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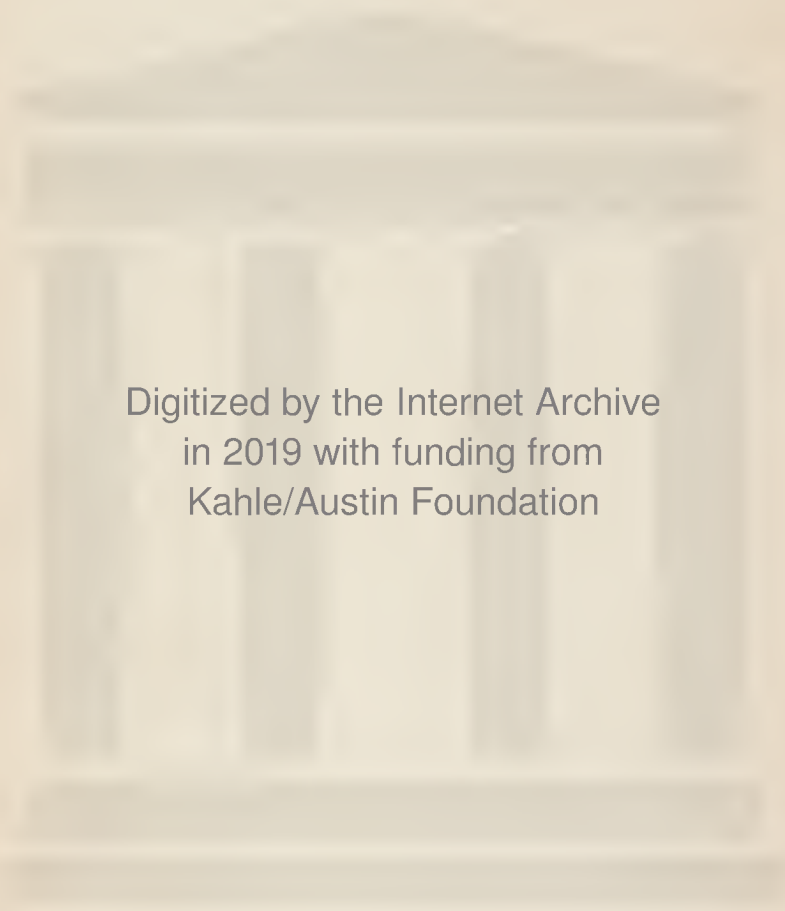
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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

February 1977, Vol. 20, No. 2

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journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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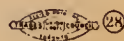
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CORVALAN'S MESSAGE TO WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Warm fraternal greetings to *World Marxist Review*, which is making a big contribution to solidarity of the peoples fighting imperialism and its fascist stooges.

I am grateful to the journal for its part in the campaign for my release, for the release of all Chilean political prisoners, and in the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship, for democracy, progress and social justice in my country.

Luis Corvalan
December 28, 1976

The Editorial Board, Editorial Council and readers of *WMR* express warm gratitude to Luis Corvalan for his message of greetings. We regard the release of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, from fascist prison, as the result of the staunchness and courage of this Communist, patriot and fighter for the freedom and happiness of the people of Chile, as a victory for the Chilean people and the powerful worldwide solidarity movement.

World Marxist Review will not relax its solidarity with the Chilean patriots unlawfully kept in prison by the fascist junta, with all prisoners of reactionary regimes, and with all fighters for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism.

Key trends of the liberation process

Aziz Mohammed

First Secretary, CC Iraqi CP

Ever since the first liberation revolutions in Asia heralded the imminent collapse of colonialism, people on all continents have been witnessing an unprecedented upsurge in the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, who have entered the era of national renaissance. The revolutionary process in the area of national-liberation struggles is developing at a fast and vigorous pace. The masses, who have risen to the stature of makers of history, demand radical changes and the complete release of their countries from the remnants of colonial bondage, neo-colonialist tutelage and dependence.

In pondering on the evolution of the national-liberation movement, we may well ask: What are the overall results of its progress in the past years? What criteria and standards should be used for making an objective, realistic assessment of them? It is particularly important to answer this question now because, perhaps more markedly than since World War II a differentiation is taking place throughout the liberation movement, and the class struggle in the developing countries themselves is gaining momentum. At the same time imperialism, allying itself with domestic reactionaries and rightists, is trying to intensify its activity in key areas of Africa and Asia. There is every reason to say that in step with changes undermining the very pillars of the system of oppression and exploitation, international as well as national conditions for the liberation struggle are becoming more complicated (this is only too evident in certain regions) and revolutionary action meets with growing enemy resistance. To ignore these phenomena is to show self-assurance and superficiality in estimating realities. Yet dialectical approach requires that we take account of the main factor — the decisive trends of the liberation process — and analyze it at both the regional and the global level. Moreover, these trends should be regarded as a concrete manifestation of more general laws and should be closely linked with dominant international trends.

Decisive results

In describing the revolutionary national-liberation struggle in Asia

and Africa, I would like, first of all, to stress its continuous progress, the tremendous expansion of its scope in recent years, the emergence of new effective forms, and the increased participation of the masses in the battle for the ideals of independence, peace and social progress. These positive aspects have materialized in the Afro-Asian peoples' gains, which are also a fruit of the solidarity and joint effort of all revolutionary contingents of today.

The victories achieved by the peoples of Indochina over U.S. imperialism and the reunification of Vietnam, proclaimed a socialist republic, were a great accomplishment of the world revolutionary and national-liberation movement. Today the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which has over 50 million inhabitants, is the world's third biggest socialist country in terms of population. It has vast experience of participation in anti-imperialist liberation struggles, enjoys high revolutionary prestige and is an important factor for peace and progress in its region and throughout Asia.

The family of socialist nations is now being joined by the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, a state led by the Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Party. Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) has embarked on independent development.

The immense significance of these events stands out in the light of the fact that more than two decades ago, imperialism succeeded in partitioning Vietnam (as well as Korea), something the world revolutionary forces were not strong enough to prevent. The situation is different now. Due to the new balance of world class forces, the policy of armed intervention was completely defeated in Indochina and a new important bridgehead was won in the struggle for national and social liberation.

Another historic achievement of the liberation movement was the rise of a group of progressive states in Asia and Africa. An outstanding event in the mid-70s was the victory in Angola, which gave a powerful spur to the Africans' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. In this case, too, the outcome of the struggle was largely predetermined by the world balance of class forces and above all by the effective aid which the socialist community, primarily the Soviet Union and Cuba, extended to the Angolans at the crucial moment.

The victory in Angola was also made possible by the situation in Africa itself, where the growing family of revolutionary democratic states firmly holds the historical initiative. It is these states that launched a powerful campaign in support of the newly-established Angolan Republic. They exposed the clique of FNLA and UNITA traitors in the eyes of the whole continent and emphatically demanded an end to the South African racists' intervention against Angola. And

if imperialism today is unable to impose its "solution" of the problem of Rhodesia and Namibia, this, too, is due primarily to the vigilance of progressive African states rejecting the neo-colonialist formulas of U.S. and British diplomacy and the racist Vorster regime.

The struggle for economic independence has made new gains. In many Asian and African countries, the established policy now is aimed at nationalizing foreign property, setting up a state sector and effecting an agrarian reform and other progressive changes. The developing countries are engaged in an unprecedented battle for international economic relations based on equal rights. They have gone over from isolated to collective action to bring about a revision of the *entire* system of their economic links with developed capitalist countries. They are not content to wrest partial concessions from imperialism, such as price increases for this or that raw material. This finds reflection in a corresponding anti-imperialist policy.

The events brought on by the fourth Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East revealed the close connection between the economic and political aspects of the liberation struggles. With the energy crisis in the capitalist world worsening, Arab countries used oil as a weapon of both economic and political struggle against imperialism and the Israeli aggressor.

Among the achievements of the peoples of developing countries is the choice by the non-alignment movement of such basic orientations as anti-imperialism and adherence to the principles of economic equality. It is very important that today this movement gives evidence of its keen sense of responsibility for the destiny of world peace, declares for détente and its extension to other continents, and supports the peace initiative of the socialist countries, or, in other words keeps pace with the times.

In spite of attempts to divert the non-aligned countries from these fundamental aspirations and set them against the socialist community, the dominant trend of the movement is progressive. This was also evident at its latest conference in Colombo, which strongly condemned the policy of racism and apartheid, various aspects of neo-colonialist policy and the aggressive tendencies of imperialism. The countries participating in the movement also demonstrated their resolve to act together in defending their economic and political sovereignty and promote international cooperation with a view to establishing economic relations on an equitable basis.

Positive changes are steadily gaining ground in the huge expanses of Africa and Asia. Even in our region, in spite of the imperialist and Zionist policy of aggression, the seizure of Arab lands by Israel, the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine and the dramatic events in Lebanon, there is no ignoring such real gains of the liberation move-

ment as the consolidation of progressive regimes in a number of Arab countries, a noticeable weakening of the positions of imperialist monopolies, first of all the oil companies, the formation of progressive national fronts and the extension of the basis of resistance to imperialism and Zionist aggression. Furthermore, a number of revolutionary democratic parties, such as the United Political Organization — National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen — have declared scientific socialism to be their ideology. These are our real successes.

We may therefore put it on record that the above-mentioned gains of the peoples of these continents represent a higher quality than the sumtotal of the gains of recent years. For behind each of these gains are common and deep-going trends that determine their inevitability.

The hard path of change

Public life in Asian and African countries today shows two basic trends. One of them is the increasingly strong social orientation of the national struggle and the other, the extension of its content as an anti-imperialist liberation struggle.

The social content of liberation struggles finds its most precise expression with the winning of national freedom. It is generally represented by political forces speaking for classes and social strata which see in socialism and the socialist orientation the only correct road to genuine independence and a new society that will end exploitation. First among these forces are the working class and its numerous allies among the exploited population groups.

In the early years after World War II, the struggle of Asian and African peoples for progressive social ideals and genuine liberation assumed vast proportions and was particularly effective in countries where Communists were at the head of a mass liberation movement — witness the historic victories of the Vietnamese (August 1945), Korean and Chinese revolutions. With due regard to the situation in their countries, the Communists led them along the road of people's democracy, which was a special form of transition to socialism and whose substance was the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Subsequently, too, as the national-liberation area continues to widen, increasing segments of society in one-time colonies saw that the mere act of declaring independence was not enough for independence to become a reality. This was confirmed by the early liberation revolutions in the Middle East — the Egyptian (1952) and the Iraqi (1958) — which showed that revolutionary democracy, a new major force of social renewal capable of expressing the progressive aims of social development, was entering the political scene in Asia and Africa. In later decades, the revolutionary processes led by this force

assumed so vast a scale that development on these continents today is unthinkable without the revolutionary democrats.

Another key and characteristic trend of the liberation movement is its anti-imperialist orientation. It arose in the colonial period, of course, and at first took on chiefly an anti-colonial form, that is, rejected imperialist political domination. After the colonial system had fallen apart this trend acquired new features due, first of all, to the emergence of dozens of new sovereign nations which enormously extended the geographical framework and scope of the anti-imperialist struggle. As contradictions between developing and developed capitalist countries continue to grow, more and more countries are objectively drawn into the anti-imperialist orbit. Secondly, the struggle is gradually spreading from the political to other spheres.

The increasing operation of the anti-imperialist trend is due to such an objective process as the steady shrinking of the social and economic basis of imperialist domination in Asian and African countries. Hence, the marked weakening of the positions of the feudal classes and groups of the bourgeoisie, of compradors, traditionally linked with imperialism. The weakening of imperialist positions expressed itself, among other things, in several waves of nationalization in the Arab East and in other progressive measures adopted by national governments. Besides, the basis for anti-imperialist action is expanding and the anti-imperialist movement as a whole is going from strength to strength as large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and democratic elements of the national bourgeoisie join in the liberation process. Even those who until recently did not so much as dream of taking 'liberties' with imperialism are now compelled to reckon with this movement.

Experience has confirmed that the anti-imperialist trend is a progressive trend covering a long period. But in making this generally correct statement, we cannot forget that its actual evolution by no means follows a straight line. What is correct from the continental, and still more from the global, point of view needs to be amended when we analyze the situation in specific countries and regions. Nor must we forget that the deeper the content of the anti-imperialist trend, the stronger the resistance it meets. The situation in our region is most indicative in this respect. The struggle between the forces of progress and all patriots, on the one hand, has intensified here to an unprecedented degree. The Middle East policy of imperialism, whose aim is to turn back the wheel of change, is particularly treacherous. The gains of the Arab liberation movement are in serious danger, as the situation created by the events in Lebanon shows.

There are, we believe, at least four reasons for the sharp contradictions endangering the Arab national-liberation movement.

First, Israel's occupation of Arab lands is continuing and the problem of the Arab people of Palestine is as acute as ever.

Second, a number of countries still have unsolved problems of social liberation, as the continuing domination of monarchic states by feudal elements indicates.

Third, differentiation in the liberation movement of the Arab East takes on particularly sharp forms under a social structure that is, on the whole, more developed than in other regions of Asia and Africa. The experience of Egypt has shown that in spite of the anti-bourgeois reforms effected in President Nasser's day, capitalism, which had taken deep root in that country, retained considerable influence, with the result that new bourgeois elements emerged in town and countryside, specifically in the administrative apparatus.

Fourth, the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction in the Middle East is also aggravated by the fact that it is probably the first region in Asia and Africa where progressive changes directed by revolutionary democrats have gone beyond the bounds of national-liberation objectives and acquired an anti-capitalist content.

It is most important to take the latter circumstance into account when analyzing imperialist strategy in our region. The purpose of this strategy is to recapture the initiative and positions lost several years ago. In this connection, I wish to quote the terse and very exact definition of recent events in Lebanon given by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. 'Looking deep into those events,' he said, 'we see that they are a new attempt by world imperialism, that is, the United States and other NATO powers, to deal a blow at the forces of anti-imperialism revolution in the Middle East, to preserve and strengthen its positions there. Imperialism has now taken the road of provoking internecine strife among Arabs. This is made possible by the increased class stratification in Arab countries and by growing social and political differences between them.'*

It follows that the anti-imperialist trend in the Arab East today meets considerable obstacles. Nor is this due to only the expansionist policy of the U.S. ruling circles. There is no overlooking the changes in the social basis that have occurred in the region in recent years. In the past, imperialist influence was promoted mainly by Arab reaction. Nowadays, however, this role is also claimed by right-wing currents in the liberation movement that express the interests of new groups of the rural and urban bourgeoisie and pro-bourgeois elements in the state apparatus. Attempts are made to coordinate the activities of reactionaries and rightists and to expand their collaboration in various fields. More often than not, Saudi Arabia plays the role of initiator and mediator in carrying out these measures.

**Pravda*, October 26, 1976.

To be sure, The Saudi regime today is compelled, as Arab affairs reveal, to take account both of the will of multinational monopolies and the demands of the liberation forces opposing them, at least to some extent. But what we have here is not genuine anti-imperialism; it is a selfish policy, an effort to exploit contradictions between developed capitalist and oil-producing countries. Nor is it accidental that Saudi Arabia's rulers and their allies in the region, who are just as reactionary, preserve their fundamental relations with imperialist countries, first of all with the United States, and do their best to further them, with due regard to the demands and requirements of their imperialist partners.

What is going on in our region and in the Arab liberation movement also has a broader meaning. Operating here is a general law which consists in *intensification* of the differentiation process, primarily in those sectors of the liberation struggle where social changes have gone deepest. Besides, the imperialists believe that if they manage to channel events in the Middle East as they wish they will have a greater chance of succeeding in other areas of Asia and Africa. Indeed, the United States, profiting by certain results of its diplomacy, first of all by the Sinai agreement, tried to test 'shuttle tactics' in Africa. But it came up against powerful resistance by freedom-loving African countries whose joint action in recent years has foiled many a reactionary plan, many an imperialist act of subversion.

The role of class alliances

We know from history that even the most progressive trends do not become a real force until they are backed in adequate measure, not only in the region or continent concerned, but all over the world. This support for the national-liberation movement has been coming from the socialist world system and the international working class.

Iraq's Communists have always attached special importance to close contacts between the Arab liberation movement and the socialist world, primarily the great Soviet Union. Their position has already won widespread recognition in our country. The ruling Arab Socialist Baath Party is oriented toward a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union. What enabled Iraq to carry the anti-imperialist revolution deeper and take the non-capitalist road was effective aid from countries of the socialist community.

Iraq's relations with these countries are expressive of the rise of a new type of international relations prompted by the need of close cooperation among the peoples interested in preserving and furthering their social and economic gains. In other words, it is a case of shaping international relations based on general democratic principles and, moreover, giving them a progressive social content. This type of

relations is spreading as relations between the Soviet Union and Angola, Mozambique and other progressive African countries have vividly exemplified in the recent period. At the same time, the political content of relations between the socialist community and the newly-free countries is being continuously enriched, which expresses itself in their closer cooperation in the struggle against imperialism, for national and social liberation, for world peace and security.

Support from the working class and the democratic movement in developed capitalist countries is of tremendous importance for the destiny of the liberation struggle. Its value is seen in the record of numerous campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, which were also an effective method of influencing imperialist governments. We also know that advanced workers and all democrats in the capitalist world have done a good deal for the Arab peoples by exposing Israel's policy of conquest and the policy of its patrons in the USA. However, greater efforts are needed now to defeat the Tel Aviv-Washington conspiracy and to expose Zionist ideology and practice unrelentingly and from positions of principle. Such solidarity would contribute immensely to our fight for a fair settlement in the Middle East and for the consolidation of progressive regimes there.

The problems of class alliances and of the unity of patriotic forces also have intra-regional and continental aspects. Speaking of our region, it is unfortunately a fact that differences between progressive regimes have not yet been removed, which generally weakens the front of revolutionary Arab forces. These forces, which bear the main responsibility for progress in the Arab world, must try harder than ever to find the most suitable formula for united action. It is essential, first of all, to overcome differences of secondary importance that can be settled in a spirit of mutual understanding and with due regard to common objectives and tasks.

We think the important thing at present is for the progressive and genuinely patriotic forces of the Arab world to realize the undeniable fact that what draws them together is much greater than what divides them. The objective basis for their unity is the struggle for the liberation of all occupied Arab lands, for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and independent national statehood, and awareness of the need to resist Israeli aggression and defend progressive Arab regimes in order to assure their further development. If united, the revolutionary forces of Arab countries could use such recognized forums as the Arab League more effectively to achieve democratic liberation goals.

As regards the broader aspect of the effort to consolidate the forces of progress, democracy and national independence in our two continents, we are convinced that growing cooperation among revolution-

ary democratic regimes could become one of its main lines. It is important to steadfastly promote the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity and support all the positive gains made by the non-aligned movement and the new forms of collective resistance to imperialism, especially in the economic field, that are developing today.

New international climate

The processes and trends I have described are developing in close interaction with the world situation, as the record of the national-liberation revolutions of recent decades attests.

Their powerful wave swept across Asia at a time when the triumph of the anti-fascist forces which defeated Hitler Germany and Japanese militarism enabled mankind to take a resolute step toward peace. That was when several liberation revolutions were accomplished and the democratic movement surged high in many colonies and semi-colonies. This upsurge coincided with a general uptrend in the worldwide revolutionary struggle and its main result was the rise of the socialist world system. At that time imperialism, seeing a global threat to its positions, imposed the cold war on the peoples by emphasizing the policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It also used the cold war as a means of 'rolling back' the national-liberation movement. These aims were promoted by a system of military blocs, the strategy of extending military and economic 'aid' and other measures.

The policy of building up tensions and fomenting anti-communist hysteria could not check the revolutionary process but could slow down the pace of change. Let us recall such a phenomenon of cold war memory as the notorious Eisenhower doctrine, which claimed for the United States the right to intervene militarily in countries of our region on the pretext of 'defending them against international communism.' That doctrine was the ideological rationale of the American-British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan after the 1958 revolution in Iraq. Although the invaders were unable to achieve all their objectives, they headed off for a time a trend toward deepening the revolutionary liberation process in those countries, that did not suit them. Today the USA, striving to obstruct a fair settlement of the Middle East conflict and taking advantage of tensions in the region, plans to undermine with the backing of domestic reaction the progressive regimes existing there. After the victories in Indochina, Thailand's new military regime is trying, not without the prompting and support of certain U.S. quarters to revive the cold war atmosphere, which it sees as a reliable means of holding up the revolution. In short, imperialism defends itself everywhere and always through a policy of stepped-up tensions, war hysteria and confrontation.

This is why the historic turn toward détente was hailed so enthusiastically in Asia and Africa. It also explains the widespread support given on these continents to the numerous peace initiatives of socialist countries. The benefits of détente are already enjoyed by the peoples, both in Europe and elsewhere. The general relaxation of world tensions has had an essentially beneficial effect on the situation in Southeast and South Asia and some other areas. To our deep regret, the Middle East is not among them as yet. The situation there is extremely uncertain and a new armed conflict may break out at any moment.

Yet while bearing in mind the situation in our region, which is so far removed from the concept of détente, we visualize the gigantic advance that events in the Middle East would score if they moved in this direction of fundamental international importance. The key to extending détente to the Middle East is, now as in the past, a comprehensive settlement implying the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories overrun in 1967 and the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of a national state. Such a settlement, for which the Geneva conference is an adequate forum, would mean not only vindicating the fundamental general democratic principles of international relations in our region, but taking a new step toward developing the liberation movement of Arab peoples, strengthening the positions of progressive regimes and, lastly, bringing about the victory of the just cause of the long-suffering Arab people of Palestine. A turn toward détente in the Middle East on this basis would undoubtedly strengthen the anti-imperialist trend in the Arab liberation movement and afford its vanguard contingents new opportunities.

In analyzing historic developments altering the world, the Communists are far from looking at this process through rose-colored spectacles. Genuine revolutionaries are always realistic thinkers. They never exaggerate what has been achieved and never give in to complacency, for they know that the road of the revolution is never smooth. But even going through the hardest trials, the Communists never lose sight of the main guidelines suggested by the epoch or its key trends. They always discern in the maze of events what is particularly important, and know how to turn temporary retreats into a counter-offensive. This is a source of strength and indestructible optimism to them.

Specific features of socialist democracy in Cuba

Blas Roca

PB and Secretariat member,
CC CP of Cuba

Popular rule in Cuba has now been given its definitive structure. Why, we are sometimes asked, did we not do this immediately after the revolution. The answer was given by Fidel Castro at the First Congress of the Communist Party: 'The revolution,' he said, 'was in no hurry to finalize the political structure. For it was not a matter of formalities, but of creating well thought-out and permanent institutions corresponding to Cuban reality.'

In the first ten years the principle task of revolutionary power was to withstand and repel aggression by imperialism and its agents. It took many different forms — sabotage, assassination attempts, subversion, espionage, the landing of mercenaries, support and arms for the bandit gangs operating in various parts of the country. We had to muster all the revolutionary forces of the people to crush these enemy sallies and, at the same time, extend the work of socialist transformation, develop the economy, build up the education and public health systems and meet many other requirements of the people.

This process strengthened the unity of all the revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and firmly established the socialist character of the revolution. We defeated the North American imperialist aggressors and, guided by the interests of the masses, our national-liberation and socialist aims, carried out fundamental social and economic reforms which consolidated the unity of our people and strengthened its determination to defend the gains of the revolution and forge ahead to build a socialist society.

There were no elections to government bodies. But there were regular, democratic elections in the trade unions, peasant, student, women and other organizations which, alongside the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) played, and continue to play, a major role in the country's life. Besides, our government leaders and the heads of administrative agencies were in close touch with the masses, took counsel with them, heeded their opinions. Major legisla-

tion was publicly discussed before its enactment, and this gave it more appeal and force.

Perhaps this process, which we call the period of temporary forms of revolutionary power, lasted too long. Now, when the Party and the political understanding of the people are much more mature, we have started work on a program of consistent development of socialist democracy and on completing the building of our socialist state structure. The process began after 1970, when Fidel Castro called for strengthening the Party apparatus, clearly delineating its functions and those of the government, raising the role of the trade unions and other mass organizations.¹

Work on our socialist constitution began in 1974. The draft was published on February 24, 1975, and opened to discussion by the entire people and its mass organizations, such as the CDR, the Trade Union Center, National Association of Small Holders, the Cuban Women's Federation, student societies and the Young Communist League. Party members had an active part in all the discussions. The first Party Congress approved the draft after considering all the suggestions and comments made in the nationwide discussion. After the referendum held in February 1976 the draft constitution became the fundamental law of the land.

The Congress also decided to change the administrative division and establish local popular government throughout Cuba before the end of 1976. This was followed, in October, by elections to the municipal assemblies, which in turn elected members of the provincial assemblies. In November the municipal assemblies elected members of the National Assembly, which held its first session on December 2, 1976, the 20th anniversary of the landing from the yacht 'Granma.' This completed the organization of popular rule organs at all levels.

What made it necessary to recarve Cuba's administrative map; and what are the functions of the institutions mentioned above?

The old administrative divisions remained after the revolution, though there were some rather haphazard changes. In addition to the six provinces, there emerged districts, a sort of intermediate link between the provinces and municipalities. There were about 50 of them and the number of municipalities increased from 126 in 1959 to more than 400. This caused some confusion, and local problems did not always get proper attention from the national leadership. The new administrative map takes into account such factors as geographical conditions, population, social and economic problems and development potentials. Everything has been put on a more rational basis, with closer contacts between the center and the local authorities. This makes for more independence at local level and more

efficiency at national level. One essential gain has been a considerable reduction of personnel: instead of six provinces we now have 14, and instead of a multitude of municipalities there are 169. And so we have a three-tier structure: municipality, province, national government.

The local assemblies operate in close contact with the mass organizations, encourage the initiative and have the support of the population. They enjoy a wide measure of authority in their particular areas. For instance, they are in charge of local industry, services, schools, cinemas, transport, i.e., of all economic and social affairs. They also assist industries run by provincial and national agencies.

The municipal assemblies are elected by direct vote with one member for each constituency.² Members are elected from a list of nominees. This is how the system works: every constituency is divided into from two to eight election wards. Each ward nominates one candidate by majority vote; each voter can put forward only one name. In nominating candidates Party members do so on their own behalf, not on behalf of the Party, which does not itself put up candidates. A voter who nominates a candidate describes his life, work and service to the revolution, after which a vote is taken. Usually there are about six or seven nominees and the one who obtains more than half of the vote becomes the candidate.

There is no election campaign as it is understood in capitalist countries. Photographs and brief biographies of the candidates are widely displayed: a person who attended his own ward meeting does not know the nominees from the other wards. The biographies are also read out at residential block meetings by the CDR. In general everything is done to put all the candidates on an equal footing, so that no one gets preferential treatment. Every citizen decides for himself whom to vote for. It is forbidden to circulate cartoons of one's 'opponents,' or to make election promises. That is how it will be in future too.

There are at least two and a maximum of eight (though in most cases there are three to five) candidates in each consistency. If no one obtains a clear majority a second round is held between the two top candidates. The first round was held on the 10th and the second on the 17th of October, with about 5.5 million, or more than 95 per cent of the electorate, casting their votes. They elected 10,725 members of 169 municipalities, men and women who truly represent the people. The new assembly members include active revolutionary fighters, workers, peasants and intellectuals. The elections were characterized by a high level of political activity, with each voter free to express his will. The elections were a vivid demonstration of our people's revolutionary unity, its unity with the Communist Party, its unshakable loyalty to socialism and communism.

Of the approximately 30,000 registered candidates, 70 per cent were Party and YCL members. Though we did not strive for such a high proportion, it is nevertheless a gratifying indication of the people's trust in the Party, convincing evidence of the high prestige its members enjoy.

On October 31, the municipal assemblies met to elect executive committees, composed of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and a small number of full-time and free-time officials. The executive meets twice a month to deal with current business.

The supreme authority of state power is the National Assembly, the embodiment of the people's sovereign will and the only source of legislation. It elects the State Council, which performs many of the Assembly's functions between its sessions and is responsible to the Assembly. The chairman of the State Council is also Prime Minister, and it is on his recommendation that the Assembly appoints Ministers and elects the Supreme Court.

The new local and central organs of popular rule will play an important part in the system of economic planning and management we are now introducing, for they will decide on the many practical questions arising in the course of socialist construction.

The recent elections were the first really free elections in Cuban history. Under the old constitution, voting was obligatory: refusal to vote was a punishable offence. Ours, in contrast, are free elections: everyone decides for himself whether or not to go to the polls. Before the revolution members of the armed forces had no right to vote. Today servicemen are part of the people, or in the words of Camilo Cienfuegos,³ soldiers are the people in uniform. We have granted them all civil rights, they vote and can be elected to government bodies at all levels. The franchise extends to all citizens, regardless of race, sex, social origin, cultural level, etc. The only exceptions are those sentenced to prison terms and the mentally ill.

The voting age is 16, at that age one can be elected to the municipal and provincial assemblies, but members of the National Assembly must be over 18. Our experience in Matanzas province⁴ has fully justified the 16-year voting age, though at first there were some doubts. For example, one of the most active deputies of the Matanzas provincial assembly was elected when she was only 17, and now she is a member of the National Assembly.

Before the revolution election campaigns were occasions for all manner of scandals, abuse of candidates, unrealistic promises and boundless corruption. Votes were bought and sold and rigging an election was by no means a rarity. In fact, many a time it was found that the ballot box contained more ballots than there were voters. The rural guard, or the police in the towns, would often carry away the

ballot box and do the counting themselves. Some election practices seem incredible now: in rural areas votes were bought for a pair of shoes. When the voter promised to vote the 'right way' he was given the left shoe, when he came out of the polling station he was given the right one.

That is how it was in the past, with most candidates representing the ruling classes.

Our Party took part in several elections to the pre-revolutionary Constituent Assembly (in 1940, 1944 and 1948). In 1940 we won six seats and used them to maximum effect. We sometimes likened ourselves to a spur urging on a big horse. And we did spur on the rest, with the result that several progressive laws were enacted. The bourgeois constitution protected the private property of the U.S. monopolies and local capitalists. In fact, its purpose, as that of the political structure, was to maintain the exploiters in power. They controlled the army, police, the courts and this told at election time. There were many other obstacles to working people's representation.

These are all features of so-called representative democracy in an exploitative society. If the ruling element sees that its interests are in danger — even if the danger does not come directly from the proletariat — democracy is cast aside. In 1952, for example, everyone expected the 'orthodox' party, which spoke for big business and the big landowners, to win. But there was an energetic youth group within the Party unconnected with oligarchic circles. It was expected that the new government, though it would not venture any fundamental changes, would nevertheless produce some mildly progressive reforms. To prevent that a coup was staged, bringing to power the tyrannical Batista regime.

Why do we say that Cuba has given its people free elections? Because all our work is atuned to the interests of the masses. There are no exploiters, only working people — industrial and white-collar workers, peasants, professionals, whose interests coincide in the main, though there are differences in the degree to which each of these groups has approached our socialist aims. But all of them are following the socialist path and find solutions for their own and for society's problems.

That is the very essence of our socialist democracy, a specific form of proletarian dictatorship. All classes and strata have one and the same aim, but the working class, associated as it is with large-scale production and possessing the most developed sense of collectivism, is the motive force of this process. That is why Article 5 of our constitution says: 'The Communist Party of Cuba, the organized Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, is the supreme leading force of the society and the state; it organizes and directs the

common effort to attain the noble goal of building socialism and advancing to communism.'

I would like to dwell on the right to recall deputies. The voters can recall any deputy if he fails to justify their trust. Every elected deputy is required to pledge to defend the country, the revolution, the cause of the working class and the people; consciously and voluntarily to accept the leading role of the Communist Party in our society; dedicate all his strength, not sparing life itself, to the building and consolidation of socialism; uphold socialist law and order. This is a serious pledge, and anyone failing to honor it loses his elective post. Members of the municipal assembly can be recalled by the constituents, and members of the provincial and national assemblies by the municipal assemblies. Such is the fate of a person who places himself above his electors, as happens in so-called representative democracy when, once elected, a man thinks only of his own or class interests, with scant regard for those who voted for him. In Cuba the people have the right to recall any elected official. We are thus putting into practice the principle proclaimed by Marx and Engels and based on the lessons of the Paris Commune. The right of recall applies to all members of all elected bodies.

In shaping our structure of popular rule we carefully studied the experience of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries. We studied their constitutions, sent comrades to other countries to learn more about the way popular government works. We also took into account our own traditions. In his famous speech, 'History Will Vindicate Me,' made in court after the attack on the Moncada Barracks, Fidel Castro outlined the principles of our democracy, the principles of our revolution. And, needless to say, we have taken into account the experience accumulated over the past years. For instance, at first we appointed commissioners to run the municipalities, later they were joined by several officials, and later still we created *Juceis* (coordinating and supervisory councils); this was already collective leadership. Then we combined the two in a new local government pattern. Finally, we introduced the present form of elected local government. Thus our early experience proved useful and we applied it in building the new mechanism of government.

The elections held in 1976 confirmed anew the irrefutable truth that socialism and democracy are indivisible.

1. An Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers was set up and the apparatus of the Party Central Committee was enlarged. The trade unions were strengthened and held their 13th congress. It passed decisions covering practically every aspect of trade union activity, examined the complex problems of industrial relations and general economic problems.

In 1973 we took a further step in perfecting the socialist machine of government

with the law on the judicial system, based on socialist law and order. Later on, with socialist construction gaining momentum, we streamlined our legislation: the old laws that no longer fitted into the new judicial system were repealed.

2. The smaller municipalities have at least 30 deputies, i.e., one from each of its 30 constituencies. The larger assemblies can have as many as 200 members.

3. Camilo Cienfuegos (1932-1959), a hero of the Cuban revolution. — *Ed.*

4. See 'Building up a system of representative bodies.' by P. Margolles, *WMR*, February 1975.

The 25th CPSU Congress and questions of Marxist-Leninist theory

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The link between revolutionary theory and practice

Unity of theory and practice is central to effective revolutionary activity. That has been so ever since the proletariat first entered the political arena as an independent class force. In our time, with the international working class and its creation, existing socialism, holding the initiative in world development, unity of the science of society and the progress of society acquires special significance.

The CPSU, the Party of creative Marxism founded by Lenin, has always, in all its activities, combined undeviating fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism with its uninterrupted creative and innovative development. The history of the CPSU is Marxism-Leninism in action. Its contribution, as that of other Marxist-Leninist parties, to the theory of scientific communism is based on generalization of the Soviet Union's epochal experience and on the achievements of world socialism. The constructive effort of the masses is thus given a theoretical interpretation.

Study of the theoretical problems involved in building developed socialist society takes on much greater importance. In this context the experience of the socialist community is of immense value to the world liberation movement, for existing socialism is the highest form of social organization in our age. Its achievements are exerting a growing influence on world affairs, the revolutionary processes and the progress of humanity.

But Marxist-Leninist theory does more than mirror these proces-

ses; it illumines the path of Party and people to their ultimate goal and provides ideological guidance in their advance to that goal.

Developed socialist society, built in our country and under construction in the fraternal countries, is the result of the creative development and consistent practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory. And it is to the credit of our parties, the working class and working people of the socialist community, that by their dedicated labor they brought to reality the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the regularities and main stages of building communist society has been confirmed, concretized and carried further in the process of socialist construction. The CPSU congresses, at which the Party's collective experience finds its fullest, deepest and concentrated expression, are landmarks in our Party's theoretical and practical activity.

And an event of truly epochal importance was the 25th CPSU Congress. Its materials, notably General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's report on the Party's immediate tasks in home and foreign policy, are of fundamental importance for the continued development of theory and practice in our own Party and the world communist movement, and for a clear understanding of the regularities and problems of building communism, and of the processes at work in the world.

The Congress noted that much had been done in the past five years for a closer understanding of the problems of Marxism-Leninism of our time. For us, social scientists, Comrade Brezhnev's statement that significant headway had been made in philosophy, economics, history and in the study of social and political problems, is a source of inspiration. It is only natural that Soviet scholars should feel gratified in the knowledge that their research contributes to the Party's theoretical work, to elaboration of the scientific problems involved in perfecting mature socialist society and in communist construction in the Soviet Union. Our research has a bearing on the political and economic development of the socialist world system and on the world revolutionary process.

However, our achievements in the social sciences provide no grounds for complacency. The Congress policy documents and Comrade Brezhnev's report set new tasks, and clearly oriented social scientists on in-depth analysis and its practical implications.

The theoretical points discussed at the Congress are a convincing rebuttal to the calumnious attacks on Marxist-Leninist social science which, it is alleged, is in a stage of 'stagnation,' 'sclerosis,' and so on and so forth.

The 25th CPSU Congress approved a special section on science in

its decision on Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-80. It lists the main tasks of the social, natural and technical sciences, on the accomplishment of which largely depends the development of the economy, culture, and of science itself.

The list of basic research areas begins with the social sciences. This should not, of course, be taken to mean that the natural and technical sciences are of less importance. But in this day and age of revolutionary change and the building of the new society, the uppermost question is how best to utilize the achievements of science and technology and for what purpose; what social goals can be attained by combining the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. The reply must come first of all from the social sciences.

The key task the Congress assigned the social sciences is broader and deeper study of the problem of expanding production and assuring its efficient management. In other words, scientists are expected to recommend methods substantially to raise economic effectiveness. The Congress emphasized that this and other research lines directly geared to economic progress are inseparable from continued fundamental research in the theory of scientific communism. Accordingly, we are concentrating on the laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, the theoretical problems of developed socialist society in the USSR, formation of the communist world outlook, problems of the socialist world system, and socio-economic and political processes in the capitalist world and in the developing countries.

A program for the social sciences

Higher standards of scientific research depend to a considerable degree on better planning, in particular on working out concrete programs tied to fundamental research, but having important practical implications. There are eight such priority programs:

- basic economic and social problems of developed socialist society and the regularities of its growing over into communist society;
- the theory and methods of economic planning and management in developed socialism;
- regional economic and socio-economic development up to the year 2000; establishment and upbuilding of major economic complexes;
- the social and economic problems of population and manpower resources;
- cultural development and education in a mature socialist society;
- regularities governing the development of the socialist world

economy, socialist economic integration, expansion and tightening of long-term economic ties with the socialist countries;

— research into the economies of leading capitalist and developing countries; Soviet foreign economic ties with these countries; new developments in international relations and analysis of the foreign policy of the main capitalist countries;

— development of the international workers' movement and the world revolutionary process.

It should be emphasized that all programs are regarded as equally important. Furthermore, we regard research results as the groundwork for practical recommendations on communist construction and the Party's foreign-policy activities.

All these problems are, by their very nature, comprehensive and call for closely coordinated efforts by social scientists working in different fields, and also for interaction of social, natural and technical sciences. Comprehensive research is an underlying principle of the scientist's work, a principle dictated by the very character of the problems we have to solve.

We have built up a fund of experience in this. Comrade Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress that institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, jointly with the appropriate ministries and departments, have drawn up a Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress and its Social Economic Effects for 1976-1990. The Congress also called for further work on this program as an organic part of current and long-range planning, providing the signposts for efficient economic management.

In elaborating the Comprehensive Program, the USSR Academy of Sciences is guided by the Party's long-range economic policy of consistently raising the people's material and cultural standards through dynamic and balanced development of the economy, its higher effectiveness, accelerated technological progress, higher productivity and quality standards.

Developed socialism and our time

Far from slackening, the study of these problems encourages closer research of all the components of Marxism-Leninism. One example is the present work on the theoretical problems of developed socialist society, now one of the most relevant aspects of Marxism-Leninism.

The 25th CPSU Congress amplified and concretized the propositions formulated by the 24th. First, it defined the characteristics of developed socialism in the USSR, indicating the necessary steps for its economic, social, political and cultural advance. Second, it worked out the economic strategy of developed socialism and set the tasks for the next five years and for a longer, 15-year period.

The Congress drew not only on Soviet experience, but also on that of countries that have entered the socialist stage and are now also faced with the task of defining the prospects of developing socialist society. More, the conclusions drawn by the CPSU have stimulated collective formulation of a common policy on these problems by most of the socialist countries. They are faced with the task of building a developed socialist society, in the Soviet Union the task is to perfect it.

In developing and perfecting socialist society, the CPSU and the fraternal parties have made a weighty contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory on the following questions among others: the ways and means of building the material and technical foundations of developed socialism and communism; economic integration as the material basis of the socialist community; improvement of socialist production relations and their economic mechanism; obliterating essential distinctions between town and country, physical and mental labor, and changes in the socio-class structure of socialist society; the underlying principles of fraternal friendship of socialist nations and the ways of strengthening their unity; development of the socialist state and extension of socialist democracy, the conditions required for the state of proletarian dictatorship evolving into the state of the entire people; the growing role of the Marxist-Leninist working-class party in developed socialist society as the party of the entire people; ways of asserting and cultivating the socialist way of life; the formation and development of the personality.

The experience of the once backward national outlands of Russia, the example of the Mongolian People's Republic and of several other countries provides vivid confirmation of Lenin's proposition that a country can bypass the capitalist stage of development in the transition to socialism. That has been conclusively demonstrated also by the fact that a number of young national states have adopted the socialist orientation.

The close cooperation of the fraternal parties in building and defending socialism, their joint struggle against imperialism, for peace and national independence, has highlighted the importance of correctly combining national tasks with internationalist obligations.

Soviet social scientists are studying new aspects of Lenin's analysis of imperialism, notably its uneven development, in application to the present-day world. Lenin's thesis that the objective and subjective preconditions, economic, political and ideological, for revolutions mature at different times in different countries, and even within one and the same country, has a special significance today. Of particular importance is the conclusion he drew from his analysis of imperialism's uneven development, namely, that mankind's advance to

socialism is bound to find expression in different forms while retaining the essence of socialism. Lenin wrote: 'All nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life' (Coll. Works, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

This question of different forms of transition to socialism is being debated throughout the liberation movement. This adds to the value of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practical work of the CPSU and other fraternal parties in refashioning society in accordance with the general laws of socialism and the specifics of each country. All the more so that some are inclined to discard the cardinal principles of Marxism-Leninism, regarding the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction as obsolete and replace them by 'new models.'

However, different approaches to socialism have been tried and tested in theory and practice, and all the bourgeois-reformist concepts of 'democratic,' 'humane,' 'market' and all other bogus socialisms have proved ineffectual. For many years the Social-Democrat leaders have been at pains to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and proletarian dictatorship, maintaining that capitalism could be transformed into socialism through evolution. Social-Democratic parties have time and again been in government, in some countries they were the government, and had every opportunity to carry out their plans. But in no country where they were, or are, in power has socialism made a single step forward. For everywhere the Social-Democrats opted for partial reforms, leaving the foundations of capitalism intact. And when the ruling class and international imperialism had doubts about 'democratic socialism,' its exponents in government were sent packing.

Nor has the concept of 'barrack communism' proved any more successful. It found its ugliest expression in negation of the economic laws of socialism, introduction of petty-bourgeois levelling and a military-bureaucratic regime, unbridled chauvinism and hegemonism in foreign policy.

Those of us engaged in the social sciences appreciate the magnitude of the research we will have to undertake. For our society has reached a stage when the general principles of the development of the communist formation have to be rendered more concrete and a blueprint worked out for transition to the highest stage. And outstanding among the problems involved is building the material and technical foundations of communism, improving socio-economic relations, developing the state of all the people and cultivating the socialist way of life.

Extending the material and technical foundations of developed socialism can be considered the prelude to building the foundations of communist society. The principal factor here is combining the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages offered by the socialist system. In its theoretical aspects, this is a problem of the dialectics of productive forces and production relations. For whereas in capitalist society technological progress, though accelerating expansion of the productive forces, aggravates the contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist ownership, under socialism technical progress, the chief expansion generator, is stimulated by socialist production relations. But to combine the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, we must improve production relations, particularly economic planning and management. That is why the Party lays such stress on these questions, which are also central to the work of economists and other social scientists. It is already clear that building the material and technical foundations of communism calls for more emphasis on the social aspects of technical progress in developed socialist society.

Soviet social scientists are working on many other problems. I would like to briefly discuss two of them to illustrate the creative development of social science in the Soviet Union.

In the past few years, philosophers, economists, jurists and historians have been exploring theoretical problems relating to the economic activities of the state and the relation between economics and politics under developed socialism. Some maintain that the state remains an element of the superstructure, a political and legal organism whose economic activities stem from the inherent economic and organizational functions of the socialist state. Others argue that, with its growing economic role, the state can no longer be considered an element of the superstructure and becomes a 'dual' institution, combining elements of both superstructure and basis.

The discussion brought out several important problems requiring further theoretical probing. The important thing, however, is the start made in conceptualizing, from the position of dialectical materialism, processes now taking place in our economy. And another important result: the need for closer analysis of the dialectical interconnection of basis and superstructure under socialism. Development of socialism's economic basis helps to strengthen the socialist state, enhance its role in resolving social problems, provides the groundwork for expansion of democracy and consolidation of public order. Conversely, perfection of the political system, the administration, and the extension of socialist democracy are powerful accelerators of economic progress,

for they bring into the process an ever wider segment of the population and stimulate creative effort.

Developed socialism does not weaken, but rather strengthens, the state by releasing all the latent potentialities of socialist democracy, encouraging local initiative and participation of the masses. The decisive factor here is the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in the political system of Soviet society.

The growing economic strength of developed socialism, the more efficient functioning of its social and state mechanism, are the basis for asserting and consolidating the socialist way of life. This has become the subject of lively discussion. Some scholars virtually equate the way of life with economic, political and social conditions, thus bypassing the problem of cultivating the socialist way of life. Others define the way of life as a code of conduct, with scant regard to objective conditions, which are seen simply as an external background. But this leaves out of account the fact that consciousness, behavior are determined by people's conditions which, in turn, are changed, transformed by human effort. However, most take the dialectical view that the way of life is the totality of behavioral forms in inseparable unity with the conditions provided by socialist society. That is the direction that our research follows.

International significance of general laws

The revolutionary process furnishes ample confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the fundamental laws of social development. It confirms the inevitability of the world's transition from capitalism to socialism and provides irrefutable proof that it can proceed only through the active social creativity of the masses, and only under the leadership of the working class. It proves that if the revolutionary political gains are to be made durable, there must be social and economic change, a change in the forms of ownership.

Revolutionary practice poses also other questions reflecting the profound social and political changes in the world of today. Some of them are now being debated in the international working-class movement and, needless to say, Soviet social scientists cannot pass them by. It is important, we believe, to get down to the heart of the matter and ensure that the search for the truth, the exchange of views, should serve the common cause of the working class and socialism, and not their enemies, who are trying to inflate differences in the world revolutionary movement for their own ideological and political ends.

An in-depth scientific analysis of reality is the most reliable basis for correct theoretical judgments and conclusions, which we contrast

to those we hold to be wrong. The main method is theoretical discussion backed by scientifically valid evidence.

These new attitudes and pronouncements are largely conditioned by the changed situation, by the problems confronting the communist movement and the various contingents of the liberation struggle. History does not stand still; new situations arise, new alignments of forces, new developments in the class struggle.

Communist theoretical thought is oriented on finding the most effective ways of utilizing the new objective opportunities for revolutionary change, of how to adapt our tactics to the changing conditions in one or another country. It need hardly be said that the best answers come not from hasty, inadequately thought out conclusions, but, as we know, in the end the communist and working-class movement always puts everything in its proper place.

We Soviet scholars think our social science can best help the international communist movement by analyzing the new phenomena and processes, bringing to light new forms and methods in the fight for the Communist refashioning of society, and by generalizing and popularizing the momentous experience of the CPSU and the great achievements in building socialism and communism.

As we see it, the job is to explain and concretize, in adaptation to our times, the fundamental conclusions of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the world-historic mission of the proletariat, the role of its revolutionary party, the regularities of socialist revolution, the necessity of proletarian dictatorship (in diverse forms) in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the relation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, the essence of proletarian internationalism, the relation between national and international tasks.

The coming 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution gives Soviet social science a fresh stimulus in exploring the ways and forms of revolutionary change. And in this respect a very important place belongs to the international implications of the October Revolution in its broad and narrow sense, to use Lenin's words. In short, we should show the historic link between the chief processes of our own time and the October Revolution, analyzing such of its features which, as subsequent experience has shown, have a more general validity.

Toward more effective research

We appreciate that, in the light of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions, research must be raised to a higher qualitative level. Fundamental research in the social sciences must be made more effective, brought closer to life, to Communist construction and the foreign-policy activ-

ity of the Party and government. We are working toward that goal by improving the planning and coordination of research and fostering closer ties with the natural sciences. Much is also being done to train personnel and streamline the organization of research.

Among the more general tasks set by the 25th Congress, I would mention promotion of a creative atmosphere, fidelity to principle and partisanship. In his report, Comrade Brezhnev treated these aspects of scientific work as indivisible.

The Congress also drew attention to the role of the social sciences in the offensive against anti-communism, in criticism of bourgeois and revisionist theories and in exposing the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism. All this comes within the Leninist principle of the partnership of science, its effective role in the fight for the triumph of our progressive social system and progressive world outlook. Measures are being taken to put an end to scholastic theorizing and useless abstract discussions.

Research can be made more effective also by tighter schedules, wider use of computers and by better information facilities.

Intensification of scientific research includes also closer cooperation with colleagues in the socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist scholars in capitalist and developing countries. Such contacts are steadily increasing.

Soviet social scientists are working on the premise that Leninism is not confined to Lenin's lifetime. Marxism-Leninism develops through the theoretical work of the CPSU and fraternal parties, and is enriched by the experience and collective thought of the world communist movement. Despite all the allegations that Marxism-Leninism has become 'obsolete,' the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin lives and develops in the battle for the triumph of socialism and communism.



A victorious democratic revolution

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Political freedoms and social revolution, the interests of the people and the class strivings of the proletariat, democracy and socialism — these questions are uppermost in peoples' minds everywhere.

And often enough it is claimed that they arose and acquired political weight only recently. No doubt, these problems have acquired new facets in the concluding quarter of the 20th century, and hence it would be wrong to make a dogma of the past. But does that mean that, in their essence, they were not posed and solved in the past? The best answer to that will be found, I think, in the concrete experience of history.

On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the February 1917 Revolution — the first victorious people's revolution in the age of imperialism — it is especially instructive to analyze from this standpoint some of the main aspects of this democratic revolution and its inseparable link with the subsequent winning of power by the working class and the birth and assertion of socialism as a living reality.

I

Nowadays anti-communist ideology tends to revolve around the denial of the leading role of the working class in democratic transformations, also the thesis that its Marxist-Leninist vanguard does not share the democratic aspirations of the masses and their fight for political freedoms.

Representatives of the most diverse schools of bourgeois historiography maintain in particular that evidence of the inevitable parting of ways between the revolutionary working class and democracy is provided by the march of events and the alignment of forces prior to and during the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917. The overthrow of tsarism, the winning of political freedoms, democratization of public life — all this, we are told, did not involve participation of the Leninist party, nor the organizing and guiding role of the proletariat. February, it is argued, came as a complete surprise to Lenin and the Bolsheviks.¹ Bourgeois ideologists affirm, in effect,

that in 1917 the Bolsheviks shunned the very idea of democratic revolution and did not believe that it could happen in Russia. To judge how this squares with reality, it is best to look at the facts. And that is what I propose to do.

First, let us ask: How did the various political parties assess the situation and its revolutionary potentialities in the years preceding the February revolution? All the main classes and political trends realized the need for social change. The bourgeoisie and its parties — from the conservatives, represented by the Octobrists and down to the liberals, represented by the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) — were aware that the tsarist regime was rotten to the core and could not effectively uphold their class interests. Hence, the demands and actions to 'improve' the power structure, remove the incompetent and discredited high-placed officials and extend their own share in the political administration of the country. Opposition sentiments were at high tide.² But on the whole the bourgeoisie was not thinking in terms of revolution, nor did it intend to encroach on the monarchy. All it wanted was to give it a democratic facade.

Petty-bourgeois democracy made up the other influential trend in Russian politics. Its policy was most clearly expressed by the social-reformists, notably the Mensheviks. The thinking and calculations that went into their political strategy was spelled out in the model devised by Plekhanov. It called for a gradual shift of power from the tsar to the conservative-moderates, then to the bourgeois-liberals and subsequently, at some indefinite and distant future, to the left parties.³ And though Plekhanov himself believed this to be the 'ascendent line' of the revolution,⁴ actually it was very remote from anything resembling revolution. It was a typical example of reformist gradualness. Naturally, it eminently suited even the conservative bourgeoisie inasmuch as, according to this scheme, it would be the first to gain full political power.

Though this is a very general outline of the attitude of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic forces, it allows for the conclusion that the revolution came as a complete surprise to them, as a bolt from the blue contrary to all their plans and forecasts.

What were the views and aims of the Bolsheviks in this situation?

For a number of years preceding the revolution all the activities of the Leninist Party, its slogans and organization, were determined by its assessment of the situation as a revolutionary one. In 1913 Lenin wrote in his analysis of the political crisis maturing in Russia: 'In most cases it is not enough for revolution that the *lower classes should not want* to live in the old way. It is also necessary that *the upper classes should be unable* to rule and govern in the old way. That is what we see in Russia today' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 222).

And Lenin emphasized that the development of a revolutionary situation into revolution can come about only if it is consciously organized by the political forces interested in such a revolution. From this followed his concrete instructions to prepare the Party for an active, leading part in the popular rising. And such preparation included ideological and organizational strengthening of the Party's ranks and a firm rebuff to liquidationist and reformist tendencies. It was also important to keep alive and develop among the workers and the masses generally the militant experience of the 1905-07 Revolution.

A magazine article does not permit a detailed account of the Bolsheviks' concrete steps to organize the revolutionary working-class movement following the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the specifics of their work, conducted in the incredibly difficult conditions of illegality,⁵ the forms and content of their propaganda in the press, the mills and factories. The reader who wants to form an objective picture of that will find the necessary information in the widely published documents contained in any really scientific Marxist study.

The Bolsheviks' manifold activities began even before the outbreak of World War I and were clearly oriented on an early revolution. That should be stressed, for latter-day bourgeois propaganda is fond of reviving the legend that Lenin and the Leninists relied entirely on the war, considering it little short of a heaven-sent advantage for revolutionaries. In reality, however — does this generally known fact need to be proved? — the Bolsheviks were the most consistent and resolute opponents of militarism and the looming world holocaust. When the imperialist war broke out, it both objectively, and in the estimation of Lenin and his Party, was a factor that exerted a contradictory influence on the prospects of revolution. For, first of all, it dulled the acuteness of the revolutionary situation and befuddled the political consciousness of the masses by the opiate of chauvinism. But it was bound to aggravate all the vexing problems of society. In January 1917 Lenin had every justification for his statement that we should not be misled by the apparent 'grave-like silence' on the fronts of the class struggle, and that we were on the threshold of a revolutionary explosion. A few weeks later the events in Russia were to confirm that forecast.

It therefore follows that if anyone was caught unawares by the February revolution, it was not the Bolsheviks. And certainly not Lenin who, incidentally, gave a clear cut characterization of the revolution, formulated the prospects of continued revolutionary struggle and the growing over of bourgeois democratic into socialist revolution. This he did immediately after the February events, and not in

April, i.e., after a month-long period of 'adapting to the new situation,' as some publicists have been at pains to make out,

II

Our opponents never tire of repeating that the struggle and successes of the working class and democratic forces do not vindicate the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution which, they insist, should be abandoned as a 'constrictive stereotype.' A frequently used supporting argument is that Lenin's concept of democratic revolution in the age of imperialism and its growing over into socialist revolution, was refuted already in February 1917. This is their line of reasoning. First, according to Lenin, the revolution could triumph only with the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class and peasantry, whereas in reality political power in post-February Russia passed to the bourgeoisie. Second (and this follows from the first), February demonstrated, 'contrary' to Lenin's concept, that in this 20th century, as in the pre-monopoly era, hegemony of the proletariat is not a necessary condition for the victory of a democratic revolution.⁶

Every system of state power is a form of class dictatorship. Our critics are all the more persistent in their attempts to refute this elementary truth of Marxism, the more it is confirmed by historical practice. However, it should be stressed that we are dealing precisely with the system of power, its operative mechanism. For it should be perfectly clear that in periods of great revolutionary upheavals it is only logical that there should arise situations in which the integrated system of political administration of society disintegrates and is replaced by temporary, class heterogeneous power structures.⁷ *see p. 40*

The dual power, which lasted for several months after the February revolution, was precisely such a transitory variant of political administration in conditions of drastic intensification of class confrontations caused by the revolution. But did this mean that state power and political guidance of the revolutionary process were in the hands of the bourgeoisie? Did it signify the institution of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? No. For along with the official government, another center of power, the ramified system of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, established in those revolutionary days, exerted much more influence than the official government.

The Soviets drew their support from the insurgent people, from the mass movement, which was the main force of the revolution. Hence they exercised much more real and effective control of the situation than the Provisional Government.⁸

The political crisis that repeatedly shook the country after February clearly showed that the Soviets could assume full state power. This would have meant the institution of a revolutionary-democratic

dictatorship of the working class and peasantry. For a long time Lenin's slogan 'All Power to the Soviets!' was in effect an appeal to establish such a dictatorship. That would have put an end to the dual power, and in a way that corresponded to the interests of the laboring people, and would have set the revolution on a peaceful course. In reality, however, the inevitable end of dual power was brought about in a different way — through collusion of the compromisers, who at that moment had overwhelming influence in the Soviets, with the bourgeoisie. This led to a factual one-power structure of the Provisional Government subservient to the will of the exploiter classes. This made it necessary for the revolutionary forces directly to prepare for an armed rising.

Does that justify the conclusion that the post-February events proved (allegedly in contradiction to Lenin's concept) that the democratic revolution could have successfully developed without the dictatorship of the working class and peasantry? On the contrary, the post-February events provide absolute proof of the correctness of Lenin's concept, for they clearly demonstrated the bourgeoisie's inability to direct the process of revolutionary democratization, its impotence at a time when the people were awakening to independent social and political creativity. The post-February events, especially after the attack on the July workers' demonstration, reaffirmed that, when it is impossible for representatives of the laboring classes to gain full state power, the inevitable result is the dismantling of all the gains of the democratic revolution and the advent of brutal reaction.

Lenin's concept of the bourgeois-democratic growing over into socialist revolution, comprehensively elaborated in 1905, was brilliantly and conclusively confirmed 12 years later, and it demolished, consistently and mercilessly, the reformist doctrine of the Mensheviks and SRs, who in 1917, as in 1905, harped on the purely bourgeois nature of the revolution and on the need, accordingly, to support the bourgeoisie and safeguard its interests.⁹ With these concepts the compromisers tried to justify their treasonous activity, which led to the loss of the greatest gain of the democratic masses: the existence of the center of political power such as the Soviets, completely independent of the bourgeois government. Having joined that government, the compromisers made no attempt to direct the revolution — they directed its dismantling.

So much for the post-February events and the relation to the class content of state power as a factor in developing the democratic revolution. Let us now turn to the role of another major factor, the problem of class hegemony in a revolutionary process aimed at winning democracy.

Class dictatorship and class hegemony are essentially different

concepts. And that has to be emphasized, for in their attempts to discover some contradiction between the aims of the democratic movement and the working-class struggle, bourgeois ideologists are at pains to distort the meaning of hegemony of the proletariat, reduce it to 'institution of proletarian dictatorship,' or even to 'Communist Party domination.' They attribute to the Marxist-Leninists the absurd intention of making the working class the hegemon, 'using force if necessary.'¹⁰

Lenin defined the hegemony of the working class as 'the political influence which that class (and its representatives) exercises upon other sections of the population' (Vol. 17, p. 79). Precisely political and not administrative influence, not influence organized by the state or formalized by law. How did this hegemony manifest itself in the 1917 revolution in Russia?

First of all, it manifested itself in the circumstance that without the vanguard action of the working class, the February revolution could not have taken place at all.¹¹

Secondly, in the fact that the subsequent progress of the revolution was based primarily and chiefly on the workers' increasing militancy and the rapid growth of their class consciousness and political initiative. The workers established their influence in society through the Soviets, put the factories under their control and formed the Red Guard.

During the February events and on innumerable later occasions, enemies of the revolutionary working class and the Bolshevik Party accused them of 'going too fast,' of trying to impose a 'disastrous' pace on the democratic revolution.¹² Yet the year 1917, in particular the defeat of the Kornilov rising, showed that the Bolsheviks took strict account of the objective exigencies of development and that without the initiatives of the working class led by them, the revolution would have been doomed to an early failure.

Thirdly, the hegemony of the working class manifested itself in the fact that the progress of the revolution led rapidly and irresistibly to discrediting what originally had been very influential petty-bourgeois forces. Immediately after the February revolution, Lenin wrote, 'a gigantic' petty-bourgeois wave ... swept over everything and overwhelmed the class-conscious proletariat, not only by force of numbers but also ideologically; that is, it ... infected and imbued very wide circles of workers with the petty-bourgeois political outlook' (Vol. 24, p. 62). Obviously, this situation would inevitably have been perpetuated had the bourgeoisie found itself in the role of leader of the democratic revolution. But it is a fact of history that Russia's workers soon freed themselves from the mentality and ideology of the petty bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois reformists, that is, from traits alien to

them. The strength and influence of the vanguard contingents of the working class, guaranteed by the workers' objective class hegemony in the revolution, won the upper hand.

Fourthly, the hegemony of the working class gave the revolutionary process a clear-cut social program going beyond purely political changes, and shaped the policy that led to the October victory of the socialist revolution.

An oft-repeated view has it that what enabled Russia's workers to triumph in 1917 was not so much their strength as the organizational and political weakness of all other classes and social strata.¹³ On the theoretical plane, views and estimations of this kind are drawn on by both right-wing reformist and 'leftist' doctrines. Trotskyism, for its part, bases its theoretical constructions on the notion of the 'weakness' or 'helplessness' of the Russian bourgeoisie and the revolutionary 'immobility' of the peasants.

In reality, however, the Russian bourgeoisie was not as weak as it is sometimes portrayed. It controlled the country's entire economy. It had strong links with the governments and capitalists of the Entente powers and was backed by their arms. In the end, it completely subdued its petty-bourgeois rivals represented by the conciliating parties. And there is ample historical evidence that the peasants constituted a vast independent revolutionary force, due especially to the fact that the majority of the army was recruited from their ranks and that they had an influential political organization, the Socialist Revolutionary (SR) Party. Nevertheless, it was the working class that became leader of the revolution, and this was not the result of the weakness of others but of superiority in strength which the workers owed to their objective position in 20th-century bourgeois society.

III

Bourgeois estimations of the 1917 revolution in Russia boil down to the following primitive formula: 'The prospect of freedom opened up by February faded gradually in subsequent months owing to the Bolsheviks' revolutionary policy and was finally lost in October.'¹⁴

It is an undeniable fact that the February victory brought the people serious political gains. In the early months after it, all political parties operated freely and openly. The revolution released all political prisoners from the tsar's prison and enabled political exiles to come back. Press censorship was abolished and newspapers of the most diverse trends were published unhampered. Public halls were made available to the people. Freedom of speech, assembly and demonstration were guaranteed. Elections to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the unfettered functioning of these government bodies of the people were an unprecedented achievement of

political democracy in a society whose social and economic foundations were still capitalist.

By the standards of the period, Russia turned out to be the freest and most democratic country of the world.

At the same time, these gains of the people immediately furnished graphic confirmation that Lenin was right in describing political democracy under capitalism as 'a freer, wider and clearer *form* of class oppression and class struggle' (Vol. 22, p. 145). Entirely in accordance with Lenin's forecast, the winning of democracy in Russia neither marked, nor could mark the end of the revolution; it was bound to and did open a new stage of revolutionary development.

Problems giving rise to violent class conflicts were plentiful. Prominent among them were the ones which the people hoped would be solved by a consistently democratic revolution.

To begin with, the Provisional Government took the same stand on the key issue of war and peace as the autocracy had. It declared its intention of persevering in the imperialist policy of 'war to the victorious end.' This meant that as far as the vast majority of the population was concerned, 'freedom' was to be freedom to go on rotting in trenches and dying from bullets. The continuing war aggravated economic dislocation, dooming millions upon millions of civilians to poverty and starvation. The agrarian problem was still unsolved. Political democracy did not bring the peasants the smallest patch of land. The government opposed legislation establishing an eight-hour working day, which was the working people's most elementary demand. No amount of reshuffling of the Provisional Government could change this state of affairs.¹⁵ In other words, post-February democracy — the widest and fullest as to political forms — was plainly betraying its class content. It did not satisfy the workers and the masses at large, for it offered them no real way out of their plight. Nor could it entirely satisfy the bourgeoisie, for while it did not affect their economic positions or privileges, neither did it give them full political power.

The result was an uncertain situation in which even political democracy found itself threatened. The question was whether it was to exist at all.

What were the solutions proposed by diverse political forces and how far did their proposals accord with realities?

There is no point in speaking of the reactionary camp, of outspoken enemies of democracy and advocates of restoring police practices. As matters stood at the time, the main controversy was between the SR-Menshevik bloc and the Bolsheviks. Making common cause with the bourgeoisie, those petty-bourgeois conciliators tried to justify their policy by referring to the need to 'preserve' democracy. What

this meant in reality was, first of all, that they did nothing to bring about social and economic changes. Specifically, they insisted on putting off the peasant question until it was 'democratically discussed' by the Constituent Assembly, elections to which were postponed again and again on various pretexts. Reformist leaders resisted every attempt to curtail the capitalists' privileges. This also applied to the eight-hour day, which the workers established without official permission, contrary to the policy of the government and its 'revolutionary' ministers.

In short, while posing as defenders of democracy for the people, the SR and Menshevik leaders did their utmost to shore up the social and economic foundations of bourgeois reaction. They made a bid for social peace in a society rent by class conflicts, and sought 'progress' through peaceful evolution in a revolutionary situation.

Yet the alignment of political forces was increasingly determined by the formation of two class poles — the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary working class. Here is an example:

In the June elections to local government bodies in Moscow, the SRs and Mensheviks won 70 per cent of the votes, the Bolsheviks 11 and the Cadets 17 per cent. In similar elections held in September, the Bolsheviks collected 51 per cent of the votes and the Cadets, 26 per cent. The share of the two conciliating parties dropped to 18 per cent.¹⁶

It follows that the SRs' and Mensheviks' 'struggle for democracy,' and the conciliators' entire policy, had nothing to do with the genuinely democratic aspirations of the people, who were moving farther and farther away from them for precisely this reason. It was becoming evident that the reformists were prompted by fear of real democracy.¹⁷

By contrast, the Bolshevik position on this issue was prompted by the desire to preserve the democratic gains of February and, moreover, by a clear idea of how this could be done in view of the given alignment of class forces. At the same time, on the theoretical plane, Lenin and his followers abided by the teachings of Marx and Engels, who stressed that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to win power (see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 126)

'We have nothing to fear from real democracy,' Lenin said, 'for reality is on our side' (Vol. 25, p. 308). Developments in post-February Russia proved him correct. The working people were fast coming to realize that Lenin's Party was the party expressing their vital interests. This explains why the Bolsheviks were set on maintaining and furthering democracy.

To be sure, many people who are by no means biased fail to

understand, none the less, why the Bolsheviks, who led the October armed rising, can be said to have saved the democratic gains of February. They see more logic in the bourgeois ideologists' allegation that October meant dissociation from the democratic gains of February.¹⁸ However, this is the logic of bourgeois ideologists and they are right from their class point of view. They are right in so far as October really meant the end of bourgeois class domination, which February had preserved and promoted, and in so far as October left no room in Russia for the bourgeois variety of democracy. However, they are very wrong (they may be deluding themselves but in any case they are misleading others) when they say that democracy in Russia could have been 'saved' but for the proletarian revolution.

The trend of revolutionary events put the question point-blank: either the political democracy won in February would be put on the solid basis of radical social and economic changes, or reactionary forces, using their unshaken economic might and their intact social privileges, would bring down the flimsy structure of democratic institutions in politics. Lenin's Party was the only left-wing party of the Russia of those days to grasp a problem inexorably brought to the fore by every popular, democratic revolution of the 20th century.¹⁹

More than once, between February and October, the democracy existing at the time could have been preserved and furthered by peaceful means. The Bolsheviks were the only party to invariably propose using these opportunities for the advancement of the revolution in a socialist direction but reformist conciliators rejected the idea just as invariably. For this reason, the historical responsibility for the fact that the democratic gains of February could not be consolidated by peaceful means alone falls on the parties of Russia's social reformism. By contrast, the Bolsheviks are entitled to full credit for preserving, consolidating and carrying forward the gains of the revolution in the face of all obstacles.

The foregoing invites definite conclusions.

First, the February Revolution forcefully demonstrated the class nature of political democracy. It showed that the winning of political democracy does not terminate the revolutionary process.

Secondly, the experience of February is proof that the durability of the political gains of the revolution depends in decisive measure on how far they are supported with social and economic changes, which are the only means of depriving reaction's inevitable bitter resistance of the main source of its strength.

Lastly, February 1917 in Russia showed that while the formulas of Bolshevism had been found to be 'correct on the whole, their concrete realization . . . *turned out to be different,*' to quote Lenin (Vol.

24, p. 38). This means that the events of February and subsequent months were a further reminder of the impossibility of providing oneself in advance with recipes ready for use. On the other hand, they imply that February confirmed the general and hence fundamental correctness of Lenin's view on the character of the democratic revolution in the period when capitalism based on free competition gives way to monopoly and imperialist domination.

1. That contention has been repeated by bourgeois authors, in practically identical wording, for decades. The February revolution 'began in a small way, spontaneously, almost one might say, apolitically . . . There were strikes, housewives' demonstrations, mutinies among the troops and police — a collapse of all authority. The movement took the revolutionaries by surprise as much as any one else.' (I. Kochan. *The Making of Modern Russia*. London, 1962, p. 231.)

The Bolsheviks, 'appear to have done nothing to bring on the revolution of February 1917 and in the defensist climate of the war their power even to make trouble was initially minimal.' (J. Dunn. *Modern Revolutions. An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*. Cambridge, 1972, p. 39.)

'Like the Revolution of 1905, the February Revolution took the political parties in Russia, including the Bolsheviks, by surprise.' (R. Theen. *Lenin. Genesis and Development of a Revolutionary*. London, 1972, p. 91.)

2. The resentment spread even to the court camarilla; some even resorted to violence, for instance, the murder, on December 17, 1916, of Rasputin, the perpetrator of many of the crimes and much of the villainy of the tsarist regime.

3. G. V. Plekhanov, *Two Lines of the Revolution*, Petrograd, 1917.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

5. During the war the Petrograd Party Committee was raided and destroyed at least 30 times. The frequency of the raids and arrests can be judged from the fact that at the close of 1916 and early 1917 they took place on December 9, 10, 18, 19 and January 2.

6. Taking it as their starting point, some contemporary authors are inclined to see the main difference between February 1917 in Russia and, say, the French revolution of 1793 in the 'greater negativism of the Russian intelligentsia compared with the outlook of the eighteenth century French intelligentsia' (cf *Revolutionary Russia — a Symposium*, New York, 1969, p. 179). That assertion by Professor Seton-Watson of London University is typical of the widely held view of bourgeois historians and is in tune with the views of their theoretician colleagues, who maintain, as does, for instance, the well known French sociologist and political publicist Maurice Duverger, that the 'hegemony of the proletariat formula has lost all meaning' in assessing the motive forces of social progress in the 20th century. (M. Duverger, *Lettre ouverte au socialistes*. Paris, 1976, p. 54).

7. Something of the kind happened in Czechoslovakia, for instance, in the period preceding February 1948. Cuba, in January-February 1959, had a government headed by a bourgeois politician, but control of the country was in the hands of the Insurgent Army. In the three years of the Chilean revolution, the Popular Unity government, on the one hand, and parliament and the judicial system, on the other, represented conflicting centers of power. One of the most notable aspects of the Portuguese revolution is that deep-going revolutionary changes were implemented in the absence of an appropriate state apparatus. The revolutionary forces were represented in the organs of power (both military-political and governmental). But the forces of conservatism, even of reaction, were represented there too.

8. The correlation of forces between the Soviet and the Provisional Government was aptly described by the then War Minister, A. I. Guchkov: '... the Provisional Government does not command any real power and its orders are carried out only to the extent permitted by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which com-

mands the key elements of real power, such as the army, the railways, the post and telegraph service. We can bluntly say that the Provisional Government exists only as long as it is tolerated by the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies.' (*The Revolutionary Movement in Russia After the Overthrow of the Autocracy. Documents and Materials*. Moscow, 1957, pp. 429-430).

9. Upon his return from exile in March 1917, the Menshevik leader Tsereteli deemed it his prime duty to express his gratitude to the Petrograd workers for their 'two exploits.' First, the overthrow of the autocracy, and second, equally important Tsereteli told the workers, was that 'you realized that a bourgeois revolution had been performed ... You gave the bourgeoisie ... power ...' (*Izvestia*, No. 20, March 21, 1917).

10. That viewpoint is being popularized by a leading U.S. bourgeois newspaper, *The Christian Science Monitor*. It alleges that for the Marxist-Leninists there can be 'no genuine revolution without the "hegemony of the proletariat" — i.e. dictatorship by the Communist Party ...' (*The Christian Science Monitor*, October 13, 1975). Another leading U.S. paper, the *New York Times*, has opened its pages to all manner of fabrications about the concept of hegemony of the proletariat serving merely as a screen for the Communists' intention 'to seek domination over social forces from the very beginning' (*New York Times*, November 28, 1975).

11. Working-class pressure on the tsarist regime grew steadily from the autumn of 1916 on. Early 1917 saw a strike movement unprecedented in war time. In January, over 450 strikes were called in 26 provinces, with the total number of strikers exceeding 350,000. According to data on strikes in 18 provinces in the first 20 days of February, there were 158 involving about 203,000 workers. Six strikes out of every ten in January and seven in February were clearly political.

Lenin's Party was the real organizer of working-class action. On January 9, it led the biggest political strike in Petrograd since the first Russian revolution. The Bolsheviks also led mass strikes and demonstrations of the capital's workers on February 14. Incidentally, it was on that day that the Mensheviks' attempts to channel the rising wave of the revolutionary movement in favor of reformist support for the liberal bourgeoisie were thwarted. (For details, see I. Mints, *Istoria velikogo Oktyabrya*, Vol. I. Moscow, 1967, pp. 470-487.)

12. It was in this vein that the Menshevik *Rabochaya Gazeta* on April 6, 1917, attacked the revolutionary workers and their Party led by Lenin. It alleged that the Bolsheviks were posing a threat to the revolution from the left, that the revolutionary process should be kept 'within the bounds predetermined by objective necessity' and that, therefore, 'all struggle against counter-revolutionary aspirations and intrigues will be hopeless until we safeguard our left flank, until we render the current championed by Lenin politically harmless by firmly resisting it.'

13. This was, specifically, the consensus of opinion of numerous participants in a symposium sponsored by a group of U.S. research centers in April 1967. (For an account of the symposium, see *Revolutionary Russia: A Symposium*, pp. 175, 176, 279 et seq.)

14. Something of a generalization of various points of view that are at one, however, on this particular estimation of the relationship between February and October will be found, among others, in a six-volume book by a large team of West European and American bourgeois social scientists called *The Soviet System and Democratic Society: A Comparative Encyclopedia*. The authors of this 'encyclopedia,' supposed to be a scholarly work, point out that 'historians' offer two basic estimations of the results of political development in the Russia of 1917. One estimation, which goes back to the Mensheviks and SR's, blames the Bolsheviks and the October Revolution for 'emasculating and distorting Soviet democracy.' The other says that the Soviets as such, and hence the parties represented in them, were responsible for the miscarriage of the 'strenuous efforts' of the Provisional Government 'to preserve the new order in Russia based on the principles of legal statehood

and bring about stabilization in line with parliamentary democracy, as well as democratic self-government.'

The authors of the 'encyclopedia,' expressing their own view, contend that in any case October meant 'the downfall of revolutionary democracy.' (*Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft. Eine vergleichende Enzyklopädie*. Vol. IV. Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1971, pp. 924-928).

15. 'We were marking time everywhere — in the army, on the agrarian question, on the issue of war and peace,' Kerensky admitted afterwards, contradicting his earlier statements. 'It is fair to say that the whole state was marking time, having been stopped by the Cadet hurdle' (A. Kerensky, *Isdaleka*, Sbornik statei, 1920-21, Paris, p. 235).

16. According to data cited by P. Milyukov, the Constitutional Democratic (Cadet) leader, in *Istoria vtoroi russkoi revolyutsii* (Vol. I, third installment, Sofia, 1923, p. 80).

17. The Mensheviks' dread of democracy and the people showed in statements by their leaders, who longed to transfer the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, on which conciliators had held a dominant position since February, from Petrograd to 'where one can work in peace, without pressure from the street.' (See P. Milyukov, *Rossiya na perelome*. Vol. I, Paris, 1927, p. 78).

18. In an effort to back up contentions of this kind, bourgeois falsifiers of history also pose what they call the 'bloodless democratic' February against the 'bloody Bolshevik' October. They 'forget' that during the February revolution, 1,382 persons were killed or wounded in the streets of Petrograd alone, whereas the October rising proper took a toll of only eight to ten killed and about 50 wounded.

19. 'Only Bolshevism,' wrote P. Struve, a prominent leader of Russian bourgeois liberalism, 'was logical in the revolution and faithful to its essence, and that is why it achieved victory in the revolution.' (Pyotr Struve, *Razmyshleniya o russkoi revolyutsii*, Sofia, 1921, p. 31).

The Party and the younger generation

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The Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany devoted special attention to work among the youth. Youth problems hold a prominent place in the Central Committee report to the congress presented by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC, and in the debate and final documents of the congress, including the Party's new Program and Rules. It is worthy of note that 14.2 per cent of the delegates were under 25 years of age. The revolutionary devotion to the SUPG with which the young people of our republic led by the Free German Youth (FGY) league joined in preparations for the Ninth Congress is seen, among other things, in the fact that 109,935 young men and women,^a mostly workers and cooperative farmers,

applied for Party membership between July 1975 and April 1976.

The Tenth FGY Congress, held early in June 1976, a few days after the Party Congress, resolved to bring the ideological content of the Ninth Congress to the knowledge of our youth and mobilize them to carry out the congress decisions, defining this as a key task. A new mass movement was launched by our youth under the slogan 'FGY assignment: Ninth Congress decisions.'

The Ninth Congress generalized the fundamental principles that have always guided the Party's youth policy, and adjusted them to present-day practice. The Party bases its activity in this field on the theoretical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin regarding work among the youth, as well as on conclusions from the experiences of brother parties, primarily the CPSU. Creative application of the ideas which Lenin put forward in his speech 'The Tasks of Youth Leagues' (October 1920; see V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 283-299) play an important part.

What are the principles and experiences from which our youth policy proceeds?

First, the strategy of continued social development adopted by the Ninth SUPG Congress also determines the Party's youth policy. This is why the Ninth Congress and then the Tenth FGY Congress examines problems of the *communist* education of the youth so carefully. This position of our Party follows the Leninist principle that the policy of the working class and its revolutionary parties toward the younger generation can only be based on their overall strategy. On the strength of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the progress made by society, the Ninth Congress called for 'continuing to build a developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thus creating the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.' This means that today young revolutionaries in our society are trained and tested through active participation in building a developed socialist society and in providing these prerequisites. In other words, the communist education and revolutionary testing of the youth do not take place in isolation from fulfillment of the tasks set by the Party Program but 'in actual life, in actual labor, in the struggle for the goals of our policy that promote the well-being of the people,' as Erich Honecker put it.

Second, the Party's youth policy has always been guided by the principle that the younger generation must be fully trusted and assigned positions of responsibility. The Party, the state and mass organizations give much attention to young workers, the successors of the leading class of our socialist society.

This principle is by no means a subjective invention. It may be described as a development law of socialist society, which implies

that since the younger generation of today is to become the backbone of the society of tomorrow, it must prepare even now for its future responsibilities. Young people can do so only if they are always posted on current tasks in advancing socialist society and building communist society and are already entrusted with accomplishing these tasks along with their elders. We judge the youth above all by their attitude to labor and by their public activity.

That youth enjoy the confidence of fellow-citizens was demonstrated in the latest elections to the People's Chamber (October 1976) — young men and women of 18 were elected to this highest representative body of the republic for the first time (previously the required age was 21).

Third, one of the young people's primary tasks and duties is, now as in the past, to master the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and be true socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists.

Only he who has thoroughly studied the works of the founders of communism and bases all his plans and activities on their teachings can champion the communist cause. We do not want people merely to memorize Marxist-Leninist tenets but expect them to grasp their meaning and apply them creatively. 'Those are not revolutionaries who show their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism with words alone,' said Egon Krenz, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, and First Secretary, CC FGY, speaking to the Tenth FGY Congress. 'Revolutionaries are those whose conscious activity for the good of the people shows how very deeply they understand the truth of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.'

Fourth, the FGY is an active assistant and militant reserve of the Party. The Ninth Party Congress defined the chief task of FGY according to this fundamental Marxist-Leninist conclusion regarding the relationship between the Party and the FGY. This task 'will be, in the future as well, to help the Party in educating staunch fighters for a communist society who act in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.' This presupposes application of the three fundamental principles of our youth policy listed above, as well as full and all-round Party support for the FGY and the Ernst Thälmann Young Pioneer Organization, so that they may honorably perform their objective function as an assistant and reserve of the Party.

Numerous proposals sent in by Party organizations led to the incorporation in the Party Program of a provision saying that the Party 'considers it a class duty of all Communists to regard the communist education of the youth as their special responsibility.' The Rules, for their part, state that 'it shall be the duty of all Party organizations of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to guide the full

and candidate members of the Party active in the Free German Youth.'

Ideological work, it was pointed out in the CC report to the Ninth Congress, 'remains the pivot of Party work. Party work does not mean operating inanimate objects but persuading and mobilizing people in every sphere of public life.' This fully applies to the Party's communist education of the youth. Our Party is aware that communist consciousness is not a quality that can be inherited and that communist convictions do not form automatically, due to the existence of favorable social conditions.

The Party and FGY are now carrying on extensive ideological and political work intended to acquaint young people with the theoretical wealth of the Ninth Congress decisions. Just as Erich Honecker, speaking to the Tenth FGY Congress, told about the Ninth Congress and the tasks facing the youth, so other members of the Party leadership and congress delegates have addressed youth audiences. Political work takes the form of various mass events, rallies, youth forums, classes for FGY activists, FGY branch meetings, round table talks and interviews with Ninth Congress delegates. Our schools and universities, for their part, convey Congress decisions to their audiences.

Party committees give a great deal of attention to the FGY political education system. Over 1,600,000 young men and women are studying the decisions of the Ninth Congress in classes for Young Socialists. The Marxist-Leninist education of young Party members and candidates is very important. We take account of the fact that over 12 per cent of them are in the 18-25 age group. Lectures for youth organized by the Urania society (over 16,000 series), Young Philosophers' Clubs and Youth Propaganda Days, which involve hundreds of thousands of young workers, students, young intellectuals and servicemen, have proved their worth.

Our Party promotes the formation of a socialist way of life by the youth and extends facilities for leisure pursuits. And here, too, young workers get priority. Ninety per cent of all youth teams work according to cultural education plans made by the teams themselves. By carrying out their cultural education programs dedicated to major public events, such as the Ninth Congress, FGY branches contribute to cultural progress. Activities of this kind are generously subsidized and encouraged to ensure that the theatre, cinema, concerts, books, records, dance music for the youth, political song clubs, the Gifted Youth Movement, amateur art groups, sports and tourism meet young people's manifold requirements to a greater extent and help cultivate their world outlook.

The Party also does much for the Marxist-Leninist steeling of FGY cadres. They receive their political education in group leaders'

schools (in FGY branches), in political education classes conducted by FGY committees, at seminars for the advanced training of full-time FGY secretaries and in FGY district youth schools. Numerous FGY activists take instruction or advanced training in the Party's educational institutions.

Our experience has shown that training the youth in a spirit of devotion to the ideals of the working class and instilling in it such revolutionary traits as responsibility, organization, social activity, a creative approach, intolerance of obsolete views and behavior patterns, requires more than giving it theoretical knowledge, we must also give it a practical share in building socialist society. The SUPG is guided by Lenin's injunction: 'Without work and without struggle, book knowledge of communism obtained from Communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless' (Vol. 31, p. 285). Consequently, Communist education implies unity of Marxist-Leninist study and participation in the struggle to build the new society. One's approach to his work is the touchstone of his attitude to the Communist ideals.

Accordingly, the SUPG encourages delegating to the youth a meaningful part in solving the problems facing our society. Most party organizations and industrial managers make a point of explaining to the young people the intricate problems of economic development and what they can do toward their solution.

Young people are often put on major economic assignments. They have a significant part to play in such key projects as the gas pipeline from Orenburg to the western borders of the USSR. Young Berliners have undertaken responsibility for the further improvement of the capital. At these and other projects hundreds of thousands of young men and women are showing a true revolutionary spirit, and it is here that the Communist mentality and code of conduct are shaped.

Addressing the 10th Congress of the Free German Youth, Erich Honecker said: 'Your organization's economic initiatives, whether exhibitions or creative work by young technicians and scientists, or the movement to economize on working time and materials, can produce appreciable results measurable in marks and pfennings. And in the course of this work each of you, and our society as a whole, gains new experience, new knowledge, and strengthens the socialist attitude to work.'

The SUPG attaches special importance to equipping the youth with solid technical knowledge and helping it achieve high skills. Under socialism, science and technology are a testing ground of the revolutionary commitment of the young generation. And here, too, our Party abides by the principle that the young generation must be given responsible assignments. More and more research programs — now widely known as 'youth projects' — including some of national im-

portance, are assigned to teams of young workers, engineers and scientists.

The Party also attaches much importance to the organization of teams of young workers and cooperative farmers. The following four factors determine their importance: they help to shape the Communist mentality and the Communist code of conduct; encourage innovation and strive for high performance indicators; play a big part in training skilled personnel; provide a political and organizational base for FGY activity in industry and agriculture. The number of such teams has increased from 15,685 in 1971 to 26,006 at the close of 1975 and their membership from 199,725 to 300,195. The SUPG supports the FGY campaign for 10,000 new teams by 1980.

Of immense importance in educating the young generation, beginning with childhood, and in particular in inculcating respect for work, is the practice of front-rank workers sharing their experience with school pupils, apprentices, students and young workers. The Ninth SUPG Congress stressed the responsibility of the working class and its trade unions for educating the growing generation, and working class influence on the youth is direct and multiform. The SUPG is guided by Marx's dictum: '... the more enlightened part of the working class fully understands that the future of its class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the rising working generation.' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 80).

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, taken in their unity, constitute a key element of Communist education. The Ninth SUPG Congress expressed this unity in the following five principles. The youth, the Congress declared, should address its energies to strengthening the GDR; promoting still closer fraternal alliance with the USSR; closer ties with the countries and peoples of the socialist community; the defense of socialism; anti-imperialist solidarity. This, of course, implies uncompromising struggle against all imperialist attempts to smuggle in and spread bourgeois and anti-communist ideology.

Attitude to the Soviet Union is central to the internationalist education of the youth. Invoking the behests of Ernst Thälmann, Erich Honecker declared at the Ninth Party Congress: 'Firm ties with the Party and country of Lenin are fundamental to a class approach, the decisive criterion of a revolutionary and internationalist.' That is indelibly engraved on the minds of our young people. The FGY is in contact with the Leninist Komsomol of the Soviet Union and with youth organizations in other socialist countries at all levels. In some cases these contacts are based on long-term agreements. All FGY regional, 80 district and 4,480 primary organizations have cooperation

agreements with Komsomol organizations in the USSR. The international contest for the title 'Best Worker in One's Profession,' exchange of youth teams by GDR and Soviet factories, organization of international students' brigades to work on the principal socialist economic integration projects, coordinated measures to assure high-quality standards and scheduled delivery of export goods to the socialist countries, joint work on youth projects, more tourist travel and a wide range of sports events — they are all expressive of the firm bonds of friendship of the youth of our countries and contribute to the coming-together of socialist states and nations. Still another element in internationalist education are the periodic exhibitions of work by young technicians and scientists held in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Then there are the 'friendship runs,' a joint undertaking by young industrial and railway workers and young people employed in the foreign trade system of the GDR, Poland and the USSR to expedite the transport of goods between the three countries.

The GDR-USSR youth festivals help to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. The SUPG devotes much attention to educating the growing generation in a spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity. The FGY from the very outset supported the liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (Cambodia) assumes many different forms. The GDR youth is proud of its part in the campaign to free Angela Davis, Luis Corvalan and now has an active part in the campaign to free other imprisoned Chilean patriots. Millions of solidarity cards were sent to Comrade Corvalan on his 60th birthday. Our youth has been unstinting in its support of the Arab peoples, particularly the people of Palestine, in their just struggle for liberation. It also supports the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. And this support has its material expression: volunteer work since the 10th FGY Congress has brought 1,800,000 marks into the anti-imperialist solidarity fund. FGY teams are helping train skilled workers for the emergent states of Africa, Asia and for Latin America.

The striving for peace, security and happiness is characteristic of the young generation. The FGY had a prominent part in the European youth and students Conference for Durable Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress (Warsaw, June 1976). It called for a European youth conference for armaments limitations and disarmament, at which the FGY will be represented. It sent a delegation to the World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente (Helsinki, September 1976). Our youth has responded to the call for the 11th World Youth and Students Festival in Havana in 1978 by intensifying the anti-imperialist solidarity movement.

Our young people love their socialist Fatherland and are prepared to defend it at any moment. But their life and work are imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, friendship with the Soviet Union and militant anti-imperialist solidarity. The SUPG regards educating the youth in this spirit as an important aspect of its work.

One of the main conclusions the Party has drawn from its experience in Communist education is that the youth should be seen not merely as an 'object' of education, but rather as a force capable of participating in the shaping of the Communist mentality and the Communist attitude to work.

The Free German Youth league, a mass political organization, plays an important part in this. It unites, on a voluntary basis, young men and women of all classes and strata of the GDR. Its core are the young workers. The SUPG considers the political unity of the young generation, symbolized by the FGY, as an outstanding achievement of its Marxist-Leninist youth policy.

Communist education of the youth is impossible without a viable and effective political youth organization. Its success depends also on Party leadership. This is expressly stated in the FGY constitution: 'The Free German Youth league functions under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and considers itself the Party's active helper and militant reserve. All its activities are based on the Program and decisions of the SUPG.'

The Party's political guidance is designed to promote FGY initiative and enhance its authority. The Party encourages and supports FGY membership activity and helps to strengthen its primary organizations, and thus its contacts with our young population.

Of course, the Party takes into account the growing responsibility of the FGY and its greater role in Communist education. It regards youth work as an inseparable component of its entire activity. Top-level Party bodies guide the work of the FGY both through general and special directives. For instance, the decision of the CC SUPG Politburo on measures to implement the resolutions of the Tenth FGY Congress prompted Party organizations at all levels to adopt measures to help the FGY to organize the mass movement under the slogan: 'Fulfilling FGY assignments means fulfilling decisions of the Ninth Congress.'

The Party sees to it that the FGY has a proper share in the affairs of state. The youth law enacted in 1974 on the Party's initiative — the third such law since the proclamation of the GDR — makes it obligatory for industrial managers to support the initiatives of young workers and their organizations and give the youth concrete and responsible assignments. The FGY is represented in the municipal councils and

the People's Chamber. All in all, there are 19,405 deputies representing the FGY and another 10,175 under the age of 25.

The SUPG devotes much attention to building up the Party core in the FGY, helping it to prepare front-rankers for Party membership. Last, but not least, it shows special concern for the training of young candidate and full members of the Party. Party assignments, usually within the FGY, fulfilled with the help of experienced Party members, gives them a clear idea of how the Party operates. Regular talks with young Communists have proved their worth, as have also conferences and meeting of Party activists on questions of youth policy.

These are some of the methods the SUPG employs in guiding the Free German Youth and in raising the effectiveness of its activities. This strengthens mutual trust between the Party and the youth.

Stages of the struggle

Orlando Millas

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THE LESSONS OF CHILE¹

The tasks of the Chilean revolution are still valid. The democratic changes planned by the people in the recent past are more indispensable than ever. The establishment of a brutal fascist regime that turned back the country's development made it particularly evident to the vast majority of Chileans that none but a radical solution of the serious problems left unsolved would meet their interests and aspirations. This is not to say, however, that the inevitable return to these problems implies a repetition of the past. The tragedy of recent years has not been in vain.

We all learned much since the coming of fascism — both those who backed the government of President Allende and those who were opposed to it even though they shared many of its objectives and its anti-fascist position. At present all the problems appear in a new light. The need is for a broader coalition based on a more perfect conception. Hence analysis of what was done, of the gains and shortcomings of the revolutionary process of the 1970-73 period, far from throwing us back to the past, can help us to grasp the problems of the present and future.

A statement released by the Communist Party in Santiago in September 1976 said again that the chief task was to defeat fascism and

restore democracy and that this task must unite and mobilize the whole people. It noted that the struggle for social freedoms and democracy is central to all revolutionary activity. The Communists' proposals are aimed at coordinated action by all patriots to bring down fascism. Furthermore, they envisage definite commitments to 'build a more democratic political system than before, one that would grant more freedoms while preventing the restoration of fascism.'²

Life has shown that the Communists were right in rejecting nihilist attitudes to democracy. Lenin's ideas regarding the importance of the struggle of the workers and the people for democracy are particularly relevant today. We view the democratic tasks and socialist objectives of the Chilean revolution in their dialectical unity and consider their realization to be one process having its political and socio-economic stages.

The concept of popular revolution is the best definition of our process. As far back as the early 50s, the Communist Party, drafting its program, subsequently approved by the Tenth National Congress, renounced the term 'bourgeois democratic revolution.' It held that such a term was likely to cause a certain confusion at a time when, with the rise of a financial oligarchy and the growing role of imperialism, the dominant policy of the bourgeoisie was acquiring an explicitly 'reactionary' meaning. However, the Party rejected a simplistic analysis of social contradictions. It pointed out that there were contradictions between the interests of the financial oligarchy linked with imperialism and those of other sections of the bourgeoisie. It expressed the opinion that the tendency to deny the differentiation going on among the bourgeoisie and prematurely attribute a socialist character to the process, far from helping to accomplish consecutively the tasks necessary to pave the way for socialism, actually made it more difficult.

Classically, the revolutionary process has a democratic and a socialist stage. The names of these stages do not mean that they are entirely different; on the contrary, they stress their interconnection. Indeed, while no socialist tasks are set at the first stage, it sees the realization of democratic tasks which afterwards are carried further and acquire a new content, with the result that there develops a democracy capable of serving as a form and instrument of the socialist revolution.

We regard the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and agrarian revolution as the democratic stage of the advance to the socialist revolution. The Party's definition of the working class as 'the center and motor of revolutionary changes,' which is determined primarily by the very nature of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism on a world scale, became a slogan of the working

class helping it to unite the masses in a struggle for goals meeting the interests of the whole people. Thus a powerful anti-imperialist movement led by the working class came into being, and parliamentary forms of struggle and political action merged with action by the masses. This process itself took place against the background of international contradictions and in the context of their evolution. The role of democratic demands in drawing nearer to the socialist revolution became more pronounced. The character of bourgeois legality and bourgeois institutions was modified in the people's interests.

All this is inseparable from the fact that the Communist Party considered the possibility in non-armed revolution of using also forcible means against imperialism and reaction, a vast variety of forms of struggle, with emphasis on fostering the revolutionary consciousness, unity and organization of the masses and on their links of alliance. This theoretical proposition of the Communists was confirmed by a peaceful transition, so that major democratic revolutionary changes were envisaged and effected.

An important aspect of the revolutionary process was that Chile's workers and people were steeled in class struggle. They came fully to realize their strength, widened their political horizons, strengthened their will, fought their way to power and ruled the country for three years. They crushed a series of conspiracies and carried out far-reaching changes by nationalizing the major copper and iron mines, transferring the saltpeter and coal mines to the state and establishing a public economic sector by socializing the banks, big monopoly-owned industrial enterprises, and the major foreign and home trade concerns. They accomplished an agrarian reform eliminating the latifundia and transferring the land to peasant cooperatives, redistributed the national income in the working people's favor and adopted an independent foreign policy. The people's participation in government was given a powerful spur.

The popular revolution in our epoch has both powerful allies and dangerous, aggressive enemies. Fulfillment of the tasks of the democratic stage of the revolution arouses suspicion, hatred and aggressive hostility on the part of imperialism. The case of Chile dramatically confirms this. The fascist coup was openly directed by the multinational companies affected by nationalization, in direct collaboration with the CIA and Pentagon. Home reaction was encouraged to step in by U.S. imperialism, with its sinister plan to 'destablize' the Popular Unity government, defeat democracy in Chile and impose a fascist tyranny, an outspokenly terroristic dictatorship of the most aggressive forces.

The principal allies of every popular revolution are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the working-class movement and

all anti-monopoly forces of the developed capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement. The revolutionary process enjoys the people's sympathy, support and solidarity. The Allende government was appreciated and generously aided by the Soviet Union, socialist Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. It maintained cordial relations with most Latin American governments, fostered relations with the Andean Pact countries, signed highly useful agreements with various West European countries and established relations with Asian and African countries. Now that the peace forces are gaining influence and détente is making headway, there are more favorable conditions for the popular revolution. However, it will become impossible if concessions are made to anti-Sovietism and if it is attempted in isolation from the common stream of the progressive forces of mankind.

Chile's revolutionary forces were not disheartened by their temporary setback. They are as loyal to their fundamental views as ever. 'The Communist Party,' said the Party in its first statement after the coup (released in October 1973), 'is absolutely convinced that its advocacy of unqualified defense of the Popular Unity government, its steps to reach understanding with other democratic forces, above all at grass roots, its effort to inspire the middle strata with confidence and direct the main blow against the principal enemies — imperialism and home reaction — its perseverance in strengthening the Socialist-Communist alliance and working-class unity and in promoting understanding among the Popular Unity parties, its effort to achieve greater output and higher productivity, proper financing of the enterprises in the public sector and strict labor discipline constituted an entirely correct general policy. However, this does not rule out mistakes or weaknesses in its activity.'³

Revolutionary progress at the democratic stage, with socialism as a prospect, expresses itself in increasing interaction in the political, ideological, social and economic spheres. This can be achieved given the hegemony of the working class, which is the decisive factor for the unification of all democratic forces in a broad and solid alliance, as has already been said.

The Communist Party realized that it must uphold its independent class line in the movement for unity, a line aimed at uniting all revolutionary forces, resisting all deviations and safeguarding the future of our revolutionary process. And this means that the Party bears special responsibility for shortcomings and weak spots in pursuing that line.

The dialectics of the multi-party system and of united and firm leadership had distinctive features in Chile. There developed a broad and flexible unity implying unity of the working class itself, its alliance

with other working people and understanding between it and other democratic forces. In the conditions of the revolutionary process, this unity was based on the existence of a strong and influential Communist Party, Communist-Socialist unity, which was a factor of the first importance, and an effective Popular Unity bloc comprising the Communist Party, Left Christian Party, Movement for United Popular Action (MAPU), Worker-Peasant Party, Radical Party, Socialist Party and Independent Popular Action. This unity was also based on temporary agreement with other political organizations, in particular on an agreement with the Christian Democratic Party intended to assure the election of Allende to the Presidency by the entire Congress and carry out constitutional reforms relating to 'democratic guarantees' and the nationalization of the major copper mines. Besides, friendly relations were established with the Catholic Church and other churches. In October 1972, an agreement was reached under the Popular Unity Program with the command of the armed forces, which adhered to a democratic position and supported the Constitution. This found expression in the formation of a cabinet led by General Carlos Prats from November 1972 to March 1973 and in its well-known statement and its plan for establishing a public sector in the economy.

We revolutionaries cannot accomplish the revolution by ourselves but must, if we are to succeed, bring into the revolutionary process those strata that are objectively interested in the revolution but generally vacillate. Experience shows that this issue is settled in the most diverse forms. One of these forms, the multi-party system, became in Chile a means of consolidating forces in joint action, in serious political battles and in working out a common program respecting the independence of every member of the alliance.

As the revolutionary process goes on, however, social classes and strata constantly come up against new problems and new tasks and are influenced by its laws. Life amends programs, especially when revolutionary activity accelerates the pace of history like a powerful locomotive. This makes it necessary for a multi-party coalition to have a sufficiently united and firm leadership capable of developing its own program, consolidating gains and defeating reaction. Otherwise the revolution finds itself threatened.

Revolutionary talk, the temptation to give priority to 'competition' in recruiting forces, the stratagems of right- and 'left'-wing opportunists and the formation of poles dividing the progressive camp are likely to weaken a popular government to a disastrous extent. The harsh lessons of Chile are most revealing in this respect. However, it is obvious that the unity of the revolutionary forces has withstood the ordeal of temporary reverse. This is evidence of the solidity of the

foundations of unity. Communist-Socialist unity today goes deeper than in the past; the Popular Unity coalition has arrived at better mutual understanding and the unity of all anti-fascist forces, including the Christian Democratic Party, has gained in scope through joint action. Even so, this problem and all that has happened must be analyzed still more carefully if the anti-fascist struggle is to become more effective and attain its goals.

The past quarter-century has seen a substantial growth and centralization of capital in Chile. In this period, life itself impelled the middle strata to put forward democratic demands meeting their interests and running counter to the interests of imperialism and monopoly. The formation of the Allende government was the result and culmination of a sustained struggle throughout which the domestic big bourgeoisie and imperialism endangered democratic freedoms, rights and institutions by constantly attacking them while the working class, the Communist Party and its allies campaigned for demands meeting the interests of the nation and of progress.

Due to the struggle of the working class and the people, a relatively modern democratic state was formed in Chile. In spite of the bourgeois character of this state, a struggle for power went on in it for a long time, especially between 1970 and 1973. The earlier, anti-democratic class content of the state, determined by the exploiters' interests, coexisted with democratic gains registered afterwards. The only way to consolidate these gains and set the goal of achieving socialism was to press forward the revolution and destroy the traditional anti-democratic structures.

This is a problem that we think no revolution can avoid. Some Chileans imagined that they could bypass it by uttering freedom-loving generalities or with the aid of anarchist catchwords and appeals disguising their weakness in the actual struggle against reaction. However, experience confirmed, and still confirms, that this kind of opportunism, which puts abstract things first for 'bona fide' reasons while concealing concrete things in favor of momentary interests, becomes the most dangerous variety of opportunism, which Lenin warned against in *Marxism on the State*.

The connection between the two stages of the revolutionary process also manifests itself in the link between the respective class components. The democratic stage is characterized, in addition to a definite class composition of its motive forces, by the breadth of their alliances. Progress toward the socialist stage does not necessarily narrow or reduce these alliances. In fact, the revolution integrates forces. He who musters more forces wins. The working class must ensure that the bloc of forces which unite to bring about revolutionary changes is stronger than the bloc backed by imperialism.

Events in Chile revealed that the struggle for democracy and socialism demands unfailing vigilance, for the enemies of democracy exploit every passing superiority in strength to counter-attack. This is why problems of decisive importance must be discussed and made understandable to the masses long before they become the order of the day.

Experience shows that the indecision of the middle strata could have been foreseen. It was vastly important to follow a clear-cut and firm yet sufficiently flexible policy toward them, a principled policy that would have prevented imperialism and reaction from making the middle strata the social basis for the fascist rising. (Family ties and the social origin of most officers of the armed forces, who came from the middle strata, played a notable part in this.)

The class struggle intensifies as the tasks of the democratic stage of the revolution are carried out, and demands concerning the advance to socialism become more emphatic. In these circumstances there is no ignoring the issue of what class is ruling society, how it succeeds in mobilizing an active majority and how far it is able to maintain and exercise its power. The extension of the social basis of the revolutionary process in step with its advance at the democratic phase confronts the working-class vanguard with bigger tasks and if its organizational and political growth is lagging behind the growth of the popular movement, it may find itself trailing behind events when new objective conditions mature.

The anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist democratic tasks of the revolution are accomplished depending chiefly on the solution of the contradictions of the given regime. However, every socio-economic formation is a dialectical whole complete in itself. It follows that the intricate dialectical relationship between social contradictions makes it possible to skip stages or consider them to be very far apart.

The Chilean revolution refuted the narrow-minded concept treating all the ruling classes as the chief enemy and drawing no distinction between big landowners, rich and middle landowners, the monopoly oligarchy, diverse sections of the national bourgeoisie and the middle strata. Ultra-leftists sharing these concepts accused the Chilean revolution of 'reformism.' It is indicative, however, that attacks of this nature were widely made by the mass media, as well, which took an active part in the efforts to 'destabilize' the popular government and clear the decks for the fascist coup.

Imperialism and reaction realized, of course, that the democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-latifundium revolution was paving the way for socialism. The experience of the 1970-73 period shows indeed that consistently democratic measures intertwined with rudiments of socialism. As a result of the changes carried out, the

development of the Chilean economy became chiefly non-capitalist. The decisive sector of the economy stopped serving capitalist accumulation. In this situation, the process of reproduction objectively necessitated the replacement of the production discipline imposed by monopoly with a new discipline conditioned by the hegemony of the working class. It was necessary to establish greater worker control over production, introduce planning throughout the economy and base management on efficient functioning of the public sector and the agrarian reform sector.

We know from experience that unless we consolidate the positions we have won and are firm in carrying the revolutionary process deeper, we may risk having to retreat all along the line. Counter-revolution not only strives to prevent the transition to socialism but opposes all democratic guarantees. This is why, in self-critically analyzing the Chilean events, we consider it very important to ascertain why we did not in the course of the revolutionary process take appropriate steps when objective contradictions increased, as might have been expected because this is a law of every revolution.

The fact that the formation of a popular government, the recognition of President Allende's electoral victory and the realization of democratic changes were made possible was due to the solid unity of the working class on fundamental issues and actions, to the correct orientation of the working class and the wide range of its links of alliance, which enabled it to use organizational forms in keeping with current tasks. But subsequently the situation became more complicated, the enemy stepped up his resistance and the working class and its allies in the democratic camp had to build up their strength. The point is that as the revolutionary process went deeper the bourgeoisie, including those of its sections that had been hit by monopoly domination and benefited from the popular government's measures tended more and more to proceed above all from the fact that their interests were contrary to those of the working class. This tendency was also encouraged by abstract talk about the socialist future without regard to the actual tasks of the moment. However, the most negative and destructive factor was that the working class failed after all to win effective hegemony; instead, the dominant policy trend was duality and concessions, made to both right- and 'left'-wing opportunists.

In April 1972, the Communist Party gave warning against the impending danger and, with a view to bringing about decisive progress, stressed the need to raise the role of the working class, establish a united and strict system of economic management, consolidate the gains made and isolate the more dangerous enemies. Subsequent developments showed only too plainly, however, that this line was not pursued with adequate determination. After the defeat, it was

justly pointed out that 'we carried on discussions and clarified our class position at the level of the leadership; but we did not encourage discussion at grass roots, among the people, sufficiently to prevent the spread of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which injured Socialist-Communist unity and hence the revolutionary process.'⁴

The split in a united and mobilizing leadership became a factor for defeat. Opportunism spread in two interconnected trends. The ultra-leftists, denying the revolutionary character of the process under way, tried to impose their own notions of its development and strove, in effect, to disrupt it from within. On the other hand, the reformists overrated the peaceful aspects of the process and made a fetish of undemocratic institutions that were out of keeping with the new and more important tasks brought to the fore by life. Paradoxically if not unaccountably, these two varieties of opportunism constantly backed each other, being prompted by their bias against the Communists.

Analyzing the results of those years, we must note that the revolution succeeded in setting up democratic institutions of a new type and developing higher forms of democracy. In some fields, it began to combine government with popular self-government. Supply and price control councils became widespread. They were led by an outstanding revolutionary, Marta Ugarte. Housing councils and mothers' committees intensified their work. In the industry, production committees and defense committees were formed. The trade unions began to assume leading functions in the social sphere. Management in industry and trade was being transformed step by step and a system of people's inspectors elected by the trade unions and supply councils was being set up. Their communal offices operated in collaboration with mass organizations. The United Workers' Center (CUT) helped to establish its industrial belt councils. A national economic plan for 1974 was being drafted with the participation of the masses, which became a reality in enterprises belonging to the public sector and in the agrarian reform area. A number of treaties were signed between the Ministry of the Economy and the staffs of certain enterprises relating to the amount of output, labor productivity, raw materials supply, credit terms, wage levels, prices and investment. The working class, strongly backed by the youth and intellectuals, succeeded in maintaining order in the country during the employers' sabotage in October 1972 and August 1973.

However, no transitional situation proper was created during the revolution, that is, the revolution did not entirely achieve its democratic and anti-imperialist objectives to pave the way for socialism. This required greater democratization and the abolition of the privileges and political power of the imperialist monopolies and the financial oligarchy. It also called for a new system of leadership in society that

may be defined in scientific terms as the dictatorship of the working class and the masses of town and countryside, or people's power.

The Chilean events showed that it is very dangerous not to carry democracization through to the end, and that it must be carried through as early as possible. This certainly implies defense of the people's democratic rights against counter-revolution by suppressing counter-revolutionary, anti-democratic activity. The Communist Party and Popular Unity realized that the power of domestic and foreign imperialist monopolies conditioned both certain basic aspects of the exercise of parliamentary authority and other, equally important, activities in industry and the military sphere. This is why Luis Corvalan insists so often that success in elections is not the most important thing in the advance of the popular forces, but only part of the complex development of a broader social struggle. Accordingly, the Party constantly warned against the danger posed by the euphoria of those who imagined that the September 1970 election had guaranteed the development of the socialist socio-economic formation. At a time when we had won power only in part, it was essential to democratize every field of activity, to carry out far-reaching democratization measures in economic management, extend democracy to the judiciary and the control machinery, achieve a balance of forces in favor of democracy among the military and bring the administrative system into line with genuinely democratic standards. We stopped half-way in this respect. The Popular Unity government failed to establish effective democracy in decisive fields. Its gains, while impressive and highly noteworthy, were clearly inadequate.

Nevertheless, the tremendous headway made in this direction opened the eyes of millions of Chileans to reaction's falsehoods about the revolution. Everyone saw for himself that the revolutionary process brings the people greater freedom, assigns them a bigger public role and affords them unprecedented opportunities to raise their cultural standards while respecting the religious convictions and the customs and traditions of every population group.

All this has lost none of its importance. The position of the Church and the mutual understanding that links non-party Catholics and Christian Democrats with popular Unity in defending human rights are based primarily on their own experience of the attitude of the government, the Communists, Socialists, Radicals and left-wing Christians toward the Christian rank and file. Besides, most Chileans discarded at a certain moment their illusions about the 'independence of judicial power' and the 'neutrality of the armed forces.' Above all, the working class has become more conscious politically. This is seen, among other things, in its insistence on united and independent trade unions continuing to operate even amid fascist terror. The

working class — and the majority of the people with it — have come to see in a state functioning in a society of class antagonisms a product of irreconcilable class contradictions.

The anti-democratic character of the decisive components of the old system of government stood out all the more when a number of democratic revolutionary changes were effected. That was when the strength of the popular government, its ability to maintain democratic changes and its activity aimed at pressing forward social changes and upholding what the people had won became particularly important. Karl Marx noted that 'social reforms are never due to the weakness of the strong; they must and will be brought into being by the strength of the weak.'

The ability to defend the revolution is central to every genuinely revolutionary process irrespective of the path it is following. The democratic phase of the revolution needs to be consolidated and carried forward, and this is inseparable from defending the revolution. Defense of the revolution must begin at the stage it has reached, for this is the only way to ensure that it moves on to the next and higher stage. The experience of Chile points very clearly to the dialectical interlock and interdependence of action intended to overthrow the power of the ruling classes and resist counter-revolution and action mobilizing the masses to build a new society. All this took place in the course of a most complicated class struggle and social and economic changes.

The defense of revolutionary gains is neither a conspiracy, nor a task of small groups isolated from the people. It is based on the popular government's desire to express the interests and aspirations of the masses, on its ability to unite the masses and mobilize them for struggle, and on its dynamic and correct creative effort. However, all this is not enough unless the masses are able to strengthen the democratic government and state as exponents of the interests of the progressive forces. It is necessary continuously to modify the system of institutions and agencies if every component of power is to function in the interests of the working class, the people and the nation.

We Chilean Communists know by experience of the damage caused to the revolution and the people by weakness in the face of reactionary violence. We have come to the conclusion that the primary duty of revolutionary forces in accomplishing the tasks of the democratic stage is to be firm in their resolve to deliver crippling blows to all who resort to counter-revolutionary violence. The effort to mobilize an active majority of the people must be supported by an appropriate mass organization which commands all requisite means and whose members have been properly educated and trained.

To go over from the democratic to the socialist stage, the popular

forces must also hold positions enabling them to take the offensive, which is not tantamount to merely widening, step by step, the range of action in the matter of expropriation or to striving to expose as many enemies as possible. It is far more important continuously to further democracy in every sphere, as I have already pointed out, strengthen the unity of the workers' militant action and raise the fighting efficiency of the Party and its allies, increase the efficiency of the popular government and isolate counter-revolutionaries.

Why did the revolutionary leadership of Chile fail in this? I have said that there was a moment when, in exercising power and mustering forces to defend its positions, everything came to depend on how resolutely and effectively the leadership pursued its policy. It was essential to exercise democratic power, to use the authority vested in the popular government. But precisely because it did not raise problems with absolute confidence, nor carry on with adequate efficiency the everyday work necessitated by these problems, the policy adopted by the leadership failed to acquire a sufficiently mobilizing quality.

The Popular Unity government should have been in keeping with the given stage of its tasks in both substance and form. It was a synthesis of the authority and strength of the people. There were shortcomings in its development, and many were misled by the propaganda of reformist and anarchist concepts of power carried on by both those who praised the former system and government and, those who demanded 'people's rule' as the antithesis of the Popular Unity government.

Thus, the temporary defeat of the Chilean revolution confirms the dialectical connection between democratic tasks and the socialist future, as well as the dialectics of revolutionary paths, which necessitates ability and preparedness to go over from one path to another at the right moment, as the situation changes. The fascist coup of September 11, 1973, showed that the enemy remembers these objective laws at all times, even when we forget them.

1. For the first article, see *WMR*, January 1977.

2. *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del Exterior*. No. 20, 1976, p. 8.

3. *Desde Chile hablan los comunistas!* Ediciones Colo-Colo, 1976, pp. 28-29.

4. *Desde Chile hablan los comunistas!* p. 88.

New conditions — new quality of work

Journals dealing with the problems of Party development hold a special place among publications in the fraternal socialist countries. The growing interest in these publications has prompted the *WMR* to interview top editors of these journals during a meeting in Varna, held on the initiative of the CC CP Bulgaria and the *Partien Zhivot* journal.

WMR staff members Yuri Mushkaterov interviewed J. Valenta, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC CP Czechoslovakia *Zivot Strany* and member of the Central Auditing Commission CPCz; J. Canela, editor-in-chief of the journal of the Secretariat of the CC CP Cuba *El Militante Comunista*; V. Lajtai, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC HSWP *Partelet*; I. Lopatynski, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC PUWP *Zycie Partii* and Alternate member CC PUWP; R. Radovan, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC CP Rumania *Munca de Partid*; R. Rusev, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC BCP *Partien Zhivot*, and member of the Central Auditing Commission BCP; M. Haldeev, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC CPSU *Partiinaya Zhizn*, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; Duy Tung, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC CP Vietnam *Hoc Tap*; G. Chimid, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC MPRP *Namyn Amdral* and member of the CC MPRP; W. Scholz, editor-in-chief of the journal of the CC SUPG *Neuer Weg*.

Recent congresses of Communist and Workers' parties pointed out that the fraternal countries were successfully building socialism and had entered the stage of building a developed socialist society and communism. How have the new conditions affected the content, forms and methods of party work? What problems arise in this connection and how are they dealt with in your journals?

In developed socialism, said M. Haldeev, improvement of our work is an objective necessity. This was stressed by the 25th CPSU Congress. It is of cardinal importance, therefore, to perfect the forms, methods and scientific foundations of party work. It is indicative that sociological research is helping to analyze public opinion, that a systematic and comprehensive approach, long-term planning of party

work and of socio-economic development of labor collectives are being steadily introduced.

Perfection of inner-party relations is closely connected with the dynamic processes affecting all spheres of public life, with the growth of social consciousness. For example, the law-governed process of closer social division of labor, and needs arising from the concentration of production, perfecting organization and management of the national economy have given rise to the emergence of production and scientific-production amalgamations. This raises the question of adequate organizational forms of party work which would take account of the specific conditions of enterprises located in different regions while effectively coordinating party work on the amalgamation level. Practical experience has shown, as our journal helped reveal, that it was often expedient to set up a council of Party secretaries of amalgamated enterprises.

Such councils, said *W. Scholz*, are already functioning at large plants in the GDR. Our experience also suggests other organizational forms besides those we are familiar with. I have in mind the councils at enterprises and construction projects where specialists and skilled workers from other countries are employed. At the site of the Boksberg power station, for instance, the council of Party secretaries consists of the secretaries of local organizations comprising workers from the USSR, Poland, Hungary and the GDR. The council is a coordinating body functioning on the basis of an annual plan which is agreed and ratified by all the party organizations.

In Mongolian conditions, said *G. Chimid*, improvement of inner-party relations is influenced by such important factors as accelerated economic development, the rapid changes in the social structure of society, the people's rising level of culture and education, and the prospects of Mongolia's socio-economic progress connected with the growing all-round cooperation of the fraternal countries, their drawing closer together and consolidation. Hence the need for greater theoretical elaboration of the new problems by the journal and systematic aid for Party activists.

Our journal has always paid close attention to analyzing the experience of party organizations, helping them to improve their methods, said *P. Radovan*. Today, however, these problems are being dealt with in new conditions. The 11th Congress of the CP Rumania pointed out that at the present stage and in the future raising the Party's leading role requires that the work of Party, government and public organizations be closely interlaced. In our country some of the Party leaders stand at the head of government or economic agencies. For example, certain ministries are headed by Political Executive members of the CC CPR, while First Secretaries of provincial and

city committees (in the villages these are secretaries of corresponding Party organizations) are also chairmen of committees or executive bureaus of provincial, city and village councils.

When we speak of the more exacting demands that are made today on Party journalism, *V. Lajtai* explained, we proceed mainly on the assumption that the solution of the many and intricate problems of socialist development is connected with the more mature and creative activity of Party organizations.

After the 11th HSWP Congress which gave priority to stepping up economic development, through stressing that the country's economic growth had been complicated by the unfavorable foreign market conditions, our journal was faced with many new challenging problems. It was particularly important for us to help Communists correctly interpret Party policy and understand the economic situation because at times we came up against extreme views, either underestimating existing problems and difficulties or, on the contrary, dramatizing the situation. By publishing material clarifying controversial issues from Party positions, the journal helped dissipate views that did not reflect the existing situation.

It was also our duty to help Party organizations find their place in dealing with economic questions. The HSWP follows Lenin's concept that the Party and the state must perform different functions in the management of society. In dealing with production questions Party organizations should not perform the functions of the administration. Leaning on the working people's experience and initiative, they should strive to create an atmosphere for bold but competent decisions. They should not merely 'rubber stamp' Party decisions, they should be a form of 'political workshop' planning the program for mobilizing the masses and determining the role to be played by every Party group and every Party member. This is how we see the functioning of Party organizations. And it is the materials published in the journal which help to assert this approach.

The 15th Congress of the CPCz stressed that during the building of developed socialism, said *J. Valenta*, much greater demands are made upon the Party itself, on its unity, the level and effect of its political, organizational and ideological work. This brings to the forefront in our journal such key tasks as helping improve the quality of Party membership, the discipline and work of Communists, broadening the democratic foundations of inner-Party life and establishing the Leninist methods of collective leadership, close ties with the masses, criticism and self-criticism and a scientific approach.

The victory over U.S. imperialism, said *Duy Tung*, our country's reunification and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

have brought our revolution to a new stage.* The formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an outstanding victory of the working class and all the people of Vietnam. It is the result of the Party's correct revolutionary line, the international solidarity of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and world peace.

The Party's fundamental line is to lead the country rapidly and confidently toward socialism and to simultaneously carry out three revolutions: a revolution in production relations, a scientific and technological revolution and a revolution in ideology and culture, to continually intensify socialist industrialization, build a large-scale socialist industry, maintain 'collective socialist power' of the working people, and educate the new man.

As the Party's theoretical and political organ our journal invariably popularizes this revolutionary line. Among the materials carried by the journal prominence is given to articles explaining Party decisions and documents, showing how these decisions are carried out, summing up positive experience and boldly revealing all shortcomings.

It is clear that the fraternal parties deal with problems that differ in magnitude and in character. How are the questions of Party building reflected in your journal?

Ours is the only specialized Party publication, said J. Canela. The journal is distributed free of charge through the local Party organizations and its main goal is to foster socialist consciousness among the population, broaden their political knowledge and popularize progressive methods and experience.

This, of course, is done with due account of Cuba's specific conditions, particularly the fact that even today, after several years of efforts to abolish illiteracy inherited from the former regime, the population's level of education is still not very high. This influences our work and the form in which we publish our materials. We popularize the work of grass roots organizations that have successfully established the Leninist norms and methods of work, we describe how Communists work to raise labor productivity and master new technology. We lay the stress not so much on theoretical analysis, but on concrete examples to be followed by others. The materials are written in plain language easily understood.

We take into account the specific features of socialist construction in our country, but are also guided by the need to consistently employ the principle of democratic centralism, educate the workers to be true to the interests of the working class and all the people, to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our main goal, of course, is to bring the ideas of the Party to the

*Duy Tung was interviewed prior to the Fourth Congress of the CP Vietnam. — Ed.

broad masses. However, we think the time has come to take a broader and more analytical view of questions of Party building. This is necessary, mainly, because, as Fidel Castro said at the Party's First Congress, there had been confusion in understanding the functions of the Party and the state: substituting Party with state and economic functions did not help other public organizations grow stronger and increase their influence. One of our main tasks is to popularize the principles and work of the peoples' organs of power and the ways and means of exercising their Party guidance.

The questions of Party and state construction, said *Duy Tung*, are very important to Vietnam today. We show that it is necessary to strictly observe the principles of democratic centralism, maintain close ties between Party development and formation of the state machinery, constantly improving the effectiveness of Party organizations, cadres and the membership.

Commenting on fulfillment of the principle of democratic centralism, *M. Haldeev* pointed out that its continued development is characteristic of the present stage. Our Party believes it important to promote inner-Party democracy. For example, extended Party committees have been set up at large enterprises, with more than half the members workers. There are no instructions from above on Committee membership, this is decided by Communists themselves at annual election meetings. This, undoubtedly, improves ties with the masses and helps in dealing with requests and proposals.

According to the SUPG Rules, founded on democratic centralism, said *W. Scholz*, the primary organizations are the Party's foundation and that is why our greatest attention is turned to this most important element of the SUPG's organizational structure. Interesting in this respect is the work of public commissions in the primary organization. They impart concrete content to the principle of collective leadership because ever more Communists are involved in the many aspects of Party work, making broad use of these rights and extending tangible aid to organizations in making political decisions.

Another example is personal meetings between the Party leadership and Communists during which they discuss a wide range of questions of working and living conditions. Some of these may be brought up at a Party meeting where the Party leadership reports on what steps have been taken in response to criticism and proposals made by members. This practice was further developed after the SUPG Central Committee resolution that factory managers must regularly inform Party bodies on steps taken in connection with proposals and criticism by the working people.

It is very important that there be close ties between the Party and the masses and between the Party leadership and the membership,

said *I. Lopatynski*. This deepens inner-Party democracy, making Party organizations more active.

A while ago the PUWP CC Politbureau decided to establish direct ties with Party organizations in 165 large industrial enterprises. These meetings and talks between the factory Party secretaries and the Party leadership are, undoubtedly, of mutual interest.

For the Party such meetings play a dual role, for it not only becomes better acquainted with public opinion, but during discussions of vital issues Party organizations set their sights on dealing with timely problems on a national scale. At recent meetings, for example, we discussed Party enrollment, the reserve of our industry, and, most recently, improvement of ideological and political education among the population. Such meetings are regularly reported by our journal in articles by secretaries of Party committees, interviews, etc.

Despite the difference in proportion of workers in the fraternal parties due to the heterogeneous social structure of the population in individual socialist countries and the criteria determining working class affiliation, the general tendency, judging by Congress materials, is that this proportion is increasing. What are some of the problems your journal has to deal with in connection with this?

Among the more important materials in our journals, said *V. Laitai* and *G. Chimid*, are articles dealing with such subjects as quality of the Party membership, Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, consolidating the Party's worker core, registering changes in the social structure, education and cultural level of society. They pointed out the necessity of forming traits of character in new Party members, similar to those that were formed in the characters of older members in the struggle with the class enemy. In Cuba, added *J. Canela*, this form of education is very important because of the Party's rapid growth and also because many Cuban Communists are revolutionaries who acquired a Marxist-Leninist education in the process of furthering the revolution.

On the question of Party enrollment, said *Duy Tung*, the journal advises the primary organizations to pay more attention to quality, so that only the best and most conscious join the Party while the Party rids itself of opportunists, career-seeking, declassed elements.

We do not question the journal's important role, in helping to form the Party's social composition, said *J. Valenta*. As a matter of fact, this is one of the main directions in our work. In line with the instructions of the 14th CPCz Congress, the Party was able to overcome in the last five years the mistakes made in enrollment and restore the Leninist principles of Party recruiting. Approximately 334 thousand candidate members joined the Party in this period and, what is also important, for the first time in over 20 years the share of

workers again started to increase comprising more than 62 per cent of the new members with more than half under 25 years of age. Our main task today is to continue this rate started after the 14th Congress, step up the education of new members, avoid a mechanical approach to the question of membership through careful and individual selection and strengthen the Party's influence by increasing membership in key branches of industry.

Besides recruiting more workers said *I. Lopatynski*, we are also interested in seeing more professionals and farmers join. Our Party is working to greatly increase agricultural production and for a gradual transformation of the villages along socialist lines. This difficult task requires not only material resources, but also a high level of consciousness and culture and increasing the number of peasants in the Party, for the most conscious peasants are the vehicles of Party policy in the rural areas. Today the most influential and effective Party organizations are in the state and cooperative farms. But we also have almost a million small, individual peasant farms whose owners work on construction sites or in factories. These are peasant-workers. Party members among them are registered in their organizations at place of work and not in the village. And then many of the rural Communists joined the Party during World War II or during the first days of people's power. Many were not able to complete their education. Regretfully, Party membership among the rest of the peasants is not very high so it is clear that we face a big job that will take some time. In this systematic and purposeful work we are counting mainly on the conscious part of the rural youth.

What do you think is the best way of improving the journals' style and methods of work?

Well, first of all, said *P. Rusev*, by helping Party workers to assimilate scientific methods of leadership, to see and understand the theory of the concrete experience of Party organizations, the journal has broadened its connections with research establishments with the Party Building Center of the Bulgarian Academy of Social Sciences, the Social Department of the CC BCP and the institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Simultaneously we want to raise the journal's role as organizer. Before, our view of experimentation was erroneous, but experience has shown that in Party work also, scientific methods are possible, including systems analysis and special-purpose programming. It is particularly important to follow the Leninist principles of Party building, Party standards, to avoid theory from becoming scholastic, isolated from practice and concrete experience.

Supported by the CC we are involved in and are even initiators of several experiments. For instance, the journal helped draw up a

special-purpose program on the basis of an experiment in the city of Plovdiv, to raise the role of the primary Party organizations. In Varna, with the district Party committee's scientific council (it includes scientists and Party functionaries), a theoretical conference on further developing inner-Party democracy will be held. We believe this type of work provides the journal with the opportunity of analyzing and reacting timely to pressing problems of the day.

Our journal, said *M. Haldeev*, has started publication of a series of articles which, we hope, will help Party workers acquire a systematized knowledge of modern aspects of the theory of Party building, ideological work, social psychology and pedagogics. Of course, for this the journal had to strengthen its ties with such research institutions as the Marxism-Leninism Institute, the Academy of Social Sciences and CC CPSU Higher Party School. We also started refresher programs for our staff journalists. In the past two years all our younger staff have completed a course on Party building at the Higher Party Correspondence School of the CC CPSU, 12 others attended refresher courses at the Institute for Party and Administrative Executives. Another effective form of study are meetings with Party and government leaders in the journal's offices, visits to various enterprises in and around Moscow to study the work of their Party organizations.

The topic of organizational work of the journals is prominent in the interviews. *Duy Tung* spoke of perfecting a rapid system of information to keep in close touch with local conditions; *G. Chimid* spoke of the round table discussions with departments at the CC MPRP on such subjects as the scientific foundation of Party work and planning. *J. Canela* noted the special importance of meeting on a regular basis with secretaries of Party organizations.

Concrete sociological research, said *P. Radovan*, is a great help to the journal, and we try to make the best use of the results and conclusions. And, presuming that broad dissemination of sociological methods accords with a natural desire to improve scientific methods in Party work, we also published a series of articles and a book describing the technique of such research.

In Czechoslovakia, said *J. Valenta*, we have no specialized Party publications on the work of lecturers, propagandists, to be used in Party education or for agitators. In this respect ours is a universal journal and must serve the entire Party *aktiv* — whether in the organizational or the ideological sphere. For this reason we try to simultaneously carry documentary materials and articles describing the work of Party organizations providing them with practical help, and articles on Marxism-Leninism to be used by our propagandists and agitators. We shall continue working for the optimal balance

between the different material we publish and improving the journal's make-up, and this, we think, is also in the reader's interest.

Our journal lays much stress on the work of Communist and Workers' parties, particularly the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist community. We inform our readers of cardinal events in the course of their activities, their experience in party work, the theory and practice of party building. Popular among our subscribers are articles on the international communist and workers' movement, on the topical issues concerning the implementation of proletarian internationalism in revolutionary practice.

Comprehensive, long-term planning by the journal covering the period between congresses was described by *G. Chimid*. This helps focus attention on the more pressing questions posed by the Party and to systematize our publications.

P. Rusev added that his journal prefers special-purpose planning allowing for not more than 10-12 main topics a year. These are elaborated by special groups cooperating with research institutions and Party organizations.

Writing on the problems of Party life today, it was agreed, requires that the editorial staff untiringly perfect its work and competently apply the Marxist-Leninist method of analysis in order to better resolve the problems posed by the fraternal parties today.

The quiet heroism of the revolutionary

PAGES FROM THE BOOK OF COURAGE

Comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of our Party, once said: 'We are not a sect or a group of conspirators. We are born of the working class and the people and are therefore ordinary human beings, simple and modest. We like bread and wine, the joys of life, women and children, peace and friendship, the guitar and songs, the stars and flowers; we are not embittered men and are not out to undermine existing customs, nor to press life into a narrow phraseological framework, as in the days of old Chinese women were made to press their feet into tiny shoes.

'Our teacher, Karl Marx, was fond of repeating the words of Terentius, "nothing human is alien to me." That is why the great Lenin, our teacher, is so near to us. He was the most human of humans; he liked Beethoven's *Appassionata*, but firmly steered the ship of revolution and was irreconcilable to its enemies.

'That explains why we respect the quiet heroism that is part of day-to-day revolutionary activity, and we are undaunted by the knowledge that it might entail torture, bullets, even death itself.'

These words, inscribed on our Party cards, are always with the Uruguayan Communists, who combine work in the factory, the field, the artist's studio or the university classroom with the 'quiet heroism of day-to-day revolutionary activity.'

Hour of ordeal

Time was when our small country was known as the Switzerland of Latin America — it had the continent's most liberal constitution. Today, no description of Uruguay can avoid such words as 'catastrophe,' 'decline,' 'neglect' and 'terror.' Uruguay now has one of the continent's most repressive regimes and the world's highest number of political detainees in proportion to the population.

The prisoners are crowded in anchored ships, old railway carriages, the capital's stadium, even former cold-storage warehouses. Thousands are being kept in prisons, army barracks and former trade union offices converted into torture chambers. The fascist dictatorship is wreaking its vengeance on public, political and trade union leaders, workers, actors, singers, school teachers, students, patriotically-minded servicemen, including General Liber Seregni, the popular chairman of the Broad Front, and several of his colleagues.

Hundreds have gone through The Hell, the torture center the regime set up in October 1975 at the barracks of the 13th Motorized Infantry Battalion. Men and women are herded together and kept in inhuman conditions. Torture has brought some to the edge of insanity, even death. But not a single one of these true anti-fascists betrayed his comrades in the illegal organization fighting the tyrannical regime.

Caught in the throes of an internal crisis, the dictatorship is using savage repression in an attempt to paralyze the people's will to fight. The most savage repressions are directed at the Communist Party.

Don Juan Maria Bordaberry*

President, Republica Oriental del Uruguay.

Mr. President,

My son, Alvaro Balbi, was arrested on Tuesday, July 29. He is 31, a Uruguayan, married, the father of four small children, and an honest worker ... On the afternoon of Thursday, July 31, your officials notified his wife and my wife, his mother, that he had died

*Bordaberry was deposed on June 29, 1976 in a military coup and replaced by an equally hated tyrant, Aparicio Mendes, who makes no secret of his admiration of the Brazilian model of fascism.

at 1 a.m. of an attack of asthma caused by a cold, and that we could take possession of his body at the Armed Forces Hospital . . .

The authorities arrested a man in the flower of life, but, in the hands of his jailors, he lived little more than 24 hours . . . The doctors who treated him for the usual illnesses can confirm that, though he had no strong constitution, he was healthy and in excellent condition. He never suffered from asthma or any other chronic ailment. He was an energetic, active and life-loving person . . . He graduated from the National Conservatory where he studied the piano, but also played the violin, the guitar and other instruments . . . He composed music, but under the present system his development as a composer was stunted. He had a big family and was poor.

. . . When I came to the hospital to collect his belongings I was given his wedding ring, underwear, a woolen sweater, a suit, coat and winter shoes. How could he have caught cold? Is it believable that a young, strong and absolutely healthy man could die of a cold? Was he tortured, Mr. President? Why were his clothes smeared with dirt? Why was his head bandaged? . . .

Behind these sad and dignified lines written by school teacher Selmar Balbi is the tragedy of our people, whom the dictatorship is depriving of its finest and most talented sons.

The following are only a few of the 6,000 now languishing in prison and subjected to torture: Communist Party leaders Jaime Perez, Jose Luis Massera, Alberto Altesor, Jorge Mazzarovich, Luis Tournon, Rita Ibarburu, Eduardo Bleier; trade union leaders Wladimir Turianski, Gerardo Cuesta, Rosario Pietraroia, all of them also Party functionaries. The list includes many many more heroes whose names have become symbolic of our people's struggle.

Jose Luis Massera, Secretary of our Party Central Committee is a world-renowned scientist, brilliant mathematician, in whom are harmoniously blended the qualities of researcher, teacher and political leader. He was active in the solidarity campaign with Republican Spain and the Soviet Union, which bore the brunt of the war against fascism, was one of the founders of the World Peace Council, is respected in Uruguay as a humanist and as a man of wide culture. Months of inhuman torture have left him with dislocation of the pelvic bones. His wife, Marta Valentini, a Party member, is in prison and subjected to torture.

Toward the end of last year Massera was transferred to a small airless cell with practically no daylight. His glasses were taken away, and he is not allowed to continue his scientific studies he carried on even in the most difficult conditions. According to available informa-

tion, he is accused of having organized a 'demonstration' in prison: he sang the national anthem on the 56th anniversary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Another member of the Party Executive, Alberto Altesor, a popular railwaymen's leader and member of Parliament, was thrown into prison though he had just had a very difficult heart operation. For 53 days in succession he was tortured in The Hell and for many months he was kept blind-folded.

The only crime of these and other prisoners is that they had fought for democracy, national sovereignty and human dignity.

The dictatorship could not jail the writer Francisco Espinola — he died on June 27, 1973, the day of the coup — but it has done everything to besmirch the memory of a man who is the pride of Uruguayan culture.

He was one of our most popular writers, and people called him Paco (short for Francisco). He belonged to a Blanco family.* In August 1971 he was presented with the red card of a Communist Party member.

In accepting the Party card, Espinola spoke with emotion of what had led him to join a Party whose ideology was contrary to all the principles he had been taught from childhood. And he replied to those who had slandered him, to all the charges of preaching hatred and disrespect for national traditions.

'For many years I have had a close friendship with Communists; close because it was forged in difficult struggle... At first I admired only individuals, but gradually I came to understand that my Communist friends, though differing in character, social and material status and cultural level, in every situation acted with dignity and courage. Since then I have had a deep feeling of respect for a Party which, because of its unity and cohesion, has been able to survive in the most trying circumstances.'

There can be little doubt that if he were alive Espinola would have spoken with the same conviction of his deep respect for the courage and devotion of the Communists. These qualities are now being put to the test, tempered and strengthened in the day-to-day underground struggle.

'Ungovernable Uruguayans'

Every day, without high-sounding phrases, patiently and persistently, the Communists continue to fight against the dictatorship. And in this fight they are carrying on Uruguay's liberation traditions, the cause of Jose Artigas, the 19th century revolutionary who led our people to independence. The oligarchy, which Artigas said consisted of 'bad

*Blanco and Colorado, traditional bourgeois parties.

foreigners and the worst Americans,' denounced him as a criminal for his patriotism and revolutionary spirit. Today the people and the core of the nation, the workers, have taken up his motto: 'I shall never sell the rich heritage of Uruguay for the cheap price of poverty.'

The dictatorship hates Artigas and is extolling Latorre, a 19th century despot. But it ought to be reminded that at the close of the last century the people drove out Latorre. He once complained that the Uruguayans were an 'ungovernable nation.' They are 'ungovernable' today, too, but only for those who have plunged the country into economic catastrophe and social calamity, are working hand in glove with the Chilean fascists, take their cue from the Brazilian gorillas, are building up an alliance with the racists of South Africa . . .

Alvaro Balbi's comrades distributed leaflets in Montevideo exposing those responsible for his death. The size of cinema tickets, such mini-leaflets, bearing the Party's hammer-and-sickle emblem, regularly distributed or simply scattered on the streets — at great risk of course — are a sure sign that the Communist Party is alive and fighting. Another sign is the 'wall-poster war' — young underground workers paint slogans and demands for the release of all political prisoners on house-walls. In this and other ways the regime is always made to feel the resistance of the people, led by the Communist Party.

In a statement on the coup that overthrew Bordaberry the Party declared:

'For three years, in the teeth of cruel terror, the people's resistance found expression in the strikes called by the trade unions, the defeat of pro-government candidates in the 1973 university elections, the student protests, the 70,000 signatures in support of higher wages in 1975, and in the May Day demonstrations that came as a challenge to the government's policy of oppression. . .'

The dictatorship failed in its repeated attempts to establish docile trade unions and, of course, has not dared to permit genuine unions. But the factory committees of the National Workers' Convention continue to operate underground. Illegal meetings of workers, students and teachers are no rarity. The Communists are the soul of the resistance movement and spare no effort to unite all honest Uruguayans, civilians and servicemen alike, in an anti-dictatorship front.

The regime has not been able to destroy the Communist Party. Driven into clandestinity, it has retained and continues to build its ranks. It publishes an illegal newspaper *Carta Semanal* and other Party literature.

Dedication and courage have won the Communists wide respect and admiration. For in them the people see men and women who really love their country, unlike those who are prepared to sell it to

foreign capital; men and women devoted to the ideas of freedom and democracy, unlike those for whom freedom means freedom to exploit the people; patriots and internationalists, for precisely because the Communists are internationalists they are staunch patriots.

The very word 'revolutionary' has acquired a much wider meaning since the October Revolution. Cesar Reyes Daglio, a Party Executive Committee member, once remarked. That is nothing new, but it is worth repeating. For us Uruguayan Communists, being a revolutionary means continuing the cause begun by the Party of Lenin in October 1917. And what was valid 60 years ago is just as valid today.

We Uruguayan Communists do not hesitate to proclaim our internationalism, though the enemy uses this to accuse us of betraying national interests and subjects our Party to continuous repression. We see our patriotic duty in persistently working to create the best conditions for the national and social liberation of our people. And we know that the attainment of that goal largely depends on the world revolutionary process and on closer unity of all the anti-fascist forces.

Uruguayan Communists often pay with their lives for their love of country and their fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Stronger than death

Nibia Sabalsagaray loved life and rejoiced in its manifestations. People were attracted by her sincerity and revolutionary fervor. But life wasn't easy. Born into a poor working-class family, she managed to graduate from the Lyceum and then the Montevideo Teachers' College. She was invited to teach there and it was at that time that she made her first steps in literature.

Reading Lenin helped her find her place in the ranks of the fighters for freedom and social justice, and it was not long before she brought many of her friends into the movement.

She was only 24, about to be married and begin a new career, in medicine, when she died in jail from 'dry submarine' torture — her head was placed in a plastic bag, the ends securely tied around her neck, but this, too, could not make her talk.

Communist women prisoners set an inspiring example of revolutionary integrity and stamina. Rita Ibarburu, a member of the Party Central Committee, won the love and admiration of her comrades. One day, the authorities ordered another Communist leader, Eduardo Bleier, to be buried alive. Rita heard his cries, called other prisoners and managed to save his life. During even the worst torture sessions she found the strength to sing. They were songs of the struggle.

And this from a letter smuggled out of prison:

There was about 100 of us in the barrack, men and women, all naked and manacled, standing in rows almost body to body. Those who could no longer stand on their feet lay on the floor.

I could not move after the repeated torture. Blood caked in my mouth, my throat was dry. I could not cast off the scenes of horror — in my mind's eye I could see people falling to the ground, only to be put on their feet again and have red hot electric-charged nails applied to the sensitive parts of the body. I had a feeling of sliding into a huge pit and making a desperate effort to hold on, breathe ... How long did it last, hours, days? And then a voice rang out. I knew it was the voice of Rita. She sang folk songs we all knew. I could not see her, because all of us wore dark hoods. But I knew it was Rita. Her name was being repeated by everyone in that horrible barrack, and the night did not seem so dark.

And also this letter from a prisoner to his mother:

Can one live through all this? Now more than ever before I know that I can withstand any amount of imprisonment and physical pain. For one has a reserve of moral strength which one can draw upon when things become desperate.

When you remain honest and consistent in your principles and in your attitude to others, when your conscience does not trouble you, you can withstand every ordeal.

I never lose hope. And my hope is not the kind that comes from irresponsibility or adventurism. No, it is born of friendship with people, with all their virtues and weaknesses. A strong person cannot be reduced to an inhuman state; no one can destroy his feeling of collectivism. That has always been so. As for myself ... things might have been much worse, some incurable illness, say. Seek solace in that and reassure the rest of the family. Do not torment each other. And most important, do not lose hope, remain and fight together. Cry, tears will ease your sorrow, but don't worry. You are my mother, my best friend and comrade. You fought for all of us, you made sacrifices for us. You have no reason to be ashamed. You should not feel pity or shame. Wait patiently and fight. We will never let you down.

A son urges his mother, his friends and relatives not to lose heart. He knows how much courage it takes to get even a tiny bit of information from the authorities, face threats and insults, cope with all the sorrow and hardships. But they must never lose hope. In its message to relatives of political detainees, the Party Central Committee Executive expressed its respect and gratitude for their courage and heroism,

their contribution to the solidarity movement with the victims of terror and to the struggle against the dictatorship.

The anti-dictatorship front is everywhere, in every corner of the country.

Son of the people

Communist Party Secretary Jaime Perez was arrested on October 24, 1974. For over a year he had been working underground. He was acting Party leader after the arrest of Rodney Arismendi.

A tall, well-built and strong man, he celebrated his 47th birthday in the Punta Carretas prison, to which he was confined in February 1975. Prison undermined his health: torture affects even the strongest. Fellow prisoners said he was always attentive, could be relied upon for help and encouragement. 'Hold on,' he would tell his comrades, 'hold on, the fascist regime will not last forever ...'

Life has not been kind to Perez. He had to leave school before he was 16 and, like many other Uruguayans, begin earning a living. In 1954, already a seasoned trade union leader, Perez became a member of the Party Central Committee and at the 16th Party Congress was elected to the CC Executive and Secretary of the Party organization in Montevideo, the country's biggest industrial center. He was then only 26.

Jaime Perez is known, personally or by name, to practically every worker in Montevideo. He visited all its factories, consistently upheld the workers' interests in the municipal council and in Parliament, to which he was elected on the Broad Front ticket — he represented the Communist Party in that left coalition.

Like many others, I admired the humaneness of his approach, his ability to understand the masses and to be understood by them.

In 1972 fascist thugs fired on and killed a group of Communist workers in Montevideo. Addressing a public meeting on the first anniversary of their death, Jaime Perez told the audience: 'These eight workers will always remain in our hearts, like all Uruguayan Communists and YCLers who gave their lives in the sacred cause of liberating our people. They are a shining beacon illuminating to all democrats and patriots the road ahead. Their cause has been taken up by everyone who wants to see a new society built in Uruguay, a society of bread and roses, of peace and labor.'

Jaime Perez found apt and eloquent words to describe these fallen heroes. What he did not say, however, was that it was only by accident that he escaped that night. Nor was this the first attempt on his life. In January 1961 he was seriously wounded during a bandit raid on the Party headquarters and survived only thanks to his strong constitution.

In February 1976 Jaime Perez was transferred from the Punta Carretas prison. For six months he had been subjected to incredibly brutal torture. Throughout all this time he wore a dark hood over his head and every now and again was hanged by his hands tied at his back. He spent two months in complete isolation and was allowed to lie down only at night. His fingers became numb.

Comrade Perez was given a second sentence while serving the first. Then he disappeared. There is reason to believe that he is being kept in an army unit directly subordinate to the ground forces command, and this time is being tortured by agents of the 'information service.'

The illegal YCL paper *Liber Arce* (named for a patriot killed in 1968) wrote of Jaime Perez: 'The physical and psychological torture defies imagination. The fascists were determined to break him, but they did not reckon with his willpower and heroism. Hailed before the tribunal, Jaime exposed his torturers, though he knew this would mean more repression. In Jaime we have a sterling example of an irreconcilable attitude to fascism.'

Death has torn many comrades from our ranks. Their memory lives among the people, multiplying the forces fighting the dictatorship. No amount of torture can break the will of Communists or compel them to renounce their convictions. In an appeal the Party declared:

There is no destroying the Communist Party and the Young Communist League . . . For we are an inalienable part of our country. We are deeply rooted in the masses; our strong and healthy roots go to the very core of the monolithic Uruguayan working class. Our strength has been built up by the persistent and patient work of generations of Communists and at the cost of countless sacrifices.

Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad, the ancient saying goes. Today's reactionaries are mad. For they cannot appreciate the sources of our strength. But every Communist knows that despite the vicissitudes of his own life, the months and years in prison, the terrible hours of torture, and despite death itself, his life as a fighter continues in the efforts of others, in the struggle for the victory of the working class and the people, a cause to which he had given his life. And if we keep faith with this cause, prison, torture, death, will not daunt us.

Every Communist who has gone through the ordeals of the struggle, no matter how modest his contribution, will be remembered in history as the necessary yeast of the happy bread of our tomorrow.

With quiet and modest heroism, the Uruguayan Communists continue their 'day-to-day revolutionary work' to hasten the advent of that future.

Ricardo Saxlund



Rust-proof weapon of the working class

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary, CP of Ireland

Problems of international cooperation and solidarity of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress have lately gained in importance. Nor is this accidental. Daily experience shows us how very 'small' the world has become and how greatly the life of nations depends on international development trends. We are living at a time when many human activities have become highly internationalized. All this leaves a deep social and political imprint on the world of the last quarter of the 20th century.

The public activity of mankind is becoming internationalized in the atmosphere of an unabating class contest. This contest, too, has shifted into the international arena as a struggle between the two opposed social systems and as a development of the central contradiction of the epoch, which is the content of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

In this situation, the specific manifestations of the internationalization of economic and political life objectively assume a class complexion and trend. There are, for example, the integrational processes taking place in the capitalist and socialist economies and differing thoroughly in class substance. Naturally, the subjective reflection of this most important trend of today's world in the political practice of capitalism and socialism, of the bourgeoisie and the working class, is likewise different.

The strategy of imperialism, of monopoly capital, banks heavily on the greatest possible pooling of all available military, economic and political resources.

In looking back at recent history, it is worth recalling that Hitler fascism devoted its efforts to unifying world reaction under anti-communist slogans. After the war, the role of unifier of all opponents of peace, social progress and national liberation was assumed by U.S. imperialism. The aggressive NATO bloc, which is directed against socialism and, furthermore, intended to perform police functions in regard to revolutionary democrats in capitalist countries; the European Economic Community, whose ideologues try to make the

peoples of Western Europe renounce national statehood and sovereignty; and innumerable other broad and narrow alliances of countries and monopolies, formed to evolve a common policy against socialism, against the working-class and national-liberation movement, are realities of the international solidarity of the bourgeoisie.

It goes without saying that the forces opposed to the imperialist diktat and championing the national freedom of peoples and the social emancipation of all working men neither can be, nor are, indifferent to the internationalization processes objectively going on in public life or to the monopoly bourgeoisie's attempts to rally together. Analysis of key trends and changes in the world situation has led the international communist movement to the conclusion that the movement must raise its unity 'to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements.'* Having stated this, the 1969 world Communist forum stressed that it was the road to closer unity of the movement in furthering relations between fraternal parties 'on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.'**

The idea of proletarian internationalism and the principles of political strategy determined by it are expressive of the fundamental common interests of all contingents of the international working class and their solidarity in the face of a class enemy seeking unity. The essence and objective basis of proletarian internationalism were defined by Frederick Engels. 'As the condition of the working class of all countries is identical and as their interests are identical and their enemies the same,' he said, 'they must fight in common and pose the fraternal alliance of the workers of all nations against the fraternal alliance of the bourgeoisie of all nations.'

Proletarian internationalism has been inseparable from the revolutionary struggle of the working class throughout its history. We Irish Communists have all the more reason to say so because representatives of our revolutionary working class were active in the First International as one of its national sections. One of the early movements launched by Marx and Engels on the principles of proletarian internationalism was the movement of solidarity with the freedom fighters of Ireland jailed after the defeat of the 1857 rising.

On the other hand, the experience of our people's struggle for freedom contributed to Marxist revolutionary theory. It is well known that Marx and Engels followed the Irish national movement with keen attention. In estimating its gains and setbacks, the founders of

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969. Prague 1969, p. 36.*

***Ibid.*

scientific communism specified and carried forward the concept of proletarian internationalism. In particular, it was analysis of the Irish experience that provided the basis for their highly important conclusion that a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free, and for the more specific conclusion — one that was also most profound theoretically — that the British working class could not win its social emancipation until it broke with the policy of the British ruling classes toward Ireland.

In recalling these facts of the past and stressing the deep-lying historical roots of the concept of proletarian internationalism, we certainly do not wish to create the impression that the entire theory and practice of international working-class solidarity can be mechanically transplanted in their original form from the 19th century into the last quarter of the 20th. Indeed, the world has undergone tremendous changes in this period and many new elements have been added to both the content and the forms of proletarian internationalism.

For almost six decades now, socialism has existed as both a scientific theory and a social reality. Moreover, since the October Revolution, other socialist revolutions have triumphed in Europe, Asia and Latin America. This has created the basis for fostering proletarian internationalism at a time when the working class has risen to a higher plane in its struggle, to the stature of holder of state power, to the position of ruling class. As a result, proletarian internationalism within the socialist community has acquired an unprecedentedly rich content in the form of all-round fraternal cooperation among nations united by a common social system.

Besides, within the framework of international unity of the working class movement is in a position to lean on so mighty a force as the world prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist class movement is in a position to lean on so might a force as the world prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

This is one of the far-reaching changes in the world that adds to the content of the concept of proletarian internationalism and conditions policies flowing from its principles. Another change of great moment in this respect is, undoubtedly, the high degree of maturity reached by the revolutionary working-class movement and the Communist parties. The vast experience of political and ideological struggle gained by them has become a reliable basis for their independent approach to the solution of the most challenging problems posed by both distinctive national situations and changes on the international scene.

Hence the logical solution of the problem of the organizational forms of international cooperation among brother parties. It is no longer necessary, as in the days of the First International and the

Comintern, to institutionalize international working-class unity, nor does our movement need a leading center any more. The Communist parties have devised new forms of mutual cooperation which are particularly effective today and include regular contacts on a bilateral basis as well as regional and international meetings.

However, it should be obvious that changes in the forms of proletarian internationalism, no matter how deep-going, cannot and do not undermine its inherent strength, which cements the unity of the revolutionary working class. After all, it is not a question of form; the point is that each Communist party now has every reason to say as Lenin did on behalf of the Bolshevik Party, speaking of international proletarian solidarity with the young Soviet state: 'We have an international alliance, an alliance which has nowhere been registered, which has never been given formal embodiment, which from the point of view of "constitutional law" means nothing, but which, in the disintegrated capitalist world, actually means everything' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 449).

Marxist-Leninists have never regarded proletarian internationalism as an exclusive, intra-class solidarity ruling out cooperation between the working class and other social and political forces fighting against imperialism, monopoly, colonial and semi-colonial exploitation, for peace, democracy and social progress. Support of the movements for freedom and democracy and vigorous interaction with them are part of the policy of proletarian internationalism.

That democratic unity of action plays a prominent role in today's world politics need hardly be demonstrated. No one will deny the substantial contribution which the revolutionary democratic movement, heterogeneous in class composition but united by a common purpose, has made to the effort to bring about a turn from cold war to détente, and to the struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples for national liberation against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

Or take the Portuguese revolution. To be sure, its gains are primarily a fruit of the courageous struggle of the Portuguese people themselves. But the possibilities of democratizing the country by revolutionary means were considerably increased by widespread international solidarity on which the anti-fascists and democrats of Portugal relied and still rely for support. This is a conclusion drawn and stressed by Portugal's Communists, and I refer to it all the more confidently because it was voiced time and again at the Eighth PCP Congress, an outstanding event I had the privilege of witnessing as a guest.

The Communist Party of Ireland, for its part, considers that it can only press forward its political activity alongside and in close cooperation with the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This line of ours

has deep roots and strong traditions. It is a legacy left to the Irish working class by its noted leader, James Connolly, who fought unrelentingly against social chauvinism, for the international unity of all working people and genuine democrats in resisting imperialism and its policy of aggression. Our Party, being loyal to this line, subscribed with deep satisfaction to the common statement of the Berlin Conference that 'a Europe of peace and progress can only be the result of many-sided efforts, and the outcome of rapprochement, understanding and cooperation among the broadest political and social forces.'

It follows that Communist proletarian internationalism does not preclude but implies effort to extend the social and political range of international movements that are at one on democratic, progressive interests and goals. This must be stressed in no uncertain terms, and I wish to deal with it in greater detail. The fact is that bourgeois ideologues try to detect a 'contradiction' in the Marxist-Leninist position on this point and to play it up in such a way as to create the impression that the Communists' class policy deliberately prevents their international unity with other democratic forces.

There is no denying that the line of proletarian internationalism is entirely a class line in both theory and practice. It is inseparable from the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and revolutionary strategy, both of which are likewise based entirely on class principles. In other words, first in this outlook and this strategy as the highest criterion of principled estimations and judgments are the interests and ideals of the working class, which are explicitly posed against those of the bourgeoisie. But while taking this approach to the realities of capitalist society, Marxism has never since its emergence gone as far as to draw the primitive conclusion that between the poles of labor and capital there is a vacuum or social strata that can be ignored. One has only to turn to the Communist Manifesto to realize how very foreign such a view was to Marx and Engels.

Lenin took a resolute stand against the wretchedly dogmatic interpreters of Marxism who overlooked the social variegation of capitalism and saw only black and white, saying as it were: 'This is the bourgeoisie and that is the proletariat, and there is nothing in between.' It was Lenin who said prophetically that 'the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all independent countries, against international imperialism' (Vol. 30, p. 159). Lenin also formulated a truth assimilated by all Communists, to the effect that those who await a socially pure revolution will not live to see it.

Of course, these theoretical propositions tested by experience have

never led Marxist-Leninists to the conclusion that since the masses in all countries are drawn into the process of socialist transformation of the world, all that the working class has to do is to merge with them, setting aside its own class interests. The conclusion that suggests itself points the other way: the broader the world front against social and national oppression and the more varied the composition of those who belong to it, the greater the responsibility of the working class for uniting this front, making it effective and giving it a future. And this implies that proletarian internationalism is important as the guiding factor for the international unity of the forces fighting for freedom and democracy.

This guiding role of proletarian internationalism is also growing because world problems affecting the destiny of mankind have become very acute. Bourgeois and reformist ideology construe the increased acuteness of these problems as an argument against proletarian internationalism, for universal problems must be approached from universal and not from class positions; or so these ideologues say. This seems logical at first sight. But let us see how this logic squares, if at all, with present-day social realities.

Take, for instance, the issue of war and peace, the central problem facing the world. The whole of mankind has a stake in its solution, for the nuclear threat is a threat to man's very existence. However, one should not mistake the universal *dimensions* of this problem for its anything but universal *origin*, for the anything but universal *character* of its present state. Indeed, few people now accept the preposterous notion that the danger of world war grows out of man's 'aggressive nature.' The real roots of this danger lie in imperialism, in its socio-economic structure and policy, as we know only too well.

We all know from the experience of recent years that every step toward easing tensions and putting world politics on a healthy basis is difficult. This is because every constructive solution reached in this matter and meeting universal interests has to be fought for. The immediate manifestations of this fight may be political or diplomatic but ultimately it has a class basis. And it is in this connection that the mobilizing and guiding role of a working class united by the principles of proletarian internationalism and operating as the foremost factor in the international movement for peace, as the only force capable of properly orientating the common struggle to banish war from the life of mankind, comes to the fore.

The significance of proletarian internationalism is also revealed by other world problems, such as that of the developing countries. The destiny of the 'third world' gives cause for concern to a large body of international opinion. But, again, the problem of the developing countries' future, of speeding their economic progress, cannot be snatched

out of the context of the class struggle inside these countries or in the world. This objectively confronts the democratic, national-liberation forces of the world striving to contribute to the solution of the problem with the following choice: either engaging in isolated actions, alternately backing this or that enticing plan holding the promise of 'financing the development' of new states but at the same time making them more dependent on imperialist powers: or uniting in struggle to remove the principal obstacle to the developing countries' national progress — imperialism and monopoly, with the system of international exploitation, economic inequality and discrimination created by them. In the latter case, proletarian internationalism plays a unique part by providing a class political platform that attracts all consistent fighters against the colonial heritage, imperialist oppression and plunder, for the development of the new states.

It follows that, contrary to the allegations of bourgeois ideologues, proletarian internationalism is not 'blinkers' said to prevent the Communists from seeing the imperative need to join efforts on a worldwide basis to solve the global problems facing mankind. It is the position of the advanced class of our epoch, which realizes its responsibility for the fortunes of the world and insists therefore on adopting an action program suggested by its own interests but at the same time meeting the interests of all contemporary movements for democracy, freedom, peace and progress.

Recent years have seen in the worldwide ideological and political controversy a phenomenon that strikes one as an incomprehensible paradox. Indeed, the mass media controlled by big capital show concern in the most diverse forms for, of all things, the independence of Communist parties and greater effectiveness of their policy. The bourgeois press harps on the assertion that the gains of the Communists of capitalist countries would be far greater but for the shackles of international class commitments. It tries to talk us into renouncing proletarian internationalism for our own good.

Let us look into the background of the bourgeoisie's calculations disguised with solicitude for its class enemies.

Proletarian internationalism has for decades been a source of strength to every party belonging to the world communist movement. Now as in the past, every national contingent of the movement rightly lists the solidarity of brother parties as one of its dependable political resources.

All this is an open secret to our class enemies. And it is only natural that they would like very much to dissociate the Communists from proletarian internationalism. This explains their seemingly paradoxical concern for more efficient Communist policy through greater 'national independence' of the parties in question. What makes the

bourgeois ideologues' arguments futile is the mere fact that they are based entirely on an absurd attempt to prove that the Communists' international and national interests and tasks are 'incompatible.'

Marxist-Leninists have never been blind to the fact that the different national contingents of the revolutionary working class fight in different conditions. This is an axiom which none but ignoramuses can treat as a sensational discovery. The Communists have always guided themselves by Lenin's statement that 'the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions . . . but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . . which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92).

Proletarian internationalism, far from suppressing or denying the independence of each Communist party, insists on it and expects every party to carry on as effective a policy as possible, that is, a creative policy really in keeping with national conditions, for this is the only basis on which a tangible contribution can be made to the common revolutionary struggle. Marxist-Leninists consider it one of their most important duties to safeguard the independence of their parties — not against proletarian internationalism, of course, but against attempts made by the bourgeoisie and reformists with the professed aim of achieving closer unity with broad democratic forces but actually with an eye to imposing on the working-class vanguard ideological and political positions lacking an explicit class character.

To our Party, loyalty to proletarian internationalism means, last but not least, the duty to seek solutions to precisely those problems that face the Irish people and in the interests of precisely the Irish working class. From the point of view of its general, fundamental meaning, we share this position with all brother parties, with all the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, which stressed at the Berlin Conference that 'the struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility toward the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace.'

It would be an unpardonable mistake for us to overlook the perfectly unambiguous attempts of the imperialists and their ideologues to break up the international communist and working-class movement into isolated contingents by arguing that the slogan of proletarian internationalism is 'obsolete' and that the working class of each country should concern itself primarily with national interests.

Needless to say, Communists in Ireland will never accept such an idea. British imperialism has partitioned our country and this prevents the Irish people, that is, the working class and its allies, from joining forces in the struggle for freedom, independence, progress and socialism. To carry out this task, we require internationalist assistance and support. We are not alone, nor have we been left to our own devices. We have powerful allies in the world communist and working-class movement, a fact which gives us strength and courage and makes us confident of the victory to come.

World politics today are more intricate than ever. In this situation, every class and every party strives to determine the guidelines of its strategy and adopt a position most likely to safeguard its interests. The working class has its strategic guidelines — they are provided by Marxism-Leninism. It also has tried and tested principles that play a key role when it specifies its political attitude. They include the principles of proletarian internationalism, the rust-proof class weapon of all working men.

Interests and the way of life under socialism

Mieczyslaw Michalik
Polish philosopher

The new way of life that is becoming established in socialist countries is ultimately conditioned by the standard of living, the level attained by the productive forces and the nature of production relations. Since these manifest themselves primarily as interests (meaning the requirements of diverse classes and social groups and their individual members, which are conditioned by the economic relations prevailing in the society concerned), it should be clear that the evolution of the socialist way of life depends in substantial measure on how far the economic interests of classes and major social groups are harmonized.

Interests are a decisive component of the mechanism of achieving harmony between objective changes in the productive forces and production relations, on the one hand, and the conscious activity of classes and social groups and the behavior of individuals, on the

Continuing the discussion of theoretical and ideological aspects of the socialist way of life. See *WMR*, June and November, 1976.

other. They impinge directly on the basic characteristics of the way of life in the social and political sphere, economic and moral incentives to labor, ways and means of meeting material and cultural requirements and the order in which this is done. Hence ascertaining the system of interests under socialism in general and at the stage of building developed socialism in particular, as well as the most favorable relationship between them from the point of view of the tasks facing socialist society, is not merely a theoretical problem. It is also the starting point for devising methods of influencing the evolution of the way of life. This article looks into some of the problems.

Prerequisites of unity

Socialism is the first system in the history of society to provide the objective prerequisites of achieving and building up the unity of the fundamental interests of the working people and of nations and ethnic groups. What are these prerequisites?

Socialism removes the economic basis of irreconcilable, antagonistic contradictions between the interests of classes, social groups and individuals — private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man — and eliminates the exploiting classes themselves. Public ownership of the basic means of production, which socialism establishes, is the material basis for radical changes in social, political and cultural relations, changes which in their totality ensure coincidence of the fundamental interests of all classes and groups of society as a whole and its every member. Let us list the most important of them.

First of all, socialism abolishes inherently capitalist antagonisms in the sphere of labor: the contradiction between necessary and surplus labor, since under socialism both are used for the good of the working people; the contradiction between live and materialized labor, since under socialism the latter is not a means of exploitation but a means of facilitating labor and of raising its productivity; the contradiction between labor and consumption, since under socialism labor is the measure of consumption and the criterion of the individual's social standing.

Secondly, under socialism there has developed a system of classes and social groups that base their labor on public ownership. This is why relations between them are relations of friendship and cooperation free from inequality in regard to the means of production and the wealth created by society. It is particularly important that, due to the domination of public property, there is no internal limit to the growth of production under socialism as distinct from capitalism. Therefore, it is a law of socialism to increasingly use the growing production forces for improving everyone's standard of living and enable every

individual to develop harmoniously irrespective of his social class standing.

Thirdly, the political institutions of socialist society, first of all the ruling Marxist-Leninist party and the state, reflect and take account of the interests of the whole people. For the first time ever, an internal unity has developed between the operation of the objective laws of social development, the policy of the party and state and the fundamental interests of the people, between public wealth and personal well-being.

The coincidence and unity of key economic interests are an essential reason for people's active participation in labor processes and the life of society, and are of decisive importance for the pace of social progress. The experience of our country is a case in point. The Polish people are well aware that the social and economic development of their country benefits them. They have therefore accepted the social and economic program formulated by the Polish United Workers' Party as an action program meeting the interests of every class and every group of society, and are vigorously putting it into practice. The slogan 'May Poland's strength grow and may her people live in prosperity,' now current in our country, is not only expressive of the mutual correspondence of the development of society and that of its individual members but indicates that everyone realizes the inseparable connection between his destiny, the standard of quality of his life, and the destiny, requirements and progress of socialist society.

Why contradictions exist

The absence of antagonisms, and unity on the decisive issues do not rule out the existence under socialism of contradictory phenomena and trends leading to differences or even clashes of interests. Antagonisms and contradictions are not one and the same thing, as we know. 'The former will disappear but the latter will persist under socialism,' Lenin pointed out. Otherwise, if all social problems and contradictions had been settled, it would probably no longer be necessary to maintain an intricate system of social management, to evolve and implement economic and other policies; in fact, life would stand still. But social development laws dictate something different. Life, Lenin wrote, 'proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deep in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 403).

What, then, is the source of contradictory interests in a society free from social antagonisms? Until recently, some authors from socialist countries put subjective causes first in answering this question. They referred to infringements of the principles and standards of socialist

society, the tendency of some individuals to shun work and live at other people's expense, mistakes and shortcomings in leadership. Indeed, experience shows that owing to ill-advised or careless activity, arbitrary decisions and subjectivism, there may arise diverging interests and even contradictions that are not due to objective causes. For instance, at times a factory manager, giving the public interest as the reason, tries to assign the staff overtime work, although it is not really necessary, and to make up in this way for his miscalculations and inefficiency. Thereby he violates the workers' legitimate rights, which means that this practice ultimately runs counter, not only to the interests of the staff, but to those of society.

When a contradiction is due to subjective causes, the reason may be something more than the mistakes or political immaturity of individuals. People often encounter difficulties because they have to apply the necessarily general criteria of public interest to specific instances and to ascertain with their aid the relationship between the interests of a given individual and the collective and society concerned. It is obvious that in a complicated situation, he who discerns and appreciates the highest interests of society and achieves with due regard to them, whether he is a leader or not, unity of the interests of individuals, the collective and society, can make the right decisions and comport himself correctly. Such personal qualities do not develop of themselves. Nor can they be imparted through ideological education only. They form as one gains more experience in various spheres of life, including professional and public, specifically political, activity. The task is to give the people a still greater share in the management of public affairs, particularly production, at all levels, for this helps them fully to realize their personal responsibility to their collectives and to society for their work and the decisions they make.

For all the importance of the issue of conflicting interests due to subjective causes, it would be wrong to deny that the very reality of socialist society gives rise to contradictions which do not depend on people's will but whose analysis largely explains this reality and helps to alter it. This idea has already been stressed in the *WMR* discussion on contradictions under socialism.* Participants in the discussion justly noted that objective contradictions are due to both the survival of vestiges of the old world in socialist society and the fact that as the dynamic development of socialism goes on, new problems and contradictions crop up and are solved.

The objective source of a notable part of contradictory interests is differences in the character, content and conditions of labor, social and class distinctions, and application of the principle of distribution according to work at a time when abundance has not yet been

*See *WMR*, March and November 1972, February and March 1973.

achieved. In other words, it lies in the same spheres that also form the basis for the unity of fundamental social interests.

The socialist principle of distribution and interests

Distribution under socialism is determined by the entire system of its economic and social laws and, in the final analysis, by its highest goal — giving everyone access to material and cultural benefits on an increasingly equal footing and creating conditions for the all-round development of the individual. 'Distribution, in so far as it is governed by purely economic considerations,' Engels wrote, 'will be regulated by the interests of production, and production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality' (Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 276-277). This means that relations of distribution in socialist society are a powerful lever of harmonizing personal and public interests, of bringing about closer unity of the social and economic goals of socialism.

The principle operating at the socialist stage is 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work,' which corresponds to the economic level achieved by socialism. The experience of our country and other socialist countries shows that this principle is in keeping with the essence of socialism and is both a means of raising the standard of living and a most important incentive to work. Lenin said that distribution is 'a method, an instrument, and a means of increasing output' (Vol. 32, p. 448), and time has proved him right.

However, distribution according to work performs both an economic and social function, which manifests itself particularly at the stage of building developed socialism and at that of building communism. The point at issue is how distribution according to work influences the regulation of the interests of classes, groups and individuals and how it brings complete social equality nearer.

Life has shown that distribution according to work, while spurring higher productivity and inducing everyone to raise his professional and cultural standards and unfold his abilities, does not and cannot provide complete equality in meeting the requirements of each. This is due to differences in people's abilities, the quality of their work, the size of their families, and so on. Taking this into consideration, socialist society promotes distribution through public consumption funds in addition to remuneration according to work.

For a long time, economists of socialist countries regarded remuneration as almost the only form of distribution under socialism and in some cases treated payments and other benefits coming from public funds as a variety of wage or salary. The attitude to this form of distribution changes as the foundations of socialism were consoli-

dated and its economic potential grew. To be sure, there are problems that have yet to be dealt with, such as that of the social and economic functions of public funds or of the best ways of using their potentialities. Besides, we know that their role varies from one socialist country to another due to traditions and other national distinctions. However, Marxist-Leninist economists of our countries are at one on the main point. They recognize that public funds are a highly important factor in harmonizing interests, achieving greater social equality and making socialist society more homogeneous and closely knit, for they put a number of social benefits within everyone's reach and bring definite categories bigger incomes.

It is out of public funds that society meets important needs of the population, such as care of the rising generation, education, health care, maintenance of disabled and aged persons or the satisfaction of cultural requirements. Thereby this form of distribution fosters genuinely humane relations in our society and helps to create an atmosphere of collectivism and of social security and optimism.

The stage of building developed socialism and perfecting it is characterized by the continuous growth of public consumption funds. However, wages and salaries play a key role in raising the standard of living. It is very important, therefore, to couple differentiation in pay accordingly to quality of work so as to stimulate production with steadily increasing minimum pay so as to reduce the number of low-income families and lessen the differences in pay between high and low-paid categories. This is all the more essential as the scientific and technological revolution tends in certain sectors to widen the gap.

At this stage of economic development, the socialist community combines the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism and is going over from extensive to intensive managing methods. However, this process varies in pace from one sphere of social production to another, which gives rise, not only to the economic problems mentioned earlier, but to social and socio-psychological problems as well.

The main problem of this nature is to cultivate a communist attitude to labor, to transform labor from a duty into the paramount requirements of every person, which is the key objective of socialist society and a decisive condition for its progress. However, there is no solving the problem without taking further steps to perfect production relations (raising the socialization level of production, perfecting property relations, fostering production specialization and concentration) and ending the social dissimilarity of labor, that is, differences in the amount of physical effort, creative content, degree of attractiveness, etc. This is now a source of contradiction in interests between the individual and society, contradictions which are more marked in

terms of social psychology than others.

Our Party and the brother parties of other socialist countries consider it most important to solve the resultant problems. The programs of providing the material and technical basis for developed socialism and for communism worked out by recent party congresses, and the social programs of the countries concerned are closely coordinated. They envisage measures to reduce and eventually eliminate heavy manual work, hasten the gradual removal of essential distinctions between mental and physical work, between town and countryside, considerably reduce distinctions in the social — especially the professional, qualificational and educational — composition of society, in the relationship between working time and leisure and in their content.

We believe the first task is the most pressing one from the point of view of removing contradictions of interests between classes and strata, between the individual and society, as well as of using the scientific and technological revolution and its results more fruitfully. As a matter of fact, many people in our country and elsewhere are still engaged in auxiliary operations requiring much physical exertion. This work is becoming less and less attractive, especially to school-leavers, and is less well paid than work in professions created by the technological revolution and fetters utilization of its achievements. To reduce manual work and then eliminate it altogether, it is indispensable to speed overall mechanization and automation. This would be a big step toward effacing the essential distinctions between mental and physical work and evolving an optimal composition of society in terms of professional skills.

Toward harmony in interests

Although the main source of contradictory interests lies, as has been said, in the basis of socialist society, their removal is a task for both the economic and the social policy of the socialist countries' Communist parties. Unity of economic and social policies underlies the strategy evolved by the Sixth and Seventh PUWP congresses.

By carrying out the comprehensive development plan approved by the Sixth Congress, Poland in the 1971-75 period increased its national income by 62 per cent, industrial output 73 and agricultural output 22 per cent. In the same period, real wages went up by an annual average of seven per cent, the total increase amounting to 40 per cent.

Whereas the working people of capitalist countries are in constant fear of losing their jobs and being robbed of the standard of living they have achieved, in our country the right to work has become part of the way of life. In the previous five years, the number of jobs in Poland increased by 1,900,000.

Our country is successfully solving the problem of providing everyone with modern housing. Under the previous five-year plan, it built 1,125,000 new flats meeting higher standards and reconstructed about 100,000 houses. Enormous attention is devoted to mother and child care and measures to improve the medical services.

The decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, too, are aimed at assuring the people's well-being. Under the program approved by it, the 1976-80 period will see a 40 to 42 per cent increase in the national income and a 16 to 18 per cent rise in real wages and salaries.

While attaching tremendous importance to steps to raise the standard of life, the PUWP does not regard this as an end in itself in social progress. Speaking to the Seventh Party Congress, Edward Gierek said that 'it would be a one-sided policy to link people's welfare to only material well being. People need many other things to be able to call their life full! At the higher development stage of society, increasing importance attaches to social and cultural conditions, realization of one's responsibility for the progress of one's country, a sense of social justice and security, social relations and active participation in the people's life, access to knowledge and culture, health care and proper conditions for rest and recreation, protection of the environment and many other factors.'

It follows that in harmonizing interests, we must take account of their manifestation in every sphere of life — the economy, social relations, politics, culture, ideology — determine the function of each of these spheres in the socialist way of life and influence their inter-connection.

Worthy of special mention is the role of perfecting the political system of socialism in the further harmonization of interests. This is done, first of all, by carrying forward socialist democracy. Having abolished exploiting classes, socialist society knows no class struggle or irreconcilable social contradictions. This is not to say, however, that there is no need constantly to coordinate by political means the most diverse interests, which arise at all levels and in every part of the social structure.

An effective system of socialist democracy has been evolved in the course of socialist construction, which makes it possible to take account of the requirements, aspirations and interests of people and their associations and bring them into line with the interests of society. A major component of this system is the representative government bodies constituted by the people themselves and expressing their will.

Along with them, a tremendous role is played, especially in coordinating common interests with those of collectives and individuals, by the democratic bodies through which the working people directly

express their will at state level (as during nationwide discussions of important draft laws) and their interests in economic management (worker self-management conferences in Polish enterprises), culture, sports and other fields. This applies, first of all, to territorial and production collectives with which the greater part of people's interests is linked and in which citizens carry on their public activity. The Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries make a special effort to promote factory democracy in line with the growing role of the working class in the management of the economy and public affairs generally and to the increasing scale of social production.

The brother parties study and coordinate the people's vital interests and requirements and make decisions on ways and means of meeting them in accordance with the objectives of social development. Ideological education is an important instrument used by them in harmoniously combining the interests of individuals, collectives and society.

The moral and cultural spheres of socialist society show the same coincidence of fundamental interests as its economic and political spheres. The overwhelming majority of people in our country accept the moral values and principals expressing the essence of the socialist system, the nature of society and its development. Nevertheless, we are far from having solved all problems in this sphere. Many social problems and contradictions are due to the ideological immaturity of certain members of society, to their lagging social consciousness and inadequate cultural development. Hence the importance of impressing socialist standards and values more deeply on people's minds, of establishing them in people's behavior and persuading everyone to serve the public interest, gear his activity to it and take an active part in the country's economic and political life.

Reality shows that the unity of interests under socialism is growing year after year. Our countries' achievements in closing the gap between the interests of individuals, the collective and society and in harmonizing them are one of the strong advantages of the socialist system and way of life over the capitalist system. All members of society, responding to its care of them, increasingly link their aspirations and plans with serving the good of their country and people. Achieving complete harmony in interests will take time, of course, and is a matter of the communist future. To visualize the dimensions and nature of this task, we must take account of the totality of the social relations of contemporary socialist society, know its history and see the prospects of its progress. At their congresses the socialist countries' ruling Communist parties have evolved a strategy providing for further progress in this direction.



The outlook for the Swedish working- class movement

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Last year's general election in Sweden created a new political situation. First of all, the election was won by a coalition of three bourgeois parties. Except for the war years, this is the first time since 1930 that a rightist government has come to power. The latest developments constitute a serious swing to the right in Swedish politics.

Forming a government of three parties was not the only political solution for the winners. The Center Party and People's Party rejected the possibility of setting up a government of 'the parties of the middle.' This solution was advocated, in particular, by the Centrist Youth League. There was also a chance of the Center Party forming a minority government. Nevertheless, the parties of the middle and petty bourgeoisie preferred to form a government in alliance with the Moderate Coalition Party.

This is the name which the one-time Conservative Party has borne since the late 60s. Having renamed itself 'moderate,' it has persisted, however, in playing its traditional role as the chief defender of the interests of big capital and a pillar of reaction. This party has for years been financed by big capital. One of the go-betweens in these financial transactions now holds the office of Defense Minister. The rightists have also obtained key posts in the economy, trade and education. Thus, due to the alignment of economic forces in Sweden and to its links with monopoly, the Moderate Coalition Party has secured the leading role in a bourgeois coalition. The fact that the government is headed by the Chairman of the Center Party, Thorbjörn Fälldin, does not prevent the 'moderate' Minister of the Economy, Gösta Bohman, from framing the policies of the new government.

This is not to say that contradictions between various sections of the Swedish bourgeoisie are disappearing. But it means that we must not underrate their effort and ability to maneuver in order to hold and strengthen the bourgeois front.

The new government's policy-making will be dominated by the interests of big capital, which is nothing new. There will be no

qualitative changes in this respect compared with the position of the Social Democratic government, which did its best to manage Swedish capitalism as efficiently as possible. The difference is that the bourgeois government reckons less with the working people's sentiments and opinions and will give less attention to their interests. The new element is the government's *open* defense of capitalist interests.

The three bourgeois parties had no common program prior to the election. However, the government's political declaration, though vague, assailed struggle of wage labor for a higher standard of living. At its meeting on October 9-10, 1976, the LPC Executive described the new government as an active opponent of the growing influence of organized labor in the enterprises and in society at large. It stressed that concentration of production and capital would be speeded under the bourgeois government and that Swedish and multinational monopolies would grow stronger still.

The change of government was a result of a relatively unimportant shift in the electorate's preferences. The victorious bourgeois parties polled two per cent more votes than earlier, the Social Democrats lost 0.8 per cent and the LPC 0.5 per cent. Besides, these parties won 0.4 per cent of the votes from the Christian Democratic Union. To be sure, the outcome of the election is not merely a matter of redistribution of fractional percentages of the vote. Irrespective of what the shifts mean to the working-class movement or the bourgeoisie, the results should be assessed in more general terms.

The Swedish capitalists' opportunities for expansion are running out. The economic and social advance which benefited reformism throughout the 44 years of Social Democratic rule is coming to a halt. Owing to capitalist contradictions, one enterprise after another closes down or is threatened with a shut-down in the steel, shipbuilding, textile, garment, glass and rubber industries.

New urban development is often suspended, as in Lulea, which found itself on the brink of economic catastrophe. With the beginning of the crisis on the steel industry, financial magnates began to campaign against the construction by the government of the Stalverk 80 and Norrbotten plants. Initial concessions to them were made by the Social Democratic government. And now, under the new government, it turns out that these plants will employ only 4,000 workers instead of the 9,000 planned originally. In other words, 'Swedish socialism' looks more and more like ordinary capitalism stricken with crisis.

The election showed that the Social Democrats were made responsible for a policy which over the past decades had led to the ruin of hundreds of thousands of small employers in agriculture and other economic fields. Sweden was not spared imbalances in regional de-

velopment, which have become a law of capitalist society. The Social Democrats' policy brought about massive migration of labor to where the interests of big business required it. Most migrants moved from Norrland and Bergslagen, areas rich in forests and raw materials, to the 'concrete ghettos' of big cities.

Election results were also influenced by the Social Democrats' failure to realize the hope of the electorate for less red tape and greater popular participation in the improvement and protection of the environment. The Centrists skillfully exploited the people's disappointment. Besides, the bourgeois parties achieved victory by using populist methods and lavishing unrealistic promises.

The October meeting of the LPC Executive pointed out that the Social Democrats' setback was due mainly to their policy based on the concept of class collaboration. Today the negative aspects of this anything but new concept are making themselves felt.

In Sweden as elsewhere, the capitalist system has created problems that can only be solved through radical measures leading to a socialist future. Yet, instead of proceeding along these lines, the Social Democratic government constantly increased aid to financial magnates and promoted cooperation with the bourgeois parties.

During the election campaign, this found expression in the Social Democratic Labor Party's posing as a 'party of the middle.' The government did little to beat off the bourgeoisie's violent attacks on the proposals advanced by the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions. These proposals included socialization of the land to put an end to speculation in building lots, and the setting up of a so-called non-distributable working people's fund by deducting a definite percentage of corporate profits. The Social Democrats' position during the election campaign by no means encouraged the workers' aspiration to a radical solution of the problem through compensated nationalization of capitalist property proposed by the trade unions.

The Confederation newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, summing up the election campaign, condemned that position. 'For the Social Democrats,' it wrote, 'it would be disastrous to agree with the bourgeois parties' allegation that the issue of the working people's fund and that of socializing building lots ... had lost them the election. The Social Democrats should identify themselves more explicitly with the workers' demands, insist on the right of labor to influence affairs at the enterprise, expose the concentration of power in capitalist hands and show how property can be democratized.'¹

On the issue of developing the nation's atomic industry, the SDLP carried on the policy followed by the Moderate Coalition Party although more and more facts showed that the problem of safety in the

atomic industry and in the disposal of nuclear wastes had not been solved reliably enough.

As a result, many voters among the workers gained the impression that the SDLP had no particular advantages over the bourgeois parties. Social Democratic policy had objectively played into the hands of the bourgeois opposition, which saw the main purpose of the election in a change of government. In the end, the opposition's appeal to break the Social Democrats' 'one-party rule' brought response from even some of those voters who earlier had backed the Social Democrats and from many of those who voted for the first time.

The meeting of the LCP Executive pointed out that the decline in the Social Democrats' influence would continue for so long as they favored class collaboration.

A further matter claiming attention is the reasons for our loss of votes in the latest election. We consider that on the whole our election manifesto posed the various problems correctly. But the Party Executive at its meeting noted self-critically that work in the enterprises had been inadequate. It must be carried on much more vigorously. The Communists have yet to win sufficiently strong positions in the enterprises, which is indispensable if the Party is to increase its political leverage and become a mass party. The year 1977, when our Party will mark its 60th anniversary, has been declared a year of struggle for influence in the factories.

The fiercest attacks of the bourgeoisie during the election were understandably directed against the working-class movement, primarily against the Communists. The bourgeoisie hoped that it would succeed in pushing the LCP below the four per cent barrier and thus deprive it of all its seats in parliament.² The content of the anti-communist campaign was the same as usual. We were made out to be a party whose national and democratic character was 'open to question.' At first this slander was echoed by the Social Democrats. But when they saw how very strong winds were blowing from the right they stopped it. During the election campaign they desisted almost completely from their usual anti-communist attacks.

Bourgeois propaganda also make much of the existence in the LPC of a minority disagreeing with the Party leadership on certain issues. There were interviews with some members of this minority, which had joined in communal elections on its own. Some inner-Party documents were made available to the mass media. There were personal attacks on members of the Party Executive. All this provided the class enemy with an opportunity to claim that the LPC was split, and limited the Party's possibilities of rallying voters in support of the correct propositions of its electoral manifesto. Confidence in us

as advocates of a socialist alternative basing their program on independent analysis of Swedish realities, the alignment of class forces and the given state of the class struggle was shaken.

It has been said that central to the bourgeoisie's election strategy was its bid for a change of government, which also found reflection in radio and TV broadcasts. Interviews and debates were so calculated as to impair the LPC's electoral chances.³ The fact that we Communists were able, nevertheless, to retain 17 of the earlier 19 seats in the Riksdag was a big victory for our activists and sympathizers, who had done a good job. We are just as grateful to the Communist Youth organization and to hundreds of young women active in the women's movement for their contribution.

The change of government which has come about after all both increases and reduces the opportunities of mobilizing the workers and other working people in the struggle for a socialist policy. People realize more than ever that 'Swedish socialism,' publicized by the Social Democrats, was not based on real power but on political illusions. The Social Democrats' departure from the government also laid bare the nature of the Swedish state machinery, which turned out to have been a bourgeois, capitalist machinery all the time. This makes it easier to expose the ideology of class collaboration and pursue a more radical policy.

On the other hand, we are witnessing a direct coincidence of the interests of big capital, the state apparatus, the bourgeois government and the mass media controlled in the main by the bourgeoisie. This means that the rightists, who want to step up their pressure on the working-class movement, above all on its socialist-minded contingents, now have new important facilities at their disposal.

Victory in the election whetted the appetite of the bourgeoisie. Radio and television today allot much time for various reactionary broadcasts. The demand for Sweden's entry into the Common Market approved by a meeting of the Young Conservatives organization on November 27-28, 1976; was given extraordinary publicity. The young reactionaries also insisted on restricting aid to the developing countries to actions recommended by the UN, on selling government enterprises to private persons and reducing the economic activity of the state to 'aiding' private capital at the taxpayers' expense to overcome economic difficulties.

And here is another example. At an inter-industry conference on rationalization (Stockholm, November 24, 1976), Pehr Cyllenhammar, head of the Volvo corporation, said that 'universal military' service in industry would be one of the ways of solving a problem that will arise if no one wants to work in industry. The call-up period should be two years and should include regular training.⁴ Cyl-

lenhammar criticized the practice of creating new jobs in the public sector and other jobs provided artificially which he believes society does not need. 'Let us leave a gap and create a vacuum to enable industry to grow on its own and thus create the requisite,' he said.⁵

It would be hard to imagine a more outspoken plea for institutionalizing mass unemployment and using forced labor in the name of capitalist profit. The Swedish working-class movement will undoubtedly reject this spurious rationalization, which is reminiscent of fascist-like plans of militarizing the work force.

The Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF) made what *Aftonbladet* described as an 'extremely reactionary' move in advance of the renegotiation of collective agreements due in 1977. It no longer confines itself to demanding a wage freeze, but calls for a simultaneous cut in social spending. Instead of a general reduction of the working day to seven hours, which the trade unions, and especially the women's movement, have been demanding for a long time, the SAF advocates the gradual abolition of certain days off.

On December 4, 1976, the Stockholm branch of the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions organized a protest demonstration involving 15,000 people against the SAF's intentions. With the exception of May Day demonstrations, it was the first mass action by working people in 45 years to be sponsored by the Stockholm trade unions. On the eve of the protest action, the Stockholm organization of the LPC urged the workers to fight for unity against the policy of financial magnates and right-wing rule.

Sweden is entering a period of intensifying class struggle. Our working-class movement may be said to have reached a cross-roads. The magnates of finance and their spokesmen in the bourgeois government cannot be fought effectively by falling back on the Social Democratic practice of class collaboration, for it is the policy of class collaboration that has created the present situation.

What are the conclusions drawn by our Party Executive in this connection? First of all, we must find ways and means of mobilizing the whole working-class movement and preparing it for an offensive against the power of financial magnates. In our conditions, democratic reforms are of strategic importance as a means of ending monopoly domination.

A new Law on Participation, granting wage and salary earners the right to influence the affairs of enterprises, became effective in January 1977. Olof Palme, the former Prime Minister, has described this law as the greatest reform since universal suffrage was introduced in Sweden. Yet the law does not grant the working people the comprehensive democratic rights at the enterprise demanded by the trade unions. It extends the unions' right to participate in negotiations and

obtain information, as well as a limited right of veto on matters relating to contracts and a limited advantage in interpreting some agreements. On the other hand, it commits them more heavily to maintain 'social peace' during the operation of collective agreements.

We Communists consider that the trade unions, while campaigning against the conclusion of agreements that virtually facilitate class collaboration, should seek new rights helping to extend the class struggle. Among other things, we demand: (a) the right of veto in decision-making on the shut-down, transfer or sale of enterprises; (b) a real right to strike and a ban on the practice of blacklisting and sacking strikers; (c) an end to fines for striking; (d) an end to the ban on trade union solidarity action and on the collection of relief funds for strikers; (e) the right to hold trade union meetings during working hours; (f) the right to political activity in the enterprises.

The alternative we advance is a radical working-class government paving the way for socialist changes. This goal can be achieved provided the whole working-class movement starts a dialogue on what socialism in Sweden will be like.

The need of such a dialogue is indirectly acknowledged by *Aftonbladet*, the trade union paper. 'A constructive program of one's own,' it wrote after criticizing the Social Democrats' passivity as an opposition, 'is no less important than activity as an opposition party. First and foremost, the Social Democrats must specify what they mean by democratic socialism, a planned economy and economic democracy. Perhaps they will do so . . .'⁶

Ever since the 40s, the LCP has been carrying on important work by opening the people's eyes to the tremendous concentration of capital and power in Sweden. Today it is evident how much more mature the trade union movement has become in recent years. This means that there are considerably better opportunities now to achieve broad-based unity in the country against the magnates of finance and the concentration of power in private hands, a power whose abolition depends on whether a popular majority will be able to bring material production under its control.

We must unfold our ideological activity in the working-class movement in a new way. One of the questions to spell out concerns the function of the working people's non-distributable funds, a project being discussed by the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions. This function must not be associated with the market economy. The funds can be useful provided they serve to increase the workers' influence in their fight against capitalism. Their function should be associated with the struggle for a planned economy, against the bourgeois state. The struggle for workers' power in the enterprises should be combined with the more general struggle for socialism. The Party must

constantly devise new methods of accomplishing its fundamental task, which is to link the working-class movement with socialism. This largely implies more effective work among the younger generation.

But above all else, the Party must be much more energetic than in the past, must promote the struggle of the masses for their immediate interests and join more actively in it. At the threshold of the renegotiation of collective agreements due in 1977, we call on all trade unionists to participate jointly and from the first in the formulation of demands for higher pay. The various groups of working people must campaign together for higher pay if they went to get a bigger share of the fruits of their labor. They must seek higher wages and salaries at the expense of corporate profits and demand safe working conditions fit for man.

The struggle for a price freeze on necessities, the abolition of the indirect food tax and an end to rent increases should become a mass movement. The importance of this action should be publicized in the factories, residential neighborhoods, the trade unions, among tenants and in the various popular movements.

To achieve equality for women, we demand equal pay for equal work and higher remuneration for traditionally female jobs. We insist on reducing the working day for all and not merely for those who have children under age. We demand proper institutions for all children, for this is a prerequisite of equal rights for women and of improving the overall social climate. These measures should become part of the general struggle to end unemployment among women.

The Communists consider it necessary immediately to stop atomic energy production in Sweden and to hold a referendum on this issue. Energy problems should be examined in the light of a new industrial policy aimed at expanding the manufacturing industries, creating more jobs, reducing energy consumption and calling a halt to reckless exploitation of the country's natural resources.

In mid-December, 1976, the Riksdag group of the LPC visited plants threatened with closing down, and discussed with workers the need of a government industrial program. The primary demands were listed as follows: curb the influence of big private capital, introduce indicative planning and investment control and change economic structures on a plan basis.

The LPC supports the Communist Youth campaign to collect signatures to the appeal 'Equal pay for equal work. Grant rights to student apprentices.'

International solidarity and the struggle against the exploitation of the peoples of developing countries by Swedish big capital are vastly important today. We cannot allow aid to the liberation movements of

South Africa and other regions to be cut off. The LPC supports the anti-fascist fighters of Chile, the democratic opposition in Spain and the effort for economic rehabilitation in Indochina, and declares for a fair settlement of the Palestine question.

On December 18-19, 1976, the LPC Executive resolved to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Party in May 1977, under the slogan of international solidarity. Brother parties will be invited to the festivities that are to take place in Stockholm and other cities.

1. *Aftonbladet*, September 22, 1976.

2. Under Swedish law, a party which has won less than four per cent of the votes is barred from parliament. — *Ed*.

3. It should be borne in mind that in a number of cases the Social Democratic government stayed in power due to support from the Communist MPs. — *Ed*.

4. *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 25, 1976, p. 22.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Aftonbladet*, November 14, 1976, p. 2.

Effective contribution to European security

George Macovescu

Member CC CP Rumania,
Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Bucharest Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee (PCC), November 25-26, 1976, was an outstanding international event demonstrating a consistent desire to contribute effectively to détente, European and world peace and cooperation. In a constructive atmosphere of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation, party and state leaders of the member-countries discussed issues of prime importance not only to these countries but to all the peoples of Europe. The ways and means were examined of imparting fresh impetus to the efforts to establish security and a lasting peace, develop genuine cooperation on the European continent.

The Conference showed clearly the great responsibility of the socialist countries for the destinies of détente, peace and security the world over and for the future of mankind. This expressed the main trait of the socialist countries' foreign policy. Sixty years ago Lenin held that the concepts of socialism and peace were closely connected. The policy of peace and cooperation founded on respect for national independence and sovereignty, is truly inherent in socialism. Peoples building socialism need peace to be able to turn their attention wholly

to building the new system, all peoples need peace for their economic and social progress.

The PCC Conference showed the determination of the Warsaw Treaty countries to see the peoples' hopes for peace and progress fulfilled. Ten years ago, also in Bucharest, these same countries raised the question of convening a European security conference and issued an appeal to all the countries of the continent. The result was the Conference of European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki in the summer of 1975. Its success was of historic importance to the political affairs of Europe; it opened broad horizons for the struggle for peace, détente and cooperation on the continent.

The Conference pointed out that as a result of the efforts by the world's progressive forces, profound revolutionary, social and national transformations are taking place in Europe and the world over and that on the international scene there is a sharp turn in the balance of forces in favor of peace and progress.

A distinctive feature of this process is the peoples' determination to put an end to the old imperialist policy of domination and diktat, and to be masters of their future, their national resources, to live as they choose without outside interference. The struggle waged by progressive forces for a new policy of equality and mutual advantage is growing in scope and there is a mounting tendency in some capitalist countries toward a more independent policy. Thanks to these changes and energetic actions by the peoples, a new course has appeared in world development toward détente and cooperation and the socialist countries' policy of peace and cooperation has played a large role in present-day world events. The emergent and non-aligned states and those that are following the road of independent socio-economic development have likewise helped to improve the international climate.

This course, however, has just been started and is not yet irreversible in character. There still are reactionary forces hostile to détente capable of endangering peace and security. These forces are prepared to interfere in the affairs of other states, are fanning the arms race, particularly of nuclear weapons, and are intent on reviving cold war tensions. These facts, as never before, make it imperative that the socialist countries, the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces and all the peoples multiply their efforts to create a new international climate of security and cooperation among all nations of the world.

These were the goals of the PCC Conference.

The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation marked the beginning of new relations on the continent guaranteeing security and peace. For this process to continue it

is important that the signatories fulfill all the points, principles and obligations of the Final Act. This is a pressing problem requiring untiring and concerted efforts by all European countries and peoples. This would be in the spirit of the PCC documents.

The Declaration signed by the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Bucharest, 'For the Further Advancement of Détente and for the Consolidation of Security and the Development of Cooperation in Europe,' contains realistic proposals covering many areas essential to a positive development of Europe's political affairs. Commenting on the Declaration during a luncheon in honor of the delegations attending the Conference, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party and President of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu said: 'This Declaration is an important document demonstrating our countries' concern with actively contributing to the common efforts to consolidate European security and cooperation and settle the complex problems facing the continent and mankind today in the interests of peace and international cooperation. This document expresses the determination of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty organization, to continue working energetically and in line with the new initiatives to see that the principles and articles of the Helsinki documents are fulfilled, to create a climate of trust and unobstructed cooperation among the peoples of Europe and the world.'

Security and lasting peace in Europe are closely bound up with effective steps toward military disengagement and disarmament. The scale of the arms race today, however, is cause for serious concern. And it is in Europe that there is an historically unprecedented concentration of armed forces and arsenals of modern weaponry, including the nuclear weapon. The military budgets of the countries participating in the Conference of European Security and Cooperation account for approximately 80 per cent of the world's military expenditures. For this reason the Declaration of the Bucharest meeting says: 'To stop the arms race and carry out disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament, to remove the threat of a new world war are the most acute and urgent tasks of our time. Without this it is impossible to make positive tendencies in the development of international relations truly irreversible, it is impossible to ensure genuine security in the world.'

On the basis of these realities and evaluations the Conference emphasized the need for extending political relaxation through measures to liquidate the military confrontation and strongly urged disarmament. The socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty organization, pledged to work for a steady reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and the continent as a whole and

for this process to affect national armed forces and also troops stationed on foreign territory.

At the same time, the Warsaw Treaty countries focussed particular attention on stopping the nuclear arms race and consolidating nuclear non-proliferation, while ensuring accessibility to all states, discriminating against none, to nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Their determination to help abolish the danger of a nuclear war is seen in the proposal that all countries, signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. This proposal by the Warsaw Treaty countries underlies the foundation of their draft of a multinational treaty.

There are also other disarmament proposals in the Bucharest Declaration: prohibiting and destroying chemical weapons, prohibiting the designing of new types and systems of weapons of mass annihilation, reduced armed forces and conventional arms, dismantling military bases on foreign territory and evacuating armed forces from other countries, establishing peace zones in various regions, and reducing military budgets. The Declaration confirms the readiness of the Warsaw Treaty countries to hold businesslike talks on these problems. The Conference participants also urged holding a special session of the UN General Assembly to discuss disarmament. It is gratifying that recently the UN General Assembly voted to convene a special session in 1978.

The socialist Warsaw Treaty countries reaffirmed their view that the world should not be divided into opposing military blocs. In the Declaration the participants state their readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty organization simultaneously with NATO and, as a first step, to abolish their military organizations. This step, proposed some time ago by the socialist countries, would help normalize international relations.

A gradual reduction in the activities of military blocs would undoubtedly help achieve this key political goal. Equally helpful would be the Conference decision for the member countries to exchange advice and information of a consultative character on security and peace in Europe and the world over; the Declaration appeal to all states not to take action which could enlarge existing or create new, exclusive groups and military-political alliances, and the concrete proposals to simultaneously terminate the validity of those articles of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO providing for admission of new members.

The Declaration likewise states the determination of the participating countries to support any steps in Europe or its regions to establish good-neighborly, friendly relations and cooperation among states as

an effective contribution to security on the continent. The socialist countries have invariably shown initiative by introducing concrete proposals, such as the Soviet Union's proposal to withdraw all naval vessels and nuclear armed submarines from the Mediterranean Sea; Rumania's proposal to turn the Balkans into a zone of cooperation and peace free of nuclear weapons, and proposals by other socialist countries for their geographical regions. Such zones in various parts of Europe and the world would not be detrimental to any country or group of countries, but, on the contrary, would be in the interests of the people's inhabiting a given region, the interests of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

Broad, multilateral economic, scientific and technological cooperation among all countries of the continent are cardinal to establishing security and peace in Europe. The participants in the conference paid particular attention to these problems because they believe, as experience has shown, that growing trade, industrial, scientific and technical ties, stimulating progress and better living conditions, are in the interests of all states. Well aware of this, the socialist countries attending the PCC Conference expressed their determination to promote long-term and large-scale cooperation with all countries concerned. Fulfillment of the Declaration proposals to hold inter-state conferences on an all-European scale on various questions would contribute to this. Such cooperation, based on equality and mutual advantage, is still obstructed today by the many restrictions and the discrimination dating back to the cold war days, by such methods as using economic ties for political pressure. All peoples are interested in seeing these artificial barriers removed. The socialist countries have insisted on this for years and this is confirmed by the Bucharest Declaration.

Today, when efforts are being made to establish a new international economic order which would abolish the remains of the obsolete and unfair relations of exploitation, imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination of nations, of particular importance is the Conference stand, as stressed in the Declaration, that European economic cooperation cannot be isolated from world economic relations. International economic relations, the PCC Conference clearly stated, should be reconstructed on a fair basis, on the principles of equality and of all states, large and small, socialist and capitalist, developed and developing. The participants expressed their solidarity and support for the purposeful program on international cooperation proposed by the developing and non-aligned countries.

The countries attending the PCC Conference also discussed expanding cooperation in culture, science, education, information and contacts among people as a means of improving the political climate

in Europe. They approved of effectively using the opportunities agreed on in the Final Act of the European Conference, for a greater exchange of cultural values, for this would benefit every nation individually and European and world civilization as a whole. For Europe the participants suggested festivals, competitions, exhibitions and other cultural undertakings. This would undoubtedly improve mutual understanding, broaden contacts among the populations of European countries making the treasures of world civilization more accessible. Proceeding on the principles of socialist humanism they stressed the necessity of ensuring all people on the continent appropriate working and living conditions, abolishing unemployment, bring the achievements of science, technology and culture within the reach of all, educating the youth in the spirit of progress, peace and cooperation among nations, using the media to give the public an undistorted picture of international events and to bring peoples closer together.

There is every reason to say that the Declaration and other PCC documents open the way to new joint moves toward security and peace on the European continent. The realities and complexities of the international situation require that all the socialist, all European countries increase their efforts for security and détente. Concrete measures must be taken to carry out all that had been agreed on in the Final Act. Preparations must be made for the 1977 Belgrade meeting of representatives of countries that attended the European Conference, using the experience of inter-state cooperation, gained in fulfilling the Final Act provisions. This meeting should be a strong stimulus to consolidating security and developing cooperation in Europe by adopting a program of action to attain these goals. The facts show that to do this, to consolidate European security, besides government and diplomatic activity it is important to mobilize broad sections of the public holding differing political, philosophical and religious views, to step up the peoples' struggle, the struggle of the broad masses who play the decisive role in determining the direction of historical development. Peace, freedom and independent national assertion objectively unite all peoples and require common action by all conscientious forces upon whom depends the fulfillment of practical tasks. For this reason the Warsaw Treaty countries attending the Conference state in the Declaration that they are prepared to cooperate with all progressive forces and democratic movements, with all peace forces for a lasting European and world peace.

A key prerequisite of peace and progress, the Conference noted, is greater solidarity of the socialist countries. It is, therefore, notable that the declaration speaks of the determination of each of the participating states to strengthen all-round equal cooperation and friendship with socialist countries that are not members of the Warsaw

Treaty organization. The Conference Communiqué points out, nevertheless, that '... to further improve the mechanism of political cooperation within the framework of the Treaty, it has been decided to establish a Committee of Foreign Ministers and a Joint Secretariat as organs of the Political Consultative Committee.'

The Bucharest Conference and its documents show that meetings and discussions, held in a spirit of mutual understanding and comradely cooperation, receptiveness and mutual respect, are fruitful, help strengthen solidarity and unity and attain the noble goals of détente and understanding in Europe and the rest of the world. The participating states, says the Declaration, confirmed their determination to 'continually build up cooperation among themselves on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each state, non-interference in internal affairs and comradely mutual aid.'

The people of Rumania applaud the results of the PCC Conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries. In their creative endeavor and selfless efforts to build a well-developed socialist society and fulfill the Program of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Rumania, the Rumanian people, together with the peoples of other socialist countries, with all the forces of the broad anti-imperialist front, are determined to work with equal energy for détente and world peace. When discussing the report by Nicolae Ceausescu on the work of the PCC Conference, the CP Political Executive stated that 'the Rumanian Socialist Republic would strengthen cooperation with the Warsaw Treaty countries, with all socialist countries to attain a lasting security and broad cooperation among all the nations of our continent.'

National and international factors in our struggle

Carlos Aboim Ingles
CC Member, Portuguese CP

The years of our revolution have been a period of testing every aspect of the Party's strategy. Experience has proved that the principles which have always guided us Communists in the struggle for the interests of the working class and the people, for democracy and the socialist future of our country, are correct.

One of the principles of our revolutionary strategy is, unquestionably, proletarian internationalism.

We have always realized that our struggle and the future of Portugal are inseparable from events and the balance of forces in the international arena. Moreover, this connection necessarily becomes interaction. On the one hand, favorable changes in world politics, progress in vindicating the norms of peaceful coexistence, and gains of the revolutionary forces help to strengthen the positions of democrats, who are fighting for the social progress of Portugal. On the other hand, the gains of the Portuguese revolution benefit the international situation and contribute, as our foreign friends stress, to the struggle of the workers and peoples of the world for social and national emancipation.

We note with satisfaction that this matter was discussed at length in PCP organizations during preparations for the Eighth Party Congress. It was the subject of numerous discussions which invite two conclusions. First, the discussions revealed that all Communists appreciate and support our Central Committee's appraisal of the situation and the fundamental policy adopted by the Party leadership. In fact, less than a dozen of the more than 300 proposals and remarks made were at variance with the overall tendency. Over half the amendments were included in the document submitted to the congress, and the rest were not taken into account solely because they did not go beyond specifying various propositions advanced in more general terms in the CC report.

Second, the discussions were evidence that the Party is well aware of the imperative need to continue paying close attention to the connection between the Portuguese revolution and contemporary international processes.

Imperialism has lost its former might. But this does not mean it has become powerless and helpless. As well as changing its tactics and using new methods to adapt to the new international situation, which is favorable to the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, imperialism continues to resort to the old harsh methods, disregarding the principles of peaceful coexistence. We must remember that the nature of imperialism has not changed, as our own experience indicates.

All this obliges us to be realistic. In other words, we must firmly resist provocation, no matter where it comes from — whether from the imperialists themselves, from 'leftists,' or from adventurers obsessed by impatience. Secondly, we must realize that today the peoples have both a right to live in peace and shape their destinies and greater opportunities to do so than before. In view of this, we must resolutely counter imperialist interference, pressure and blackmail.

Imperialism has lost its historical initiative. This estimation of a most important aspect of the present-day stage of world development — an estimation made by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties — is confirmed time and again. Life shows that it was based on a correct analysis of the operation of all objective and subjective factors moulding the character of today's world. Nor is the estimation one-sided, for it does not discount the passing gains of imperialism in this or that country or region. However, it stresses the much greater significance of the outstanding victories achieved, or being achieved by peoples in the struggle for freedom. This conclusion has been proved correct once again by the deterioration in recent years of the general crisis of capitalism in the social, economic, political, cultural and moral spheres.

At the same time, the ideals and real achievements of socialism strengthen the will of a growing mass of people on the globe and inspire their labor and struggle. Our eventful epoch, which abounds in forms of public activity, is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is confirmed by the Portuguese revolution, which attracts the attention of friend and foe alike. Its significance and experience are worthy of deeper study by revolutionaries fighting for the social progress of their peoples. We Portuguese revolutionaries, for our part, consider it our duty to analyze this experience.

Indeed, our revolution, which has done away with state monopoly capitalism in Portugal and opened the road to socialism, is the first revolution in decades to have been accomplished in the European area of developed capitalism. While the situation in our country is unique, we are witnessing a new experience from which lessons of universal value can be drawn.

The Portuguese revolution shows that international détente and peaceful coexistence neither rule out the class struggle, nor hamper social change. The change in international relations in favor of peace has nothing to do with establishing what is known as a 'strategic balance of spheres of influence,' that is, in effect, with discontinuing the struggle for social progress. Nor has it anything in common with reorienting this struggle according to pretentious formulas or regional or 'geopolitical' homogeneity which ignore the uneven character of development of the capitalist countries, deny inevitable differences in the forms and pace of the revolutionary process and, as a result, slow down and cause stagnation in each particular national movement and in all of them taken together.

The Portuguese revolution is further evidence that the general laws of revolutionary development exist and operate but that their existence manifests itself in distinctive forms. Lenin stressed that revolutions never repeat one another, that is, can never be copied. There

can be no 'common yardstick' or 'single model' for solving the urgent problems encountered by every revolution. Creative activity by the masses is the real maker of history. Every revolutionary experience is richer than any theoretical postulate, proposition or conclusion. With the 60th anniversary of the Great October drawing near, it is worth recalling that this truth was confirmed in a most convincing manner by the first victorious socialist revolution. The experience of our revolution is a fresh confirmation of it.

The Portuguese revolution has demonstrated beyond all doubt the strong connection between the struggle waged by the working class and its vanguard, on the one hand, and the national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples, on the other. Mutual solidarity merges these forces in one stream of struggle for the social and national emancipation of the workers and the people, giving them the historical initiative.

The Portuguese revolution is an embodiment of the dialectics of the interaction of external and internal factors in the revolutionary process, of the dynamic combination of internationalism and independence characterizing the activity of a revolutionary party. The favorable evolution of the world political situation and active international solidarity with the Portuguese revolution raised serious obstacles to the pressure of imperialism, to its interference in the affairs of our country. Portugal's Communists greatly appreciate this internationalist contribution to our revolution and never forget it. But, of course, the decisive successes of the revolution are due primarily to the initiative and struggle of the Portuguese people themselves. This is convincing proof that internationalist cooperation is no hindrance to independent work and struggle of a revolutionary party.

Many other features of the Portuguese revolution (worker control, the agrarian reform, public information, constitutional consolidation of change, concrete expressions of the common will of social alliances, the role of the armed forces, the relationship between political power and mass action, and so on) must be carefully studied in the light of the progress made, existing shortcomings, unique specifics and general laws.

Our Party has done a good deal to acquaint world opinion as thoroughly as possible with the distinctive character of the Portuguese revolution. There is no doubt, however, that our internationalist duty is to do more on these lines.

The Communists of Portugal firmly adhere to class positions while at the same time upholding the country's national interests. The interests of the working class and other laboring elements coincide with the aspirations of all anti-monopoly forces, with the genuine national interests of the Portuguese people. Now as in the past, the

PCP is the embodiment of the conscience and honor of the nation.

The Party steadfastly resists imperialist meddling in the internal affairs of Portugal and fights against conspiracies and concessions that lead to the preservation and aggravation of a dependence due to the country's historical lag and to a legacy of almost five decades of fascist rule. It maintains national independence and helps to reinforce it, championing a foreign policy that would enable Portugal to maintain the freedom it has won and ensure its people's social and economic progress while at the same time serving the cause of peace, security, cooperation and social progress all over the world. The PCP strives to ensure that Portugal carries on its foreign policy unswervingly, in strict accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, specifically Article 7. This means respecting certain standards and principles expressing the people's will. They include the following:

— Portugal shall guide itself by the principles of national independence, the right of nations to self-determination and independence, the equality of states, peaceful settlement of international conflicts, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and cooperation with other nations in the interest of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

— Portugal shall declare for the elimination of every form of imperialism, colonialism and aggression, for universal, simultaneous and controlled disarmament, the dissolution of military-political blocs and the establishment of a collective security system to bring into being a world order that would guarantee peace and equitable relations between nations.

— Portugal shall recognize the right of peoples to fight against every form of oppression, against imperialism and colonialism. It shall maintain particularly close relations of friendship and cooperation with Portuguese-speaking countries.

This is the gist of the principles and lines of action in regard to Portugal's foreign policy that are contained in the Platform of Measures approved by our Eighth Congress.

The PCP declares without qualification for close relations with the fraternal Communist parties of socialist and capitalist countries. It takes an active part in the world communist movement and fights for its unity on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and respect for the standards of relations between brother parties.

The PCP seeks close relations and active solidarity with the Mozambique Liberation Front, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, Movement for the Liberation of the Sao Tome and Principe Islands and other national revolutionary parties and the

forces of national-liberation movements belonging to the peoples' broad anti-imperialist front.

We are as willing as ever to preserve relations of cooperation and mutual respect with all anti-fascist and democratic forces, with all Socialist and progressive Christians interested in specific actions for peace, democracy, security, cooperation and understanding among nations.

As a Communist, I consider it my duty to use every opportunity, such as, in particular, the publication of this article in a journal which has numerous readers all over the world, for expressing sincere and deep gratitude to our foreign comrades and friends for their solidarity with our revolution, the working class and the people of Portugal, the democratic movement and our Party.

Some of those to whom these words are directed attended our Eighth Congress. Others who were our guests on other occasions had the opportunity to acquaint themselves in detail with the situation in Portugal and with the activity of our Party and its individual members, of the working people of town and countryside. We feel certain that our friends have satisfied themselves:

— that the PCP is and will remain loyal to proletarian internationalism and the great cause of liberation of the working people, of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world;

— that by reaffirming its fundamental position in the bitter class struggle going on in Portugal, the PCP is proving its absolute independence.

The Communists of Portugal have been, are and always will be internationalists and patriots. They have shown this and will continue to show it by their activity. This is a road we will never abandon, for it is leading to the future.

The defense of peace – a common cause

Roger Mayer

France

Ignas Lindemans

Belgium

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A COMMUNIST AND A CATHOLIC

Representatives of many political convictions and ideological trends are today active in the efforts to deepen détente and for effective disarmament. How do they manage to cooperate and why is it that a difference of viewpoints is not a hindrance to consolidation and coordination of the peace forces? These are the questions discussed by Communist Roger Mayer, member of the National Secretariat of the French Peace Movement, and Ignas Lindemans, representing the Flemish Catholic Peace Movement *Pax Christi*, head of the research services of the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. Both attended the World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente in Helsinki.

Different roads to the peace movement

I. Lindemans. There are several reasons why I support the peace cause. For Christians striving for peace, just as for anyone else, it is most important to follow one's conviction. Convictions must be formed, Christians say. There are things I learned from my father, a volunteer in the First World War who returned home with the bitter truth of what he had seen and experienced. He knew the price of peace and his children were able to learn from him. My work also helped form my convictions: I sought objective explanations for such phenomena as war, preparations for war, arming and its acceleration into an arms race. And, finally, if believers carefully read the gospel and not just a few lines out of context, they will see that Christians must work for peace because only those can be happy who stand up for justice and defend peace.

R. Mayer. The motives that brought me to the peace movement are similar to those that made me a Communist. I was in the Resistance Movement and after the Second World War, I was aware of the new weaponry being designed, so the concern for preserving peace be-

came the very essence of my life. I learned a great deal from Frederic Joliot-Curie whose assistant I was for many years. As the 20th anniversary approaches of his death and his 80th birthday, we should try to profit from his struggle and from his views on the problems of arms and disarmament. He had absolute faith in the future. What we are working for is a direct continuation of his work: I see how today we are successfully uniting different people and different movements which in his day were unable to find common ground.

I. Lindemans. Indeed, the struggle against war, armaments, against the cold war, and military conflicts can and should be waged together with those with whom we may differ on other issues. Working for peace seems to bring closer together the interests of people from differing economic systems, political trends and religions. My work in the Belgian and International Committees for European Security and Cooperation, in the peace movement, my meetings with trade union representatives of the socialist countries, have taught me how important it is for people to come to know each other, exchange views and discuss various problems. The modest experience I have gained over the years, of cooperating with peace-fighters allow me to hold a very positive view of what our movement has achieved.

R. Mayer. I could repeat a good deal of what you have said. War is a universal evil. A barrier to war must be erected involving a maximum amount of people and political, trade union and religious forces. Advocates of war are fewer in number than peace fighters and it is our duty to stop all actions that could lead to a war. It is to our movement's credit that it has always sought to multiply its ranks, compare views and promote cooperation of various public organizations to stop the instigators of war.

I. Lindemans. From my personal experience I believe that peace supporters have common ground for their activities. The Belgian delegation to the 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow represented various political trends and tendencies and many organizations, large and small. After the Congress a coordinating body was formed in Belgium representing all peace trends and organizations. At the World Conference in Helsinki the Belgian delegation consisted of Communists, Socialists and Christians and we are absolutely frank on what we agreed on or disagreed on.

R. Mayer. There still exist different views of our common task, and many prejudices. The 'cold war' psychology influencing a certain part of the public has yet to be neutralized. I believe, however, that the very fact that the Helsinki World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente was attended by delegations, many of which, like the Belgian delegation, consisted of Communists and Socialists, liberals, believers and atheists, representatives of organi-

zations of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Christian trade union movement and other large non-governmental organizations, all working together, shows that we have taken the correct road.

I. Lindemans. The only road, I would add.

Positive changes in the world

I. Lindemans. In the past ten years, particularly since the meeting of the Ecumenical Council in Rome and the World Council of Churches in Geneva, a great deal has changed among believers, in the moral sense. There is a growing awareness that it is no longer possible, nor permissible to tolerate such things as poverty, inequality, exploitation, the arms race, war, etc. I believe this is a promising sign. After all, Vietnam and Angola, with their relatively small military potential, were able to counter aggression. This suggests, that besides a purely military force, there exists another, social and moral force. This awareness is particularly apparent among the youth, who declare that war is not a solution to problems and that many of them require above all a social approach.

R. Mayer. I agree that we must carefully study the lessons to be learned from the end of the war in Vietnam. What made it possible for the Vietnamese people to oppose the gigantic military might of the United States? It was not only armaments, although their importance, the ability to use them, and the Vietnamese people's heroism should not be underestimated. World public opinion was a major factor preventing the United States from using its entire war arsenal. Public opinion in the United States and in many other countries — a moral factor, if you wish — tied the aggressor's hands. Besides imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, an important event was the recent Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation. Capitalist governments were forced to acknowledge the existing European realities and affix their signatures to the Final Act. This in itself was an extremely positive factor for Europe and the people will see to it that the Helsinki agreements are fulfilled.

I. Lindemans. Without going into further detail, I agree with the importance of the lessons to be learned from the Vietnam war and the results of the Helsinki Conference. However, I have certain misgivings concerning another problem. As a result of decolonization, new states have emerged — if I am not mistaken more than 140 states are members of the United Nations — and incidents could be started of a cumulative, so to say, nature. In other words, a local, limited conflict could expand into a larger conflict.

R. Mayer. I cannot entirely agree with that, for I think we should welcome the emergence of so many independent countries. It is undoubtedly a positive fact that more and more countries are throw-

ing off colonial rule. But this process can be continued only by stopping the arms race, the greatest and most real danger to international relaxation. Arms stock-piling means war danger. The sale of arms is being used by the United States, for instance, the largest imperialist power, to bring the emerging nations under its sway.

I. Lindemans. I have also given this a great deal of thought. The possibility is very real of the widespread use of modern technical means for military purposes, in the newly-independent states also. Such dangers have become a greater reality in the last ten years.

R. Mayer. I repeat, however, that national independence in no way contradicts cooperation and fulfillment of joint projects. On the contrary, the stronger the national independence of many countries, the greater the certainty of a lasting peace on earth.

Differing viewpoints are no obstacle to united action

R. Mayer. Obviously joint action by peace supporters becomes more effective as public circles, notwithstanding ideological differences, mobilize support for a common struggle against, say, the arms race. This means work must continue for mutual understanding between people holding differing views. We have learned to penetrate the secrets of matter but still cannot fathom the secrets of the brain, therefore only through personal contacts, only through language as a means of intercourse, through an exchange of ideas, through meetings, can a mutual trust and respect be built. This is the only means of planning action and drafting declarations to win over ever more people from all walks of life.

I. Lindemans. From the ideological point of view the tasks facing the peace forces are not simple, if the whole complex of political problems involved is taken into account. It is not easy to draw up a common platform in some West European countries, particularly where political parties cannot reach agreement on many crucial issues. Two of the largest parties in the FRG, for example, (judging by election results) are at opposite poles. Their positions on peace, disarmament and European cooperation can differ radically and confrontation here is, undoubtedly, dangerous. The situation is similar in many other countries. There also exist ideologies preventing any joint action for peace, against war. It is impossible to arrive at a common position with racism, for example, or with similar ideologies. But, speaking of Europe, I do not think that differing ideological trends and tendencies should be a hindrance to a dialogue and to joint action in the efforts for peace and disarmament. On the contrary, over the past decade there have been many such discussions on our continent.

It is important to hold more opinion discussions, bilateral and multilateral meetings at various levels and on a wide range of problems

and not confine ourselves to like-minded groups. We must seek a way out of such confinement. I remember once returning from Moscow by plane when at the airport I noticed a rather boisterous group of young people. This was the Belgian handball team, on its way home from the Soviet Union. They were speaking in their dialect and had no idea I understood them. From what they said, I gathered that about half the prejudices they came to Moscow with, had evaporated. So, you see, just a handball competition can achieve a great deal.

R. Mayer. It seems to me that the Helsinki Final Act made it almost impossible for the Western governments to continue with their outdated legends about the 'iron curtain' because trips have become more frequent and ties have expanded. This does not mean that attempts should be made to reconcile differing ideologies. In our quest for a common platform we do not abandon our viewpoints, we allow for differences but remain firmly on our positions and popularize our views on such key issues as the defense of peace and disarmament. Differences in ideology can neither be reconciled nor concealed and only by dealing with them openly it is possible to win over entire peoples to settling common problems of vital importance to them. If a war breaks out after all, not only ideological differences, but life itself may vanish.

I. Lindemans. I agree with this approach to drawing up common political platforms and to ideological differences. In spite of diverging viewpoints we must be united on such issues as preventing war with its unbelievable destruction, limitation of particularly lethal types of weaponry. This is our moral duty. This does not, however, do away with ideological differences. We remain Communists, Socialists, Catholics, but unite in settling the vitally important problem of preserving the peace.

R. Mayer. Henry IV is quoted as saying: 'Paris is well worth a Mass,' thus hinting his readiness to disregard ideological differences for the sake of regaining Paris.

Well, I believe that peace is far too important to be purchased at the price of such a Mass. I should not forfeit what I believe in for the sake of peace but, I would be prepared to fight for peace shoulder to shoulder with anyone adhering to a different ideology. If I were to yield and create the impression, for example, that I share all the convictions of my friend Lindemans, then he might become suspicious of me. Confidence is born of common action for the sake of a vitally important goal and a deep faith in the feasibility of this goal.

Remove obstacles to détente

R. Mayer. The very fact that diverse political organizations, parties and trade unions meet to thrash out such problems as détente and

disarmament shows that, irrespective of proposed solutions, sober-minded persons, aware of their responsibilities, are moved by a resolve to arouse public action. In this respect much was accomplished by the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow which signalled a new stage in the struggle. If there did not exist the possibility of stopping the arms race and of effecting changes there, it would be futile to gather for discussions. Our movement is strong and popular because it does not aim to ensnare people for questionable gains. Anyone wishing to help in the efforts for peace is not coerced into doing more than he wishes to, or can do.

I. Lindemans. I believe the military-industrial complexes, multinational companies and arms manufacturers are a much greater danger to international détente and its extension to other continents, than our differences. It seems to me that among the public there are two reactions to such things as the arms race, rearming, weapons development, etc. On the one hand they evoke fear, scepticism and a feeling of futility. On the other, the conviction grows that something must be done, that this cannot continue. In the five years since the International Committee on European Security was set up, noticeable progress has been made in that sphere. I cannot say that there have been big changes in the Western media, but the process has started. It is apparent that today fewer people believe the shop-worn cold war propaganda, and the talk of 'dangers' often heard from NATO circles. I can also say that today there is less antagonism and suspicion in press coverage of peace conferences.

R. Mayer. But I would add that though anti-communist prejudices are less injurious today than in the past, they are still a great strain on the nations. The news media carry anti-communist fabrications. Propaganda of war, racism, chauvinism and anti-communism still prevent a great many people from joining the struggle for peace. Evidently, preconceived negative notions about communism keep many representatives of a number of political and ideological trends away from our conferences. I think that more than anything else, joint actions and mutual contacts can help to eradicate anti-communist prejudices and promote the awareness that without Communists it is impossible to fight for peace and disarmament. In the French peace movement there are many Catholics and priests, we have managed to cooperate with many Guallists and even with those hostile to communism.

I. Lindemans. My own observations confirm that the situation in Europe has changed considerably over the last five to ten years. Many anti-communist prejudices have disappeared. Relations between non-communists and Communists have improved in West European countries and between us and Communists in the socialist

countries. We have been able to break through an unwillingness to discuss topical issues. Before, for example, it was out of the question to organize discussions on such issues as the working peoples' rule in factory management or improving labor conditions. Today, this is quite common and not only in the European countries that are ILO members. This fact seems to have psychological weight, for despite a certain increase in the anti-communist counter-offensive following the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, the general public is no longer as susceptible to this as it was before. It is most important to look ahead, to be able to profit from these changes and from the progress made by peoples in the last 20, 15, even 5 years, both in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and in what are called the Western European bourgeois countries. Objective conditions are on hand for abolishing anti-communist prejudices.

R. Mayer. Nevertheless, we are often confronted with actions prompted by anti-communism — actions ultimately directed against the peace and national independence of one or another country. I can recall a recent example when representatives of France, the USA, and West Germany, meeting in Puerto Rico, decided that in the event of the governments in Italy and France, included Communists, 'retaliatory' economic measures would be taken. This is not a matter of anti-communist prejudices. The real aim here is to encroach upon national independence and democratic rights under the pretext of combating Communist parties. I believe that both Communists and non-Communists, alike cherish their national and social rights sufficiently to unite in the common struggle for national independence, social progress, peace and disarmament. And since the peoples have gained political experience, we can hope to overcome anti-communism and its consequences.

I. Lindemans. In the last five years all sections of society have realized, to a greater or lesser extent, the necessity of placing the defense of peace on a more positive and permanent basis, imparting a greater political meaning to it. It is important to spread more information explaining the qualitatively new characteristics of today's arms race and the change in the very nature of war brought about by new technology and by the stock-piling of armaments.

R. Mayer. I agree that one means of increasing public opposition to the arms race is by broadening the campaign of information. The public knows too little about the real dangers of the arms race, and is not convinced that it can be effectively countered. For decades, possibly for centuries, the majority has believed that military policies and international politics are beyond the influence of mere mortals. A good deal could be achieved if the great danger of the arms race was

explained to the public and if they were shown what they could do to help stop it.

I. Lindemans. Perhaps something like an East-West Press Agency should be set up in connection with the International Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The agency might have a small group of competent journalists from both capitalist and socialist countries, sincerely interested in problems of détente, disarmament, peace and cooperation in Europe. It would be their job not only to disseminate available news, but to correctly interpret it, to expose misleading and false information.

R. Mayer. I believe the foremost task of journalists is to respect facts, to publish authentic information only, shun falsification, and expound views correctly. They can help overcome prejudices, and dispel the myth that arms production livens up the economy as a whole by creating more jobs.

I. Lindemans. Yes, it is extremely important to convince the trade unions in Europe and the whole world that despite their differences, they must cooperate and reach agreement on such issues as peace and disarmament. They must find an acceptable organizational form which could help to achieve, at least in the peace and disarmament field, such cooperation as existed at the dawn and other stages of the trade union movement. Work for peace, cooperation and concord helps one to gain a better understanding of the situation in other countries. I, for one, learned how the economy and democracy function in East European socialist countries, and about public activities there. Trade union functionaries with whom I am acquainted have always returned from the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and other socialist countries, firmly convinced that agreement could be reached to settle the problem of peace. This helps develop the peace movement to an extent inconceivable 20 years ago. The strength of the movement lies in the fact that it is based on observance of the independence and equality of all participants, on respect for the views of others and contribution of each to the common cause.

R. Mayer. As for the Communists, they have always respected the opinions of others in the peace movement and are determined to continue working with them, heeding their views and proposals and entrusting them their place and role in these efforts. When we say that in the peace movement decisions are reached unanimously, that is exactly what we mean. Newcomers find their place in our movement, and they help others do the same. I might be slightly over-optimistic, but it seems to me that this could serve as a starting-point to consolidate and develop what had been achieved since the Moscow World Congress of Peace Forces.

Freedom of choice, and the choice of freedom

James Aldridge
British writer

Ever since the signing of the Helsinki agreement, governments, press, intellectuals, self-interested organizations and all sorts of groups in the West have been looking for some way they can use Helsinki to attack the socialist community. On the whole they have concentrated on two things. One is the problem of so-called 'personal freedom,' and the other is the question of information and knowledge about each other's countries. In fact these two are related in many ways.

The whole question of what we know about each other has always been used by the West as an example of how limited the socialist community is in its understanding of the West, and therefore how limited their freedoms. Whereas the West is supposed to understand everything about the socialist world. Our press reports everything that is going on there in a perfectly 'free' way. And, of course, this is considered an example of our kind of 'freedom.'

That is the picture. But how true is it?

As a writer, for instance, I am keenly interested in how much any country knows about our English literature and our contemporary writing. I like to know how many books other countries translate from English. How many books we translate from other languages. How many foreign plays and poets we know about. How many of our contemporary writers are known abroad.

If one asks these questions in an Anglo-Soviet context the answers, unfortunately, prove that we in the West are so ignorant of Soviet literature and contemporary writing that we can hardly claim to know anything at all about Soviet life. Whereas if you look at the figures of what the Soviet Union does about *our* literature and contemporary writing, they can justifiably claim that sometimes they may even know more about aspects of our literature than many of us know ourselves.

Since the war, the Soviet Union has published 4,500 books by British authors, and the total number of copies circulated is over one hundred million. That does not include American authors, which would add another 7,000 books published in more than three hundred million copies.

If you widen this kind of information a little, the situation becomes even more astounding. Last year 129 Soviet theatres were staging Western plays. Performers from abroad gave more than six thousand concerts in 92 Soviet towns in 1975. In the last ten years the USSR has bought 61 American feature films. In fact every year the Soviet Union buys about 50 to 60 Western-made feature films, and a large number of TV programs. Finally, you get the astonishing figure that 12 million people in the Soviet Union are studying English, and 11 million are studying German and 2.5 million are studying French.

I would not have bothered with all these facts and figures, but the contrary facts are so abysmal that you can hardly find any evidence at all of Soviet writers beings translated in English or any other language. A few are translated, but the difference in numbers of copies is astronomically in favor of the Soviet Union. How many Soviet plays have Western audiences seen? How many Soviet films? How many genuine Soviet authors are known, and how many people in England are studying Russian? A thousand? Ten thousand? Nothing like an equal proportion of 12 million. And what is true of Britain is true of France, Germany, Italy, etc.

Take it a little further. One journal alone in the Soviet Union, the *Innostranaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature), has a formidable list of Western writers to its credit: William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, Erskine Caldwell, John Steinbeck, John Cheever, Truman Capote, J.D. Salinger, Thomas Wolfe, Scott Fitzgerald, Kurt Vonnegut, Gore Vidal, Lillian Hellman, Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, Edward Albee, James Baldwin, John O'Hara, T.S. Eliot, C.P. Snow, William Golding, Louis Aragon, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, John Wain, Alan Sillitoe, Sid Chaplin, Doris Lessing, Iris Murdoch, Simenon, James Joyce, J.P. Chabrol, Andre Maurois, Francoise Sagan, Natalie Sarraute, Bazin, Gunter Grass, Erich Maria Remarque, Boll, Duren-matt, Moravia, Pratolini, Pavese, etc, etc.

Show me a list of Soviet writers published in the West to compare with that list, and I shall say that our Western world knows something about Soviet literature and Soviet culture.

I had no intention when I started writing this article of going into this question in such detail, but the situation is typical of the imbalance that curses East-West relations. The perpetuation of the lie that the socialist community is ignorant and therefore 'unfree,' continues even in the face of all the evidence to the contrary.

If it happens in literature it also happens in other areas of culture and information, in the scientific community, in every area of the famous Basket Three of the Helsinki agreement. The pretence that the West is uniquely better equipped to know what is best for the world, because it is uniquely better informed and uniquely better

cultured and uniquely more 'free' is as ridiculous in its prospects as that old dream of destroying the socialist community by isolation or war.

But despite these attempts to reverse the truth about the socialist community, the balance of popular opinion in all Western countries is nonetheless in favor of détente with it, and this cannot be hidden. Moreover, intelligent politicians, even those who are fundamentally anti-socialist, realize that there is no way out but détente. That is why many of them accept Helsinki, even while they try to use Helsinki to discredit the socialist idea and divert a lot of attention from the general crisis that settles over Western life like a fog from the Arctic.

In fact the wider aspects of Western diplomacy reflect the curious compromise which all Western societies have to make with their need to survive, while continuing their ruthless determination to remain capitalist and anti-communist — particularly in the face of a world crisis they cannot control. Every day we read in our press about the mess we are in. One day it is economic, the next day political, the next day moral, and the next day social. The crisis is not only too big to hide, the problem is too difficult to solve. So they have to be very careful.

The methods that capitalism has used in the past to solve its crises were militarism and war, reaction and racism. But that isn't so easy any more, because war now could mean quick self-destruction. Some of our right-wing gentlemen in the West are willing to take that risk, so there is a certain polarization taking place, even among the conservative forces, between those who want to take their politics to the point of war, and those who reject the idea as suicidal.

We had an example of this at the recent Tory conference in Great Britain. Speaker after speaker got up in the conference to denounce détente and the Helsinki agreement. Some of them talked as if they wanted a quick march on Moscow. Finally, Mr. Reginald Maudling, the Tory Shadow Foreign Secretary, had to tell the conference that the only alternative to détente was the end of civilization. And though he was heard to the end, he was denounced from the floor of the conference. There were even cries for his resignation from the new young guard of the Conservative Party.

This sort of situation is not only concerned with détente. The same people who call for a return to the cold war in the West are the same people who call for the most drastic attacks on the level of life, and at the same time cry loudest that we have 'true freedom' in the West, while there is no freedom at all in the East. There is nothing new in this. But what makes the situation different now is that there seems to be something final and decisive in what is happening.

The general tendency of the right to go even farther right, and the

inescapable fact that the working-class parties are steadily moving more to the left, is not just another variation in the political ups and downs of Western life. Inevitability is staring both sides in the face, and the situation that they face is a crisis which has no solution except a complete transformation of the economic and social foundation of Western society.

The right wing obviously want our society to go on moving to the right, ending inevitably in fascism. The left want it to go more to the left, heading inevitably toward true socialism. And for those who haven't made up their mind which way to go, there is the present, nervous status quo, which is no more than a temporary compromise.

No serious political observer on either side believes that the present situation can last for long. Nor do most of the people who take up a middle position think they can hold the balance forever. The decisive issues of Western society are finally coming to a real choice, and every day now we are beginning to live with it. Moreover, it has its own logic, Mr. Harold MacMillan, former Tory Prime Minister and an elder statesman, said the other day on TV that he had never known a period when there was such animosity and bitterness between classes.

As for freedom: that too is becoming a choice. As we lose more and more of our hard-won social freedoms in the West, we are offered in exchange more and more highly individualist and anarchic 'personal freedoms' which look good. But this whole question of 'personal freedom' cannot be won or lost on the basis of appearances. Western society might look free, but it is being pushed into defending itself with restraining laws that take away many of our real freedoms.

And what is it that they are defending? One-third of Britain's total personal wealth is owned by one per cent of the population. About ten per cent own approximately 70 per cent of Britain's wealth. Property is what they are defending. It is being defended by cut-backs in the social services, education, housing, health. It is being defended by wage restraints, high prices and unemployment. And the more the fundamentals of our liberties are thus attacked in the name of law and order or economic necessity or solutions to a crisis, the more we are left with the fragile shell of our private personality and the perfect freedom to do what we like as individuals.

In fact by sheer saturation of the personality we are destroying it in the name of liberty. Our spirit is being corrupted, and that too is an attack on our freedom. It is not for nothing that about 70 per cent of the plays in our London theatres are pornographic to one degree or another — and that is not only my opinion, but comes from some of our serious critics who deplore the situation. It isn't an accident that there is now so much violence in our cinema and TV that we grow accus-

tomed to the sight of brutality, rape, sexual aberrations, police violence, ruthless self-interest, political corruption, and a belief that machiavellianism is a normal part of our lives. Trick or be tricked.

These are the lessons we are being taught as adults, just as surely as our children are taught that the Normans conquered Britain in 1066. In fact the same brutal attack on the underlying decencies of our social existence is directed more and more at the children, who are being saturated with violence, sometimes even before they can read and write properly.

This increase in our spiritual 'unfreedom' is acknowledged day after day in Britain by our journals, our philosophers, our politicians, our priests. They know what is happening. They talk about it and write about it all the time. But they accept it as an indigestive process that is explained by those magic words — 'human failure.' Rarely, if ever, do they carry their dismay to its logical conclusion that spiritual failure is part of our social failure. Society itself is developing these 'unfreedoms,' and that is where we have to look if we want to discover what this argument about 'freedom' or 'unfreedom' really is.

These are the dangers in the modern world. The whole basis of freedom is vastly different according to the society, and it becomes an ideological matter when there is a choice between them. The Western argument is that there should be no ideological frontiers, that the ideological frontiers should go down because the West's idea of freedom is 'right,' and the socialist idea of it is 'wrong.' That is quite implicit in the Western position, which in itself is an aggressive ideological stance. The socialist world is accused of defending its own ideology unfairly. Yet it is interesting to note that *The Times* of October 1, 1976, pointed out in another context that 'in ideological conflicts, no one ever surrenders.'

Perhaps nobody does surrender. But the Helsinki proposition, which was inspired by Soviet attitudes, is that even if there is an ideological difference, there is no need to go to war. Détente is a mark of confidence in keeping the peace, while the ideological struggle is settled by other means. The West implies that the increasing strength of socialist thinking in Western countries is a Soviet export. But the socialist idea was developed in the West long before there was a Soviet Union, and it is deep in our traditions. So the true ideological battle is not the Soviet Union versus the West, but simply what happens to society in every Western country.

If capitalism is good enough to solve our problems it will survive. If it isn't good enough it will fail and disappear. That is true of socialism also, and that is what the ideological battle is about. Détente gives us a chance to make the choice peacefully and without destroying mankind in the process. And, like many other people who are sportsmen at heart, I can only say of the contest: 'May the best man win.'

For the right to live without fear

A LETTER FROM ARGENTINA

Political violence in Argentina took a toll of 1,300 lives last year during the terror campaign launched by the ultras, left and right, and as a result of official reprisals and the acts committed by clandestine armed groups.

In this situation the Argentine Human Rights League issued a solidarity appeal, pointing to a 'possibility to achieve peace by defending life and the right to live without fear.' The alarm caused by the massive escalation of violence and terror, the appeal says, is accompanied with 'the growing painful concern for the destiny of thousands of people arrested without trial, jailed for indefinite terms and tortured. Their whereabouts are often unknown. So are the charges against them.' The fate of the families 'who search for those missing and do not know whether they are alive or not, whether they are arrested or massacred during unlawful reprisals,' is nothing short of tragic. The situation described in the appeal is of great concern to the broad sections of the public and, most definitely, to the vast majority of the Argentinians, including even some members of the military government.

For this reason the appeal to solidarity, 'raising the morale of those who denounce any terror and keep on fighting for democratic freedoms and human rights,' is an expression of the patriotic sentiments of all who are out to stop the reign of reprisals in Argentina.

The League calls for solidarity in order to put an end to all terror, secure the release of those arrested without trial, the earliest hearing of the cases of persons under investigation, finding of the disappeared or kidnapped, punishment for those guilty of crimes and tortures. It calls for a fight for 'an Argentina of peace, justice, freedom and security for all.'

Numerous organizations, and also the Catholic Church, have approached the military government with a petition, asking for a release of the people detained without trial. During their meeting with the Minister of Labor representatives of the trade unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor insisted on the need to free the arrested trade union members and expressed concern over the way they are treated. International appeals of this kind, too, proved largely instrumental.

Late in 1976 the government announced that it had ordered the release of more than a thousand arrested as the first move in deciding the fate of those detained on similar charges (several thousands are still under arrest, according to various sources).

These facts are evidence of the potentialities of the democratic forces in Argentina in the face of a threat of a coup in the Pinochet fashion. They are also the result of solidarity, proving the effectiveness of the appeal issued by the Argentine Human Rights League.

Angel Gallardo

Spain — the demand for a general amnesty

The road to freedom in Spain today passes through abolition of all the vestiges of Franco's terrorist system. The chief demands are general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles, repeal of all repressive laws, and dismantling of the emergency courts. All Spaniards want that, and a broad popular movement is unfolding across the country — from La Coruna to Barcelona and from Bilbao to Cadiz. The mass struggle finds expression in strikes and demonstrations, but also in 'voluntary imprisonment' — people lock themselves up in churches or factories, or go on hunger strikes, as an expression of protest.

In August 1976 the king and his second government were forced to concede a very limited amnesty that still left over 200 political prisoners behind bars. All the repressive laws were left intact, and the special courts continued to operate. Such workers' leaders and democrats as Marcelino Camacho and Sanchez Montero and many others were re-arrested. Therefore the movement for a general amnesty and for the right of all exiles without exception to return (this right was denied to Dolores Ibarruri, Santiago Carrillo and others) continued to gain momentum.

The arrest in Madrid last December of Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and seven other Party leaders, who were brought to the Court of Public Order on charges of 'illegal association' in a banned organization, sharply added to the intensity of the struggle. Two hours after the arrests were made there was a protest demonstration of 2,000 in front of the Civilian Administration of Madrid Province. Another 4,000 demonstrated near the national security headquarters. Demonstrations took place in many towns but were brutally suppressed by the police. Immediately after the arrests the Communist Party leadership held a press conference at which it called for a fight-back and sent a protest letter to the offices of the head of government. Hence walls were covered with slogans and

posters demanding the release of detainees. All democratic opposition, even the most moderate, joined in the protest. Outside Spain the release of the arrested was demanded by numerous organizations, public figures and representatives of government circles.

As a result of this powerful campaign, the Spanish Communist leaders were freed on bail, eight days after the arrest. On the day of their release the government announced that it was abolishing the Court of Public Order.

This victory will give the Spanish people new strength in the fight for freedom. The victory was a clear demonstration of the efficacy of international solidarity, which unites the people and helps consolidate the democratic movement throughout the world.

P.A.

Madrid, January 1977

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR IN DELHI

An international seminar on the role of the public sector in developing countries, co-sponsored by the Communist Party of India and *World Marxist Review*, was held last December in Delhi. It was attended by representatives of fraternal parties and scholars from India, the GDR, Iran, Iraq, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka and Syria, and also by a delegation from this journal. The delegates were greeted by Rajeshwara Rao, General Secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India.

The items on the agenda included the role of the public sector and the class character of state power, relations of production in the public sector in countries of capitalist and socialist orientation, the public sector and big capital (local and foreign), the policy of the state toward different sectors of the economy, and efficiency criteria at state-run enterprises. The participants in the seminar defined the role of the public sector in the struggle waged by developing countries against neo-colonialism and for economic independence. Much stress was laid on democratizing the public sector for the benefit of the working people and the public at large. The discussion also centered around the role of the working class in launching the democratization. The economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between socialist and developing countries, aimed at promoting the economic independence of the latter, was highly acclaimed at the seminar.

In the communique the delegates said the seminar had proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and had proved productive.

A review of the seminar materials will be published in one of the coming issues of *World Marxist Review*.



Book reviews

INSPIRING EXAMPLE OF DEDICATED SERVICES TO COMMUNIST IDEALS

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, Short Biography. Political Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1976. 144 pp., illustrated.

Soviet Communists and the Soviet people at large, as well as progressives the world over, celebrated the 70th birthday of CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. On this occasion the Political Literature Publishers issued a mass edition of the short biography of Leonid Brezhnev prepared by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The life and work of this outstanding representative of the Soviet working class and people, a leader of the Leninist type, is presented against a broad historical background. Brezhnev's biography is closely linked with the heroic generation which, inspired by the ideals of the October Revolution, dedicated their efforts to creating the world's first socialist society. They built socialism, defended it in the battles of the Great Patriotic War and made impressive progress on the road to communism. The life of Leonid Brezhnev has been inseparable from the Leninist Party which made him a staunch continuer of the cause of the great Lenin.

The book brings out the main events in Brezhnev's life and work.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was born into a worker's family on December 19, 1906, in the city of Kamenskoye, now Dneprodzerzhinsk (renamed in 1936), a large iron and steel center in the Ukraine. For many years his grandfather and his father, also his sister and brothers worked at the local iron and steel plant. And it was at this plant that Leonid Brezhnev began his working life, his introduction to the turbulent and eventual career that was to follow. 'The work at the plant,' he recalled, 'the thoughts and aspirations of the workers and their attitude to life largely shaped my world outlook. What I acquired then, has remained to this day.'

The start of Brezhnev's working career coincided with the early years of the Soviet state. The Biography draws on numerous facts

and historical documents to show how the generation of builders of socialism — Leonid Brezhnev among them — was maturing in those years. The education of young people in that period, the book says, was largely influenced by revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism which encouraged the working class and all other working people in building the new life. They were educated and ideologically tempered by the Communist Party. And, guided by the Party, they overcame the difficulties of the first years of socialist development. Lenin once said that it is in combating difficulties that ideological convictions take hold of people's minds, and this helps consolidate the gains of the revolution. Inspired by the enthusiasm of those heroic days, Leonid Brezhnev joined the Young Communist League at the age of 17. In 1929 he became a candidate member, and in 1931 a full member, of the Party whose cause, the cause of communism, he has faithfully served ever since.

The book brings back the grim days of the Great Patriotic War. Responding to the call of the Communist Party, the Soviet people rose to the sacred struggle against the fascist invaders. In line with Lenin's teachings on the defense of the socialist homeland, the Communist Party turned the country into a vast fighting unit. The Central Committee of the Party and the government launched a sweeping program to meet the country's war needs and mobilize its people to defeat the enemy. At that time Leonid Brezhnev was Defense-Industry Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Party Committee. He devoted all his knowledge and abilities to the development of that important industry.

In the first days of the war Leonid Brezhnev asked the Central Committee to be sent to the front. Following a decision of the CPSU Central Committee, many outstanding Party functionaries, alternate members and members of the Central Committee among them, were sent to the armed forces. Almost one-third of the Central Committee, many secretaries of the Communist parties of the constituent Soviet republics, and heads of regional Party committees joined the army in the field. Leonid Brezhnev was among them. 'I passed thousands of kilometres along the flaming roads of war, from its first day to the last,' Brezhnev recalled. Citing historical documents, the book traces that heroic path.

The book also records many glorious pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War associated with Brezhnev, who had an active part in planning and carrying through a number of operations in the Caucasus, the Black Sea area, the Crimea and the Ukraine, and in the liberating advance beyond the Soviet frontiers. (p. 13). He was deputy chief of the political department of the Southern Front, headed

the political section of the 18th Army and the political department of the Fourth Ukrainian Front.

The biography quotes war veterans who fought together with Leonid Brezhnev for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland. His words and deeds, courage and self-control, ideological conviction and staunch Party loyalty inspired the troops to new acts of heroism. During the great liberating advance of the Soviet Army Leonid Brezhnev, then head of political departments at army and front level, participated in the liberation of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. When the most exhausting and cruel of all the wars our country had fought ended, Leonid Brezhnev was among those who marched in the Victory Parade through Moscow's Red Square, as Commissar of the regiment representing the Fourth Ukrainian Front: he had splendidly discharged his duty of Communist and soldier.

In the postwar years the Party sent Brezhnev to regions most in need of rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy.

Leonid Brezhnev worked with devotion and perseverance as First Secretary of the Zaporozhye Regional Committee (Communist Party of the Ukraine), First Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Party Committee, and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia. In October 1952, the 19th Congress of the CPSU elected him to the Central Committee which, at its plenary meeting, elected him an alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the 50s the country launched an intensive campaign to boost grain production. The opening up of the virgin and fallow lands, which started at that time, has gone down in the history of the Soviet Union as one of its brightest chapters. The Party sent Brezhnev to Kazakhstan, the largest virgin-land area. In February 1954 he was elected Second, and in August 1955 the First, Secretary of the Central Committee of Kazakhstan's Communist Party. All who worked together with Leonid Brezhnev in those years share the opinion that he put his heart and soul into that nationwide drive. When difficult important problems had to be solved, Leonid Brezhnev would invariably display the staunchness of a Bolshevik, clearness of purpose, persistence, and ability to grasp a difficult situation and pool the efforts of thousands of people (p. 46).

Other facts cited in the book are evidence of Brezhnev's vigorous activity as a political leader and statesman when he was President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. His election to that post in May 1960 meant a nationwide recognition of his services and immense prestige.

The October 1964 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was a landmark in the history of the Party and the country. At that

meeting Leonid Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In that high post, the book says, he proved an efficient Party leader and mass organizer, an outstanding political leader of the Leninist type. With his experience and knowledge of the theory and practice of communist construction, Leonid Brezhnev made an immense contribution to charting and implementing the CPSU general line, to the Party's creative development of Marxism-Leninism and to the Leninist standards of Party and state activity. He concentrated on the main aspects of Party and state activity, raising the USSR's economic potential and the people's living standards, building up the country's military capacity, strengthening the socialist world system, uniting the international communist and working-class movement and safeguarding peace and security of the peoples (p. 52).

The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism as the first phase of the communist social and economic structure has been further developed in Party documents and in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev. They outline the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism, the ways along which socialist social relations grow into communist relations, and also the ways of moulding the new man. They describe the main features of the socialist way of life and the objective regularities governing the building of communism. They set out the principles of improving economic management and all social processes at the present stage.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU was a historical milestone on the Soviet people's road to communism. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, delivered at the Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, enriched scientific communism. The Report sets the key tasks of social development in time, the tasks of building socialism and communism, and pointed out the ways of accomplishing them. It gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the laws governing the world revolutionary process and international relations. The Report, imbued with revolutionary optimism and composed in a businesslike manner, is distinguished for its class and Party approach to assessment of the complex phenomena of social life and the pressing problems of building communism, of the struggle for peace and freedom of the nations (p. 70).

The book describes the indefatigable and fruitful activity of CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev on the international scene. He was appointed head of the CPSU Central Committee at a time when the sphere of the Party's foreign-policy activity had largely extended. As General Secretary of the Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev made an outstanding personal contribution to the elaboration and implementation of Soviet foreign policy by the CPSU and its Central Committee, to strengthening the positions of the USSR and the

socialist community as a whole, to ensuring lasting peace and security and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The facts prove, the book says, that the Peace Program, proclaimed by the General Secretary at the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971, was of truly historic importance for the destinies of mankind. Another outstanding event was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Held in July 1975 on the initiative of socialist countries, it was a political and diplomatic forum, the largest in European history, of representatives of states with differing social systems.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Leonid Brezhnev. His speech at Helsinki had a tremendous appeal in mustering support for peace and international security.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev analyzed the new conditions of international development and put forward a program of continued effort for peace and international cooperation, freedom and independence of the peoples. Its new proposals, which continue and develop the Peace Program, were welcomed by the Party, the Soviet people, leaders of the communist, working-class and national-liberation movements, and peace champions the world over (p. 127).

In his speeches and reports, the CPSU General Secretary analyzes the role of socialist states in the world of today and the objective factors that determine the growing unity of the socialist countries. In line with CPSU Policy, Brezhnev and other members of the Central Committee and its Politburo, are working to strengthen the socialist community and increase its influence on the course of world development.

The book cites data on the Soviet Union's support of the newly-emergent states and its assistance in their economic and social advance. This follows from the very nature of the Soviet social and state system and the principles of proletarian internationalism that are basic to the Party's foreign-policy activity.

Developing Lenin's ideas of the alliance of the socialist forces with nations defending their independence, the CPSU Central Committee, and Leonid Brezhnev personally, attach special importance to the all-round strengthening of the USSR's friendship and cooperation with countries that have taken the road of non-capitalist development and are the advance detachment of the national-liberation movement. The relations of friendship between the USSR and the newly-free states are exerting a positive influence on world development and help strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU, its Central Committee and General Secretary, the book says, keep in focus the problems of the world communist movement

and base their relations with the fraternal parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In 1976 Leonid Brezhnev took part in the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. Its outcome met with wide response in every part of the world. Leonid Brezhnev's Berlin speech was regarded as having major theoretical and practical implications. The forum of Europe's Communists pointed to the organic link between the drive for peace, security, national independence and democracy, on the one hand, and the basic goals of the fight for social progress and socialism, on the other.

The book cites typical examples of Brezhnev's energy and initiative, in his theoretical, political and organizational activities. His concern for the people and for peace have won him the respect of the Communists, The Soviet people, and of honest-minded men everywhere.

Throughout his career from steelworker to CPSU General Secretary, the Biography says, Leonid Brezhnev has always lived up to the great title of a Communist Party member, justified the Party's confidence and has consistently promoted its noble cause and worked for the triumph of Communist ideals (p. 141).

He devotes all his immense experience, his knowledge and abilities to serving the people, accomplishing the tasks of communist construction, and promoting the cause of peace and social progress. The Soviet people, the Biography says in conclusion, pay a high tribute of respect and gratitude to the Central Committee, The General Staff of the CPSU headed by Leonid Brezhnev, the loyal and staunch Leninist, dedicated fighter for peace and communism.

On his 70th birthday, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR warmly congratulated Leonid Brezhnev, true son of the Soviet people, leader of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state, outstanding figure in the international communist movement, dedicated fighter for peace and social progress and consistent Marxist-Leninist. The message of congratulations addressed to Leonid Brezhnev says that his tireless and fruitful activity exemplifies selfless service to the Motherland, the Leninist Party and the Communist cause.

The Soviet people see in the Communist Party their tried and tested leader, the organizer of all their victories. They are convinced again and again that the policy pursued by the Party is a Leninist policy, that the CPSU is confidently leading them along the only correct road, the Leninist road to communism

Mikhail Mchedlov

Deputy Director,

CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism

LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prehled dejin KSC, Svoboda, Praha 1975 — pripravy Ustav marxismu-leninismu UV KSC a Ustav marxismu-leninismu UV KSS.

Revolutionary history has always been an arena of sharp ideological struggle. And it was no accident that in the 60s the rightists falsified the history of the CPCz in furtherance of their anti-Party and anti-socialist aims and in their attempts to liquidate the CPCz and write finis to socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The 14th Party Congress set our historiographers the task of purging Party history of revisionist distortions and falsifications. That is the purpose of this book, *Survey of CPCz History*, put out by Svoboda Publishers. It deals with the main aspects and forms of Party activity and assesses the main events and stages in its 55 years' history. The authors have drawn on, and in a number of cases critically analyzed, earlier studies on the subject.

The Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the Czechoslovak proletariat, was founded in 1921 in the postwar revolutionary tide and under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time, the Party's rise in the mainstream of the world revolutionary process, was the result of the social development of Czechia and Slovakia, the upsurge of the revolutionary democratic and national-liberation movement, and of the workers' class struggle. The program adopted by the young Party signified a break with Social-Democratic reformism. But, as the Survey emphasizes, it was only after a hard-fought struggle for the Party's Bolshevization, the assimilation of Márxism-Leninism and its creative application in capitalist Czechoslovakia, and due to active work in the masses, that the CPCz became a real revolutionary party of the Leninist type. With its Fifth Congress (1929) the Party entered a period of political maturity, and under the Gottwald leadership, led our peoples to victory over the bourgeoisie.

With the mounting danger of nazi aggression, the Party constantly followed the united popular front policy worked out at the Seventh Comintern Congress and devoted its energy to defending democracy and the republic against the menace of German fascism. The correctness of that policy was confirmed during the national-liberation struggle. The Party was able to form a broad anti-fascist national front and direct its fight for national liberation and, later, in liberated Czechoslovakia, for revolutionary-democratic transformations.

This Survey shows how the Communist Party, creatively applying Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, directed the process of re-

volutionary peaceful transition from national-democratic to socialist revolution, which culminated in the February 1948 victory of the working people over bourgeois reaction. People's democracy thus grew into dictatorship of the proletariat, our main lever in building socialism with the disinterested and comprehensive assistance of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The international significance of Lenin's theory of building socialism, the Survey notes, was confirmed in an industrial country, in Czechoslovakia. Our Party learned from its own experience that the best guarantee of building socialism is loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the ability creatively to apply in Czechoslovak conditions the experience of the international communist and workers' movement, notably that of its vanguard, the CPSU. The events of 1968-69 showed that any departure from Marxist-Leninist principles is fraught with serious negative consequences for the Party and socialist society as a whole, jeopardizes the revolutionary gains of the people and the interests of the international working class. The record of this period is added proof of the need for the revolutionary working-class party consistently to combat opportunism and reformism, and also dogmatism and left sectarianism within its ranks.

The Survey emphasizes that developments after April 1969 were a test for the Party, and it passed it, having purged its ranks of right opportunists and revisionists and having rescued the country from the crisis situation. The Party leadership, headed by Gustav Husak, restored the Party's revolutionary character, regenerated its activities, assured the proper functioning of government departments and the National Front on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, re-established our international alliances and directed the people's efforts toward new frontiers in building socialism. The 14th Party Congress was an important landmark in the development of socialist Czechoslovakia. It marked the end of one of the most complicated periods in the Party's history and worked out a program of continued all-round building of socialism.

At its 15th Congress the Party, now united and strong ideologically, politically and organizationally, set new far-reaching aims in building a developed socialist society. 'By our work today,' Gustav Husak told the Congress, 'we are continuing the revolutionary traditions of our Party, of the national-liberation struggle and the glorious February victory. The years since the 14th Congress and our present-day life have seen an advance along this path of struggles and victories.'

Ladislav Novotny
Director of the CC CPCz
Institute of Marxism-Leninism

THE EXAMPLE AND EXPERIENCE OF RECABARREN

Carlos Contreras-Labarca, *Recabarren. Boceto de su vida y su obra*. Berlin, 1976, 50 pp.

One of the most noteworthy publications on the centenary of the birth of Luis Emilio Recabarren, founder of Chile's Communist Party and class trade union organization, is *Recabarren: Notes on His Life and Work* by C.C. Labarca, a continuer of Recabarren's revolutionary work.

Recabarren's decisive role in the founding of a political party of the Chilean working class holds a special place in his vast contribution to the Chilean popular movement. As far back as 1908, drawing lessons from the authorities' brutal repressive measures against the saltpeter miners and their families in Iquique's St. Mary School, Recabarren came to the conclusion that to achieve success in the mass struggle, the working class needed 'a powerful organization ... in the economic, political and cooperative spheres in order to replace the present society with a more rational one' (p. 24).

An indefatigable worker who was always among the masses, Recabarren made a personal contribution to the early formation of cells of the future party in large industrial centers, particularly among the saltpeter miners. The party was formally constituted on June 4, 1912, on the premises of the Iquique newspaper *El Despertar de los Trabajadores*,* undoubtedly the most important of the many papers founded and edited by Recabarren. From then on, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)** had deep roots among the Chilean proletariat, which left an indelible impress on it.

Consistent internationalism was a distinguishing feature of the SWP and its founder, Recabarren. It expressed itself more forcefully than ever in the attitude to World War I and in unqualified support for the October Revolution in Russia, which had strong repercussions in Chile and throughout the world and hastened the formation of working-class vanguards. 'Soviet power,' wrote Recabarren late in 1917, 'has been in existence for slightly more than a month but we can say already that in this brief period it has advanced by more than 100 years ... The dreams or utopias of the "visionaries" known as Socialists are becoming both a reality and a source of all progress and human happiness, and this is what has frightened the capitalist class in Russia and everywhere else most of all' (p. 39).

A consistently proletarian internationalist, Recabarren realized the

**The Awakening of the Working People*. — Ed.

**The first proletarian party of Chile, founded by Recabarren in June 1912. It was reorganized into the Communist Party of Chile in January 1922 — Ed.

inseparable connection between the victorious revolution accomplished in Russia on November 7, 1917, and the struggle of other peoples oppressed by imperialism. 'We must side with our Russian brothers or we will find ourselves on the side of our oppressors,' he pointed out. (p. 40.) This thesis predetermined the Chilean Communists' invariable line, according to which the attitude to the Soviet Union is the central issue of their internationalism.

Recabarren was well aware of the need for the SWP to go over to a higher phase of ideological and political development and transform itself into a Communist Party. 'The fighting methods used in the advanced working-class movement so far,' he wrote in 1921, 'need to be reoriented. On the new revolutionary road which the movement must take, it is indispensable . . . to evolve dependable methods and review our cadres and programs' (p. 43). Early in 1922, the Fourth Congress renamed the SWP the Communist Party (after almost ten years of existence throughout which it had been led by Recabarren). This had many interesting aspects that are undoubtedly indicative of Recabarren's lessons and experience.

The most typical way of founding a Communist Party in those years was for the more advanced and consistent Socialists to withdraw from and break with the Socialist or Social Democratic party of the given country. In Chile, however, the SWP as a whole was a political organization which gave rise to a new party. This was made possible by the high degree of its membership's class consciousness, the internationalist character of the SWP and its predominantly proletarian composition. There are close bonds of continuity between the two parties. At the same time, the founding of a genuinely Leninist Communist party in Chile constituted a qualitative leap in the progress of the working-class movement.

Recabarren was an outstanding organizer, propagandist and educator. Great credit is due to him for the development of the Chilean working-class movement, and as for his ideological legacy, it is still valid as a permanent source of inspiration to Chile's Communists. One of his precepts, which is now more important to Chile than ever, is that we must always work among the masses whatever the difficulties, must be among the masses and fight for them against the class enemy's influence. Acting on this principle, Recabarren ensured that the Workers' Federation of Chile, led by the reactionary Conservative Party, rid itself of the latter's tutelage, adopted a class position and eventually joined the Red International of Labor Unions.

Now that there is a fascist dictatorship in Chile and the paramount task is to bring about the unity of all anti-fascist forces, Recabarren's life and work are an inexhaustible treasury of experience.

Hugo Fazio

CULTURAL DECADENCE UNDER IMPERIALISM

Imperialismus und Kultur. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, 580 pp.

With the forces of progress and reaction, of socialism and capitalism, locked in historic confrontation, the ideological struggle centers on the key aspects of the life of society. One of these is culture, which in capitalist society is being increasingly geared to the task of preserving capitalism. In contrast, progressive democratic culture is developing in line with the growing prospects for building a new and humane society.

This book, *Imperialism and Culture*, compiled by the CC SUPG Institute of Social Sciences, examines the laws governing cultural development under state-monopoly capitalism. The authors trace the development of German imperialist culture at the onset of the general crisis of capitalism, and draw a panoramic picture of the battle between ruling-class and progressive, democratic culture. They show that the junker-bourgeois character, aggressiveness and tendency to militarize all social life, those typical features of German imperialism, also affected the development of ruling-class culture, and imparted to it an openly reactionary and chauvinistic quality.

After the rout of fascism, the opportunities for anti-fascist, democratic development were not made full use of in West Germany. This pertains to culture as well. The main reason for this, the author says, was that the old social and economic relationships persisted there. Following the FRG's entry into NATO, the culture of the ruling classes was visibly Americanized. More, it became avowedly anti-communist, revanchist and nationalistic.

The book examines the mechanism operated by monopoly capital and the imperialist state, closely associated with it, to channel the development of culture. The authors expose the bourgeois concepts designed to justify the reactionary cultural policy pursued in West Germany by big business and the political parties that serve it.

Modern imperialist culture is 'subject to crises and decadence' (p. 317), and this trend is a sign of the general crisis of capitalism which has extended to all areas of social life: work, education, bourgeois art, etc. Imperialism has proved powerless to develop culture for the benefit of the whole of society.

Much of the book is devoted to development trends in democratic and socialist culture, whose influence has been growing in all countries, including the FRG. This process is stimulated by the working class and democratic, progressive intellectuals. The authors write: 'Only by fighting capitalism can the working class secure any improvement, even a small one, of its social status. In this struggle it is

shaping its own moral principles, ethical views and cultural values, whose class content basically differs from the ideals of the ruling system, with its accent on adaptation and integration. These are the moral principles that underlie democratic and socialist culture today. They determine its anti-monopoly character, internationalism and its humanistic ideal' (p. 507).

The trends and elements of democratic and socialist culture are increasingly merging in the course of the struggle for democracy. And the crisis of imperialist culture stands out more glaringly against this background. All this gives us fresh proof that only the revolutionary working class can offer an alternative to the decadence of bourgeois culture.

The numerous facts cited in the book give the reader an idea of the hard struggle the German Communist Party is carrying on in the cultural sphere.

'Imperialism and Culture' exposes the ideologists of imperialism in their attempts to present the capitalist system as a 'society worthy of man,' which makes the book an effective contribution to the ideological struggle.

Waltraut Dähne

IN BRIEF

Chile

The struggle against fascism, and for restoration of democracy in Chile, is the main objective which should unite and mobilize the whole people. To attain that objective the Communist Party has publicly addressed three proposals to the Christian-Democratic Party on reaching agreement between Christian-Democrats and the Popular Unity. First, the Communist Party urged the CDP to combine their effort and topple the dictatorial regime, and thereafter to give the people the right to make their own choice of the form of government in a democratic way. Second, the document urges the quest for a common ground with regard to the future political system. And third, it suggests that understanding be reached on the formation of a new government (after the downfall of the dictatorship) comprising all democratic forces.

The Communist Party leadership has advanced these proposals inside the country, realizing full well that a democratic solution of the pressing problems can be achieved in the struggle by the working

class, by launching a massive movement, and with accord between the Popular Unity and the CDP.

H.F.

Congo

President Marien Ngouabi, Chairman of the Congolese Party of Labor, signed new regulations complementing the directives on admission to the CPL. From now on a prospective CPL member will have to submit a recommendation from his factory or other place of work. The new rule will be observed under the supervision of political representatives appointed in accordance with the regulations at all state-controlled enterprises. The admission procedure now begins with a general meeting at a factory or office, which gives the applicant a testimonial for admittance. The applicant should also receive testimonials from the Party organization of his factory or office and the place of residence. This is to be followed by a meeting of political representatives who will list the candidatures in three groups: the applicant is either recommended, or rejected, or his admission is suspended. The lists are to be forwarded to the CPL Central Committee for the final decision.

Guadeloupe

The Communists of Guadeloupe demand the right to self-determination and a free choice of the way of development for their people. They come out also for new relations with France. These demands were advanced in the Central Committee report to the Sixth Congress of the Guadeloupe Communist Party in December 1976. The report, delivered by Guy Daninthe, General Secretary of the Party, examined the main stages of the struggle waged by the Communists for a cardinal democratic change on the island and set the tasks for the future.

Norway

The plenum of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Norway, held last December, discussed topical international and domestic problems, in particular, the Party's tactics before the parliamentary election due in the autumn of 1977, and proposed alliance with the socialist left party during the election campaign. At a news conference after the plenum it was stressed that the CPN had grown far stronger politically, organizationally and financially over the past year.

It was decided to change the *Friheten* Communist weekly into a semi-weekly edition beginning from the autumn of 1977, which was largely due to the successful campaign, the largest ever held by the Party, for raising funds for *Friheten*. More than 500,000 crowns were collected.

Editions of the journal

‘PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM’

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

(World Marxist Review)

Central Books Ltd., 37 Gray's Inn Road,
London, WC1X 8PS, England.

Progress Subscription Service
487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Ontario,
M5V 1T4, Canada.

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St.,
Chicago, Illinois, 60610, USA.

Problems of Peace and Socialism,
5 Rani Jhansi Rd., New Delhi 55, India.

FRENCH EDITIONS:

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Société d'Édition et d'Information,
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‘Hemus’, Sofia, Bulgaria

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Nové Město, Ve smečkách 30, CSSR.

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Brodgade 37, 1260 København K, Denmark.

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakaulehti
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00510 Helsinki 51, Finland.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

‘Buckexport’ Volkseigener Aussenhandels-
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Leninstraße 16, DDR.

‘Globus’, Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften 1200 Wien, Hochstäd-
platz 3, Austria.

Brücken-Verlag GmbH, Literaturvertrieb,
Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstraße 3, FRG.

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papajanis Stephanos,
Emanuil Benaki 25-6^o Athens, Greece.
People's Agency,
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus.

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of
Peace and Socialism, P.O.B.
9525, Haifa, Israel.

HINDI EDITION: Bihar State Council CPI,
Ajay Bhawan, Patna 4, India.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura, Könyv-és
Hírlap Külföldeskedelmi Vállalat,
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Aereo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia.

Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.
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Universidad, Mexico 20, D.F. Mexico

Ideología y Política, Fr Rufino
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San José, Costa Rica.

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6, Stockholm, Sweden.

TURKISH EDITION: 1 Berlin 10,
Postfach 100 229, West Berlin.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'ò xuất nhập khẩu
Sách báo 32, Hai Bà Trưng, Hà-nói,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam.