the working class and other working people, declassed elements. All instruments of the bourgeoisie's class rule are ultimately anti-democratic, for they help to maintain its political domination, preserve private property and the resultant exploitation of man by man, and safeguard bourgeois law and morality. Their purpose is to perpetuate a social system which puts the selfish interests of a narrow group, the imperialist bourgeoisie, above those of the working class.

On the other hand, sustained struggle by the working people headed by the working class has enabled the democratic forces (in varying measure from one capitalist country to another) to express and uphold the people's interests to one extent or another through bourgeois political institutions. To this end, progressives use every legal medium ranging from non-governmental organizations and the mass media to parliament. They realize, however, that democratic measures alone, no matter how serious, cannot lead to the abolition of bourgeois rule.

The more zealous apologists of the capitalist system call it a 'bul-

wark of democracy' and a 'guarantee of freedom.' To be sure, bourgeois democracy is not an invented concept but a reality in today's world. The rights and freedoms existing in capitalist society were won in a contest, first between a bourgeoisie that was still progressive and a declining feudalism, and then between the exploiting classes and the working people, above all the working class. The working class remains in the lead of the forces fighting for greater democracy under capitalism.

But can democracy be complete where the principal means of production, including the land, are still owned by a handful of monopolies? And can there be any question of real people's rule where the domination of private property breeds and maintains social, cultural and political inequality, perpetuates irreconcilable class antagonisms and gives rise to imperialist wars?

This anachronism is the source of an ever more powerful democratic movement. As the struggle for far-reaching democratic changes goes on, a broad coalition of progressive, anti-monopoly forces is taking shape that aims to substantially weaken, undermine the omnipotence of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The nationalization of industry, for instance, assumes the character of a genuinely democratic measure if it enables the working class and other working people to participate in the management of nationalized enterprises and excercise control over their operation, for this means curtailing the power of the bourgeoisie. A genuine democratization of public life is unthinkable without limiting and then abolishing the power of capital. History has repeatedly shown that every effort to this end is fiercely resisted by the ruling classes, whose resistance grows as the anti-monopoly forces demand more and more emphatically that the might of the bourgeoisie be curbed. The revolutionary movement of recent years has revealed that when the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie is really threatened, it stops at nothing to retain it. Proof of this is the brutal repression practised against democrats in many countries.

A favorite device of bourgeois ideologists and propagandists in attacking socialism is to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat to democracy. This is completely indefensible. The actual watershed lies between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, with bourgeois democracy as one of its forms, and the rule of the working people led by the working class, which takes the form of dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no such thing as the 'pure' or 'complete' democracy advocated by bourgeois ideologists and Social-Democratic theorists.

In assailing real socialism, opportunists, right- and 'left'-wing revisionists and right-wing Social Democratic leaders substitute nominal legal criteria for the class criteria of democracy and distort

the meaning of socialist statehood. Political currents in our country were strongly influenced by the ideas of 'democratic socialism.' From the early years of revolutionary development (1945-48) onwards, its adherents waged a clamorous campaign against 'totalitarianism' — meaning the leading role of the Communist Party — and urged the working class not to build up the new people's rule, but to carry out a Masarykist 'revolution in people's minds and hearts.' At the same time they laid plans for a counter-revolutionary putsch, which they actually attempted in February 1948, only to be defeated. The dangerous character of this ideology was brought home to us once again when, in 1968-69, the counter-revolution in our country, clamoring for 'democratic Czechoslovak socialism,' took a stand against the leading role of the Communist Party and the working class in an effort to supplant proletarian internationalism by petty-bourgeois nationalism and the real political system of socialism by bourgeois democratic pluralism. However, the Party restored the Leninist class approach to democracy and strengthened the power of the working class and the people as a whole. 'In a class society,' says Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party, 'the point at issue has always been: ''Freedom for whom, democracy for whom?'' We say openly: for the working people, for the workers, peasants and intellectuals, but never for the parasitic strata.'

By describing bourgeois democracy as the acme of democracy and by disguising its material basis — private property — and its limited, class character, the bourgeoisie wants to prevent anything that is intended to go beyond the narrow framework of this form of government, i.e. to draw the working people into government. At present the bourgeoisie plainly tries, for all its political maneuvers, to restrict the initiative of the working people, who are fighting for the possibility of influencing their countries' policy and economy. It would like to reduce the citizen's role in society to the nominal function of a voter who does not appreciably influence the exercise of power, let alone its class nature. It is a power serving the interests of monopoly and hence running counter to those of the overwhelming majority of the people. But exclusiveness and privileges have nothing to do with democracy, humanism or freedom.

Anyone who wants his rights to be respected must see to it that the rights of all are respected. How do matters stand in bourgeois society? The constitutions of most bourgeois states provide for various civil rights and freedoms but have 'forgotten' to provide for two decisive things: freedom from exploitation and the right to work. This is a source of insurmountable evils under bourgeois democracy, such as social insecurity, hunger and poverty in countries whose rulers like to declare that they have created an 'affluent society,' a

'welfare state,' and so on. The question inevitably arises: by what moral right do those who safeguard the inviolability of an exploiting system pose as defenders of democracy and champions of humanism and freedom? After all, every reasonably well-informed person knows that the world capitalist system, in particular its citadel, the United States, have lost their advantage in economic growth and in some other economic indices and their monetary and financial stability, and are faced with acute fuel, raw material and energy problems. He also knows that, on the other hand, they have proved their 'worth' in political scandals, abuses of power, corruption, violation of civil rights, racial discrimination, political assassination and, last but not least, counter-revolutionary conspiracies against countries and governments whose policy does not meet the interests of the international monopoly bourgeoisie. This is bourgeois democracy, under which 'freely' elected parliaments protect the interests of the propertied classes and the exploitation of man by man is called 'freedom of labor.' (It will be recalled that 15 million people are today 'free' from labor, having no job). It is democracy for the bourgeoisie, against the working people. To understand its nature is to draw a revolutionary conclusion, the only one that is correct.

Implementation of a program for far-reaching democratic changes in the course of the people's unrelenting class struggle paves the way for the subsequent transition to a new, socialist society that will bring about a new and higher type of democracy, socialist democracy. What gives the latter a revolutionary content is that the people as a whole take an active part in government and the management of public affairs generally and that as socialist democracy matures the political forms and institutions of people's social organization are perfected. Socialist democracy is both a condition and a process. Perfecting, deepening and humanizing it is an objective law.

A salient feature of socialist democracy is its inherent connection with humanism. The right to work, education and a full cultural life, complete security for every citizen in case of illness and in old age, free medical care, extensive and really guaranteed political rights and freedoms — all this fundamentally distinguishes the socialist system and socialist democracy from the capitalist system and bourgeois democracy and ensures the working people a secure future.

Under socialism, democracy is not an aim in itself, but an essential vehicle of social and economic progress and, therefore, an important means in the all-round development of the personality. Continued extension and deepening of socialist democracy, Marxist-Leninists hold, makes for a better pattern of social, political, economic and cultural life and promotes active participation of the people in implementing social change. Hence, socialist democracy is intrinsic to the

development of socialism, the organizational form of its political power.

Man's liberation from all forms of exploitation and oppression, the development of his personality, creative energy and ability, is the supreme aim of the policy of the Communist Party and of the socialist state it directs. On the one hand, the Party and all the institutions of the socialist state, using the advantages of the social relations under socialism, work toward the all-round development of the personality in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world outlook of the working class. In this sense man is, to a definite degree, the object of social change. On the other hand, socialism cultivates an active personality, who consciously devotes his energies and abilities to the creation of material and cultural values and realization of the communist ideals. In this way man exerts a reverse influence on society, he is an active subject of social change.

Marxist-Leninists understand freedom as conscious choice of a definite, historically feasible, path of development. Genuine freedom, including individual freedom, comes through cognition and application of the objective laws of nature and society, which is possible only under socialism. In the course of socialist construction the free personality is formed and democracy is perfected, deepened and extended. That is how man's real freedom is born. It begins when millions consciously and voluntarily share in the building of socialism and communism.

Lenin foresaw that when all, or nearly all, the people learn to administer the affairs of society and production and the basic norms of conduct become a habit, 'the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase . . .' (Vol. 25, p. 474). But this requires the steady development of socialist democracy so that necessity is transformed into habit and requirement. Socialism increasingly creates the political, ideological, material and social requisites for achievement of the ultimate aim of the working class — the building of communist society.

This stands out especially clearly today with most socialist-community countries building developed socialism and the Soviet Union successfully solving the problems involved in building communism. Social activity of the masses therefore acquires much greater importance for the further development of socialist society. Accordingly, the documents adopted by the recent congresses of fraternal ruling parties envisage the continued extension of socialist democracy as a major political goal.

Consequently, the free man is an objective need for socialism, and it has the necessary material basis: the emancipation of labor, public ownership of the means of production. But, as every social goal, this

is not achieved automatically. It requires conscious, purposeful political and ideological work by the Communist Party to create the necessary social, economic and cultural prerequisites, and remove all impediments to the process. Such is the new dialectical interconnection of subject and object in socialist society. It presents ample scope for participation in the management of public affairs.

The following are inherent characteristics of socialism: dynamic progress and perfection of society, the growth of its material and spiritual potential accelerate the all-round development of each of its members and, on the other hand, stimulate development of the people's ability to multiply the wealth of, and steadily perfect society. This dialectical interdependence of social and individual development effectively refutes the slanderous allegations that in socialism man is merged with the 'mass,' 'deprived of individuality' and 'forcibly integrated' in the collective. The pooling of man's individual efforts with those of the community vastly enriches his life, gives it a more profound purpose and meaning, and is a precondition for the development of a creative personality.

Under socialism, all the difficulties, problems and contradictions are resolved not by the struggle of the lone individual against a hostile milieu, but through collective social endeavor directed at expanding the production forces and improving the conditions of work and life and, consequently, developing the individual as society's greatest value. That is why the Communist parties seek to enhance the humanistic essence of socialist democracy, which stimulates friendship and collectivism. And that is why they are concerned for the well-being of the individual, respect for his dignity not only in words but in deeds, for cultivating a rich individuality, but without individualistic propensities.

Socialist democracy, however, presupposes not only active participation in the management of government, economic and cultural affairs, but also responsibility of each person to society and the state, respect for the existing order, observance of the laws and social obligations. For, to quote Lenin, 'one cannot live in society and be free from society' (Vol. 10, p. 481). But the relation between the individual and society is deeply democratic, for it rests, increasingly, on conscious, voluntary observance of society's laws and principles — on the consciousness that stems from the profoundly humanist principle of the socialist way of life: society works for the individual, the individual works for society.

Socialist popular rule manifests itself in the democratic organization and functions of the state. All classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, share a common socialist ideology, common fundamental interests expressed and implemented by the state. That

is why Lenin's idea of the socialist state's strength lying in the consciousness of the masses is more relevant today than ever.

Under socialism, development of democracy and the state form a dialectical whole for, as Lenin remarked, 'the more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment when it becomes unnecessary. The more democratic the "state" ... the more rapidly *every form* of state begins to wither away' (Vol. 25, p. 474). Such is the transition from the socialist state to communist social self-government. The Communist parties of the socialist countries follow a consistent policy of developing socialist democracy. But they are mindful of the fact that in present conditions the state is still an important instrument in directing economic upbuilding, scientific and technological progress, social policy, the promotion of culture, raising educational levels. The experience of the socialist-community countries has proved that perfection of the socialist state has a positive effect also on the development of socialist democracy.

Mass elective organizations, the organs of popular representation, are the firm basis of state power under socialism. In the USSR these are the Soviets, in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — the National Committees, in Poland — the People's Councils. These institutions of representative democracy are a direct link between the state and the people and a means of bringing the people into the management of public and state affairs. These mass organizations, through which the people exercise their sovereignty, are expressive of the broad democracy of socialist society. The very composition of these bodies, which are made up of workers, peasants, representatives of the socialist intelligentsia and other working people, are the symbol and embodiment of popular rule, its practical manifestation.

Under socialism, the people have a share in management and democratic control not only through the state, but also through the mass public and political organizations led by the Communist Party.

The apologists of capitalism and the critics of the socialist system pretend to be shocked by the Communist Party's leading role vis-à-vis the state and society. They try to exploit this fact to back up their contention that socialist democracy is no more than 'formal.' A futile exercise, for the Party's leading role is not the result of subjective aspirations; it stems from the very march of history and serves the working class and people in exercising their power. Every ruling class delegates direction of the state to its political vanguard, which knows its interests and is able consistently to uphold them. This applies to the working class too. Marxist-Leninists frankly admit this historical reality. They do not have to conceal it, for the Communist Party's aims and efforts fully coincide with the interests of the working class and the working people generally.

The most important problems facing society are in the economic field. And socialist democracy is closely linked with this aspect of the country's life. Lenin pointed out that: 'taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken together" with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation ...' (Vol. 25, pp. 452-453). We know that economic results are largely determined by the scope of mass activity. But we also know that steady, dynamic growth of the socialist economy is a key factor in the promotion of democracy.

That is why the Communist parties provide all the conditions for the development of democracy in the sphere of material production, at the factories and mills where the wealth of society is created. Higher activity and more initiative, overfulfillment of economic plans, socialist obligations assumed by the workers and, most important, the mass socialist emulation movements — those are all concrete expressions of the people's active participation in managing production, a concrete expression of socialist democracy in practice.

In the process of emancipating labor socialism guarantees respect of man's dignity, observance of his rights and freedoms. The full and unhindered use of these rights enables citizens of a socialist state to share in the exercise of power. This is the basis for developing their talents and abilities. It also facilitates closer fraternal solidarity and friendship with other socialist nations and all the democratic forces of the world. In assessing the achievements of socialism in providing the requisite for genuine freedom of the individual and full popular rule, we are aware that, in the longer historical perspective, we have made only the first steps toward this goal. But emancipated labor is the guarantee that we will reach this goal.

A society is truly human only if labor serves the interests of the working class, the working people, the individual. It is against this background that one can clearly see the difference in the aims and results of socialist and bourgeois democracy.

On the one hand, there is capitalism, with its fear of the future, antagonistic class contradictions, rapacious attitude to material and social values and to man, the highest creation of nature. On the other hand, there is dynamically developing socialism, which is successfully solving the most complex problems that arise on the road to progress, directing all its efforts for the benefit of man, his well-being and limitless spiritual perfection.

On the one hand, there is bourgeois democracy, resting on an unstable material basis and always subject to crises; a bourgeois democracy that uses every available means to save historically moribund social relations, and therefore a restricted, curtailed democ-

racy that serves the interests of a narrow minority standing opposed to the people. The present crisis of bourgeois democracy is a component part of the general crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, there is a qualitatively new democracy, based on public ownership and implemented through institutions that express the people's will and interests. This is the highest form of political democracy, and it is guided by its own, socialist laws and assessed by its own, socialist criteria.

A characteristic feature of socialist democracy in the period of accelerated advance to mature socialism is the growing concern of society for the all-round development of man, his knowledge, activity and responsibility, extension of his rights and freedoms, closer interconnection between rights and obligations, and systematic extension of material guarantees for the all-round freedom of the individual. In the course of this process all efforts of society, the abilities and talents of each of its members, are focused on achieving the ultimate aim of social development, the building of communism.

Unholy alliance of India's right and 'left'

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The approval by Parliament in February 1976 of the government's legislation extending the emergency and delaying the elections due in March this year served as one more pretext for foreign imperialists and the domestic right and 'left' opposition to step up their attacks on the policy of the Congress Party leadership. Ostensibly concerned about the fate of Indian democracy, they allege that there is a danger of 'absolutist' rule being established in the country. At the same time the right and the 'left' have sharply intensified attacks against the truly revolutionary ideas.

People not versed in politics ask: what can unite forces that seem to be opposed to one another? In history and present-day political struggles there are many examples of unholy, unnatural alliances and coalitions of the outwardly hostile groups. One such example is the

ganging up of right-reaction and the ultra-left against scientific socialism and the political forces who represent it.

The clamorous ultra-left attack scientific socialism from avowedly opportunist and adventurist positions. The attacks by the right are often clothed in 'national' garb. Inevitably, they are related to the specific background and contemporary problems. The end product of the 'theories' and activities of the right and the 'left' is the whipping up of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign as a weapon for disrupting the unity of progressive and anti-imperialist forces with a view to installing a reactionary dictatorship.

The wide variety of deceptive theories and policies cannot conceal that similar actions, in developing countries for instance, are part of the neo-colonialist drive of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism. Proof of this is provided by events in India in 1975 and 1976.

The most powerful and dangerous reactionary force in India pitted against democracy and socialism, all progressive and patriotic forces is that of Hindu communal chauvinism. It assumes the garb of Hindu nationalism which can find a fertile ideological ground in the tradition-bound and caste-ridden society. This offensive is organized by the Jan Sangh (JS), the political party of Hindu reaction, and is spearheaded by its paramilitary, fascist organization, viz. the RSS (Rashtriye Swayamsevak Sangh).

The JS leaders are arch enemies of scientific socialism. They denounce Marxism-Leninism as being a 'foreign' doctrine 'believing in violence' and alien to the cultural and philosophical traditions of the 'Hindu nation,' and slander Communists as Soviet 'agents.' Attacks on Communists include cloak-and-dagger murders of communist cadres and incendiary attacks on Party offices.

The ideas and methods of economic and social planning in our country are attacked by the JS as being 'un-Indian,' borrowed from the socialist states. At the same time, in the name of a 'patriotic, Indian' plan demands are made for handing over the public sector enterprises to 'national' capitalists, for free trade in foodgrains and for leaving landlordism intact. The main trends of this plan clearly show whose interests the JS defends and who forms its social base. The JS is a strike force of the Indian reactionaries, both big landowners and monopolists.

The JS and the RSS are viciously anti-Muslim, a community which constitutes a substantial minority (slightly over 10 per cent) of the Indian population. The JS and the RSS miss no opportunity to unlease mass violence against Muslims in order to disrupt progressive and democratic movements.

The basic 'theory' of the JS is that Hindus alone are the true citizens of India because it is not only their mother country but also

their holy land. National culture is equated with Hindu culture. The Muslims are considered 'aliens' and 'anti-national.' The history of India since the Muslims first arrived in the country is painted by JS leaders as a conflict between Muslim 'invaders' and Hindu patriots.

This theory of Hindus and Muslims constituting 'two nations' was gradually developed under British rule from the beginning of our freedom movement. Under British provocation, it was also picked up by Muslim reaction and ended up in the partitioning of the country into India and Pakistan in 1947.

In the post-independence period, the theory has been used for opposing all efforts to bring about good-neighborly relations between India and Pakistan and for denouncing Indian Muslims as a Pakastani 'fifth column' in the country. It is also used for demanding the elimination of Muslims from Indian admistrative and defense services as 'enemy agents.' And all this, of course, in the name of 'true patriotism and national interest.'

With all its 'patriotic' thunder, however, the ultra-reactionary nature of the JS came out nakedly during the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. The JS leadership cast all sorts of aspersions alleging that 'the Muslim masses of Bangladesh and their leader, Mujibur Rahman, could not be trusted.' Thus it actually supported the rulers of Pakistan and the U.S. imperialists behind them.

Then the JS seemed to have made a turnabout in its stand. It pretended to support the liberation struggle of the Bangladesh people. At the same time, however, the party assailed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (1971), which prevented direct U.S. intervention in Bangladesh. After Bangladesh became an independent republic, the JS launched attacks against its regime and President Mujibur Rahman. The JS leaders failed to condemn the military coup of August 15, 1975, and the accompanying tragic events.

The foreign-policy stand of the JS leaders has long been clear. They laud the United States as a land of 'free democracy' and call the Soviet Union a 'totalitarian' power. They have come out as enemies of the liberation struggle of the Indochina peoples and of the just cause of the Arabs, who are fighting for the restoration of their lands occupied by Israel. Indira Gandhi is sharply criticized by them for the foreign and home policies of her government and for its policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which, in their opinion, alienates the United States and China from Japan.

Another hotbed of anti-communism in India is linguistic chauvinism. Capitalist development in the country since independence has led to vast unemployment, not only among the rural poor, but equally

among the educated middle-class youth who have been pouring out from various academic institutions.

A concomitant of capitalist development is growing regional disparities, the new industries being concentrated in certain states while others continue to remain in backward agrarian conditions. This leads to unemployed youth from the backward regions flocking to the more developed areas. Even ordinarily this would have led to friction between the local unemployed and those who come from distant regions. The situation is far more aggravated by the fact that India is a country of people speaking different languages.

So the conflict develops linguistic overtones and gives an opportunity to reactionary vested interests to incite linguistic animosities and hatred. Under the slogan of 'employment for the sons of the soil,' the Marathi-speaking youths are instigated against non-Marathi people coming to Bombay for employment. Tamilians in Tamilnadu (in the South) are provoked against those coming from Kerala State.

Linguistic chauvinism assumes its most violent and pernicious forms in industrial areas and cities. It is used by capitalists in the struggle against militant trade unions and for undermining proletarian class solidarity. The industrialists are praised as 'employment givers' and worker is pitted against worker instead of all workers jointly fighting for their democratic rights against the employers. Thus linguistic chauvinism helps capitalists wage a frontal attack on the class struggle of the Indian proletariat and serves as an instrument of anti-communism. The reactionaries make use of the worst lumpen elements, inciting them to anti-communist actions, which are often carried out with the knowledge and approval of the police.

The Anand Marg is yet another dangerous reactionary organization indulging in the murder of Communists and progressive Congressmen. It claims to be based on an esoteric Hindu cult. Its leaders believe in propitiating god with human skulls obtained through calculated murder. This organization is financed by the CIA.

It has been proved that several other reactionary political parties based on the religious-communal principle, local nationalists ('linguistic chauvinists') also maintain close ties with the U.S. intellgence services.

It was from the middle of 1973 that the rightist parties and forces began to club together for a concerted attack on parliamentary democracy in India and for a rightist takeover of power.[1] The economic and political situation in the country by that time had become extremely precarious. Rampant inflation, spiralling prices, massive unemployment, and all-pervasive corruption and black marketeering had led to explosive discontent all over the country. The Parliament and the state legislatures had reached a state of near paralysis due to

the rowdy and utterly undisciplined behavior of the reactionary factions of the legislatures. Transport and communications were faced with sabotage and repeated stoppages. Violence and anarchy erupted repeatedly in one state after another.

The rightist forces jumped into the turmoil with their world renowned technique. They raised demagogic slogans against corruption, unemployment, and rocketing prices, and started denouncing the Congress governments, and above all, concentrated their fire against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Her unforgivable crime, they declared, was that she was 'guided by Moscow and its agents, the Communists.'

However, the rightist parties, discredited in public eyes for their notoriously anti-people's record, were in no position on their own to organize and lead a nationwide fascist offensive against the forces of progress and democracy. They were conscious of this and therefore began to look for a man who could lead a reactionary crusade in the guise of popular demands.

Such a leader they found in Jayprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, who has a colorful though dubious past. In the early 30s he came forward as a socialist Congressman with pro-communist leanings. In 1942 he escaped from prison and acquired fame as a revolutionary underground leader. After independence, he 'quit' politics because 'it had become dirty' and joined a non-violent movement for the voluntary gifting of land by the landlords to the peasants. So he came to be considered a selfless saint and a puritan.

Over the years JP has become openly anti-Soviet, pro-China and pro-American. For years he has been decrying the Soviet Union for 'betraying the revolution' and lauding the Chinese leadership to the skies as 'true Communists and revolutionaries.' As for himself, he insists on being considered a non-violent revolutionary. On occasions he has called himself a follower of 'Marx, Lenin, Gandhi and Mao,' claiming to have synthesized all of these philosophies. This does not prevent him from accepting donations from various U.S. foundations and openly championing CIA outfits such as 'Amnesty International.' The reactionaries have made a good choice. Indeed, who could better conceal their true designs than this overall leader — a 'Socialist,' a 'revolutionary,' and a 'saint.'

His key slogans were, 'Indira, the dictator, and her Communist friends must go,' 'Parliament and the state legislatures must be dissolved,' 'Forward to a total revolution which would give birth to a partyless democracy.' Demands for ending corruption, the growth of prices and unemployment were also tagged to these slogans.

Throughout the second half of 1973 and the whole of 1974 JP and his allies raised a storm all over India on these slogans. Mass demon-

strations combined with looting, arson and murder were organized in different states. The clear objective was to paralyze the government and take over power. The RSS and the Anand Marg were fully utilized for the purpose. In fact, JP openly declared that 'if the RSS is fascist, then I am also a fascist.'

It has to be realized that this reactionary offensive was far more deceptive and more difficult to beat back. So a mass campaign had to be launched to expose JP's 'total revolution and partyless democracy.' The exposure had to be both ideological and practical.

The utopian slogan of a partyless democracy was exposed as being totally unworkable in any class-divided society where every class had to organize itself politically to further its own class interests. In fact, in an exploitative society the slogan is downright deception. This was proved to the hilt in the course of JP's own movement. Everywhere he started forming 'partyless people's struggle committees' which were to be the harbingers of a future partyless democracy. In actual practice, the struggle committees were captured by landlords, traders, black marketeers and by members of the JS, the RSS, the Anand Marg and other reactionary parties who claimed to have 'resigned' from their respective political organizations. The struggle for partyless democracy became a struggle of fascist hoodlums, who attacked elected members of legislatures, Communists, functionaries of trade union and peasant organizations and indulged in orgies of violence and arson directed against schools, colleges, newspaper offices, and so on.

Ultra-lefts — represented mainly by the parallel Communist Party, CP (M),[2] and the splinter groups of the Socialist Party — attack the party of scientific socialism and all who favor positive processes from different positions than the rightists. Yet in India, as elsewhere, the right and the 'left' meet at a point of convergence. And that point is anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the desire to undermine the unity of the genuine revolutionary and democratic forces in their struggle against foreign and internal reaction.

It is amusing, in fact highly illuminating, to note that while the right are critical of Indira Gandhi for 'surrendering' to the CPI, the ultra-left attack the CPI for 'surrendering' to Indira Gandhi, the leader of the national bourgeoisie. So, at one and the same time, the Prime Minister is a tool of Communists and the Communists are a tool of the Prime Minister! No wonder that on the basis of such clearly contradictory logical positions they both join hands against the CPI and Indira Gandhi.

With their utterly eclectic left-nationalist ideology and ingrained anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the Socialists have long jumped on to the bandwagon of the right. The Socialist Party leaders have

simplified the whole matter by declaring that Indira Gandhi is a fascist and all parties opposed to her are fighting for democracy. The Socialists have no ideological headaches and pangs. They have glorified the U.S. and West European mass media for their 'championship' of the cause of democracy in India, especially after the state of emergency was introduced in the country in June 1975.

Not so with the CP(M) which, obviously, cannot formally blatantly deny the very existence of imperialism and right reaction in India. So its path in pursuit of its opportunist politics has been far more tortuous and involved. For many years it has juggled with pseudo-Marxist jargon to defend its sectarian and disruptive politics until, at last, it has landed itself in the camp of the right.

It is not necessary here to go into the long history since 1964 when the CP(M) broke off from the parent organization, the CPI.[3] Suffice it to say that the CP(M) leadership started its journey by denying the existence and growth of contradictions within the national bourgeoisie — between the pro-imperialist monopoly sections and the non-monopoly democratic sections of the bourgeoisie. This meant denial of the opportunities and necessity of building a national democratic front that would unite all left and democratic forces, including the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie. In practice, this led to all-out opposition to the ruling national Congress based on a refusal to recognize the existence of a progressive section in it. The Communist Party, which advocates building a front, was accused by the splitters of 'opportunism.'

With the growing threat of the rightist offensive since 1973, the CP(M) leadership put forward the theory that the conflict between the ruling national Congress and the right opposition parties was factional conflict for power between two sections of the bourgeoisie. But even such a position could not justify the CP(M) supporting one reactionary combination against another. So they came forward with the view that though the allies of JP were reactionary, JP himself was a confused political leader with democratic aims and that the mass struggle being unleashed by him had a radical potential. By supporting the movement, the CP(M) could, on the one hand, radicalize it, and on the other, isolate JP's reactionary allies. In fact, the CP(M) leaders directed their main criticism against the Communist Party, which had become the organizing force in the struggle against the fascist threat.

A series of negotiations started between the CP(M) leadership and JP with the former proposing that JP should include worker-peasant demands in his program, that his movement should rely on strikes by workers and struggles of the landless and poor peasants against landlords, and that his association with the rightist parties should end.

The 'confused and democratic' JP, however, proved cleverer than the CP(M) leadership. He replied that his movement was a partyless people's movement, that he could not prevent any party from supporting it if it agreed with his demands and joined hands with him for dislodging the Congress government from power. JP was perfectly clear that the CP(M) would not keep out of any movement demanding the ousting of Indira Gandhi, no matter how reactionary it might be.

And that is precisely what happened. JP's pressure on the CP(M) demanding a surrender to his positions increased, and it climbed down from its position of conditional support to one of joining the movement without any conditions. It went even to the extent of participating in JP's criminal actions. Its followers were instructed not to carry the Party banners with them in processions, etc., for, according to JP, a partyless movement had no place for the flags and banners of any political party!

By the close of 1974 the JP movement was thrown on the defensive because of the ideological and political counter-offensive launched by the Communist Party and large numbers of progressive Congressmen. The CPI campaign went hand in hand with mass struggles of workers, agricultural laborers, peasants, students and youth organized by the Party. The people began to realize more and more who was genuinely fighting to improve their life and to strengthen democracy and who was organizing a counter-revolution under the garb of combating corruption and the 'dictatorship of Indira Gandhi.' The JP movement suffered an ideological and political defeat in the struggle to influence the masses. That being so, reaction set about carrying out the CIA-inspired secret plot designed to seize power.

This was the picture as it stood on the eve of the declaration of emergency in India on June 26, 1975.[4] The Prime Minister made it abundantly clear that the emergency was called for because of efforts by the CIA to destabilize the Indian government, efforts which were supported by reactionary forces in the country. The unity, democracy and freedom of India were at stake. A number of leaders of the rightist parties were arrested, the RSS and the Anand Marg were banned, and a rigorous press censorship which mainly muzzled the monopoly press was imposed.

It has to be stated that the CP(M) was not attacked. Its leadership and members (except those who participated in open subversive activity) were not arrested. And yet, since the declaration of emergency, the CP(M) have gone over wholly to the positions of the extreme right. It has denounced the emergency as 'the institution of a one-party dictatorship and the total suppression of democracy in India.' It has declared that 'the Indira Gandhi Government is the main danger to Indian democracy.'

The CP(M) leadership hailed the anti-Indian campaign in the foreign capitalist press, in which some heads of state and government took part. But it did not say a word about the criminal activities of the CIA and its agents in India. However, the CP(M) leaders protested against the banning of such fascist organizations as the RSS and Anand Marg, saying they should be fought 'politically,' and at the same time cast aspersions on the Communist Party. The Soviet Union and the CPSU were not spared. It was alleged that they had played an 'anti-revolutionary' role in the June 1975 events.

Yet another astounding position of the CP(M) leadership is in connection with the tragic events in Bangladesh last summer. It justified the actions of the putschists and U.S. imperialists and the Maoists behind them. The CP(M) Politbureau tried to explain these actions by the 'anti-democratic' policy of Mujibur Rahman. Still further, the CP(M) organ, *People's Democracy,* wrote 'In Bangladesh there has been a change of rulers, not of the ruling classes, and the class character of the state power has not been affected.' Thus the CP(M) leadership, once taking the opportunist road, pretends not to see the obvious facts if they contradict their preconceptions.

The shocking lengths to which the CP(M) leadership has gone in its blind hatred of the international communist movement and anti-imperialist, progressive forces in India has led to the profoundest crisis in the CP(M) since its birth. Literally hundreds upon hundreds of its members have resigned from the party in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Punjab and so on. Many have returned to the CPI. Unfortunately, some have moved still further 'left.'

Such is the tragedy of pseudo-left movements in India, which attack Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.[5]

The welcome feature in Indian developments during the last six months is that the Communist Party, the progressive forces in the Congress and other patriotic and democratic elements have drawn closer. There is a far greater realization among the urban and rural people of the threat from the right and from U.S. imperialism. There is no doubt that these forces will defeat the unholy alliance of the right and the 'left' against democracy, genuine national independence and scientific socialism, our immortal teaching.

1. For more about this see C.R. Rao's article, 'Awareness of historical responsibility,' in the May 1975 issue of the journal, page 59.
2. CP(M) — Communist Party (Marxist).
3. See C.R. Rao's article 'Left and democratic unity against the right threat' in the August 1973 issue of *WMR*, page 49 — *Ed.*
4. See N. Krishnan's article, 'A sharp turn' in the October 1975 issue of the journal, page 33.
5. A special article about the Indian Maoists is planned by the journal.

Maoism self-exposed in Africa

Amath Dansoko
Essop Pahad

The events in Angola speeded the growing, historically inevitable diferentiation between the democratic, progressive forces and the reactionary, conservative and neo-colonialist forces of Africa. They greatly stimulated the anti-imperialist movement on the continent. The Angolan battlefield showed Africans their real friends and allies and their sworn enemies in the international arena. Illusions about certain international forces posing as fighters against imperialism, for the freedom of peoples were given up one after another. We mean primarily the Maoists. Their policy on the African continent, especially toward the events in Angola, revealed once again how very far Maoism has gone in betraying the cause of revolution and freedom.

Over 10 years have passed since the mid-1960s, when Peking proclaimed the 'five principles' of Chinese policy in Africa and declared in support of the anti-imperialist struggle, the movement for non-alignment and the African peoples' effort for unity and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, promising at the same time to respect the sovereignty of African states. The time has come to take sober stock of how there principles are applied in practice.

The facts leave no room for doubt that the Maoist leadership has from the first regarded penetration into Africa as part of its policy of bringing certain areas of the world and whole continents under the influence of Peking. The Maoists used the strategy of setting up strongholds in Africa, singling out Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia and some other influential states. They effected their penetration into these and other African countries on the demagogic pretext of giving full support to the liberation movement. What this 'support' meant in reality was shown as far back as the 1960s by Maoist activity in the Belgian Congo.

It is hard to assess the damage caused by Peking to the liberation forces of that sorely tried country. Following the tragic death of Patrice Lumumba, the Maoists contrived to involve some of his followers in an extremist policy. Peking tried to bring the movement

of Lumumba's followers under its sway by defaming the socialist community, specifically by accusing the Soviet Union of surrendering to imperialism. Subsequently Maoist influence was a major factor in the defeat of what was a powerful movement.

Along with attempts to win over African patriots, Peking has throughout these years followed the tactic of allying itself with domestic anti-national groups and organizations. In Namibia, it fostered the South West African National Union (SWANU) for a long time, while denying support to the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). And though afterward the Chinese leadership had to recognize SWAPO, Maoist subversion against the Namibian liberation movement continued.

In the South African Republic, Peking pinned its hopes on a handful of traitors to the nation enjoying special favor in imperialist quarters. We mean the Pan-Africanist Congress, which is opposed to the country's leading national liberation movement, the African National Congress. For more than a decade now, the Maoists have been giving political and lavish financial aid to the anti-communists and renegades in the Pan-Africanist Congress. They have also encouraged splitters from the so-called Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO) and counterposed them to the FRELIMO patriots.

Peking's assurances of supporting the movement for non-alignment, which comprises almost all African states, turned out to be an empty promise. The Maoists are against the development of the movement's genuinely anti-imperialist principles. Their sole concern is to draw African states into the sphere of their influence.

The Maoists have shown themselves to be a force hostile to the anti-imperialist unity of the African peoples. They foment division on the continent in an effort to undermine the front of progressive countries. A strong progressive Africa does not suit a Peking obsessed by hegemonic ambitions. By provoking internal unrest in African countries and exploiting tribalist antagonisms, the Maoists encourage separatist sentiments and movements. Their support of the Biafra separatists in Nigeria is one of the more striking cases in point.

Lastly, contrary to its fiery protestations of an uncompromising stand on racism, Peking has come to advocate in Africa a 'racial war' between the 'third world' and the 'white world.' The Maoists have openly assumed the role of proponents of the most reactionary, most obscurantist ideas. By attacking internationalism and anti-imperialist class positions, the Chinese leadership wants to implant a reactionary nationalist ideology, racism and chauvinism in African countries. In the light of this fact, the growing cooperation between South Africa's racists and the Maoists does not seem so very strange. Nor is it accidental that today Peking encourages the expansionist schemes of

Pretoria by backing the Vorster regime's policy of 'détente.'* The Maoists' attitude to this regime is, in effect, the same as the imperialists'.

Democratic, progressive Africa knows by experience the meaning of the Maoist-imperialist alliance. In looking at what the bourgeois and Maoist press writes about the Angolan events, even an unenlightened reader will discover the surprising 'unanimity' of comments and estimates. Both the bourgeois and the Maoist press harp on 'Soviet interference' and 'Soviet colonialism,' calling for a tougher stand toward the Soviet Union and burying détente alive.

Like the imperialists, Peking attaches great importance to alliance with conservative African regimes. Thereby the Maoists deliberately create a mortal threat to opposition organizations and forces which China encouraged until recently to fight against their respective regimes. According to some press reports, Mao Tse-tung said that the support of those forces had been a 'mistake' for which China had paid 'very dearly.' The Maoists did not even shrink from offering their apologies to certain quarters for having backed Lumumba's followers. To show their 'good faith' and improve their relations with the various regimes, they even liquidated organizations which they had until recently taken under their tutelage, as in Cameroun, Niger and some other countries. All this is evidence of a complete lack of principle on the part of Chinese politicians, who are only prompted by chauvinist, cynically pragmatic considerations.

There is an obvious tendency among the imperialists and Maoists today to accord each other 'most-favored-nation treatment' in carrying out joint propaganda and political actions. Bourgeois propaganda aimed at the African continent rehabilitates and embellishes Maoism, thereby helping Peking appreciably in its attempts to bolster its position. The Maoists reciprocate. While urging African countries to restrict economic and other relations with the Soviet Union, Peking declares for the fullest development of essentially neo-colonial relations between the Common Market and Africa. The Maoist-imperialist alliance in Angola is further evidence of Peking's consistent support of the most reactionary imperialist quarters plotting against progressive forces in many parts of the world. Maoism, says a Central Committee resolution of the South African Communist Party, is exposing itself as a dangerous anti-communist, anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist policy. This has been confirmed by the experience of Chile, Bangladesh and many other developing countries.

Underlying the Maoist-imperialist alliance is a morbid hatred for the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, which both imperialist reaction and 'leftists' regard as the main obsta-

*See '"Détente"-Vorster style' in *WMR*, February 1976, British edition.

cle to their policy in Africa and elsewhere. Maoist subversion is spearheaded against alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation.

Peking has for years been trying hard to isolate the peoples of Africa from their reliable allies, first of all from the Soviet Union. The Maoists attach special importance to plans of fanning the anti-Soviet campaign. The notorious concepts of 'superpowers,' 'poor and rich' countries, and so on, are expected to serve the same purpose. In advocating the nationalist and racist idea of 'uniting the poor countries' of the 'third world,' of which, the Maoists say, 'developing, socialist China' is part, Peking propaganda describes the Soviet Union as the 'number one enemy,' alleging that imperialism no longer presents any serious danger.

Maoist leaders feel no qualms about using falsehood or calumny against the Soviet Union. A record was probably set by Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua at a Peking reception in honor of a Zairean delegation, at which he made a slandrous anti-Soviet speech. Commenting on the Angolan events, Chiao deliberately increased the usual dose of stock accusations and vituperation of the Soviet Union to conceal the crisis and daily condemnation of Maoist policy in Africa, primarily in view of the Chinese position on Angola. By coordinating its subversive policy with the policy of the imperialists and South African racists and by assuming the role of 'guardian' of the FNLA and UNITA puppets and their leaders, Roberto and Savimbi, the Maoist leadership has fully exposed itself as an enemy of African peoples.

The Maoists' solidarity with the worst enemies of an independent Angola was a real culmination of the exposure of the methods used by Peking against the genuinely revolutionary forces of liberation movements.

The history of this betrayal goes back to the early 1960s, when the Chinese leadership took a hostile attitude toward the Angolan people's vanguard, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Peking showed special benevolence toward the 'Angolan revolutionary government in exile' under Holden Roberto. At the same time the Maoists tried to disrupt the MPLA from within. They supported the liquidationist attempts of Da Cruz, ex-secretary for organizational matters, who later deserted to Roberto. In other words, the Maoists' traitorous role in Angola today is a logical sequel of their earlier policy.

'All my men were trained by the Chinese,' Roberto bragged. 'Besides, the Chinese give me their unqualified aid.' To this day, U.S. and Chinese instructors train bands of traitors to the nation, pitting them against the finest patriots of the country's liberation movement.

In a statement released on November 15, 1975, the Central Committee of the African Independence Party of Senegal expressed deep concern about the activity of the Maoist-CIA alliance in Angola and denounced it as collusion against the people.

Maoist intrigues in Angola caused a storm of anger on our continent. The most influential and authoritative leaders of African revolutionary democratic regimes criticized the Chinese leaders' position, which is also emphatically condemned by the Angolans themselves. President Agostinho Neto of Angola, criticizing Peking's attitude, said that China found itself in the camp of the enemies of the republic's lawful government. Widespread international recognition of the People's Republic of Angola, primarily by most members of the Organization of African Unity, and its admission to the OAU are indicative of the extent of Peking's isolation over this issue.

The prevailing mood of progressive world opinion in regard to the subversive policy of Peking was expressed by the Extraordinary International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Angolan People (Luanda, February 1976), attended by prominent politicians and other public figures from numerous countries, particularly African countries. The participants sharply criticized the Maoist maneuvers and showed them up as being thoroughly alien to the interests of the national liberation movement. In a general declaration adopted by it, the Luanda forum condemned the Peking Maoists, who sided with the enemies of the Angolan people and found themselves in an 'unholy alliance' with the South African racists, U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

It is becoming more and more difficult for Peking to smuggle its ideas into Africa and win support for them. At a press conference in July 1975, President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania dismissed out of hand the possibility of economic relations with China being used for influencing Tanzania ideologically and politically. In Congo, Tanzania and Guinea, Chinese military experts have been forbidden to carry on propaganda in the armed forces. The channels through which Peking tries to impose its influence are narrowing.

Maoist attacks on the Soivet Union and other members of the socialist community are fittingly rebuffed on our continent today. They are condemned both by the ruling quarters of many countries and by African opinion at large. This is particularly evident in the case of Angola. President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea stressed that the political and diplomatic victory of the MPLA was due to the decisive material, military and diplomatic aid given primarily by the Soviet Union and Cuba. This assessment is shared by the whole of progressive Africa, which underlines the importance of the socialist community's support for the liberation struggle. Lopo do Nascimento, Prime

Minister of the People's Republic of Angola, said he knows no African country opposed to colonialism and imperialism that has not been backed by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp.

In our region as everywhere else, people are becoming more and more aware that growing interaction of the main revolutionary forces of the world is the central trend of international relations.

The Maoist leadership has long broken with Marxism-Leninism and caused tremendous damage to the international communist movement by its policy of division and ideological subversion. And now Peking has exposed itself once again, as recent events have shown. The world now sees that Peking has betrayed not only the interests of socialism and the international working class, but also those of the national-liberation movement and that it forms a united front with imperialists and racists.

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The class character of a mass party

Atos Fava
Member of Executive
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The *WMR* Commission on Exchange of Experience of Party Work is starting a series on theoretical and practical problems of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party. Commission members consider these problems relevant because many Communist parties are working to increase and strengthen their ranks. The series will deal with the class nature of the mass Marxist-Leninist party, its organizational principles, quantitative and qualitative characteristics, recruitment methods, starting new nuclei and training of new members. *WMR* has asked leaders of a number of Communist and Workers' parties for contributions on the subject based on their parties' experience.

The problem of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party is highly relevant for Argentina, which as the Eighth Party Conference (1975) pointed out faces the threat of a civil war. The country is going through a severe crisis. The ship of state is drifting along unsteered. The ruling classes are confused. There is deep discontent at the sharp decline in living standards. The crisis of the Peronist party as well as of traditional political alignments is deepening. The country is on the verge of a CIA-engineered coup. In this situation, fraught with danger, but also rich in opportunities, the elements of a revolutionary situation are maturing and the role of subjective factors, in particular of militant action by the Communist Party, is growing.

Amid the prevailing disarray, the tried and tested leadership of our Party steeled by 58 years of struggle points to the need to defend democracy, which is in peril, and calls for a national democratic agreement on a minimum program making it possible to form a military-civilian government based on a broad democratic coalition. At the same time, our Party leadership stresses that the anti-imperialist agrarian and democratic revolution will be a bridge on Argentina's road to socialism. The magnitude of these tasks makes it

imperative to turn the CPA into a mass party capable of stepping up the struggle within the framework of broad-based alliances to free our people. This is why the Party strives to increase its membership in the course of struggle and not in isolation from it. Recruiting is linked to all the issues, particularly the crucial ones, facing our people. The complicated domestic situation and the urgent problems arising from it make the effort to reinforce the Party a veritable race against time.

The importance of the goal we have set ourselves necessitates a deep analysis of the problems of building a mass party from the point of view of general theory, international experience and the special aspects of applying general Marxist-Leninist tenets and this experience to the social and economic realities of our country, in particular to so distinctive a phenomenon as Peronism, the characteristics of our own Party, its social and national composition and methods of work. Our exposition follows these lines.

Our conception of a mass party is based on Lenin's definition of the Communist party as a class political organization, the political party of the working class, its vanguard. The party, Lenin pointed out, directs all forms of class struggle and leads the proletariat to the revolution. At the same time, it 'reveals to all the other toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of their position in capitalist society and the need for a social revolution . . . The party of the working class, the Communist party, calls upon all sections of the working and exploited population to join its ranks insofar as they adopt the standpoint of the proletariat' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, pp. 121-122). In this way, the Communist party becomes a mass party, bringing into its ranks the finest and most advanced members of every class and every social stratum, without, however, abandoning the class positions of the proletariat, or dissolving itself in the sea of social-democratic tendencies to represent all sections of the population 'on an equal basis.'

What makes any Communist party a genuine mass party is not its numerical strength alone. Its main forces must be concentrated in industrial and other key centers; it must follow a correct political and tactical line and know how to approach the masses, establish links with them, mobilize them to fight for their immediate demands and draw them into the general political struggle. Such a party will retain its class character even when its ranks are swelled by the influx of new members and will be able to unite large sections of the working class and other working people on the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Ideological unity is a primary requirement in building a mass party and has become particularly important of late. The 1960 and 1969 meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, as well as the Havana

conference of the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, pointed to the increased importance of the ideological struggle. There can be no progress without studying theoretical works to acquire deeper knowledge, and without carrying on a daily struggle against bourgeois ideology. Unless the party emphasizes these aspects of its ideological work, its class character and its ability to transform society may be gradually weakened as it becomes a mass party.

Proletarian internationalism, a key component of our ideology, is of decisive importance to the growth of international anti-imperialist solidarity. Imperialism banks on chauvinist nationalism, which it counterposes to the patriotism advocated by the Communists. The internationalism of our Party is rooted in the history of the world communist movement and our struggle, in turn, contributes to the tradition of proletarian internationalism.

There is no doubt that when we are building a mass party, such general provisions as the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership likewise have an important bearing. They are set out in the Party Rules, and each acquires added importance depending on the situation.

Why is it that in building a mass party, we stress the importance of the same fundamental criteria — ideological unity, organizational cohesion, proletarian internationalism — that form the Leninist basis for building every party of the new type?

Our Party program specifies the stages of the revolutionary process by applying Marxism-Leninism in Argentine conditions and shows the way to necessary changes. It proceeds from the key principle that the working class must be the hegemon of a broad alliance of progressive forces at the democratic stage of the revolution. This is the chief prerequisite of carrying the revolution through to the victory of socialism.

It is only the hegemony of the working class that gives the people's democratic state the strength needed to prevent or foil all attempts by imperialist reaction and an oligarchy linked with it to re-establish their rule. Argentina's experience indicates that an old, obsolete order never reconciles itself to its downfall but fights on, using every weapon and shrinking from no crime in an attempt to check the progress of the revolution. The democratization process begun in 1973 was hesitant and contradictory. It has been sabotaged by the landed oligarchy, big capital and the U.S. monopolies. Reaction exploited the absence of the working class to push the country to the brink of a terrorist coup. If this is happening at the democratic stage of the revolution, working-class hegemony is still more indispensable at the socialist stage. The proletariat and its allies

must be strong enough to crush even fiercer resistance from the exploiting classes.

What is the social basis of our Party's growth, the outlook of its quantitative and qualitative strengthening? To answer this question we must analyze the trends of social development.

Why have antagonisms in Argentina reached fever pitch, and why have economic, political and ideological problems been aggravated to the utmost? Fundamentally, the worsening of the structural crisis is due to the general crisis of the world capitalist system. Other causes are the imperialist policy of 'destabilizing' Argentina to shut the only 'open window' among the fascist dictatorships of the southern cone of Latin America, and the country's increased dependence on imperialist monopolies, which now control the main economic, financial and foreign trade levers. The effects of imperialist plunder and the latifundium system (six per cent of proprietors own 74 per cent of all lands and forests) are evident in a foreign debt amounting to $10,000m., spiraling inflation, which exceeded 300 per cent in 1975, and rampant profiteering. In a short time, the working class has lost half of its purchasing capacity and the peasants and middle strata are becoming impoverished while five per cent of proprietors control 40 per cent of the national income. Argentina, once an agricultural country, has become an agrarian-industrial state, our program points out, but dependence on foreign capital and backward agrarian structures deform and limit this development. The contradiction between the productive forces and production relations has increased and this translates itself into anarchy in production and an intensifying class struggle.

Capitalist development has given rise to a working class. The proportion of industrial workers has increased from 889,000 in 1946 to more than two million today. Together with building workers, miners, quarry workers and workers employed in the gas and power industries, agriculture and transport, they number over 3,800,000 and, if salary-earners are added, 70 per cent of the economically active population. Increased concentration and centralization of production have given rise to big industrial centers. About 50 per cent of all workers are now concentrated in enterprises making up one per cent of the total number. Upwards of 400 enterprises employ more than 1,000 workers each. Almost seven million wage workers (including those engaged outside industry), over 350,000 poor and middle peasants and almost two million members of the middle strata have learned from the struggle against the small privileged upper stratum of society.

Drastic aggravation of all antagonisms, confusion 'at the top,' widespread discontent among the people and a sharp drop in the

standard of life are behind the rapid process of revolutionization of the masses mentioned above.

Speaking of the social basis of Party growth, account must be taken of certain Argentine realities. After the 1929 world capitalist crisis and during and after World War II, our industry grew apace. With the discontinuance of immigration, the demand for labor power was drawn from among the poor peasants, semi-proletarians and agricultural workers in the inland areas eager to raise their standard of living. They were unorganized and without political experience. This was the new working class, the product of the agrarian crisis and the massive exodus from the countryside. It was not immune against the influence of ideas alien to the working class, especially Peronism, with its ideology of bourgeois nationalism and class conciliation. By taking advantage of the favorable situation of the war years and the early postwar period, Peronism managed to win the support of large sections of the working class and the people.

This is why the struggle for a mass Communist party in our conditions is inseparable from work among the Peronist rank and file aimed at formulating joint economic demands, from work on political and ideological lines. The Communists should have been with the masses, helping them to learn from their own experience. As far back as 1962, Victorio Codovilla predicted that 'the dialectical evolution of the situation is bound to lead the workers and people from Peronism to Communist positions and to the gradual assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.' He saw in this process the promise of a united working-class party guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Our Party has grown and will go on growing by exposing the ideological content of Peronism. We cannot ignore the fact that the Peronists, most of whom are workers and other working people, predominate in big working-class centers. They show increasing class awareness, militancy and trade union discipline. They oppose imperialism and the oligarchy and are friends of the socialist countries. Needless to say, all this is mixed in their minds with the bourgeois nationalist ideas publicized by the mass media. The fact that 90 per cent of those joining the Communist Party or its youth organization come from the Peronist party is evidence of both the correctness of the CPA attitude toward the Peronist rank and file and of the need for a special effort to fully rid those who join the Party of bourgeois nationalist ideas and to educate them in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

Nor does the Party neglect ideological work against 'leftist' groups, which prejudice the revolutionary cause in Latin America. Objectively, these groups help imperialism. Their activity accords suspiciously with CIA plans to disrupt stability in their countries, is aimed at isolating the working class and helps to establish fascist dictatorships.

It is important to note that mass demonstrations take place in Argentina and that workers' meetings and mass rallies adopt decisions against both fascist bands and ultra-leftists.

Our efforts to win over the working class and broad sections of the working people should be seen against the background of mounting mass activity, which is gradually becoming a decisive factor in Argentine politics. The working class is the epicenter of the gathering storm. The Peronist right, helped by successive governments and the employers, still dominates the labor movement, but has not been able to contain the intensifying struggle for economic demands, trade union democracy, against reaction and imperialism. Nor has it been able to check the growth of the strike movement, the conversion of passive strikes into active ones, in which ecomomic and political demands are intertwined. Last year, 28 million were involved in strikes despite rightist attempts to prevent working-class solidarity. The strike struggles have produced united inter-factory and district coordinating committees in which the Communists and the more active left Peronists play a leading part. Our Party's work is steadily changing the line-up of forces on the decisive front, the struggle of the industrial proletariat. It need hardly be added that this is a complex and difficult process: bourgeois nationalism is deeply rooted in the working class, and the trade union bosses, though their grip on the movement has been weakened, still hold key positions.

The Communists have a part in all major mass movements for democracy and united action. And outstanding among these movements is the National Encounter of Argentinians. Started in 1970 at the height of the fight against the military dictatorship, its slogans have strongly influenced popular risings. The experience of this period, and identity of views on political issues and the need for democracy, led to the emergence in different parts of the country of united-front 'multi-sectoral' and 'multi-party' organizations. Their aim is to unite all the forces against the ultra-right and CIA fascist organizations, such as the AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) and a motley collection of others.

Imperialism is using terror to paralyze mass activity. We are witnessing the paradoxical coexistence of formal democracy and police terror. The people's answer has been powerful militant demonstrations. The Argentine League for the Rights of Man and the Assembly in Defense of Human Rights play an important part in the fight for democratic freedoms and in the solidarity movement with political prisoners (of whom there are now 4,000) and in actions against the terror, which has already claimed more than 1,000 lives. The Party and Young Communist Federation (YCF) are devoting much attention to the Coordinating Committee of political youth organizations,

which includes the country's three biggest — Peronist, Radical and Communist. The women's movement likewise claims our close attention: the Union of Argentine Women has 250 branches and the Association of Women Members of Political Parties includes representatives of pro-government and opposition organizations. The Party is also working among the middle strata, Catholic and progressive religious groups.

Work in the rural areas is still far from satisfactory, all our efforts and partial successes notwithstanding. We are trying to improve the position here, for the worker-peasant alliance is fundamental to our policy and aims.

Lenin emphasized the importance of work in the armed forces for developing the revolution.* Our Party has consistently explained the character and role of the army. It takes into account the changes in its social composition, now that there is a greater influx of members of the middle strata. We make a special effort to circulate and popularize our policy statements among the troops.

Our ideological, political and organizational efforts to build a mass party are beginning to pay off. Party membership now stands at 146,000, organized in 3,981 primary units which are directed by 629 district and 24 provincial committees. The YCF now has 67,773 members, 2,533 primary units and 408 district organizations. No less than 70 per cent of new Party members are wage and salary workers, and 40 per cent are employed in industry, transport and building. Most new recruits are between 25 and 30. There has been a bigger influx of poor and middle peasants. Last year, 15,227 joined the Party and 10,769 the YCF. We are concentrating on recruiting more workers; our goal is 200,000 Party members and 100,000 in the YCF. We consider recruiting the most important part of our struggle to develop and strengthen the Party and the YCF. With this aim in view, our main recruiting effort is among workers. We have set ourselves the following tasks:

— concentrate on the 118 biggest enterprises which account for the mass of the industrial proletariat (iron and steel, automobiles, meat-packing, power, textiles, transport, etc.). We already have nuclei or committees at all these enterprises; now the target is 10 per cent of their workers in the Party;

— provincial committees and district organizations will concentrate on factories employing not less than 500 workers each;

— in rural areas, the accent will be on recruiting poor and middle peasants and agricultural laborers;

— recruit more women, and here the goal is 30 per cent of new members, drawn mainly from industry and agriculture;

*See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 284.

— the YCF will devote its main attention to young workers, peasants and students.

This, of course, does not preclude recruitment from other sections of the population. Our aim is to strengthen the general structure of the Party, now a national Party in its program and organization, with branches throughout the country. Workers predominate in the Party, but it includes also many representatives of the progressive sections of society.

There are, naturally, many objective difficulties: hard living, housing and working conditions leave little time for Party work. Besides, there are a number of problems that have to be solved within the Party itself. This refers, for instance, to the tendency to rely on a limited 'iron-clad' cadre of activists, the proclivity to accept such false notions as the impossibility of combining mass work with the recruitment and training of new members.

How is our recruitment organized and conducted? The most widely used and effective form of winning new members is through open meetings of Party nuclei. Activists invite workmates or neighbors to join in the discussion of concrete economic demands and ways of winning them, of the political situation, Party decisions, etc.

The admission meeting, at which the new member is given his Party card and is instructed in the Party's policy, program and organizational principles, is a key element in our work with new members. If a full branch meeting proves impossible, arrangements are made for a small group to attend.

Nothing can replace the primary organization, the nucleus, in forming contacts with the masses. It is in the nuclei that the Party trains its new members and through them extends its message to the working class and the people. It is important to have a coordinated plan of organizational, propaganda and financial measures designed to bring every nucleus member into mass work, winning new readers for the Party weekly *Nuestra Palabra*, etc.* for it is in such practical work that new members are tempered. The nucleus is the starting point for training the Party's future cadres. It selects students for the Party's first-stage courses, which train nucleus leaders. The Party training system has five stages, from the first to the full-time three-months' course run by the Central Committee. In the past year, 7,540 were involved in Party training, of whom 3,140 attended first-stage courses.

*Communist education is greatly facilitated by the Victorio Codovilla training center, the Party's theoretical journal *Nueva Era*, the journals *Quadernos de Cultura*, *Problemes de Economica* and our factory newspapers (of which there are 105 with a circulation of over 100,000). Marxist literature holds an important place too. In the past two years we published 322 titles in a total printing of 2,843,000 copies. The list includes works by Lenin, Marx, Engels, Brezhnev, Fidel Castro and books and pamphlets on mass work, political, social, historical, cultural and other problems.

The training of Party cadres is of prime importance in building a mass party. The cadre department which is under the national organization committee, is responsible for the selection, training and assignment of cadres. The chief criterion is working-class background, loyalty to the Party, the working class and the revolution, close ties with the masses, and combat ability. In selecting cadres the Central Committee is concerned to continue and enrich the Party's revolutionary traditions, its patriotism and fidelity to proletarian internationalism — traditions instilled by Victorio Codovilla — and assure continuity of policy. The point is to combine the experience of veterans with the energy of the young cadres. But in all our cadre selection work special attention is paid to advancing workers, poor and middle peasants, women and young people.

However, experience has shown that it is not obligatory for a promising Party worker to attend one of our schools before being given a responsible post in the primary unit or at district level. That is particularly important in respect to factories or residential areas where the Party is breaking new ground. We can say that we have an inexhaustible reserve of cadres, so that we can avoid sectarianism, or a routine and mechanical approach. Of course, young Party members assigned to leading positions should be the first to go through Party training courses.

We have also to reckon with regional differences: some provinces have a bigger recruiting potential than others, and we have made it a rule to help provincial committees with lesser opportunities for Party growth by despatching cadres to strengthen existing organizations and train activists for leadership positions. This has not been easy, for the training of leading cadres is a long and difficult process. It takes time for them to assimilate Marxism-Leninism and acquire the ability to overcome the difficulties of revolutionary struggle.

We are building a mass Marxist-Leninist party capable of upholding the interests of the nation and of leading the working people in the battle against imperialism. But we do not counterpose this to the struggle of the international working class. On the contrary, we regard this as a weighty contribution to strengthening the international communist and working-class movement. For we are winning over the masses not by chauvinist slogans, but by setting an example of patriotic struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all working people, an example in promoting the great ideals of international solidarity. *Proletarian internationalism has always been fundamental to building our Party.*

A crucial test for any revolutionary is his attitude to the greatest gain of the working class, the socialist world system, the main source

of our strength, and from its experience we draw lessons of universal applicability that help our struggle.

The Communist Party of Argentina has always championed international solidarity. In its early days it organized a broad solidarity movement with the Soviet Union. It came out in support of the Spanish revolution, of liberation movements, the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and Cuba. It has demonstrated its active solidarity with the fraternal people of Chile, with victims of Latin American dictatorships, notably in the South of the continent, with the people of Portugal. It helps the Argentine Peace Committee. The final document of the conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean and the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba were hailed with enthusiasm throughout the Party. Now as in the past, the Communist Party of Argentina will continue to work for closer unity of the world communist movement, will contribute to the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism does not contradict our patriotism, deeply rooted in the most progressive traditions of the Argentine people, but complements it and enhances the Party's prestige and influence.

Imperialism is stepping up its slanderous campaign against our Party. It is trying to split our ranks by alleging that the Communists 'do not think for themselves.' Nothing could be farther from the truth. For the fact is that, precisely because the Communists of each country 'think for themselves,' they are able to find creative solutions not only for national, but also for international problems. The masses appreciate the political and tactical line of the Communists because it is expressive of the finest national traditions and makes them part of the revolutionary movement.

The imperialists are grossly miscalculating. The Communists will continue to 'think for themselves,' and will become still stauncher internationalists, more closely linked with their class brothers in other countries in the common fight for socialism and communism, for internationalism is the source of their achievements, the earnest that their Parties will grow in strength and numbers, enabling the peoples to see their radiant future.

Analyzing lessons of the past in the interest of the future

Hugo Fazio
Representative of CP
Chile on *WMR*

ECONOMIC WORK OF THE PARTY

Recent years have made it more evident to Chile's Communists than ever that a profound knowledge of economic problems is a vital necessity to every party of the Leninist type. Being particularly eventful, they enabled us to draw serious lessons, for, to quote Marx, 'every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 11).

In this decade the Communists of Chile had to carry on a resolute fight for power after advancing, in common with other Popular Unity parties, a prgram for revolutionary changes taking strict account of the domestic situation. For three years the Communists were in the Popular Unity government, which set out to effect radical changes. Attention at the time was focused on economic problems. Now that a fascist regime has forcibly imposed a regressive process in every sphere, the Party thinks it necessary to advance an alternative economic policy stimulating the people's struggle and facilitating alliance between the working class and all the other classes and strata whose interests are infringed by the dictatorship.

Our experience shows that the Party must devote daily and growing attention to the analysis of economic problems. This task is gaining in importance although the Communists are compelled to operate in conditions of illegality. In June 1974, or a few months after the fascist coup, the Party presented to the people a document analyzing the dangerous domestic situation created by the fascists' economic policy and putting forward specific slogans for struggle to defend the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Subsequent developments proved the document correct.

In investigating the economy, Communists appreciate that Chilean society needs radical change. As early as 1956, the Party program stressed the need to eliminate imperialist and monopoly domination

and abolish the latifundium system in order to pave the way for socialism. Under a fascist regime, with the country's antagonisms aggravated to the utmost, these changes are an urgent necessity. Obviously, a democratic revolution in Chile must today begin with the overthrow of the dictatorship 'an instrument used by the financial oligarchy and U.S. monopolies to impose their extreme reactionary policies on our people.'

The economic tasks which the Party sets itself range over a wide field.

First of all, we must make a closer scientific analysis of the experience of the Popular Unity government. This is particularly important today as one of the main aspects of the Party's ideological struggle against the fascists, who put the blame for the present difficulties on the Allende government, against those who argue, falsely, that the dictatorship can be overthrown without a broad popular movement, and against the ultra-leftists, who also vilify the revolutionary activity of the Popular Unity. Besides, study of the experience of those three years makes it possible to assess achievements and reveal the mistakes made all the more fully, which is most important to our work among the masses because it helps to give them a clearer idea of the revolutionary way of solving their problems. It also makes it possible to reveal the nature of the revolutionary process in Chile, whose analysis is important to Communist theory and practice, as has repeatedly been stressed.

On the other hand, it is indispensable to disclose the profound difference between the economic policy of the Popular Unity government and the policy of the fascist regime and, above all, to reveal its class content. This analysis is decisive in objectively determining the forces that can be drawn into an anti-fascist alliance and in advancing appropriate slogans to mobilize the people.

Depending on this analysis — one taking into account the need for radical changes in the country — the Party's fundamental tasks still include continuous development of its alternatives as opposed to the junta's narrow class policy, the retention of economic experts already trained by the Party and having much experience, specifically in accomplishing tasks on state level, and the training of new cadres.

Scientific analysis of the activity of the Popular Unity government should be carried on with due regard to the experience gained in economic work. It must be harmonious and closely linked with the problems whose solution was necessitated by the given situation.

The Popular Unity government carried out far-reaching economic changes of a revolutionary nature that were 'a tremendous *step toward* socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is preserved, there can no longer be any retreat back to capitalism, without

unparalleled violence being committed against the masses,'[1] as our tragic experience has demonstrated.

These changes tended to eliminate the backwardness and poverty[2] that existed in the country in the early 1970s and to seriously undercut the domination of imperialist monopolies, domestic economic clans and the landed oligarchy.

The facts showed the program to be correct. The tasks set by it were accomplished in the main. Before October 1972, when reaction resorted openly to subversion all over the country, economic indices were high and the economy was essentially sound. Furthermore, the government effectively countered imperialist plans to blockade the country economically. The new balance of world forces, the growing influence of the socialist community, increasing trends in Latin America toward resisting the power of the multinational monopolies and the intensification of antagonisms in the imperialist countries themselves played a decisive part in foiling those plans.

Nevertheless, in spite of the unquestionably important gains, the mass basis of the government turned out to be considerably weakened when the coup was staged. The putschists must have borne in mind the numerous economic difficulties (shortages, the existence of a black market, growing prices, and so on) that were largely a result of the economic subversion planned and carried out by the center set up for the preparation and execution of the fascist coup.[3]

We cannot consider the economic policy of Popular Unity outside the context of the sharp class conflicts of the time. Nor must we forget that the people had only won part of the power and that this made the work of the state apparatus exceedingly difficult in many cases, with the revolutionary forces in a minority and wielding very little influence in certain government agencies. However, it would be wrong to attribute the problems that had cropped up solely to factors beyond Popular Unity's control. This would mean taking a fatalist stand. It would be just as wrong merely to state that the Chilean economy inherited enormous difficulties from earlier governments. But while the impact of these difficulties was very strong, a careful analysis must be made of the economic activity of the Popular Unity government itself, of its mistakes and weak points and the responsibility assumed by the Communists.

The principal weakness of Popular Unity was the lack of a united leadership. It prevented managing the economy on a centralized basis, although this was indispensable and, consequently, making full use of all the economic levers the state had in its hands. Hence the discrepancy between the forms and methods of economic management, on the one hand, and the character and development level of the productive forces, on the other. 'Speaking frankly,' said Luis

Corvalan in March 1973, when Popular Unity had been in power for two and a half years, 'the activity of the government shows trends that can no longer be tolerated. The government cannot follow two or three orientations, two or three lines in making decisions on matters of vital importance, such as on setting up diverse property sectors or on the issue of distribution. . . . To be specific, the task is to engage seriously in economic planning and the full utilization of available resources and production capacities in the manufacturing and mining industries, of the tremendous opportunities afforded by the growing scale of voluntary work, of the movement of innovators . . . of emulation and incentives to labor, of the close connection that must exist between increasing production, rising labor productivity, growing wages and the working people's improving standard of life.'

The Popular Unity government did not make the mistake of the Paris Commune which the founders of Marxism-Leninism described as failure to 'expropriate the expropriators.' It carried out expropriation correctly, in the main, albeit with certain shortcomings and distortions for which bourgeois quarters were to blame. The government's great weakness was that it proved unable to 'firmly to eliminate, under the leadership of Popular Unity, ultra-leftist deviations and reactionary economic subversion.'[4]

In the absence of a united leadership and of planning, old methods, forms and management routines that had developed historically, according to the needs of social groups which had traditionally managed the economy in their class interests, exerted considerable influence on the structure of the state, which had undergone no radical changes. This caused anarchy and prejudiced economic activity as a whole.

Activity leading to disorganization found concrete expression in economism, which was encouraged by ultra-rightists and ultra-leftists and manifested itself even in the ranks of Popular Unity. The Chilean events fully confirmed the validity of Lenin's theses concerning the lower and higher forms of the economic struggle of the working class. Under the Popular Unity government, the struggle of the working people should have acquired a qualitatively new content in connection with the working class and the people as a whole accomplishing general tasks, and with historic achievements which could have been multiplied as the government strengthened its positions. Further improvements in the working people's life (with due regard to the substantial redistribution of the national income in their favor that had already taken place) should have been achieved, as the more class-conscious workers realized, by increasing production and raising productivity.

But the ultra-leftists, in particular their most influential group, the MIR group, who proceeded from the abstract postulate of the

'socialist character' of the revolutionary process and strove to skip necessary development stages of the revolution, took a stand against the Communists and the Allende government, who insisted on giving priority to increasing production and productivity. They alleged that increasing production was 'a matter for the capitalists and not for the people.' They denied the importance of the changes effected in the country.

Direct participation in economic management was one of the most important qualitatively new tasks that the working class and the people were faced with. Although what had been done had deeply impressed many, this work fell short of solving the problems still there. Lenin wrote that it is impossible to carry out a revolutionary policy 'without organizing the entire people for democratic administration of the means of production captured from the bourgeoisie, without enlisting the entire mass of the working people . . . for the democratic organization of their ranks, their forces, their participation in state affairs' (*Coll Works,* Vol. 23, p. 25). By participating directly in the production process, the working people can reveal the potentialities of its growth and make better use of raw and other materials and resources than anyone else. In my capacity of Vice-President of the Central Bank, I took a direct part in carrying out measures to increase exports, cut imports and accumulate foreign exchange. My experience showed that numerous highly useful suggestions came from workers.

Lastly, another important conclusion to be drawn from analysis of the government's economic activity is that many economic executives underestimated the operation of objective economic laws, which led to serious manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism. This expressed itself in, among other things, a superficial attitude to financial problems. The development laws of the economy, in which the market forces continued to play a notable role, were ignored. As a result, the effort to increase output, productivity and profitability and to use resources effectively, with due regard to the perspective of economic development as a whole, did not receive proper attention. In fact, enterprises in the public sector, far from yielding profit, had to meet their financial deficit at government expense. There were various reasons for this, some of which were linked with the need to accomplish tasks set by the government while in other cases the reason was incompetent management.

History supplies evidence of the universal validity of lessons of this nature. A further indication of it was Fidel Castro's report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. This is why we intend in our economic work to make an even more careful study of the

experience of the revolutionary forces of other countries, above all of the vast experience of Lenin's Party.

In the last months before the coup, the Popular Unity government developed qualitatively new methods of economic management (already there were signs of application of planning and centralized management). As the range of forces that can unite in an anti-fascist front is very wide today and as the government to be formed after overthrowing the dictatorship will comprise diverse currents, the experience gained in economic management is as relevant as before. It is obviously necessary to work out on its basis an explicit agreement on fundamental economic measures and assure strict adherence to a joint program (a principle which was not always, and not by everyone, respected under the Popular Unity government). The greater the influence of the working class in controlling events, the greater the possibility of accomplishing this task.

Communist economic activity was raised to a new plane in the three years of cooperation within the Popular Unity government. But it has to be said that we lacked the skill to solve many concrete problems, including those central to our program. In a number of cases we simply improvised, because the Party did not have a competent economic apparatus to cope with the new tasks.[5]

The deep regression that came with fascism seriously sharpened the severe crisis that for several years had been playing havoc with Chile's economic structure. It brought to a head the contradictions between the tiny minority and the overwhelming majority of the population. The aggravated crisis is the result of the discordance between the level of the productive forces and production relations, and also the result of the junta's class policy, which, the Communist Party leadership has pointed out, serves the interests of a tiny minority, the national and international monopolies, the financial and banking interests, the big exporters and importers and the latifundists. Fascism is using an imported economic model to attain its goals.[6]

How has this policy fared? Chile is a dependent country and the junta has made it more dependent than ever. Its suggested cures inevitably lead to a tighter stranglehold by U.S. monopoly capital, which is beginning to dominate every branch of the economy it has penetrated. And the junta has legalized that, and is giving foreign investors every preference. Things have reached a point when even the pro-regime fascist press admits that the present policy leads, in effect, to 'preferring the foreign to the local investor, who, potentially, could show an interest in these branches of the economy.'[7]

Multinational capital is working in close contact with powerful and reactionary Chilean financial groups. In fact, the 'social market economy' and the 'free competition' principle have resulted in a giant

concentration and centralization of economic activity, which has meant abolition of freedom for most Chileans, including the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. The process is being intensified by the junta's transfer to private firms of a large number of enterprises from the public sector. By making very modest investments and enjoying numerous privileges, the new owners have acquired considerable resources over which they now have full control.

On the other hand, concentration and centralization, despite the anti-inflation scheme proposed by the Chicago school, have accentuated the main causes of inflation. That monopoly capital is the main factor of inflation is demonstrated by high inflation in periods of declining — even drastically declining — demand, as is the case under the present fascist regime. The junta banked heavily on financial measures to stabilize the economy. These measures have not produced the expected results: government expenditure (allowing for the present level of inflation) has shrunk by 39 per cent. There has been a drastic decline in production and employment, also in credits, as interest rates have increased. The rate of inflation, regardless of certain fluctuations, remains high. The government has failed to reduce the money supply to the level it had set.

The reason for all this is simple enough. The 'stabilization' measures mentioned above were accompanied by 'liberation' of the financial sphere in order to 'limitlessly' extend the capital market. As a result, a few economic groups gained control over the market and used it to finance their speculation and, also, their parasitic way of life.[8] And so, contrary to the 'stabilization' measures taken over the past two years, inflation is spiralling at an annual rate of 400 per cent. (Retail prices increased 340.7 per cent in 1975 and wholesale prices 438.2 per cent in the first 10 months of the year.)

The 'social market economy' was predicted on the assumption that the early emergence of a 'free' market would invigorate economic activity. In a shrinking market and with declining government expenditure, this proved totally unrealistic. The precipitous drop in purchasing power is most glaringly evident in the stagnant state of the building industry. Yet housing is one of the country's most difficult problems. The Ministry of Housing has officially reported that '73 per cent of the population cannot afford even a 36 sq.m. semi-standard cottage with a 30-year mortgage (which means paying out 15 per cent of monthly income).'

No wonder thousands of small, medium and even big businesses are compelled to cut back, close down shops, go over to short-time working etc. Statistics compiled by the National Commercial Organization show that last June alone at least seven per cent of small enterprises had to close down.

The catastrophe into which fascism has plunged the country is measurable in facts and figures. Gross national product — and this has been publicly admitted by Pinochet — declined by 10 per cent in 1975, which means that per capita incomes were thrown back to the level of 10 years ago. University surveys indicate a still sharper decline in GNP. In manufacturing (according to official data), it dropped by 27.4 per cent in the 11 months of 1975. The share of wages in September 1975 (allowing for price and wage fluctuations) was only 22.3 per cent of the January 1973 figure. Unemployment, a mere three per cent under the Popular Unity government (the lowest recorded figure) was 18.7 per cent (December 1975) in Greater Santiago, where a large part of the country's work force is concentrated, and nationally unemployment is estimated at 20 per cent. No other Latin American country (with the sole exception of the Dominican Republic during the civil war and the U.S. armed intervention) has known anything like this in the postwar period.

It is no exaggeration to say that fascism's economic policy has proved disastrous. That is why the junta is concentrating on propaganda designed to prove that there is no alternative and that the present recession was inevitable. Consequently, it is now more necessary than ever, especially with the regime in control of the mass media, for the anti-fascist forces to draw up a government program.

The Communist Party has pioneered in this. In spite of the conditions of clandestinity, it has comprehensively analyzed the junta's economic policy and published the fundamentals of a program outlining minimum economic measures to guarantee the country's independent development. The Communists believe that, casting aside leftist deviations and inadequate measures against reactionary sabotage, the Popular Unity economic policy has lost none of its validity.

An independent policy, the Communist Party emphasizes, entails control over the country's basic assets, an end to U.S. and other foreign monopolies, and to those national monopolies which control the key industries, trade, finance and foreign trade. It also means encouraging non-monopoly enterprise. In agriculture, the need is for agrarian reform, incentives to cooperative farming and the provision of farm machinery to raise output and productivity. Higher purchasing capacity, now drastically reduced by the regime's policy, would enliven economic activity, now restricted by a contracting home market. Bringing the people to share in the management of the economy should be a major aim. This is closely connected with economic planning carried out with the participation of all the anti-fascist forces. This would be the best guarantee of safeguarding the interests and rights of all the classes and strata involved in the

anti-fascist front and the surest guarantee of uniform economic management.

Implementation of this program, the Communists stress, would wipe out the economic foundations of fascism and could prevent a fascist comeback.

An independent policy requires broader ties with other countries based on Chile's national interests, full re-establishment of relations with the socialist countries and with all Latin American countries. And here priority should be given to relations that preclude any participation by U.S. imperialism.

The Communist program, and a similar document prepared by the Popular Unity, could be the basis for a common program of the anti-fascist forces.

This should be seen in the context with efforts to give the demands of the people greater depth, as it were. In present-day conditions, the Communist Party declares, 'we must learn to pass from the simple to the complex, from mobilization of the masses for their immediate demands to formulation of concrete programs that would merge their numerous actions in a powerful movement capable of attaining ever greater successes.' The Communist government program gives a new dimension to this effort.

Experience has shown that a popular and democratic alternative can be formulated on the basis of a program the masses understand and accept as their own. Today no one in Chile disputes the fact that the Communist message reaches the people, and this is decisive in promoting mass action.[9] The people are coming to see that there are other alternatives that coincide with their interests. Thanks to the Party's mass work, its proposals and those of the Popular Unity are gaining support and being translated into practice. Backed by most of its trade unions, the working class has advanced a number of demands and supports the demands of other sections of the population. Many facts could be cited to illustrate the scope of such actions, which are helping to disintegrate the dictatorial regime.

Chile's Communists are well prepared for this work. Active participation in the Popular Unity government gave them a wealth of concrete experience and taught them how to tackle and solve economic problems. Many of our Party cadres learned 'the art of management.' This is a valuable asset we must safeguard and develop. Despite the present difficult conditions, the Party is using every opportunity within the country and abroad.

We Communists must be prepared to employ all methods of struggle, including those expressed in Lenin's formula, 'to achieve victory also by methods of administration.'

Our ability to analyze national problems, the main directions of

policy, our realism, based on a clear understanding of the alignment of class forces and on the nature of each of them, indicate that the Party is in a position to cope with this work. Our conclusions regarding Chile's economic problems are gaining acceptance and are absorbing everything valuable proposed by representatives of other anti-fascist forces, for we avoid any tinge of sectarianism.

1. Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 360.

2. According to findings of the National Planning Board (ODEPLAN) and the Economic Institute of the Catholic University of Chile, 21 per cent of the people were on the verge of extreme poverty at the time and the economy was in a state of semi-stagnation, its growth woefully slow.

3. For details, see Orlando Millas, 'From economic subversion to fascist putsch.' *WMR,* November 1975, page 95.

4. Partido Comunista de Chile. *La junta fascista es responsable de la ruina de Chile*. Santiago de Chile. Edicion Clandestina, Abril de 1974.

5. Many of our difficulties were caused by the division of assignments to the Party apparatus and the Communists appointed to government posts. A splendid example of overcoming these difficulties was provided by the Party commission, led by Luis Corvalan, which effectively helped the government. Specifically, it was instrumental in drawing up the agricultural plan for 1973-74 with account to the views of peasant organizations and specialists on such important aspects as when to begin the sowing, how to procure the necessary equipment, how to stimulate production through the emulation movement, etc. This plan, as the results were to show, was carried out with a fair degree of success.

6. Its authors are the leaders of the reactionary 'Chicago school,' headed by Milton Friedman. It thought up the 'social market economy,' similar to the 'recommendations' of the International Monetary Fund for Latin American countries. These are based on the assumption that society can best function if the area of 'free exchange' is constantly expanded, while the 'authoritarian' activity of the state is kept to a necessary minimum. And 'necessary minimum' is understood as guaranteeing the undivided dominance of the 'free market.' Its functions, Friedman argues, consist in steadily limiting the number of problems that should be solved politically and thus minimizing government participation. And this from another Chicago school pundit, A. Harberger, who wrote that the main diagnosis for Chile remains unchanged — inflation, the mechanism that produces it is the constantly increasing money supply, and the basic cause is the huge government debt. Consequently, in Harberger's opinion, it is enough to reduce this debt and all economic ills will be cured. ('Milton Friedman en Chile. Bases para un desarrollo economico.' Santiago de Chile, 1975, *El Mercurio,* March 26, 1975. Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*. The University of Chicago Press. 1962. p. 12.

7. *Que Pasa,* October 23, 1975, p. 41.

8. Catholic University researchers find that the increase in the money supply (taking all its forms, and not merely those singled out by the junta) continued at a high rate and has led, in particular, to faster turnover of money. The most probable explanation, the junta press says, should be sought in the changes on the capital market, which prompted people to put their money into securities.

9. See article by S. Gonzalez in *WMR,* March 1976, page 106.

The key to victory over reaction

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For more than 10 years Indonesia has been a police state. Many of the gains of the national revolution so dearly paid for have been wiped out. Imperialism and its local allies — landlords and compradors — have managed to recover their positions in the economy and society. Indonesia is clearly becoming a neo-colonial country.

As a result of the military regime's 'open door' policy foreign investments in the economy topped $2 billion in just 1972-1974.[1] The liberal investment policy permits the multinational monopolies to plunder our natural wealth, to appropriate the fruit of the people's labor practically without hinderance.

By opening the doors to multinational companies, the authorities are aggravating Indonesia's dependence on the world capitalist economy, and plunging the country into a severe crisis. The price of staples is rising steeply, inflation is practically uncontrollable, unemployment is growing (6 million fully and 15 million partly unemployed), and local businesses are shaken by a wave of bankruptcies. On top of this there is a food crisis. The shortages of rice and sugar have to be covered by imports.[2] Half the 80 million population of Java suffers from chronic undernourishment.

The foreign debt to imperialist powers is growing. From $200 million in 1967, Indonesia's debt to the consortium formed by these powers in 1966, approached $5.5 billion in 1975, and annual interest payments amount to $275 million.

The home scene is marked by increasing police oppression. In 1975 the authorities issued laws to further restrict the activity of parties. The only exception is GOLKAR, a pro-government organization. The regime shows a total lack of inhibitions in turning the bourgeois parties it permits to function legally into obedient puppets. Now, with the new laws, they must act in accordance with official guidelines.

Political prisoners are treated with indescribable cruelty. More than 100,000 patriots, fighters against imperialism, are kept in prisons and concentration camps without formal charges. Actually, they are

doomed to a slow and painful death. Their numbers are rising. The campaign of repressions is being stepped up.

The brutal military regime relies on imperialist support in all its reactionary activity. This is easily seen in the field of foreign relations. Behind the demagogic assurances of loyalty to non-alignment, the rulers pursue an essentially pro-imperialist policy. It is an open secret that after the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia scored their historic victory over Yankee imperialism and its agents, President Suharto hastened to the U.S. to obtain additional military aid and to urge a continued U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia. After President Ford proclaimed the 'new Pacific doctrine,' the mutual understanding on this score between Jakarta and Washington became still more apparent.

The military regime's foreign policy in the region is contrary to the emergent positive changes, such as the breakup of SEATO, the beginning of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Thailand, and the general growth of anti-imperialist sentiments. The anti-popular regime is, in substance, plodding on against the tide. Of this the Indonesian aggression against East Timor is ample evidence.

Ever since decolonization began in that former Portuguese territory, Jakarta adopted an openly hostile attitude toward the patriotic FRETILIN (which has the population's support) because it is alarmed by the prospect of a progressive, anti-imperialist neighbor. The imperialist circles, too, reacted swiftly aginast this prospect. The fact that the December 7, 1975 intervention was launched 12 hours after the official meeting of Presidents Suharto and Ford is hardly a mere coincidence.

The aggression against East Timor is an undisguised violation of its people's legitimate right to self-determination and independence. And it was firmly denounced as such by world opinion. By occupying part of the former Portuguese colony and imposing a puppet government, Indonesia's rulers committed yet another crime against their own nation, which is by nature anti-imperialist and freedom-loving. But they could not crush the resistance of the East Timor patriots.

The Indonesian Communists condemn the aggression and demand respect for the right of the East Timor people to self-determination and independence. They are doing their utmost to have the regime fulfill the UN Security Council resolution (December 1975) requiring the immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor, and are guided by the desire to restore Indonesia's international prestige. However, we are aware that it will not be properly recovered until our country gets rid of the fetters of neo-colonialism.

The riptide of reaction, the continuously deteriorating economic situation, and the pro-imperialist policies of the military rulers are

generating popular discontent and stimulating the forces opposed to the regime.

As the Communist Party of Indonesia sees it, a new situation is shaping, impossible in the earlier years of military rule. At that time, on the crest of anti-communist hysteria, the generals were still able to deceive the gullible and, disguising the anti-popular essence of their rule, parade as the 'saviors of the fatherland from communist oppression.' Now, the mask has been torn off.

The forces opposed to the regime have become more active. Broad sections of the people are demanding better conditions of life, denouncing the lawlessness of the authorities and the all-pervasive corruption,[3] opposing the predominance of foreign imperialist monopolies, and calling for restoration of democracy. The opposition forces encompass workers, peasants, youth, students, intelligentsia, religious groups, and even a section of the armed forces.[4]

Our Party's latest document, entitled 'For Democracy, Social Justice and the People's Well-Being,' describes the basic features of the present situation and shows the alignment of class forces. The document registers 'changes in the situation favoring unity and democracy.' The growing polarization of classes and social strata gives an increasingly clear picture of who are true followers of the regime and who are its opponents. The numbers of the former are shrinking, while the latter are expanding. The class basis of the regime is increasingly unstable. True, there is no opponent yet able to bring it down. The patriotic and democratic elements are only just squaring their shoulders. They are still divided, and there is mutual suspicion and even hostility. But the time has come, the Communists hold, for all patriots and democrats to realize the main thing: the enemies of Indonesia — imperialism and the ruling military regime — are out to split the opposition forces.

Our Party says: there has been enough suspicion and hostility among patriots; the time has come to unite against the declining, but still strong adversary. To win we must have a front of national unity encompassing workers, peasants, youth, office employees, intellectuals, national industrialists, religious elements, and patriotic servicemen. The unity of the patriotic forces is essential, says our Party document, because there is no force that can overthrow the regime unaided.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has been driven deep underground. It is recovering from the heavy blows struck by reaction, and has shaken off the influence of the Maoists, who are mainly to blame for the disaster that befell our Party. And though the CPI is still insufficiently strong, it is the vanguard in the struggle for liberation. The Communists are the most determined and consistent opponents

of the present regime and imperialism. And they are the main target of the enemy's blows.

But the onslaught of reaction cannot break revolutionaries. The fact that the mass movement is becoming more active in recent years inspires new hope. The workers and the peasants — the biggest and most bitterly exploited classes of Indonesian society — will be the main motive force of our revolution and, consequently, of the front of national unity.

We consider it important to define the principles of unity. To begin with, the front of national unity must represent voluntary cooperation of patriots of different political and ideological trends accepting the aims and objectives of the joint struggle. This is why organizational and ideological independence is an essential condition. Second, and this is stressed in the new CPI document, the question of leadership should not figure as a condition for joining the front. It must be settled in the course of the struggle. Our Party will consistently fulfill its mission as the most active member of the front, displaying the greatest initiative.

Understandably, the front will have to function underground due to the draconian conditions and persecution of all patriotic opposition, every progressive organization or idea. That, of course, will be a major obstacle. Communists bear a special responsibility; they must display a high degree of organizational skill and ability to apply revolutionary theory to the extremely complicated and perilous conditions of struggle. They must be flexible, firm in their principles, courageous, and cautious. Excessive haste in a bid for a 'quick victory' depreciates vigilance. It increases the chances of falling into enemy traps and suffering defeat. On the other hand passive 'waiting' for a revolution results in loss of initiative, loss of the vanguard role, and also leads to defeat.

To win the sympathy of the masses we must have slogans that express the aspirations of the most oppressed classes and strata. This is why we approach with so much care the matter of elaborating an action program that would unite the patriotic and democratic forces. The Party's new document 'For Democracy, Social Justice and the People's Well-Being,' has been an important step in this direction. In the struggle to restore democracy in Indonesia — the main objective in the present conditions — the CPI is working to unite all patriotic forces around the following demands:

— to create a national-democratic government expressing the interests of workers, peasants, artisans, a section of civil servants and national industrialists, the youth, and other democratic strata;

— to eliminate the dictatorship and end the tyranny of the armed forces, democratize the state apparatus, judiciary and police;

— to end the disgraceful court trials of progressive figures, release all political prisoners, and shut down concentration camps;

— to withdraw the extraordinary prerogatives of the executive arm, dissolve the security service and other unconstitutional organs;

— to restore political freedoms, including freedom of speech, activity of parties, freedom of assembly, demonstrations and strikes;

— to introduce progressive election laws at all levels;

— to win freedom of association for workers (in trade unions) and peasants (in peasant leagues);

— to lift the outrageous legal ban on scientific socialism and Sukarnoism;[5]

— to assure academic freedoms for universities and other higher educational establishments.

The CPI Program orientates patriotic elements on struggle to ease the lot of the peasants, on agrarian transformations, accelerated development of the state sector in key economic branches, effective control over foreign capital, and an independent and active anti-imperialist foreign policy.

We are convinced that these demands are the only way out of the crisis caused by the military regime.

We know from experience that the regime will stop at nothing to prevent national unity, and will try to strike another devastating blow against our Party. This is why we consider it so necessary to strengthen the Party's ranks, tighten its bonds with the masses, invigorate ideological and political work, and always observe the principle of close interaction with fraternal parties in the framework of the world communist movement, with all anti-imperialist movements. Nothing can stop the people of Indonesia from eventually making their country truly independent, peaceful, democratic and progressive, with its eyes on socialism.

1. Foreign monopolies are mainly active in capital-intensive fields — mining and timber. Local capital is concentrated chiefly in the light industries, and the arts and crafts.

2. In the 1974/75 fiscal year, official estimates show, Indonesia imported 1.5 million tons of rice and 300,000 tons of sugar at $475 and $400 per ton respectively. Fertilizer imports totalled 1.3 million tons. Given the present extremely high prices of imported goods, Indonesia's association with the world capitalist market is doubly damaging.

3. Corruption flourishes even among the President's closest associates and the state corporations and companies connected with the ruling group. One high-ranking Indonesian official said: 'We know it has brought down other governments in Asia, but we are powerless to stop it' (see *International Herald Tribune*, January 5, 1976).

4. The discontent reigning among different social classes and strata is dealt with in the January 1976 issue of *WMR*. See S. Sudiman, 'The power structure and the alliance problem,' page 55.

5. This is how the anti-imperialist, patriotic system of views of the late President Sukarno is known in Indonesia.

viewpoints

Another metamorphosis of anti-Marxism

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One of the most characteristic features of our time is the steadily increasing influence of Marxism-Leninism. Together with the growing impact of existing socialism and the deepening general crisis of capitalism (including the crisis of bourgeois ideology), there is a growing need among the masses for a theory to guide them through the complexities of social development. It is against this background that one should consider the intensified attacks on Marxism-Leninism by reactionary groups of bourgeois ideologists.

Attempts to refute, falsify or ridicule the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin never stop. A Sisyphean toil, as several generations of bourgeois apologists have learned. Time and again it seemed that they had reached their goal, the 'collapse of Marxism,' but the facts showed the absurdity of all their claims.

New generations of critics of Marx have naturally tried to learn from the discomfitures of their predecessors. Their inventiveness (which should not be underestimated) in finding new forms and methods has not made their attacks on Marxism-Leninism more effective.

One can distinguish two directions in present-day anti-Marxist criticism. First, there is the 'frontal attack' meant to 'refute Marxism' once and for all (though it had been declared 'dead and buried' dozens of times). Second, there is the more flexible, 'Trojan horse' tactic.[1] It is the purpose of this article to examine some of the new anti-Marxist arguments advanced against the background of the sharpened crisis of capitalism.

The economic cycle and bourgeois ideology

The changes in bourgeois criticism of Marxism are largely conditioned by the state of the capitalist economy. In the period before the last economic crisis, particularly in the 60s, with the rapid expansion of the productive forces, bourgeois ideologists of every persuasion, including 'Marxologists,' maintained that capitalism had 'ceased

to be capitalism,' being transformed into the 'affluent society,' the 'industrial society,' and so on. The men who speak for the monopolies argued that qualitative changes in the economy, more state participation in the economy, and the technological revolution had brought the capitalist countries into an age of prosperity and economic growth, with wages and profits higher, and all the fundamental social problems solved.

The purpose of this criticism was to prove, first, that the changes in capitalist society were fundamental, and, second, that as long as Marxism-Leninism clung to its 19th-century 'dogmas' it could not properly understand the new processes and draw the necessary lessons therefrom.

Marx, bourgeois ideologists affirmed, could not foresee the changes in the world of today, including the changes in capitalism. 'World history has followed a different path than the one charted by Marx and Engels.'[2] We were told that they 'underestimated capitalism's tenacity and its adaptability to change,' its dynamism.[3] That was a cardinal proposition of the anti-communists. The reasoning behind it was that Marx lived in the 19th century and his analysis was valid only for the capitalism of his time. But we are living in the second half of the 20th century, the critics argued, and therefore 'all Marx's hypotheses are obsolete.'[4]

This line of reasoning testifies not only to a vivid imagination, but also to ignorance. To cite but one example, Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* of the dynamism of the bourgeois system in all spheres of social life. In particular there is this passage: 'The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes.'[5]

Later, and primarily in *Capital,* Marx revealed the substance and the specific features of expanded reproduction under capitalism. That dynamism can make itself felt also in the present stages of capitalist development. But what is that dynamism? 'It would be a mistake to believe,' Lenin wrote in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,* 'that the tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism . . . But this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital.'[6]

In the early 70s we could discern a new tendency in bourgeois ideology. Repeating in ideology the course of the economic cycle, or following in its wake, bourgeois futurologists abandoned the optimism of the boom period, and with it their contention that capitalism could

effectively undergo positive change. Instead, they plunged into near despair, resorting more frequently to incantations. All the rhetoric about 'overcoming' Marxism and capitalism's ability to curb crises was left behind — a natural and understandable metamorphosis.

Only yesterday, bourgeois ideologists were boasting that, at long last, capitalism had found the means and levers to control economic development; they even claimed it could engineer an economic upsurge at will. It was that simple. But as the months passed these predictions remained as far away from reality as ever. More, it is now being said that the FRG is going through a 'year of wrong economic prognoses.' In fact, one of the government's economic experts has said: 'We are doing better than in the football pools, but not much better.' In other words, no one now ventures to deny that all the past theories of economic growth, based on capitalism's ability to overcome cyclical development, have proved wrong. There was this sardonic remark in *Die Zeit:* 'There is little sense in inviting specialists in economic forecasting: instead of oracles we get cheap magicians who, try as they may, can't extract a single rabbit from the hat.'[7]

Side-tracking maneuver

Apologists for capitalism and anti-communists have thought up rather a surprising side-tracking maneuver: 'Socialism, too, is in the throes of crisis,' is now their line. In fact, that was said at the Social Democrat Congress in Mannheim toward the close of 1975: 'The world economy is now in a recession unprecedented in the past several decades. With the sole exception of the oil-exporting countries, it affects *all* industrial, *all* developing countries as well as *all* communist countries ... All existing social and state systems are caught in this crisis of the world economic system.'[8]

Imperialist and right-wing Social-Democrat politicians and ideologists are at pains to prove that the present capitalist crisis extends to the whole world, the capitalist as well as the socialist — in short, it is a crisis of the whole of mankind. And every propaganda ploy is being used to create the impression that it is due not to the capitalist mode of production, but to some inherent fatal flaw in civilization itself. This is a relatively new argument, and I think it deserves a closer look.

Of course, there are many channels through which the socialist countries are linked with the world capitalist economy. An appreciable share of their foreign trade is with non-socialist countries. And it would be wrong to believe that the capitalist economic crisis has no effect whatever on the economic development of the socialist community. The Communist parties of the CMEA countries have made a

thorough study of the question and have taken the necessary measures, reflected in their new five-year plans, to safeguard the socialist economy. There is also this: in the first half of the 70s the socialist community had a greater growth rate than the EEC.[9] A few relevant facts: the Central Committee of the CPSU was able to record at its December 1975 plenum, that 'in absolute growth of social production, the ninth five-year plan was the best in the history of our country.' Growth rates have heightened also in the GDR: 5.6 per cent in 1971, 6.3 in 1972, 6.8 in 1973 and 7.3 in 1974.

This is how growth rates in the CMEA countries compare with those of the EEC:

Average annual percentage growth

	National income		Industrial output	
	CMEA countries	EEC countries	CMEA countries	EEC countries
1961-65	6.1	4.7	8.3	5.3
1966-70	7.3	4.5	8.4	4.8
1971-74	6.6	3.6	8.1	3.4
1974	6.4	1.7	8.5	0.5

CMEA economic development plans envisage a high and stable growth rate in the new (1976-80) five-year period. In fact, even the minimum rates in the new plans are higher than what bourgeois economists would consider the ideal after the present crisis.

Here, too, we have a metamorphosis of bourgeois apologia. For many years its pundits argued that socialism could grow quantitatively, that is, by expanding the economic structure, but could not raise its efficiency to a corresponding degree. True, there were times when the socialist countries concentrated on quantitative growth. But now the socialist community's accent is on intensive growth and higher effectiveness of social production. The imperialist ideologists try to interpret this, too, as a sign of crisis in the socialist economy. But if the word crisis is at all appropriate here, then obviously it should refer to the crisis of anti-communist argumentation.

The most important feature of socialism's economic growth over the past years was the new level of organic interconnection of economic and social policies. Social programs unparalleled for scope and diversity have been introduced in all member-states of the socialist community. In the USSR real per capita incomes rose by nearly a fourth in the past five-year period. Even in those socialist countries which have carried out price rises on certain goods, this was

done in combination with other measures to assure higher real incomes. On the whole, social security and living standards in the socialist countries have increased considerably over these past years.

In 1976 all members of the socialist community are launching new five-year programs, retaining practically the same growth rates in key branches as in the previous five-year period. Thus, in the Soviet Union national income will rise by 24-28 per cent and real incomes by 20-22 per cent in 1976-80. In the GDR, national income will increase at an annual rate of about 5-6 per cent and real incomes by 4.5 per cent. This stability and consistency of economic growth give the lie to all the bourgeois theories about the present crisis of capitalism extending to the socialist world. Addressing the 14th plenum of the SUPG Central Committee, Erich Honecker said: 'Through the efforts of the people and for the benefit of the people we have made significant headway in building a developed socialist society in our country. The growing stability and prestige of our worker-peasant state, our economic strength and our obvious progress in raising the material and cultural level of the people are an expression of the success of the policy we formulated in setting our main goal.'[10]

According to a recent forecast by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the year 1976 will be one of upsurge in industrial capitalist countries and the gross national product in West European countries should go up by roughly two per cent. Let us note in passing the strange logic of bourgeois ideologists, who see a two per cent increase under capitalism as a sign of upsurge and a five or six per cent increase under socialism as an indication of crisis.

Who has proved right?

In speaking of the validity of our analysis of contemporary capitalism, we wish to stress that it proceeds from Lenin's doctrine of imperialism, which carried forward Marx's theory of capital.

Early in the second half of this century, Marxist-Leninists of many countries, both socialist and capitalist, did much research into contemporary processes in the capitalist world. The 1957, 1960 and 1969 meetings of Communist and Workers' parties were of vast importance. Analyzing state-monopoly capitalism as a system that had fully taken shape, they proved that the more rapid economic growth of imperialism in the postwar period due to the scientific and technological revolution had not prevented the fundamental contradictions of capitalism from becoming sharper. Marxists showed that the state monopoly system aggravates existing contradictions and breeds new ones and that it can modify the crisis cycle in one respect or another but cannot eliminate it. The 1969 Meeting concluded that the im-

perialist world was at the threshold of a period of crises and social upheavals affecting every social sphere.

In the mid-70s every serious observer can see that the Marxist-Leninist analysis is correct.

It will take further effort by Marxists to study every aspect of the present capitalist economic crisis. In this particular case, we wish to point out that the current crisis goes beyond the cyclical crisis of over-production and is closely linked with the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system. Its dimensions and gravity as well as its evolution are decisively influenced by the general crisis, which, in turn, it largely influences. The transition from the acute phase of the crisis to the upturn forecast by bourgeois economists cannot, therefore, bring back to capitalism the confidence that characterized it in, say, the 1950s and 1960s. At any rate, current analysis suggests that in the next few years economic growth indices will remain low, that inflation, a high unemployment rate and the crisis of neo-colonialism will persist and structural crises will recur.

It follows that the capitalist world is about to enter a very complicated period owing to marked instability and diverse temporary and permanent crisis phenomena. These factors are bound to lead to a still more violent class struggle, to a new upsurge in class battles.

Most imperialist and right-wing Social-Democratic politicians and ideologists sense this and try to adapt to it. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the American anti-communist scholar, says that bourgeois society is in transition from the idea of progress to the idea of decline and feels ever more strongly that changes are a bad thing, that the world has reached the ceiling of its opportunities, the natural resources are limited and the future is dark.[11] Erhard Eppler, a leading German Social Democrat, writes: 'Everything is much harder than we had imagined. We come up against limits everywhere.'[12] And elsewhere he comments that 'these are years of change, the depth of which we cannot yet fathom.'[13]

The current crisis is evidence of the complete failure of the postwar social theories of both imperialists and right-wing Social Democrats. Bourgeois socio-economic thought is thoroughly pessimistic today. The hope of overcoming the antagonistic contradictions between labor and capital has turned out to be as illusory as the hope of coping with the crisis. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary epoch has proved correct.

Marxism-Leninism will survive its critics

Bourgeois ideologists, descibing the crisis as a global development involving socialism, are concerned with more than economic growth rates. They cast about for new arguments to discredit the common

policy of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community in building socialism and communism. The unity of the socialist community frightens them. Leading quarters in imperialist countries 'fear that they may lose the economic and socio-political competition with the other social systems, socialism,' wrote the West Berlin *Extradienst* on July 15, 1975.

In the first half of the 1970s the Communist parties of the socialist community evolved a common strategy of building and perfecting a developed socialist society and made its realization their paramount practical task. L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, pointed out the great importance of this at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. 'We all realize, comrades,' he said, 'how important it is to correctly visualize the development of socialist society at every new stage of history. From this point of view, it was highly important for the brother parties to work out, jointly and, on the basis of their collective experience, the policy of building developed socialism, which most socialist countries are now putting into practice with due regard to their distinctive features.'

This policy is very important also for the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and contemporary bourgeois ideology. It adds to the practical impact of socialist and communist construction on social development in the world. To build a developed socialist society means, first of all, to materialize the social substance of socialism. Naturally, it implies a high and stable rate of economic growth. However, this growth is merely the basis on which to achieve the goals of socialism: ensuring the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements and the harmonious development of the socialist individual. And this means that the *inherent connection between economic growth and improvement of living and working conditions,* on the one hand, *and the further development of socialist democracy,* on the other, acquires decisive importance in a developed socialist society.

In the 1960s the socialist countries created the prerequisites for closely linking economic and social policies and economic growth with the formation of a socialist way of life. As a result, there is increasing coincidence of the public interest and the interests of the individual on a new level, and every working man or woman feels this. New creative forces are being released in the socialist community.

This in no way squares with the anti-communist ideas and 'models' conceived by imperialist and right-wing Social-Democratic politicians and ideologists. They go on searching for a chance to prove that the policies adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Eighth Congress of the SUPG and congresses of other fraternal parties have

'failed' or are bound to 'fail.' Vain hopes. The inherent unity of our economic and social policies, which is a result of and a condition for building socialism and communism and an important aspect of developed socialism, is a dependable basis for the further progress of socialism. Communists realize that to put their common policy into practice, they will still have to exert much persevering effort and solve numerous complicated problems.

In applying a common strategy based on the general laws of building the new society, the Communist parties of socialist countries bear in mind national specifics. The Soviet Union has already built a developed socialist society and will continue to perfect it while laying the material and technical basis for communism. In the case of other socialist countries, developed socialism is the immediate goal of social advance. Guided by a common goal, the socialist countries set social development tasks that largely coincide. For instance, it is in virtually identical terms that the brother parties formulate the task of closely linking economic with social policies. Accordingly, they regard the formation of a socialist way of life as a priority, and intensification as the main line of economic development. As for the time limits of accomplishing the various tasks, they are similar in a number of countries.

The actual work of building and perfecting a developed socialist society gives the lie to bourgeois Marxologists, who allege that Marxism-Leninism uses outdated concepts as a guide and takes a static approach to present-day problems. This is not so: the Communist parties are doing extensive theoretical research to assure further achievements in practice.

The Communists would never have succeeded in building socialism had they merely repeated and clung to Marxist tenets formulated in the past. In the early 1960s the foundations of socialism were laid and socialist production relations gained the upper hand. There arose the question of the next strategic objective, of the content and development of socialism as the first phase of the communist social formation, and of the dialectical interconnection of socialism and communism. This question had to be answered, and the answer was given by the theory of developed socialism. It is now safe to say that this theory has, in the main, been formulated and the parties continue to perfect it. This theory, which carried forward Marxism-Leninism, takes account of the new conditions for the development of socialism and the fight against imperialism.

Communist parties concentrate on research into problems of the scientific and technological revolution, of raising the efficiency of social production, perfecting economic planning and management and forecasting socio-economic processes. They have made a substantial

contribution to the study of problems of socialist economic integration and present-day world development. Marxist theory answers new questions and shows how problems can be resolved for the good of all working people. Revisionist, reformist and other bourgeois ideologists find it harder and harder to peddle their 'models of socialism' as a counterweight to scientific socialism.

One of the main allegations of critics of Marxism-Leninism is, as has been said, that Communists view society, socialist society as well, from the level of knowledge attained in the last century. We know how groundless this allegation is, but we wish to say again that we Marxist-Leninists are proud that the fundamental tenets of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been proved correct by history and are as valid and relevant as ever. Those who do not ignore reality must see that in no country could socialism have triumphed without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the leading role of the working class and its party, without making the principal means of production public property. We are deeply convinced, therefore, that in this closing period of the 20th century, as in the past, it is only the theory of socialism, based on these fundamental tenets, that can assure success.

The successful realization of a common conception of social development by the Communist parties of the socialist community is a serious defeat for the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism, a defeat for anti-communism.

Both history and the present show that neither adaptation, nor tactical inventiveness has brought the critics of Marxism any nearer to their goal. Marxism-Leninism, which is continuously enriched by the Communist and Workers' parties and furnishes answers to the most pressing problems of world development, is the lodestar of revolutionary struggle in our epoch.

1. Catholic sociologist von Nell-Breuning, for instance, says: 'All of us stand on the shoulders of Karl Marx' (Oswald von Nell-Breuning. Katholische Kirsche und Marxsche Kapitalismus-Kritik. In: Kritik der politischen Ökonomie heute. 100 Jahre 'Kapital,' Frankfurt/M/Wien, 1968, p. 91).
2. Iring Fetscher. Nachwort zu Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. Manifesto der Kommunistischen Partei. Grundsätze des Kommunismus, Stuttgart, 1969, p. 84.
3. Hermann Weber. Einleitung zu K. Marx und F. Engels: Das kommunistische Manifest. Hannover, 1966, p. 30.
4. Kurt Pentzlin. Marxisten überwinden Marx. Düsseldorf-Wien, 1969, p. 109. True, there are those, like Galbraith, who admit that Marx perceived a definite tendency in the development of capitalism, but this is cancelled out by another remark: but he could not know how it would work out. John K. Galbraith. Wirtschaft für Staat und Gesellschaft. München-Zürich, 1974, p. 45-46.
5. Marx and Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 111.
6. *Collected Works,* Vol. 22, p. 300.
7. *Die Zeit,* No. 29, July 11, 1975, p. 1.
8. SPD Parteitag. 11-15 November, 1975, p. 3.

9. Naturally, growth of output or national income can differ from one socialist country to another. In the GDR, for instance, this was connected with the fact that the 1971-75 plan concentrated on eliminating certain disproportions by boosting production in industries supplying components, spare parts, etc.

10. *Neues Deutschland*, June 6, 1975.

11. *Europa-Archiv*, Bonn, Folge 23, 1974, p. 778.

12. Erhard Eppler, *Ende oder Wende*. Stuttgart, 1975, p. 25.

13. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 1, 1975.

Against 'Zionist socialism'

The ideological and political education department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel organized a conference on '"Zionist Socialism" and the Ideological Battle Against It.'* The speaker, Chairman of the CPI Central Auditing Commission Dr. Wolf Erlich, dwelt on three basic aspects of the problem: the place of 'Zionist socialism' in the general ideology of Zionism; the general and the distinctive features of 'Zionist socialism' and right-wind Social-Democratic tendencies in the working-class movement; the successes and the setbacks of 'Zionist socialism.'

Basing himself on extensive historical material, Dr. Erlich revealed the anti-working-class, Zionist-chauvinist ideas behind the 'socialist' rhetoric of David Ben Gurion, B. Katznelson and their present followers. He showed that their references to socialism are only a camouflage for their nationalist and racist ideology and policy (one of their slogans is 'work for the Jews only') and their policy of placing the working class under the domination of its class enemies and turning the labor movement into an instrument of reactionary forces.

Although the 'Zionist socialists" leaders managed to deceive large sections of the working class in Israel, this trend is now experiencing a crisis, for it clashes with the vital interests of the working people fighting for their demands.

The conference analyzed the ideological basis of 'Zionist socialism' and discussed the practical aspects of the struggle against it in the context of the common effort for working-class unity, peace and social progress. *Z.K.*

*In view of socialism's attraction for the Jewish workers, the Zionist leaders began using socialist terminology in the early 1900s to instill the idea of a special 'Zionist socialism.' In today's Israel the Zionist 'socialists" policy is to promote 'class peace' and subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They support the expansionism of the Israeli rulers and, proceeding from the racist doctrine on the 'exclusiveness' of the Jews, replace the concept of the international solidarity of the working people with the call for 'solidarity of the world Jewry.' — *Ed.*

From dialogue to joint action

Alceste Santini
Italian journalist

The dialogue between Communists and Catholics, understood as a search for points of contact leading to all-round constructive confrontation of views and positions as the prelude to a common effort for a new, democratic and socialist society, has now become part of Italian history.

Even before the founding of our Party in January 1921, Antonio Gramsci gave serious thought to relations with the Vatican and the large and varied catholic world. He wrote in March 1920: 'In Italy, in Rome there is the Vatican and the Pope: the liberal state was obliged to divise a system of equilibrium with the spiritual power of the Church; the worker state will likewise have to devise some such system.'

On October 2 of the same year, *Ordine Nuovo*[1] carried an interesting article titled 'The Roman Question.'[2] Departing from radical-socialist traditions and positivist culture, it took a new approach to relations between the labor movement and the Catholic world. In particular, it said that 'communism, as a harmoniously integral doctrine based on highly humane and genuinely realistic concepts, neither rejects nor negates any aspect of modern civilization. Communism — and we say this openly — has no intention of suppressing religious freedoms. On the contrary, it strives to guarantee all these freedoms in their fullest form.'

In the 56 years since these thoughts were first expressed, the Italian Communist Party has done much to elucidate the theoretical aspects of the problem of relations with the Catholic masses and the Vatican.

Today, with the changing situation in Italy and the world, and despite the retention of diverse contradictions and apprehensions and the rise of relatively new problems (the relation, for instance, of democracy and socialism within the socialism-capitalism confrontation), there is increasing evidence of the correctness of our Party's policy and of the role Gramsci and Togliatti played in its formulation.

In 1944, discussing the 'new party,'[3] Togliatti said: 'Italian reality is such that we could be the first West-European Communist Party to come face to face with a problem that had never arisen with us in the

past. ... We Italian Communists are the first in Western Europe to cope with the new and serious task of creating a Communist party in entirely new conditions and with entirely new tasks, differing from those our Party had to cope with in the past.'

In this way, the question of our attitude to Catholicism was bound up with the need to expand the traditional sphere of Socialist and Communist activity. Concretely, we had to determine how religious believers could be brought into a party for which Marxism was its guide to revolutionary action and share in the historic advance to socialism, individually or through their organizations.

I shall not dwell on Togliatti's contribution to developing a dialogue, to the understanding of our 'reciprocal recognition of values and the resulting concord and agreement to work for common aims.' That contribution is being complemented by the Party's analysis of all that is new in the Church and the Catholic world since the Second Ecumenical Council.

But it should be emphasized that if today more and more Catholic workers are joining our and other left parties, that is due to the lifting of religious bans. It should likewise be noted that the Party Rules adopted at our Fifth Congress in 1945 do not stipulate acceptance of the Marxist philosophy, only acceptance of the Party's program and the communist code of conduct. This, of course, does not mean renouncing the ideological struggle; it only expresses the fact that our Party is not an academy of philosophy, but a big popular organization guided by revolutionary theory, Marxism, which is not a dogma, or catechism, but a guide to action.

Continuing the line worked out by Togliatti, our Ninth Party Congress (1966) emphasized that the socialist state we want to build would be 'genuinely and absolutely secular. We are opposed to both state religion and state atheism.' The 13th Congress (1972) reaffirmed that we would 'facilitate the free development of all genuinely democratic Catholic forces, the values toward which they aspire, and find historically justified forms to enable them independently to contribute to the building of a higher type of society.' These theses were confirmed by the 14th Party Congress (March 1975) and carried further in the documents signed by the Spanish and Italian Communist parties in July 1975 and the French and Italian parties on November 15, 1975. The joint FCP and ICP communique says: 'Socialism is the highest stage in the development of democracy and freedom: democracy implemented in its fullest form.' Western Europe's two biggest mass Communist parties declared that they would 'guarantee and develop ... all manifestations of freedom of thought, expression, the press, assembly, association, demonstration, free travel within and beyond one's country, inviolability of the

person, freedom of worship, full freedom for expression of philosophical, cultural and artistic trends and views.'

From this follows that the Church and believers will enjoy not only the full freedom of thought and organization provided for by Article 7 of the Italian Constitution, to the framing of which the Communists made a decisive contribution. For in the future socialist state, as in the ranks of our Party today, there will be no ideological or cultural division into first and second-class people; there will be equal rights and equal obligations, with everyone expected to share in building socialism, which objectively will become the 'highest stage in the development of democracy and freedom.'[4]

The intensive Marxist-Christian dialogue of the 1960s, with all its cultural and political implications, would have been impossible without the experience of the ICP, based on effective Marxist analysis of Italian and world realities. However, we must also acknowledge the contribution made by the Pontificato of Pope John XXIIII (1958-63) and the Ecumenical Council.

In his Encyclical *Pacem in terris* (Peace on Earth) the Pope drew a distinction between ideological and historical movements.[5] This was important because it gave the Church, the Catholics and Christian-oriented movements a methological criterion in overcoming the old, one-dimensional view of history. Now they could use dialogue and confrontation of views to explore the possiblity of a new pattern of relations with the various forces of the present-day world. And a dialogue began on the diplomatic plane, between the Holy See and socialist and non-Catholic countries, and between the Church and Christian-oriented movements, on the one hand, and Marxist movements, on the other. The 1960s thus became a turning point in relations between Communists and Catholics in Italy — from ideological confrontation and cold war to dialogue. And despite all the existing contradictions and the resistance of forces clinging to their integrationist positions,[6] this opened new prospects of rapprochement and cooperation in resolving the cardinal problems of out times.

Today we can say that the theoretical schema of traditional Christian doctrine (the temporal character of Papal power, the constancy of dogmata, the corporative and non-class character of the Church) is in a state of crisis. Influenced by the decisions of the Ecumenical Council, Christian-oriented movements and organizations — the Italian Trades Union Confederation, the Christian Association of Italian Workers, the Catholic University Graduates Movement, the Catholic University Federation, Catholic Action, etc. — have abandoned their traditional submission to the Christian-Democratic Party and the idea of 'Catholic unity' within one party (an unchallenged postulate in the days of Pope Pius XII — 1939-58). They have also given up the

equally traditional exclusive claim to Christian solutions of the problems of the modern world. On the contrary, after the Council, theological studies began to accept the need for comparing views and ideas with movements of diverse orientation (this is gaining increasing acceptance in the Catholic world).

This found confirmation at the 1971 and 1974 sessions of the World Episcopal Synod.[7] The discussion centered around the problems of 'human development,' and the documents approved by the Synod declare that today evangelization, or conversion to Christianity, must be considered only in the context of human development and the process of national liberation. There were differences on another subject widely discussed — relations between Christians and Marxists. The more realistic ideas came from the Latin-American, African, French and Spanish bishops, and the more retrograde from the Italian, Belgian and Dutch Bishops; with their brethren from the FRG and Poland making up the reactionary wing. The Hungarian and Yugoslav bishops took a pragmatic stand. But all were constrained to admit the growing worldwide influence of the socialist countries, and the growing attraction of socialism, notably among the youth.

It was because of the deep-going changes in the world in the present century (the most important being the October Revolution), and, more especially, developments after the Second World War, that prompted Pope John XXIII to convoke the Ecumenical Council. This time, however, not for purposes of excommunication or benefiction, but to sum up a whole period of history. And it is no accident that the concluding chapter of *Gaudium et Spes* (the status of the Church in the modern world) is devoted to dialogue, and is addressed 'to all people,' Catholics and non-Catholics, believers and non-believers, for all 'must help build the world we all share together.'

The Council supported Pope John's invitation to all men, various forces and movements, to work together for the common good, whatever their ideological differences. The Pope not only drew a distinction between ideologies and historical movements, helping in this way to end religious wars and predictions of a head-on collision, but also formulated the prospect of rapprochement. 'Rapprochement and agreement in vaious fields of temporal life between believers and non-believers, or those whose belief is tempered with doubt, and are therefore misled, can be employed to bring out the truth and its meaning,' he wrote in *'Pacem in terris.'*

In his lecture on 'Communists, Catholics and the Struggle for World Peace: The Destiny of Man,' delivered on March 20, 1963, or 20 days before *Pacem in terris* was published, Togliatti expressed the view to which our Party adheres to this day.

'We have always rejected attempts,' he said, 'to predict a rap-

prochement between the two ideologies. Indeed, we must regard the communist world and the Catholic world as a complex of real forces — states, governments, organizations, individual views, various movements — and see whether (in view of present-day revolutions and future prospects) mutual understanding, mutual recognition of values and hence concord and agreement are possible for achieving common goals, because they are necessary, indispensable to all mankind.'

Thus the problem has never been to find a compromise between the two ideologies, although it is possible to arrive at common conclusions on this or that issue even if the points of departure are different. It consists in finding the points on which rapprochement and cooperation are possible in the interests of peace and the liberation of all peoples.

This means that dialogue and coinciding aspirations are the only practicable way to build something new and postitive, provided, of course, that they lead not to confusion or abstract antinomies, but to the understanding that everyone's ideological arguments are meant to free man from exploitation and suppression of his dignity and freedom. In his report to the 13th Party Congress (March 1972), Enrico Berlinguer, speaking of the ferment and new trends in the Catholic world, pointed out that the Second Ecumenical Council was an attempt 'to call attention to what Pope John XXIII described as a "sign of the times." Among new developments at the Council was the discovery by the Church that the central problem is man's emancipation here on earth, and not only his salvation in the hereafter, as well as the conviction that solution of the two problems involves a thorough reappraisal of his attitude toward the community.'

Indeed, such values as social justice, a new family life, the complete assertion of man's dignity and peace in conditions of broader democracy inside states and on the international scale can now be assured only if the problem of man's all-round emancipation is made central to political activity and if social usefulness is the guiding criterion. It is a question of values typical of movements inspired by socialist ideals. But these values are also dealt with in texts expounding the Christian message. After the Council, many Catholic theologians seemed to have rediscovered the message, ridding it of the mythological and metaphysical elements added by certain trends of Western philosophy.

It is on these new lines that the Communist-Catholic dialogue has been going on for 10 years. It has largely contributed to a change in thinking and behavior and has given rise to new cultural, social and political processes, as many facts show.

Today it is objectively unhistorical to try to rekindle religious wars

or provoke ideological confrontation. Such attempts were made in the closing months of 1975 by some Italian prelates, including Cardinal Ugo Poletti. In anticipation of the municipal elections to be held in Rome in the spring of 1976, Poletti spoke about 'a confrontation between the City of God, which is the Church, and the City of the godless,' supposed to be inhabited by Communists. But most people, including many Catholics, and notably the youth, no longer think in terms of 'two cities.' Everyone wants to live in one 'city.' The 'Roman question' was settled when Rome became the city of all Romans, believers and non-believers. Incidentally, Pope Paul VI admitted during his visit to Campidoglio Palace on April 16, 1966: 'Pope Pius IX came here about a hundred years ago but how has everything changed! We have no more temporal authority to assert here. . . . We neither regret nor long for it today, and still less do we have any secret intentions to claim it. As regards the little power that the Pope has, it is symbolic rather than real.'

Unlike Pope Pius IX (1846-1878), who advocated temporal papal power, Paul VI lays claim to only spiritual authority, which he, moreover, wants to put in the service of mankind, as he solemnly declared in the UN on October 4, 1965. 'You are being addressed by a man like yourselves,' he said, 'one of the men who represent sovereign states. This man represents one of the smallest states. He, too, is vested, if you like to look on us in that way, with some little, almost symbolic temporal power that is just enough for him to carry out his spiritual mission freely. . . . We have nothing to ask and no question to raise. The only desire we would express is to have your permission to serve you in humility and love.'

The statements of Ugo Poletti and the Standing Council of the Italian Episcopal Conference (December 13, 1975) certainly point in a different direction. They are intended to reaffirm the ideological incompatibility of Marxism and the Gospel ('One cannot be both a Marxist and a Christian') in order to raise obstacles to the process in our country described by Enrico Berlinguer as the 'historical compromise.' It should also be noted that this position, which is not alien to an influential part of the Vatican or to Paul VI himself, was upheld by certain foreign, first of all American, West German, Portuguese, Polish, Austrian and Latin American episcopates. They fear that a left-wing municipal council in Rome, with Communist participation, would make it easier for the Communist Party to join a national government and help to overcome anti-communism in the world. People might think that if Communists are members of the municipal council of Rome — where the Papal See and the leading center of the Catholic Church are located — what is to prevent them from controlling other areas?

It is also feared in these circles that if the Communists came to power and a socialist society were built in Italy, the existence of that small state, the Vatican, would be imperilled. A large segment of the official Catholic press recognizes the importance of ICP statements about guaranteeing all freedoms, including religious freedom, but fears that later the situation might change. These misgivings are naturally played up and exploited by all the economic and religious forces which have long had certain privileges (in schools, hospitals, commercial activities, and so on), and enjoy support abroad.

Undoubtedly, the Catholic world is deeply disturbed today because a part of it refuses to accept the new realities and clings to the past. But there is another Church growing, that of the Council, which has adopted the provisions of *Gaudium et spes* as its line of aciton. 'The Church,' this Constitution says, 'does not put its hopes on the privileges granted it by the civilian authority' but will operate 'for the good of all, in accordance with changes in time and situation.' Elsewhere we read: 'The political community and the Church are mutually independent and autonomous in their respective spheres. But both serve, if in different ways, the personal and collective interests of the same people.'

The spread of these ideas among Italian Catholics has caused a deep and serious crisis in the Christian-Democratic Party. It is not an unimportant fact that after the May 12, 1974 referendum on the divorce law and the June 15, 1975 elections the more extremist and integralist wing of the CDP led by Fanfani was defeated within its own party, even though the defeat is not yet complete.

It was this defeat that prompted the more conservative section of the Italian Church and the Vatican to announce a new anti-communist crusade, although the times have changed. This phenomenon is typical of Italian Catholicism but examples of it can also be found in other countries. It is explained, among other things, by the years-long domination in Italian Catholicism of ideological and political integralism and the policy of compromise between Church and state.

However, other views are not lacking. They were expressed, in particular, by Cardinal Michele Pellegrino, Archbishop of Turin, in August 1975, upon his return from a tour of Latin America and after a Communist had been elected mayor of Turin (June 15). 'The great ambiguity of our time,' he said, 'lies in the fact that Marxism has an ideology of its own and is an instrument of analysis of social, economic and political realities. Marxism is becoming a system of government, of politico-economic action. Now it is clear that as far as ideology is concerned, the opposition is radical. Apart from this, cooperation on all that serves the advancement of man is — I will not say legitimate, but necessary and we must work for this.'

This is why the problem of fully emancipating man and thoroughly renovating society is not posed in terms of an abstract ideological confrontation but, first of all, in terms of a confrontation between those who want to lead the commune, region or state in the interests of society and the individual, and those who tend, on the contrary, to promote group and clientele interests to the detriment of the common good.

It is on these problems of moral purity and the attributes of a new, democratic and socialist society that we must now exchange views with the Catholics in explicit language, always with due regard to real problems.

We consider that the method of comparison and joint action is the only practicable one today if we want our country to overcome a crisis that is not only economic but also political and cultural because it involves our entire way of life, still praised so much by capitalist forces and by political and cultural movements linked with them, including Catholic ones. Many Catholics, having rediscovered the authentic Christian message after the Ecumenical Council, commit themselves to the common good as a priority. We consider, therefore, that it is possible not only to hold discussions with these forces but to build together with them a society without exploiters and exploited, a society in which the people's participation, backed by the entire system of representative bodies (parliament, regional, provincial and municipal councils), would make for the gradual spread of different, direct forms of political rule typical of the 'higher type of society' — socialist society.

1. A newspaper published in 1919-20 by the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party led by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti; the Italian Communist Party newspaper from January 1921 to April 1925. — *Ed.*

2. 'The Roman Question' refers to the conflict between the secular power of the Pope and the national movement for the autonomy and independence of the Italian state. The pattern of state-church relations was set in the Lateran agreements of February 11, 1929. The Second Ecumenical Council (1962-65) sought to conceptualize the new elements history brought into the question over the past 100 years.

3. Reference is to the drive for a mass Communist Party. — *Ed.*

4. Joint ICP and FCP communique, *Unita,* November 18, 1975.

5. The Encyclical distinguishes between 'doctrines,' which 'remain unchanged,' and 'historical movements,' which influence the 'constantly changing historical situation and cannot but themselves be affected by it, thus becoming a subject of these, often major, changes.' And the conclusion is drawn: 'It could come about that rapprochement and encounters of a practical nature, which yesterday were considered untimely and useless, could today or tomorrow become timely and useful.' (*Pacem in terris,* Sections 159-160)

6. Clerical integrationism insists on rigid ideological and political conformity by all believers. — *Ed.*

7. Formed by Pope Paul VI in 1963, as a consultative and information conference. — *Ed.*

the press

With the Party, with the people, for the people

We continue our interviews with editors of the central Party dailies in the socialist countries.* In this one, *Istvan Katona* editor-in-chief of *Nepszabadsag* and member of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, discusses the role of the newspaper in furthering the Party's ties with the masses.

Q. The activity of a Marxist-Leninist party, and consequently of its press organ, is characterized by close ties with the masses and complete devotion to their interests and cause. How is *Nepszabadsag* extending the Party's ties with the masses at the present stage, described by the 11th Party Congress as one of building a developed socialist society?

A. Like the newspapers of other fraternal parties, *Nepszabadsag* maintains that extending ties with the masses is not only a distinguishing feature, but also the fundamental basis of Party policy. For Communists, close ties with the masses is not a means of promoting the interests of the Party alone. Nor is their struggle an end in itself, for it is waged for the sake of the prosperity of the whole nation. Herein lies one of the ultimate goals of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been convinced by its own experience, of the necessity to unswervingly follow Lenin's behest: to strengthen the Party's ties with the working class above all, to come closer to, and to a certain degree fuse with, the broadest, including the non-proletarian, masses of working people (See *Collected Works,* Vol. 31, p. 25).

While basing its policy on mutual confidence with the working class and all working people, the HSWP bears in mind that the confidence and support of the people, far from being automatically guaranteed, have to be won and constantly enhanced. Looking at the progress of socialist Hungary over the last 20 years, we not only perceive the continuity and principled nature of the HSWP's political line; we also

*Earlier interviews were with M. Zimyanin of the Moscow *Pravda* (*WMR*, August 1974, page 136) and G. Bokov of the Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* (*WMR*, November 1974, page 124).

see how the Party's policy was enriched, how its ties with the masses assumed new substance and vigor as it resolved increasingly complex tasks.

Twenty years ago, when we had to defend the gains of socialism, we could not speak of the socialist unity of the nation. Today, when our Party is carrying out the task of building a developed socialist society set by its 11th Congress, it is sure of and relies on this unity. This shows that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, socialist morality and the socialist way of life have taken deep root in the course of socialist construction, forming the basis for uniting Communists and non-Party people, atheists and believers — all who, despite differences in outlook, link their fate with, and find happiness in, people's Hungary.

It took time to show that the struggle against anti-socialist views is a struggle not against man, but in the name of man. This struggle made it possible to broaden contact with the masses, to explain to those whose ideas did not coincide or even conflicted with communist ideology what socialism really means, and to enable them to find their place in society.

This is how *Nepszabadsag,* too, sees the matter. Just as the Party expresses the basic interests of the working class and of the people as a whole, so *Nepszabadsag,* the main daily of the Party, is at the same time a paper for the whole people. It is meant for Communists and non-Communists alike, and takes an active part in the diversified work for the ideological and political education of the masses.

In our work we of course take account of the specific development of Hungarian society, including the present level of social consciousness. We know full well that much still has to be done in this complex sphere, where progress is particularly difficult because of the habits and survivals of the past.

What distinguishes the present situation is that, on the one hand, the working people approve and accept the Party's policy, thus helping to build up political unity, which is the main tendency in our development. On the other hand, Hungarian Communists have to disseminate even more widely the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, foster socialist consciousness in the masses, and combat anti-socialist views, the emergence of which cannot be ruled out.

That is why the newspaper continuously propagates the Party's policy and communist ideology and views, and combats ideas and behavior that run counter to socialist morality.

Q. Could you tell us in greater detail how *Nepszabadsag* facilities the HSWP's work in the ideological and political education of the working people?

A. The present task of our ideological and political work is to

encourage every citizen to make his code of conduct the motto of the socialist labor teams, 'live, study and work in the socialist way.' And we believe the very practice of socialist construction to be the best school for training and for developing an advanced world outlook. Hence the foremost task of *Nepszabadsag* is to draw the broad masses into social and political life.

To carry out this task *Nepszabadsag* regularly reports on the work of front-rankers, and here it is important to avoid triteness, idealization and unconvincing examples.

Like the newspapers of fraternal parties in other socialist countries, we publish what I might call briefing articles. For example, since preparations for the 11th Party Congress began every Saturday issue of the newspaper has been carrying materials which discuss and explain the most acute and significant political problems.

Needless to say, moral substance, conviction and high principle should be inherent not only in articles of this type, but also in the general trend of the newspaper in the choice of themes, in the way of presenting all materials ranging from editorials to news items.

In our propaganda work we base ourselves on comprehensive, topical and authentic information. Being a daily paper, *Nepszabadsag* tries to inform the reader as quickly as possible on the country's political, economic and cultural life, and on world events. Comprehensive, diverse and prompt information (provided, of course, that promptness is not detrimental to authenticity) helps the reader to perceive the essence of the social processes and to realize his role and responsibility. This, in our view, is the type of information which promotes success in spreading communist ideas, in inspiring the masses and giving them the correct orientation.

While pursuing an open policy based on confidence in the people and talking to them in the language of truth, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its Central Committee demand the same of its press organ.

For us, Party-spirited journalists, who bring the Party's message to the masses, Lenin's behest is a permanent principle of work. 'Our propaganda and agitation must be open and above-board,' Lenin pointed out. 'We must condemn most resolutely those who regard politics as a series of cheap little tricks. . . . Their mistakes have to be corrected. You can't fool a class' (Vol. 32, p. 215).

We believe the truthfulness of information to be the most important requisite for enhancing the prestige of the newspaper as well as of the whole Party, for promoting greater confidence in it on the part of both Party members and non-Party people, and in helping to mould public opinion.

This fundamental principle, to which *Nepszabadsag* unfailingly

adheres, has proved its value in elucidating the present economic crisis in the capitalist world and its consequences.

Considering the limited natural resources of our country, the specifics of development of the Hungarian economy, and its close ties with the foreign, including the capitalist market, it is not difficult to understand why our economy was somewhat affected by the changes that took place in international economic conditions, especially by the rise in prices of raw and energy-producing materials.

We had to reduce imports from capitalist countries, especially goods which are not absolutely necessary. At the same time we had to increase our exports and revise the prices of some consumer goods.

Bourgeois propaganda tried to exploit these measures to misinform Hungarian and world opinion. In view of this, *Nepszabadsag* explained the true nature of capitalism's economic crisis and its consequences.

The crisis showed that changes in the world capitalist market may affect our socialist economy and that world prices cannot be disregarded in our domestic prices. We said this frankly to the people, and explained to them that even under these circumstances the great advantages of the planned system of economy are not upset. Socialism precluded the upheavals which the capitalist countries experienced and which would have hit Hungary too if it were a capitalist country.

Our country has fulfilled its fourth five-year plan. By raising the efficiency of social production and labor discipline and relying on the conscientiousness and support of the working people and on our strong internationalist ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, we were able to make headway in building a developed socialist society. We ensured planned economic development and a steady rise in the people's living standards.

It is indicative that our Party's principled stand, which is reflected in the pages of *Nepszabadsag,* compelled the bourgeois propagandists, at least in their broadcasts for Hungary, to give up the fabrications they concocted in connection with the 'energy crisis.' 'Despite the shortage of raw materials and energy,' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* admitted, 'Hungary has proved to be an economically more stable state than one might have imagined.'

The attitude to *Nepszabadsag,* readers' confidence in it (which also means confidence in the HSWP's policy) is evidenced by the fact that in so small a country, with little more than 10 million inhabitants, we have a daily circulation of 750,000 on weekdays and 800,000 on Sundays.

Q. The dialectics of socialist development is such that with social progress the Party's guiding role in society grows and life makes

greater demands on the Party and its organizations, and on every Communist. What are the tasks of *Nepszabadsag* in this connection? How does it help Party organizations to cope with the complex tasks of building a developed socialist society? What does it do to make every Communist a really advanced builder of the new society?

A. That the Party plays a leading role in our society has long been a generally acknowledged fact.

But the Party has never regarded this role as a privilege. Communists have only one privilege — to serve the interests of the people as best as possible. So it is quite understandable why the 11th Party Congress emphasized that in the context of building a developed socialist society, when the dimensions as well as the complexity of the tasks increase, when advance becomes complicated, higher demands are made upon every Party organization and every Communist. And we are not speaking of a short-term campaign, but of day-to-day painstaking and diversified work, better organized and more efficient. What is required is that every Communist should live and work in conformity with the Leninist norms of Party life; they should constantly improve their knowledge and do their utmost to carry out their tasks.

It would not be easy to enumerate everything *Nepszabadsag* does toward these ends. I shall only touch on a few trends in our activity.

In the first place, we always help Party organizations to improve their style of work, to enhance their role and activity. This presupposes, among other things, resolute struggle against bureaucracy, false pretenses and formalism.

Secondly, we see to it that Party decisions are observed in letter and in spirit. In other words, we work for their accurate and unconditional implementation, and this further enhances the prestige of the Party at all levels. We also work hard to accentuate Party leadership in economic, social, scientific and cultural activities.

The newspaper is doing a great deal in connection with the current exchange of Party membership cards. This will no doubt promote the Party's ties with the masses, its ideological and political unity, and the mobilization of the working people to carry out the decisions of the 11th Congress. The exchange of Party cards lends still greater urgency to the demands made by the HSWP upon each of its members.

The Party considers the participation of a Communist in executing specific tasks to be the main criterion by which to judge his activity. It emphasizes that agreeing with its policy is not enough; one must fight for its implementation in order to be worthy of the title of a Communist. It is imperative to put this principle into practice: 'The more active a man's participation in public affairs is, the greater moral and

material encouragement he deserves.' This principle, enunciated by the November (1975) Central Committee plenum, is being popularized by *Nepszabadsag* by highlighting Communists who afford a good example both at work and in daily life.

It should be pointed out that this is a very delicate task, above all because it is not in the nature of Communists to praise one another. Their work must be judged by the working people. Besides, it is difficult to give a rounded-out picture of a person. One has to know what makes him forward-looking in the context of the dynamic social advances we are witnessing today, and of the complex processes brought about by the growing scale of industrialization in our relatively small country.

To illustrate one such process, I shall refer to a fact which is very typical of Hungary. It was recently cited in *Nepszabadsag*. Most rural dwellers who are joining the ranks of the working class today change their places of employment while continuing to live in the countryside. This is the case in the Zala region, where most of the 29,000 people now working in industrial enterprises and urban institutions still live in their villages. On the whole this is no doubt a positive process, since it broadens the influence of the working class and spreads its ideology in the countryside. But there is another point to be considered: the way of life of the new worker, though changing rapidly, retains many of the characteristics of peasant life. This accounts for the peculiar social psychology of that section of the working class.

You will agree that it is not easy to perceive all the complexities of a process of this kind, especially to detect its manifestation in the character and behavior of people.

Yet, we try to show man in the making, to examine the moulding of his character and fate. This is all the more important since nobody is a 'born' Communist; each came to the Party by his own way, each links his life with the ideas of Marx and Lenin in his own way. Struggle for communist ideals, increased responsibility to society and selfless work — these are some of the things which mould a person into a real Communist, a man who cherishes the freedom and happiness of other nations like those of his own people.

When speaking about the demands the HSWP makes upon its members, we mean above all a Communist's attitude to his work, his contribution to the solution of the tasks set by the Party congress. At the same time we remember that as socialism advances and prosperity standards grow, the problem of the way of life becomes even more urgent. No wonder this problem takes up much space in the pages of *Nepszabadsag*, which regards combating individualism, indifference, hypocrisy and negligence as one of its major tasks.

These qualities are particularly intolerable when they show up in the activity and mode of life of executives. While constantly enhancing confidence in our executives, we call for the top offices to be given to people who are devoted, and capable of working with zeal and initiative, receptive to the new and voice their opinions openly. 'To be a Communist, a Party functionary, or a public figure,' Comrade Janos Kadar told the 11th Party Congress, 'does not mean holding a lucrative post; it implies duty, work, struggle, selfless service to the ideas of communism, to the cause of the working class and the whole people.' This is how the HSWP sees the duty and responsibility of executives, and it is from this standpoint that it judges their work.

This approach fully accords with the basic principle by which we are guided in allocating personnel and which underlies the entire social life. The essence of this principle is that all top posts are open to all Hungarian citizens; the only qualifications are political maturity, professional training and executive ability.

The inculcation of respect for staunch champions of socialism, for those who show others an example by their labor and behavior, is definitely a central objective in the propaganda activities of the Party and its press organ. At the same time, we shall continue to fight tirelessly against everything that hampers our advance, 'against the sluggishness and deterrent forces of mediocrity, for mediocre work is no help in building a developed socialist society,' as our Premier, Gyorgy Lazar, once said in the State Assembly.

In this case, too, the tested instrument of the Party is criticism and self-criticism. The critical writings of our newspaper embrace a wide scope — from raising serious economic problems and analyzing the work of one Party organization or another, to criticizing individuals and defending those in need of help.

Our editorial board knows full well that the prestige of the Party's central press organ is in many ways the prestige of the Party itself, and that the confidence of the reader in the newspaper depends not only on the level of criticism, but also on how prompt and efficient are the measures taken to eliminate the shortcomings revealed. We try to make our paper more effective by informing our readers of the results of all crticisms made, and if necessary we return to a subject that was already discussed.

In coping with this task we base ourselves on the existing Statute of the Press and on Central Committee instructions concerning the dissemination of information. These documents formalize not only the principles of Party criticism, but also the obligation of the organizations and institutions concerned to tell the editorial board in good time about what was done to rectify the shortcomings revealed.

Generally speaking, I would like to emphasize that our Party stands

for all-round development of citicism and self-criticism. Yet we never forget that criticism is not an end in itself, but an insturment for progress. If we just criticized shortcomings and mistakes and did nothing to rectify them, we would have easily lost sight of our general objective and find ourselves in a blind alley.

It is said in our country that criticism is particularly painful in two cases: when it is truthful and when it is unfair. There is a great deal of common sense in this saying. At any rate, bearing in mind what a strong weapon the press has in its hands, we try to make rational use of it, and the most important thing is that we are always aware of our responsibility. That is why *Nepszabadsag* does not often err.

Q. What forms of work, including organization, does *Nepszabadsag* use to strengthen ties with its readers?

A. To engage in politics, Lenin said, means above all to examine phenomena from the point of view of the masses, rather than from one's personal point of view (*Collected Works,* Vol. 29, p. 230). This requires a knowledge of people, of their interests, needs and moods, and the ability to analyze and even forecast social processes. The Party newspaper, with its diverse contacts with readers, plays a considerable role in this respect. Through the letters it receives from the working people, through their responses to particular events, and also with the help of the direct contacts its correspondents have with readers, *Nepszabadsag,* like the newspapers of other fraternal parties, feels, as it were, the pulse of life, gets to know the opinion of the masses, and learns about their needs.

We are particular in our attention to letters from readers. It is their letters that bring to us fresh ideas and topics which really have the 'human appeal.' Every year *Nepszabadsag* receives about 25,000 letters, and we use them in diverse days. Every week a page is devoted to the most interesting letters and to reports from our non-staff correspondents. We also print remarks, essays, reports and articles prompted by readers' letters.

Letters containing requests and complaints get special consideration. We have a consultation and complaint bureau, at which any citizen may call. If a complaint is well grounded, the newspaper asks the respective public or government body to look into it and set things right.

Readers' letters are also used for our own information. When we make quarterly reviews, taking account of the letters received, of their contents and of how they were used in the newspaper, we outline the topics of future writings. Thus there is a kind of dialogue between the newspaper and the reader, and this definitely strengthens our ties with the working people.

The diverse use of readers' letters presupposes rather than rules

out another form of contact — live contact — between journalists and readers. Jointly with Party organizations and industrial enterprises, the newspaper annually organizes 30 to 40 meetings with readers, as well as discussions with Party workers and activists in regional committees. These meetings and discussions deal with topical questions to be raised by the newspaper.

In Party work, especially when complex problems are analyzed, increasing use is made of such methods as sociological and public opinion surveys. We try to popularize these methods and employ them ourselves.

While consolidating its ties with the masses, *Nepszabadsag* seeks all-round assistance from the Party and its Central Committee; without their support it would not have achieved the success it enjoys today. Help is received in the diversified practice of journalism, in evaluating the materials printed by the newspaper and in providing our employees with information derived from top-level government bodies.

To conclude, I shall quote what Janos Kadar said at the 11th Congress of the HSWP:

'Over the last 18 years we spared neither effort nor time to explain our view to our allies. We implemented our decisions only after having convinced people of their correctness. That is why our socialist system rests on a firm foundation. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will always march together with the masses. We have good slogans, including this one: "With the Party, with the people, for the people." We must remember that even with the best of intentions we cannot make one happy against his will. We must first convince people of the correctness of the road we are urging them to take, and we must try to get them to follow us.'

Being the central press organ of the Party, *Nepszabadsag* considers it its duty to help the Party in every way to extend ties with the masses.

The experiment that failed

A short while ago some bourgeois papers announced that the Soviet Union was exploiting the labor of foreign workers. The London *Observer*,[1] noting that workers from the East European countries 'have begun to help the Russians' build a pipeline that will bring gas from Orenburg in the Urals to the Western border of the Soviet

Union, wonders why the Communist press denounces the use of foreign workers in developed socialist countries. There were similar reports in other bourgeois papers, including the London *Times* (in an article entitled "Comecon Experiements with Guest Workers')[2] and the Hamburg *Stern* (in the article 'The Red *Gastarbeiter*').[3]

Repeating the *Observer* almost word for word *Stern* wrote: 'The Soviet Union has introduced what it formerly criticized as a crude form of capitalist exploitation.'

Comments of this kind are a stock-in-trade of the bourgeois press. And they are meant for the credulous: maybe some will believe that the countries of the socialist community, where exploitation is a thing of the past, are resorting to this 'crude form' of wage labor. And it is no mere accident the bourgeois press avoids explaining the purpose of the Orenburg pipeline; nor does it give any information about working conditions at the construction site. Had it clarified these truthfully, the ulterior motive of the talk about 'exploitation under socialism' would have become obvious.

The bourgeois press purposely uses the word *gastarbeiter* (or 'guest workers'), which first appeared in the Federal Republic of Germany a few years ago and is now commonly used in West European countries. This term means much more than workers of one country earning their living in another; it is, in effect, a social concept which implies ruthless exploitation, discrimination and poor living conditions.

It is destitution and unemployment that compel Greek, Turkish and Italian workers to look for jobs in France, Belgium and Federal Germany. The work is hard; labor power is cheap, which means additional profits for the capitalist and helps him cope with the economic crisis.

The labor of participants in socialist international construction projects in general, and that of the builders of the Orenburg pipeline in particular, has nothing in common with immigrant labor. They do not work for capitalists, but for the worker-peasant state. They are not driven by poverty and unemployment, for they have been doing very well in their own countries. It is for the good of their own country and of the socialist community as a whole that they go to work in other socialist countries. In return their country takes care of them.

The plight of immigrant workers is a disgrace to bourgeois society. Everybody knows how they are being used. The communist press has written about this more than once, and the bourgeois press found itself compelled to comment, too. For instance, the Swedish *Dagens Nyheter* wrote: 'The immigrants are supposed to promote higher living standards in Western Europe and then go back to wherever they come from. This state of affairs is maintained by a complicated

system of discriminatory measures which confirms the privileges of citizens of the host country and exempts it from the duty to care for the immigrants.'[4]

'Guest workers' are engaged in the most arduous and unhealthy jobs. Nearly all the street cleaners in London and Paris are immigrant workers; and in Switzerland and Belgium more and more immigrants are being brought in to work in the mines. Moreover, their wages are much lower than those of native workers engaged in the same trade and having the same qualification.[5] Yet they have the longest working week.

The specialists working in all sectors of the Orenburg project are highly skilled. Take, for instance, the Polish group: it is made up of 1,100 men, including 265 engineers and technicians, 100 welders and 300 mechanization experts; the rest are fitters and general building workers.

Wages are high — the pipeline is being built in complex conditions — and on the whole higher than that of the Soviet building workers.

Most immigrant workers in capitalist countries live in dirty and overcrowded slums which lack elementary conveniences.[6]

Under the terms of the agreement on the building of the Orenburg pipeline, each signatory country erects housing complexes for its specialists. This work has been completed and the Orenburg builders have received well-appointed houses and can avail themselves of canteens, shops, hospitals, and libraries with fresh newspapers and periodicals, and books in their native languages. Apart from engineers, bulldozer drivers and welders, each country has sent its own doctors, nurses and librarians.

One can easily guess why the bourgeois press has concocted the fabrication about the Soviet Union employing 'guest workers.'

The already grim plight of the foreign workers has been further aggravated by the current economic crisis. It is mostly they who were hit by the crisis and by the entailing unemployment. No wonder statesmen in a number of capitalist countries (for example, West German Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Walter Arendt) are talking about the need for rigid measures to restrict immigration.[7] But employers have vigorously opposed all restrictions, thereby showing once again that they have no intention of giving up the additional profits they derive from the poverty and rightlessness of foreign workers.

That is why bourgeois propaganda is trying to assure the public that exploitation of foreign workers is a universal phenomenon, existing both in capitalist and socialist society. Since it is impossible to prove this, it resorts to distortion of the facts by means of 'sensational' reports about 'red *Gastarbeiter*' building the Orenburg gas pipeline.

The authors of such reports obviously want the reader to believe that the Soviet Union has been hushing up the fact that it employs foreign workers at its projects.

But the fact that the socialist countries often undertake international construction projects is well known, and such projects get wide coverage in the press of the socialist countries. For example, nobody denies that long before the Orenburg pipeline began to be built, Bulgarian workers were working on timber-felling sites in the Soviet Union, that a large group of Soviet specialists worked on the construction site of a soda ash plant in Bulgaria, that Soviet specialists participated in the building of the Prague metro, that Hungarian hydrologists and geophysicists helped their Mongolian colleagues locate new water sources in Mongolia, and that youth detachments from member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have of late been coming to Siberia to help build the Ust-Ilimsk industrial complex.

When coping with complex economic problems jointly, countries of the socialist community pool not only their financial and material, but also their manpower resources. This is fixed in a clause of their Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, adopted way back in 1971. It stipulated 'the use of building and assembly organizations, manpower and the necessary material resources of the participating countries in building projects for the production (transportation) of the products which these countries want to receive.'

The building of the gas pipeline running from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR is yet another example of the CMEA countries' success in realizing their plans. A *WMR* correspondent has interviewed A.I. Sorokin, Deputy Minister for oil and gas development and honorary President of the International Gas Union. This is what he told our correspondent:

'The exploitation of the gas deposits in the Orenburg region and the building of a huge gas pipeline running to the western border of the USSR is of vast importance to the European countries of the socialist community. Their demand for natural gas is rapidly increasing, but to build an industrial complex for the extraction and transportation of gas involves enormous difficulties and expenses. The present project provides for the laying of a pipeline 2,750 km. in length and 1,420 mm. in diameter, with a working pressure of 75 atmospheres, and construction of 22 powerful compressor stations. The builders will have to overcome about 170 water barriers, including the Volgograd reservoir, the Dnepr, the Don, the Dnestr and other rivers; about 200 km. of the line will pass along the Carpathian range.

'In the summer of 1974 the heads of government of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the

USSR and Czechoslovakia signed in Sofia an agreement on cooperation in developing the Orenburg gas deposits and in laying a gas pipeline running from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR. Under the terms of the agreement, the participating countries provide equipment and specialist personnel.

'With the help of Soviet building organizations experienced in the installation of gas-transportation systems, the national groups lay separate sections of the pipeline in their own sectors of the pipeline's route; each of the sectors presents equal difficulties.

'When the pipeline comes into operation in the autumn of 1978, each of the countries participating in its construction will get 2,800 million cubic metres of natural gas a year. Rumania, whose only commitment is to supply equipment for a gas-processing plant in Orenburg, will receive 1,500 million cubic metres of gas annually.'

The countries of the socialist community will continue to resolve major economic problems by means of joint building projects, as stipulated in their plans. Besides being economically expedient, projects of this kind are, as it were, a school of internationalist education. It is this aspect that comrade L.I. Brezhnev referred to when he said: 'When tackling specific economic problems our countries see to it that economic ties are not only mutually advantageous, but take full account of one another's interests. Comradely concern for the successful development not only of one's own country, but also of other friendly socialist states, is the highest expression of socialist internationalism.'

All-round cooperation between the socialist countries will continue to broaden and deepen no matter how the bourgeois press tries to distort the facts.

V. Vladimirov

1. *The Observer*, November 16, 1975.
2. *The Times*, November 29, 1975.
3. *Stern*, November 27, 1975.
4. *Dagens Nyheter*, December 1, 1974.
5. In France they get 10 to 20 per cent less.
6. Although immigrants account for only 8 per cent of the population of France, they make up 24 per cent of the total number of people in need of housing.
7. *Der Spiegel*, December 8, 1975.

The truth versus fiction

The Ruinous Policy of the Peking Leaders (in Mongolian). Ulan Bator, 1975, 87 pp.

Some of the articles appearing in the Mongolian press over the past two years exposing the policy of the present Chinese leadership have now been put out in a volume titled *The Ruinous Policy of the Peking Leaders*.

It analyzes the essence and implications of Peking's great-power chauvinist foreign policy. Special attention is devoted to such anti-scientific concepts as 'poor and rich countries,' 'two superpowers,' etc. The articles show up the Maoist leaders' open resistance to détente, their attempts to discredit the ideas and principles of collective security, and their readiness to join forces with the most rabid reactionaries. 'The Peking leaders' great-power hegemonistic policy, their opening of a new front against the socialist community and the international Communist movement have deprived Chinese foreign policy of all class content' (p. 45) is the conclusion drawn in this book.

Much of it is devoted to exposure of Peking's anti-Mongolian policy. Evidence is cited to show that Mao Tse-tung's great-power proclivities go back to 1936, when he openly made a perfectly unfounded claim to Mongolia. The Maoists did not abandon that claim even after diplomatic relations were established with the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Maoists are trying to prevent Mongolia's friendship with other members of the socialist community. To that end they resort to the most unseemly methods and violation of the elementary principles of international relations. The list includes political blackmail and economic pressure, threats of armed intervention and — as was only to be expected — ideological subversion. Their most vicious attacks, and their crudest slanders, are aimed at Mongolia's fraternal friendship with the USSR and the latter's foreign policy. In assessing these actions of the Peking leaders, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Presidium Chairman of the Great People's Khural, has said: 'It should be emphasized that the cynical anti-Mongolian policy of the Chinese leaders is animated by deep hatred of the Mongolian people, its free and independent development, and its most cherished gain, indestructible frater-

nal friendship with the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders' policy and actions in relation to Mongolia are based on great-power and colonialist claims inherited from the Chinese militarists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique.'

The book reveals the true nature and methods of the Maoist ideologues and their use of half-truths and outright distortions of history to provide a 'scientific' basis for Peking's expansionist propensities. Significantly, official histories put out in Peking openly extol the conquests of Genghis Khan, describing him as the 'unifier of Chinese lands.' They also justify the savage suppression of the Dzungarian khanate* by troops of the Ching dynasty in the mid-18th century, and deny the contribution of the nomad peoples of Central Asia to world civilization and culture.

The articles in this collection show that Maoist ideology and theory are in crying contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. Convincing evidence is adduced to expose the demagogic use and gross distortion of the concept of proletarian dictatorship, that cardinal tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

The book is expressive of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's principled stand in safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and promoting unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

B. Lhamsuren

*An independent state which in the 17th and early 18th centuries controlled Western Mongolia. In 1756-58 Manchuro-Chinese troops invaded Dzungaria and massacred its population.

facts and figures

The working class of the socialist community

The working class makes a decisive contribution to socialist and communist construction. It is both the leading social and political force of society and the largest and growing population group.

The following table shows how the social composition of Soviet society changed at various stages of socialist construction.

Class composition of the Soviet population (per cent)

	1939	1959	1975
Total population, including non-working family members	100	100	100
Wage and salary earners	50.2	68.3	82.9
Wage earners	33.5	49.5	60.9
Collective farmers and handicraftsmen in cooperatives	47.2	31.4	17.1
Individual peasants and handicraftsmen	2.6	0.3	0.0

Wage earners, including their families today make up 60.9 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union, 60.8 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 58.0 in Hungary and about 50 per cent in Poland.

By far most of the wage earners of the CMEA countries are now concentrated in industry, the leading sphere of social production. In 1974, industrial workers made up about 49 per cent of the working class of the CMEA countries of Europe, the percentages for the various countries being about 50 in Bulgaria and Rumania, 45 in Hungary, about 60 in the GDR, 50 in Poland and 48 in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The greater part of the working class is in large engineering plants where conditions are more favorable to raising the workers' profes-

Prepared by the Institute of Socialist World Economy, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

sional, educational and cultural standards, class consciousness and activity in labor and politics.

In the GDR, in 1974 the enterprises employing over 1,000 people accounted for 65.9 per cent of all wage and salary earners are the enterprises with more than 5,000 people for 26.4 per cent, and in Czechoslovakia for 90.3 and 26.6 per cent respectively. In Poland, in 1973 over half state industry employees (50.3 per cent) were in enterprises employing from 1,000 to 5,000 people. In the Soviet Union, personnel in industrial enterprises employing from 1,000 to 10,000 or more make up 68.7 per cent of those engaged in industrial production.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA countries see one of their important tasks in raising the educational and proficiency standards of the working class. This has an important bearing on the leading position of the working class and expediting scientific and technological progress. The proportion of workers engaged in automated and mechanized operations is increasing fast, giving rise to new trades and skills. The demand for highly skilled workers with specialized secondary or higher education is growing rapidly. Soviet industry, for example, has up to 700,000 diplomaed specialists doing workers' jobs, and by 1990 their numbers will have increased to several million. In every thousand workers there were 396 with a higher or secondary education in 1959, 586 in 1970 and 697 in 1975.

In Poland, persons holding workers' jobs included about 23,000 technologists with a secondary education in 1964 and over 150,000 in 1972. In Bulgaria, the proportion of skilled workers has increased almost fourfold in the past 20 years.

In Hungary, the number of skilled and trained workers has more than tripled in 25 years (1949-74) and comprises 66 per cent of industrial workers.

In the GDR, roughly 19 per cent of young workers have a higher or specialized secondary education, 68 per cent have vocational training and only 13 per cent begin untrained. In 1962-71 the share of skilled workers rose from 31.6 to 43.6 per cent. Systematic primary or extension training is given to roughly two million workers a year.

In Rumania, over one million people received various forms of training in 1951-55 and 2.4 million in 1971-75.

In Mongolia, over 90 per cent of workers are skilled.

In Czechoslovakia, the number of industrial workers in 1962-74 increased by 24 per cent, and skilled workers by 54 per cent.

Labor productivity is steadily growing. We estimate that by raising labor productivity the CMEA countries achieve an 87-95 per cent increase in the national income and a roughly 75 per cent increase in industrial output. Higher productivity is brought about chiefly by using

technological innovations equipping workers with greater technical facilities and organizing production more effectively.

As the socialist economy develops and grows stronger, the living standard of all the people, including the workers of course, improves significantly.

In recent years the Communist and Workers' parties of countries of the socialist community have carried out a series of measures to raise wages, pensions and grants, and to increase public consumption funds.

Substantial changes have occurred in wages and salaries. In Bulgaria, for instance, the proportion of wage and salary workers who earn up to 80 leva decreased from 12.5 per cent in 1971 to 4.1 per cent in 1974 and of those earning 81 to 100 leva, from 19.6 to 15.3 per cent. At the same time, the number of those earning between 151 and 250 leva increased from 39.5 to 48.9 per cent.

In Czechoslovakia, in 1970-73, persons engaged in the socialist sector of the economy (exclusive of members of agricultural cooperatives) who earned from 601 to 1,400 crowns a month dropped from 20.2 to 11.7 per cent and those in the 1,401-2,000 crowns bracket, from 35.6 to 30.5 per cent. In the 2,001-3,000 crowns bracket, however, their number increased from 35 to 41.6 per cent and in the case of those earning over 3,000 crowns, from 9.2 to 16 per cent.

In the GDR, wage and salary earners' families with a monthly income of up to 600 marks dropped from 24.9 to 7.7 per cent in 1965-74 and those in the 600-800 mark bracket from 21.9 to 9.9 per cent. At the same time, those in the 1,200-1,400 mark income bracket increased from 6.6 to 19.6 per cent, in the 1,400-1,600 mark bracket from 2.8 to 14.6 per cent and those over 1,600 marks from 2.5 to 19.4 per cent.

It is important to note that cash incomes went up while the prices of food staples and other necessities stayed fixed or were lowered. As a result, the real incomes of Soviet wage and salary earners per working person in 1974 increased by 61 per cent over 1960 and by 31 per cent over 1970. In other CMEA countries, real wages and salaries went up as follows (1960 = 100):

	1970	1974
Bulgaria	130	161
Czechoslovakia	127	146
Hungary	130	147
Poland	119	162
Rumania	147	165

The workers of the socialist community take an active part in economic management and in the work of trade unions and other organizations that are vehicles of production democracy. In the Soviet Union, the main institutions of production democracy are general meetings, various forms of public control and standing production conferences. Conferences now involve over six million people two-thirds of whom are wage-earners. In Poland it is the trade unions that play the main role in organizing the participation of enterprise staffs in management. Specifically, they see to the development of worker self-management bodies, such as production conferences. Functioning effectively in Hungary are such institutions and forms of enterprise democracy as production conferences, conferences of workers or workers' delegates, meetings of socialist work-teams and team leaders, a youth parliament, and managing council meetings. There is also an effective system of production democracy in all other CMEA countries. The leading role of factory Party organizations is an important aspect of every form of production democracy. They take the initiative in socialist emulation and other fields, join in the drafting and implementation of decisions, supervise the activity of the management and take steps to improve the functioning of democratic bodies.

An important form of encouraging the activity of the working class in production and in public affairs is socialist emulation which involves virtually all working people. The emulation movement promotes diverse forms of cooperation between enterprises or combines, improves production organization, labor becomes more efficient, and greater opportunities arise for the development and application of the workers' creative abilities. Communist and Workers' parties promote the emulation movement in every way. In the Soviet Union, over 83 million competed for the pre-schedule fulfillment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) and over 50 million have joined the movement for a communist attitude to labor.

Production innovators, who are mostly blue-collar workers, take an active part in the emulation movement. In the GDR, the number of innovators has almost doubled since the Eighth Party Congress and was 1.4 million in 1974. Every fourth person working in the production sphere is an innovator. In the Soviet Union, the number of rationalizers and inventors increased by 40 per cent in 1965-74 and the savings resulting from their proposals went up 130 per cent.

The steadily increasing leading role of the working class is an objective law of socialist society. Workers actively influence every aspect of life in their country primarily through the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class and all the people. They make up the largest contingents of Communist and Workers' parties in the

countries of the socialist community. Workers constitute the following percentages of the party memberships: Bulgarian Communist Party, 40.6 per cent; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 44.1; Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 56.6; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 59.2; Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, 30; Polish United Workers' Party, 40.9; Rumanian Communist Party, 48.4, and Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 41.6 per cent.

Another important mechanism for giving expression to the will and interests of the working class is the workers' extensive participation in local as well as the highest government bodies guaranteed by a democratic electoral system.

To cite some examples, 101 of the 400 deputies elected to the Bulgarian People's Assembly in 1971 are engaged in material production;

— of the 350 deputies to the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, 88 are workers;

— of the 352 deputies to the National Assembly of Hungary elected last year, 157 are of working-class origin;

— 64 per cent of the deputies to the People's Chamber of the GDR and 63 per cent of the deputies to local government bodies are wage and salary earners;

— one-fourth of the deputies to the Great People's Khural of Mongolia elected in 1973 are workers;

— 90 of the 460 deputies to the Polish Sejm elected in 1972 are workers;

— 33 per cent of the 349 deputies to the Grand National Assembly of Rumania elected in 1975 are engaged in material production;

— of the 1,517 deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR elected in 1974, 498 are workers.

The working class of the socialist community is more than 97 million strong today. It is a great force uniting the peoples of fraternal countries in socialist and communist construction and exerting ever stronger influence on the world revolutionary process. It is a force building a new life in the name of the future of mankind.

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