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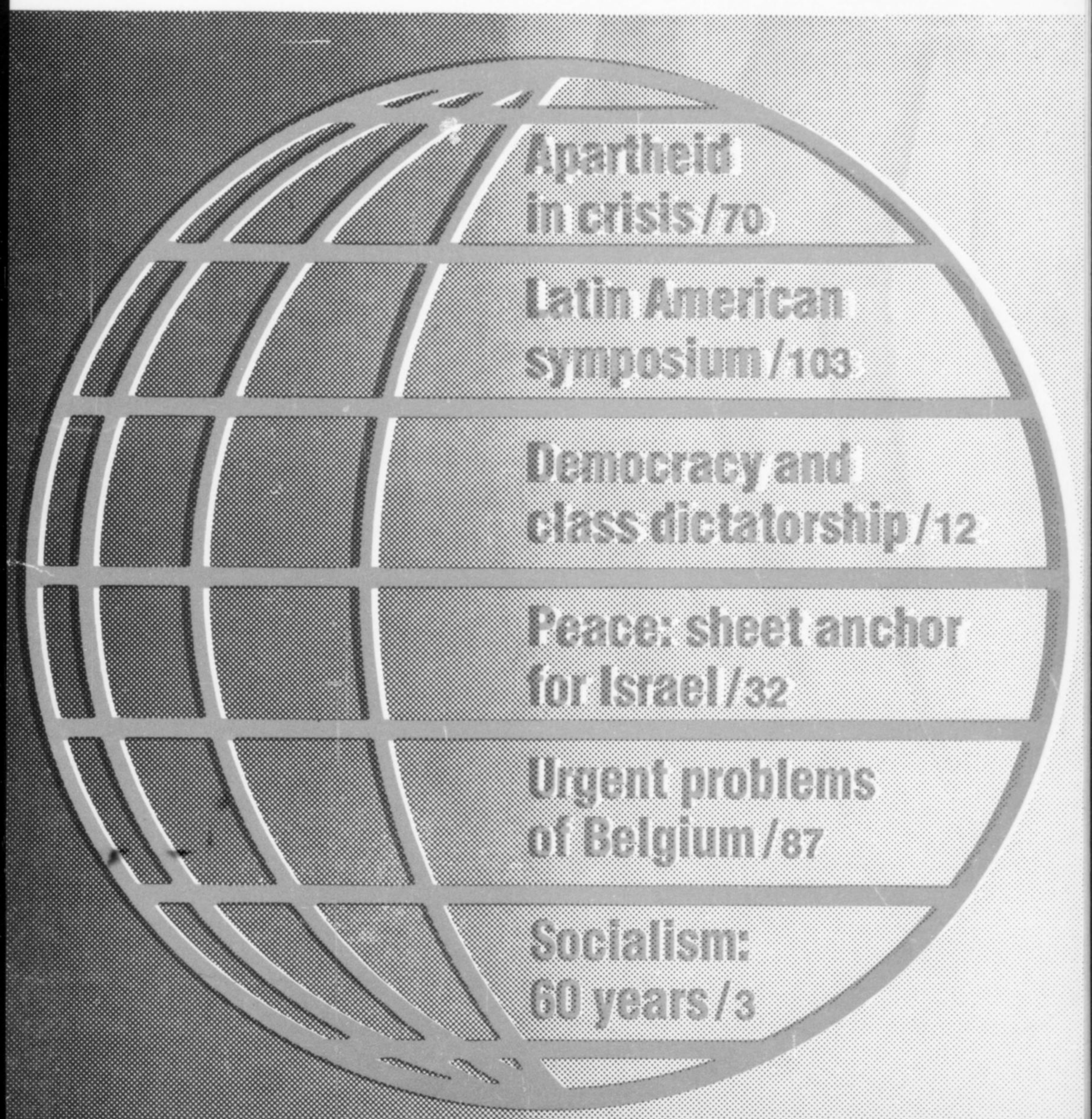

Workers of all countries, unite!

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The crucial event of our century

Ryszard Frelek
Secretary CC, Polish United Workers' Party

There have been many events that opened or consummated stages in the tempestuous and changing march of world history, events that profoundly affected the destinies of nations. But none has wrought such a fundamental change as the Great October Socialist Revolution. It imparted a new quality to the experience accumulated by mankind. It ushered in an entirely new epoch. For October was the beginning of the profound revolutionary process of liberating labor from exploitation, the peoples from foreign oppression, mankind from war. Consequently, it signified a new phase in the fight for equal rights of individuals and nations, for real democracy in social and international relations.

The greatness of the October Revolution lies in the greatness of its ideas and actions, in its fundamentally new theory and practice. That is why we can say that it was the crucial event of our century, a turning point in world history, the impetus of a movement that was to transform the world. Its influence spread throughout the globe, affecting all areas of human life — economic and social development, ideology, culture and science, law and international relations. And this transformatory process has universal significance, while at the same time preserving, continuing and renewing mankind's progressive legacy.

It is a class process. Lenin described it in these words: 'The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of a communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 392.)

The transition from capitalism to communism, begun by the October Revolution, is an objective tendency, a law of development. The motive force of this process is the working class, the decisive factor in emancipating labor by demolishing the system of exploitation. The role, strategy and tactics of the proletariat as the hegemon and leading force of this process, as exemplified by the October, were interpretatively generalized by Lenin. One cannot speak of Marxism in separation from Leninism: Marxism-Leninism is the only re-

volutionary ideology, and it is indivisible and unitary in its very substance. Lenin imparted a new meaning, a new content to the theory and program of Marxism. On the basis of an analysis of imperialism, he indicated the ways and means of ending its domination. Lenin's Party led the proletariat to victory and founded the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The triumph of the October Revolution and the emergence of the first socialist state made socialism a practical reality and was a turning point in the development of its theory. The Land of Soviets, built under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, of Lenin, became the main bulwark, the main base of all the socialist forces, and played a cardinal part in creating the conditions for the advance of the entire world socialist process.

Sixty years ago socialism existed in only one country, the Russian Soviet Republic. In 1944-45 a new breach was made in the world capitalist system. It came as a result of the victory over fascism in World War II and of the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The collapse of Hitler's Reich made possible also fundamental changes in the Eastern part of Germany and proclamation of the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant state on German soil. Three factors contributed to these developments: the struggle of the communists and their allied popular forces; the emancipating mission and decisive role of the Soviet Union and its invincible Red Army in defeating Hitlerism; the bankruptcy and defeat of the bourgeoisie in World War II, that supreme ordeal for the peoples involved in it.

The Soviet Union's part in defeating militarist Japan changed the situation in Asia and helped its peoples win liberation from imperialist oppression. It enabled the Chinese revolution to score a historic victory, created favorable conditions for the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, gave new scope to the emancipatory struggle of all other peoples in this vast area. Later, the new alignment of world forces brought about by the USSR and other socialist countries made possible the victory of the Cuban people.

These developments culminated in the emergence of the socialist world system. And this system of closely-united socialist countries, concerting their efforts in solving their internal problems and in promoting world peace, became a fundamental factor of mankind's social progress.

The impressive achievements of socialism and of all the progressive forces in the second half of this century are determined not only by the achievements of individual socialist countries and of the socialist system as a whole in building the new society. They are a

direct result of the socialist countries' initiative and united action in world affairs. The socialist system has built a firm structure of political, economic and cultural relations; it has jointly evolved the principles of cooperation and mutual assistance and has devised ways and means of strengthening reciprocal ties.

These relations have acquired a new quality and new scope. What we have, in short, is a new type of international relations founded on the principles of socialist internationalism. They rest not only on identity of state interests. For the socialist community is a fraternal family of nations, led by the Marxist-Leninist parties, united in a class alliance by their unity of ideas and aspirations. As Leonid Brezhnev declared at the Seventh Congress of our Party, the socialist community 'adds to the strength of each of its members in resolving national problems and greatly multiplies their joint strength and influence in world affairs.' Its social and economic achievements, unity and interaction, have made socialism a decisive world factor.

Its positions are steadily being strengthened. By bringing to bear new reserves and making fuller use of the potentialities of their system, the socialist states have in the past 10 years significantly accelerated socialist and communist construction and have made considerable progress in satisfying the material and cultural requirements of their peoples. Drawing on their rich experience and following the common regularities of socialist construction in the concrete conditions of their countries, the fraternal parties have started work on the epochal task of building developed socialist society. And in this, too, they are using the immense experience of the CPSU and the achievements of the Soviet people in carrying out the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses.

The socialist countries and the world Communist and workers' movement are being enriched by the theory and practice of Leninism as embodied in the triumph of the October Revolution and in the up-building of the Land of Soviets, and further developed by the CPSU, the Party that first brought this theory and practice to life. The communist ideology, the motive force that is refashioning the world of today, is steadily being developed. The boldest dreams and forecasts of 60, or even 30 years ago seem very modest compared with the achievements of Marxism-Leninism, of existing socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries. Reality has run far ahead of our imagination.

The achievements of existing socialism are today an extremely important factor, one that is exerting powerful ideological, social and political influence on the class struggle in every part of the world. That is why in countries where the bourgeoisie and imperialism hold sway, the ideological struggle against the Communist parties and

progressive forces generally is focussed on attempts to belittle these achievements. But there is the proof of history that truth knows no boundaries, and attempts to deny the truth to the people stand no chance of success.

Today the Communist vanguard in the worldwide class struggle is represented by 90 parties with a total membership of over 60 million. Experience has fully corroborated the correctness of their policy in the fight for peace and progress as formulated at the 1969 Moscow International Meeting. New developments on the various fronts of the class struggle pose new major problems that require joint discussion and solution.

In Europe there are 33 Communist and Workers' parties with a total membership of more than 30 million. The present social, economic and political situation in developed capitalist countries, notably in Europe, confronts the Communist movement with a number of crucial tasks. Communists in these countries are fighting to prevent the bourgeoisie from shifting on to the working class and the working people generally the entire burden of all the difficulties caused by the crisis, and to prevent a reactionary alternative. And the Communists directly link this with the wider perspective of struggle against national and international monopoly capital, for deep-going structural, social and economic changes and for the establishment of democratic government.

The top-priority tasks in capitalist Europe include intensified struggle for genuine democratization of social relations — prevention of the continued disintegration of parliamentary institutions, now being fiercely attacked by the monopolies; defense of constitutional democratic rights; consistent development and perfection of the strategy of left democratic alliances; mobilization of the masses to support programs of democratic social development. In recent years the congresses of many Communist parties in the capitalist West have adopted new programs setting out their strategy in the fight for a democratic alternative. These programs have found expression also in the final document of last year's Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, in its program for peace, security, cooperation and social advance on our continent. Proletarian internationalism is a key and tested principle of activity by Communists and their parties. Fidelity on this principle is a fundamental prerequisite for success in the fight of the entire Communist movement and of each of its parties.

The Great October Revolution brought in a new stage in the people's struggle for freedom, giving it a new dimension and new scope. And this, too, is the result of Lenin's thoughts and efforts. He made a transcendent contribution to solution of the nationalities ques-

tion. The Land of Soviets represents a family of equal nations. It accepted and reaffirmed in practice the right of nations to self-determination, down to the formation of independent states. This applies in particular to the Polish nation. Lenin regarded the national-liberation struggle as a mainstream anti-imperialist movement, and support of this struggle as a major component of every Party's ideology, and as a basic principle of Soviet foreign policy.

With the victory of the October Revolution, the national liberation movement became an important, inseparable component of the world revolutionary process. There is an obvious direct connection between the pace of disintegration of the colonial system in our age and the slogans of the October Revolution, the rise of the socialist system, its policy and the alignment of world forces it brought about. Furthermore, cooperation with the socialist countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit helps developing countries fight imperialist exploitation and win full political independence. Also linked with it are the place and role in today's world of the non-aligned countries, which the socialist states regard as a natural ally in the struggle for peace and international security. The non-aligned countries' political and economic initiatives play a prominent part in promoting peace, extending détente to the whole world and providing the conditions for their continued progress. The socialist countries support these initiatives and the struggle to reshape international economic relations. Poland's support for them was demonstrated during the visit which Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, paid to India not long ago.

October posed the problem of peace in an entirely new manner. It did so by setting up, for the first time in man's history, a social and political system which abolished exploitation and oppression and thus removed the social source of war. It did so also by advancing the slogan of peace as a key goal of the revolutionary movement and by rousing the masses to struggle to achieve this goal.

'Soviet power,' says the CC CPSU decision on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 'showed all the peoples of the globe the only correct way out of the bloody chaos of wars in which the exploiting system involved them. The first official act of the newly-established state was Lenin's Decree on Peace, which announced an explicit and precise program of struggle for a fair, democratic, universal peace. October ushered in a new epoch, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, of struggle "for the liberation of peoples from imperialism, for an end to wars between peoples, for the overthrow of capitalist rule, for socialism" (Lenin).'

The Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU

and reaffirmed and extended by the 25th has been highly important in the struggle for this goal, which the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties defined as the highest goal of mankind. The Soviet Union is the main force in the struggle for world peace, and its leader, Leonid Brezhnev, is the outstanding champion of this most humanistic cause. In his recent speech in Tula, Leonid Brezhnev had every reason to say: 'No country has offered mankind so broad, specific and realistic a program intended to reduce and then fully to eliminate the danger of a new war as the Soviet Union has. This program includes so paramount a measure as a world treaty banning the use of force in international relations. It encompasses all fundamental problems arising from the arms race and proposes effective steps to curb it and to achieve disarmament ...

'All our peace initiatives are in harmony with the fraternal socialist countries' common line in international affairs. We strive together for their materialization. The proposals of the Soviet Union and its friends are backed by dozens of UN member states and by the masses of all continents.'[1]

Socialism is a society of emancipated labor, of genuine humanism and social optimism. This is emphasized in the CC CPSU decision on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. Socialism, its ideology and practice have always imparted a deeply humanist content to the evolution of mankind, to social relations, to relations between individuals and between peoples.

This profound humanism shapes the attitude of socialism to democracy. It is not capitalism that compels socialism to join in a principled debate on democracy but vice versa, for there can be no genuine democracy without democracy at the basis, in production relations, without just social relations based on the emancipation of labor from exploitation. Nominal bourgeois democracy, which the enemies of socialism constantly invoke, is no substitute for this fundamental criterion of individual freedom.

Socialism is the first system in history to introduce the principles of justice and democracy into the basis, into production relations. It creates a qualitatively new democracy in the superstructure, in the political system, through people's rule, through genuine participation of the masses in government. Socialist democracy is also a democracy in evolution, a democracy whose content, forms and institutions are being continuously enriched. Socialism has much to contribute in these matters, for it continues to perfect its system. The transition from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of the whole people is a basic prerequisite for continued effort to perfect socialist democracy.

Lately the bourgeoisie has been trying harder than ever to impose

its approach to democracy on the Communist parties, accentuating various aspects of nominal democracy. Its aim is to divert attention from the fundamental issue of democracy at the basis, from the monopolies' stepped-up exploitation of the working people, from the social source of acute crisis phenomena, such as recession, unemployment, inflation and a declining standard of life in many capitalist countries.

It is important to examine these problems as they actually present themselves. The class struggle against socialist ideas and forces is intensifying because the ability of imperialism to stem the advance of socialism and the peace offensive of the socialist community is diminishing and because the crisis in capitalist countries is dragging on, leading to a growing radicalization of the masses. Fierce attacks on the socialist countries, on existing socialism, are among the principal forms of struggle against Communist parties and other progressive forces in capitalist countries.

We repeat: it is not capitalism that compels socialism to engage in a historical debate on democracy but vice versa. And it was the Great October Revolution that determined the nature of that debate.

Poland's Communists and all its people will fittingly celebrate the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. The decision of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP says: 'Considering the impact which the October Revolution has had on our people's destiny and the significance which close interaction with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has for the further progress of our socialist country, for its growing world role and prestige, we will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October in the spirit of the sincere sentiments and heartfelt wishes which our Party, working class and all our people express to their Soviet friends on this great day.'[2]

The Polish people owe the most important changes ever effected on their soil to the October Revolution, to the formation and development of the Soviet state. We mean, first of all, the winning of independence and the fact that our people have taken the road of socialist development. Alliance, friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union have been the cornerstone of the policy of our socialist state ever since it came into being and have stood the test of life. They have not only afforded us a unique opportunity for rapid economic growth, but have also brought our people a lasting sense of security and the longest period of peace in their history, and have strengthened the international positions of People's Poland. Our policy is aimed at furthering our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist counries in every field.

The development of Polish-Soviet cooperation was raised to a new and higher plane by the recent visit of a Party and government

delegation to the Soviet Union. This cooperation is evident in every sphere, in expanding fruitful exchanges of experience between the PUWP and the CPSU, which steadfastly promote Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the vital interests of both peoples. Friendly relations between our two states and their leaderships are becoming closer. Scientific and cultural exchanges have increased substantially and so have numerous social contacts fostering brotherhood between the two peoples. 'Our fraternal relations with the Land of Soviets,' said Edward Gierek during the delegation's visit, 'are of immense importance to us. Their steady consolidation meets all our national and class interests. This is one of the key conditions for the prosperity of socialist Poland.'[3]

The ideas of the October Revolution are being realized in the activity of the socialist world system, the international Communist and working-class movement and the anti-imperialist front as a whole. The impact of the socialist world system makes for deeper revolutionary changes in today's world. This comes about chiefly in the course of fulfilling three inseparable tasks: building communist society in the Soviet Union and a developed socialist society in other socialist countries, promoting peace and international cooperation on an equal footing through the policy of détente, and backing the forces of social progress and national independence. Speaking of international relations at the 25th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said that 'the positions of socialism go on strengthening and expanding. The victories of the national liberation movement open new vistas for the peoples who have won independence. The working people's class struggle against monopoly oppression and the exploiting system is surging high. The revolutionary democratic, anti-imperialist movement is gaining in scope. This is evidence that the world revolutionary process is advancing.'[4]

The October Revolution was the beginning of this advance. Its lessons and its fruitful experience are ever present in our activity as they will also be in the future. They are the foundation of socialist theory and practice.

1. *Pravda,* January 19, 1977.
2. *Trybuna Ludu,* February 24, 1977.
3. *Trybuna Ludu,* November 10, 1976.
4. L.I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom.* Vol. 5, p. 478.

Anniversary preparations

Reports are coming in on preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In celebrating the anniversary, the peoples of the Soviet Union will be joined by those of other countries of the socialist community, by Communists and working people the world over.

A decision on anniversary celebrations in Bulgaria adopted by the Political Bureau, CC BCP, notes the powerful impact of the October Revolution on the life of the Bulgarian people and on the whole of world development in the 20th century. The occasion will be observed in Bulgaria as a great holiday, the decision says. The staffs of many factories are setting themselves new targets in its honor.

The CC SUPG, State Council, Council of Ministers and National Council of the National Front of the GDR have called on all citizens of the republic to mark the anniversary of the October Revolution in a fitting manner. The appeal speaks highly of the contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet people to peace and social progress.

In Hungary, the staff of the Csepel steel and engineering complex has decided to observe the anniversary by fresh achievements in socialist construction. Their initiative has been widely taken up in other countries of the socialist community.

America's Communists have formed an anniversary committee to publicize the significance of the socialist revolution in Russia and the progress made in 60 years.

The CC of the Communist Party of Venezuela is planning a series of anniversary conferences, rallies and meetings devoted to the Soviet Union's achievements in building communism and to the international significance of the October Revolution.

In Britain, the anniversary will be observed through a series of social functions, the *Morning Star* has announced.

The CC of the Communist Party of Finland has adopted a decision on the Communists' tasks in connection with the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and the 60th anniversary of Finland's independence.

Portugal's Communists and democrats are also preparing to commemorate the anniversary. Events devoted to this holiday of the working people of the world are already under way.

The Communist press of Italy, France, the FRG and many other

countries carries material on the anniversary. It calls the readers' attention to the progress made by the peoples of the USSR under Soviet rule and writes of the unremitting efforts made by the CPSU and the Soviet state to achieve détente, disarmament and world peace.

Political democracy and class dictatorship

Franz Muhri
Chairman, CP Austria

Democracy, individual freedom, national freedom — for decades they have been the subject of heated ideological and political debate, especially sharp in the past few years, and with no sign of abating in the foreseeable future. For it reflects one of the most salient features of international development, the growth of the forces of democracy and socialism.

In the present social and psychological climate, any party that wants to win political influence finds itself obliged to advocate democracy and offer its conception of freedom, even if the interests of the people and their democratic aspirations are entirely alien to it. For instance, latterly, such conservative forces as the CDU-CSU and their counterpart in Austria, the People's Party, have been trumpeting their championship of freedom which, they allege, is incompatible with socialism.

It is therefore especially important to form a clear picture of the class positions of the participants in this discussion about democracy, which, in the final analysis, is a part of the sharpening ideological class struggle in every capitalist country and on the international scene. Only this approach will reveal the essence of the problem and allow for a discussion of democratic freedoms in the context of class relations.

I

In Austria, the right-wing Socialist Party leaders claim to be the staunchest champions of democracy. Their claim was clearly set out by Bruno Kreisky in his report to the European Forum in Alpbach[1] last September. The report was titled 'Freedom and Dictatorship' and this is the picture Kreisky presented to his audience: on the one side there are the 'adherents of democracy,' that is, those anxious to maintain the existing political structures of developed capitalism.

They make up a very broad spectrum of parties and political trends, from the extreme conservatives to the 'pink' social-reformists. The only difference between them as Kreisky sees it, is the 'time-differential in appreciating the need for social change.'[2] On the other side are the 'adherents of dictatorship' and chief among them, according to Kreisky, are the Communists. To follow his logic, this is quite natural because the ideology of the Communist movement is linked with the conception of proletarian dictatorship.

Kreisky devoted practically the whole of his report to attacks on the Communists. There was practically no place in this speech, supposedly in defense of freedom, for condemnation of past or present fascism and extreme political reaction, which the Communists have always courageously and consistently fought.

The September 1973 coup (which Kreisky did not even mention) imposed a fascist dictatorship on Chile and made short shrift of all the traditions of political democracy. The democratic revolution of April 25, 1974, put an end to fascist dictatorship in Portugal. The whole world, and presumably also Kreisky and his political friends, know on whose side the Communists were in these and many other conflicts between political democracy and political dictatorship — the confrontation of which is typical of 20th century bourgeois society.

The revolutionary working class and Marxist-Leninists have never questioned the need to work for political democracy, civil rights and freedoms. They have been the most active participants in democratic movements. We Austrian Communists have always been guided by Lenin's proposition that the road to social emancipation of the working people, the road to socialism, cannot bypass democracy. The Communist Party of Austria conceives the struggle for the socialist future of our country only on the basis of maximum, deep-going and comprehensive democratization of public life, on the basis of decisive resistance to all attempts to curtail the rights and freedoms of the working people, of the masses.

This alone exposes the fallacy of counterposing the Communists' position to the ideals of democracy. But from the point of view of our bourgeois and reformist opponents, the touchstone of democracy is the attitude to the concept of proletarian dictatorship. Those who accept that concept are categorically denied the title of democrats. Why? Because, we are told, democracy and dictatorship are incompatible.

This is a fraudulent presentation of the question, a method the enemies of the working class have used for decades. It is not a case of error resulting from delusion or ignorance, but a gross, deliberate forgery, for the social-reformist leaders know perfectly well that in

our theory the category of class dictatorship is not synonymous with the concept of political dictatorship.

In his Alpbach speech Kreisky did all he could to obscure this fundamental difference and make out that negation of democracy was from the very outset intrinsic in Marx's doctrine of the class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. In fact, Kreisky said: 'There can hardly be any doubt that it was Karl Marx who provided the historical and moral substantiation of domination through coercion and dictatorship, when he enunciated the concept of proletarian dictatorship'[3] In reality Marx, and later in greater detail Lenin, showed that every state is an instrument of the domination of a definite class. The theory of the class struggle formulated by the Marxist-Leninist classics and developed to recognition of the need for proletarian dictatorship is a scientific explanation of the objective laws of social development at the stage of society's inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism. It shows the need to establish working class power, which Marx defined as the dictatorship of the proletariat. Incidentally, in our view, the employment or non-employment of this concept by one or another Communist Party is not of decisive importance. What is important is the *essence* of this scientific category, the *content* which Marx, Engels and Lenin imparted to it. And this retains all its validity in the present, in many ways changing conditions and forms of transition to socialism, for such propositions as the leading role of the working class, the introduction of broad democracy for the working people, the resolute attack on the positions of the exploiting minority, etc., are fully relevant today too.

The absurdity of the allegation that anti-democracy was intrinsic in Marx's theory from the very outset becomes especially obvious if we bear in mind that Marxism extends the concept of class dictatorship not only to socialist society, where the working class is the dominant class, but also to capitalist society. Class dictatorship, i.e., the concentration of state power in the hands of a definite class, does not yet signify the absence of democracy. For the Marxists this is just as irrefutable as the fact that political democracy represents a class dictatorship, i.e., the domination of a definite class expressed in concrete political forms. Now as in the past, social and political realities fully confirm the theoretical proposition expressed in the following words of Lenin: '... The dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from communism. Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all those states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the*

bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the *dictatorship of the proletariat' (Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 413).

II

Let us analyze the interconnection between political democracy and class dictatorship, taking Austria as an example.

Austria's political structure has not been mutilated by a military-police regime like the one that existed in Portugal under Salazar and Caetano, Franco's Spain or in the Greece of the Black Colonels. We have a parliament elected by universal suffrage, a pluralism of political parties, media, etc. The political administration system has all these customary attributes of bourgeois democracy. But if we examine the substance of the various forms of Austrian democracy, if we take a closer look at how its institutions function, we shall have to conclude that Austria's political life bears the strong imprint of the ideology and practice of 'social partnership.'

How this affects the destinies of Austrian democracy will be seen from the following example. Under the constitution, parliament is the supreme authority, a forum expressive of the sovereign will of the people. In practice, however, parliament is increasingly becoming a formal institution. For all its decisions are predetermined by the all-powerful institutions of 'social partnership,' composed of top officials of employer organizations, chambers of commerce, the social-reformist trade unions and the government.[4]

In his Alpbach speech Kreisky was very much concerned about the extra-parliamentary threat to democracy. He would have been more logical if he had said that the threat to democracy in Austria comes from an extra-parliamentary center of power, founded and strengthened by the 'social partnership' system. Parliament's function has been reduced merely to rubber-stamping the agreements reached by the 'partners.'

Nor are the Communists the only ones who are aware of this state of affairs. The facts are so obvious that very often the social-reformists and representatives of the bourgeoisie find themselves obliged to comment on the situation. The Left Socialists openly criticize and reject 'social partnership.'

It is no secret that Austrian democracy is caught up in a process of internal erosion. And assessing this from a scientific, Marxist-Leninist standpoint, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the evolution of Austria's political system is subject, in specific national forms, to the laws governing the destinies of bourgeois democracy in this

age of imperialism and the domination of state-monopoly capitalism. The interests of the bourgeoisie have come into conflict with the standards of bourgeois democracy. Things have not yet reached the point of outright curtailment and violation of democratic procedures and rituals. The facade of democratic institutions is still there, but their substance is being more and more emasculated or entirely destroyed to suit the selfish demands and interests of capital.

An essential feature of 'social partnership' as a specific Austrian form of state-monopoly capitalism is that it functions regardless of the parliamentary majority or the make-up of the government. In the 50s and early 60s there was a coalition government of the People's and Socialist parties. The People's Party had a majority in parliament and appointed the federal chancellor. In 1966-69, it had an absolute majority, with the Socialists in opposition.

The Social-Democrats came to power for the first time in 1970 and since 1971 have had an absolute majority in parliament. However, despite all these changes, 'social partnership' continues to dominate Austrian political life. And so, the advent to power of an independent Social-Democratic government did not signify a change of policy, let alone the transfer of power from one class to another. On the contrary, the class domination of capital was not only preserved, but continues to find expression in the pursuit of a 'social partnership' policy. Going back on its election promises, the Kreisky government did not offer a realistic alternative, on any substantial issue, to the policy of the People's Party government. This is clear proof that the content of any political system (including a democratic one) is determined by the dominant class.

Let us approach from another angle this question of the interconnection between political democracy and class dictatorship in the capitalist world of today. In his Alpbach speech Kreisky made this significant statement: '... political democracy has proved incapable of solving most of the difficult problems posed by the grave world economic crisis.'[5]

He singled out three problems with which the 'democratic government' tried to cope. First, undercapacity operation of industry, illustrated by the fact that most of the world's merchant fleet lies idle, and the shipbuilding industry is in a state of profound crisis. Second, the declining prices of aluminum and steel alloys. And third, and most important, unemployment. (Despite the economic pick-up, there are, according even to official figures, about 15 million jobless in the industrial capitalist countries.) Such, then, is the state of affairs in the capitalist world.

The sharp crisis developments in the capitalist economy are not

caused by society's political institutions, but by the class structure of the economy, the contradictions arising out of the domination of monopoly, the inherent antagonism between labor and capital. The impotence of political democracy, of which Kreisky spoke, is only natural under capitalism.

The domination of monopoly capital engenders a very strong tendency to curtail political democracy. We have already shown how this operates in Austria. It also operates, in one or another form, to a greater or lesser degree, in other countries of state-monopoly capitalism. Hence, the need to fight for democracy, that is, against the omnipotence of the monopolies, against their encroachments on the rights, freedoms and gains of the workers and the popular masses. The value of each success in this struggle is beyond all doubt. But, at the same time, experience has taught us Austrian Communists how right Lenin was when he wrote: 'The domination of finance capital and of capital in general is not to be abolished by *any* reforms in the sphere of political democracy . . .' (Vol. 22, p. 145). And this is understandable, for the relation of political democracy to class dictatorship is that of form to content. Austria's experience has shown: if the bourgeoisie, the monopolies, retain the key social and economic positions that assure their domination over society, even the broadest democracy remains bourgeois democracy, i.e., a form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has been confirmed, in particular, by Socialist Party sociologists and publicists when they refer to the growing 'concentration of power' in the economy and other areas of Austrian life.

III

An understanding of the substance of every capitalist state as domination of the bourgeoisie (which does not mean that we see no difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism!) has always, we believe, been of vast importance for the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working class. We are convinced that today, too, this cardinal Marxist-Leninist proposition provides definite guidelines for the Communist effort to unite the democratic forces for the attainment of progressive aims. In Austria this means the achievement of anti-monopoly democracy. In campaigning for the unity of all democrats, we know that in this broad alliance there are bound to be different views and attitudes, even contradictions. But the very possibility of forming such an alliance, the rationale of its existence, its viability and activity, rest on a firm objective basis, a common interest in upholding and promoting democracy.

Of course, this common interest arises not because all the elements of this alliance are attracted by the word 'democracy,' but rather

because the objective position of various groups and strata of contemporary bourgeois society impels them to fight economic and social oppression by big capital and the government machine that serves it. In other words, in this case, too, it is the choice made by one or another group in the concrete conditions of class struggle and class relations that gives the concept 'democracy' its real meaning. Accept the domination of monopoly capital or fight it? — that question is the touchstone of genuine democratic convictions.

Millions in the capitalist countries have made that choice, moved by their social instinct or on the basis of their political experience. For Marxist-Leninists it is also substantiated by scientific theory.

We are fully aware that imperialism, state-monopoly capitalism, not only suppresses (though never entirely abolishes) free market competition, but also uses every available means to restrict political democracy (which, incidentally, does not at all imply its complete abolition). The root of the menace to democracy lies in the very nature of monopoly capital. And this menace is all the more real and more tangible, the sharper the contradictions of capitalism become and the more painfully crisis developments are felt. It has visibly increased with the crisis afflicting world capitalism in the 70s.

In this historical situation, the Communists are working to unite the popular forces to fight monopoly domination. They are thus offering a course of social and political development that accords with the interests of democracy.

Many Social-Democrat leaders have spoken of the crisis of, and danger to, democracy in capitalist society. But they try to create the impression that the danger emanates mainly from the left, from the Communists.

In concluding his Alpbach report, Kreisky spoke eloquently of the need to perfect democracy. This, he said, was the 'task of our time, the confrontation between freedom and dictatorship,'[6] and Kreisky left no doubt that he was referring to the struggle against 'Communist dictatorship.' That attitude is not new. Speeches of this kind could be heard in Germany in the early 30s. Forty years later similar speeches were repeated when the Popular Unity government came to power in Chile. And now, flouting all the lessons of history, there is a revival of the fictitious 'Communist menace to democracy.'

What is behind this persistent repetition? We will not be in error if we say that the roots of this attitude lie in the interests of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, the monopolies, for more than anyone else they are interested in diverting public attention from their own menace to the democratic institutions of society and the rights of the people. Today, with the deepening of the crisis of bourgeois democ-

racy, this has become a vital ideological and political necessity for the monopolies. And it is to their advantage to have the charge of anti-democracy hurled at their most consistent opponents, representatives of the working class and working people. In helping the monopolies achieve that, the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are working hand-in-glove with forces that represent the greatest peril to democracy. They are also helping to strengthen the omnipotence of monopoly capital, which today is the concentrated expression of the class domination of the bourgeoisie.

And so, if the social-reformist leaders, among them Kreisky, claim to be champions of democracy, this applies only to bourgeois democracy. And if we take their attitude to dictatorship, we can definitely say that they were and remain supporters of bourgeois dictatorship. This explains why in the past, at difficult and critical times for democracy, the ideologists and political leaders of social-reformism were unable to see the source of the danger and did not want to take the only correct road, the road of unity with the most consistent democratic forces. It explains also the present policy of the Austrian Social-Democratic leadership, their obsessive anti-Communism, which is both a reflection of their concern to maintain bourgeois dictatorship and an impediment to the development of an effective struggle for democracy.

The Austrian Social-Democrat ideologists try to justify their 'social partnership' policy by pleading that the workers and employers 'are in the same boat.' And from this they conclude that the class struggle, especially the political class struggle, has outlived its day, and even contradicts the principle of democracy. What we have is an attempt to paralyze the working class. But successful defense and extension of democracy are possible only through joint struggle of the working class and all laboring strata. The 'partnership' ideology is a retreat from class positions and from the socialist perspective. Hence, the effort to bring to the working class an understanding of its position and its historical role requires struggle against the ideology and practice of 'social partnership.'

The Communist Party of Austria is consistently guided by the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the road to socialism, i.e., the overthrow of bourgeois domination, is also the road to extending the rights and freedoms the working people have won under capitalism. More, it imparts to the democratic rights of the people and the functioning of democratic institutions a qualitatively new content that accords with the social, economic and spiritual requirements of society, of the laboring masses, of the individual. We also emphasize that as long as there is the class domination of capitalism, no achievements of democracy can be long-lasting. And, conversely,

consistent democracy for the working class, the working people, can be achieved only through the socialist restructuring of society.

In the fight for socialism via anti-monopoly democracy, for stage-by-stage restriction of the power of big capital, we are striving for equal cooperation of several parties in the leadership of the revolutionary process which will transform society. This is expressive of our conviction that the majority of those involved in organized political movement in Austria place the defense and development of democracy above concern for keeping alive the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

1. An annual gathering of conservative political, media and cultural personalities.
2. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, September 4, 1976.
3. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, September 4, 1976.
4. 'Social partnership' is one of the main economic and social mechanisms of Austrian state-monopoly capitalism. The 'partners' are big business and the leadership of the Socialist-controlled trade union federation. Through a ramified network of agencies, notably the 'parity commission on wages and prices,' they shape and implement economic and social policy in the interests of the monopolies. (For more details see Ernst Wimmer's article, 'Social-Democracy and Social Partnership,' in *WMR* for October 1974.)
5. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, September 4, 1976.
6. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, September 4, 1976.

Social and economic policy in period of building developed socialism

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The thoughts and efforts of Communists in the socialist countries are now centered on man, on creating conditions for his all-round, harmonious development. This aspect of the policy of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties stands out most clearly in building developed socialism and communism. The documents of the last Party congresses show that, using available resources and potentialities, the socialist countries are following a strategy of social development focused on man, on satisfying his constantly rising material and cultural requirements. The humane content of this strategy

has found expression in closer interconnection and organic unity of economic and social policy.

Importance of the problem

In the Central Committee Report to the 25th CPSU Congress, General Secretary Brezhnev defined the basic socio-economic tasks as relating primarily to 'further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people, improvement of their general and working conditions, substantial progress in public health, education, culture — they relate to everything that helps to form the new man, the all-round development of the personality, perfection of the socialist way of life.' Addressing the 15th Congress of our Party, its General Secretary, Gustav Husak, emphasized the vast importance of implementing the program of 'continued and even improvement of all elements that go into the standard of living, strengthening people's confidence in society, perfecting the socialist way of life.'

The process of achieving unity of social and economic policy raises a number of theoretical and practical questions: what is the essence of the concept of socialist humanism, that underlying principle of communist policy? How is this unity achieved at various stages of socialist construction? What are the characteristic features of this policy in present-day conditions, and several other questions.

In finding the answers we do not, of course, have to begin from scratch. For the Marxist-Leninist classics have given us guidelines for the solution of even the most complex problems. However, we are fully aware that application of general principles to the solution of concrete problems in concrete historical situations is not only an art, but also a science, and one that requires the constant enrichment and continued creative development of these principles, which, in turn, raises new questions.

The purpose of this article is to examine some of them, chiefly in the light of our Party's experience. We believe that exchange of views on unity of social and economic policy is of great value for internationalizing the accumulated experience of the fraternal parties operating this policy in their respective countries, and also for waging the ideological struggle in which, as we know, the problems of humanism, value orientations, the criteria of a way of life worthy of man, hold a very prominent place. For many years now existing socialism has served as an inspiring example of a society which has brought the working people freedom from exploitation, social and national oppression, poverty and all the other evils of capitalism, assured dynamic economic development, a steady rise in prosperity standards, all-round development of the personality. In other words, it is becoming increasingly clear that socialism offers a con-

vincing alternative to a society of which economic, political, spiritual and moral crises are an intrinsic part.

Socialism's record

In a socialist society economic and social development is subordinated to the interests of the working people, the interests of each member of society. This general law stems from the very nature of socialism as the genuine embodiment of humanist ideals. The production of material values and the achievements of culture, the entire system of social relations, serve the working people.

However, the possibilities of satisfying material and cultural requirements are not the same at different development stages of socialist society and in different countries. There are many reasons for that: the inherited differences in social and economic levels; the need to accelerate the building of the material and technical basis of socialism in formerly backward countries, and to restructure industry and agriculture in developed countries; the need also to strengthen their defense capacity in the face of imperialist military threats, which was especially important in the cold war period, etc.

Nonetheless, even at the initial stages of socialist construction, all the fraternal countries introduced measures which substantially improved the conditions of the vast majority of the people. Elimination of unemployment and guaranteed jobs gave every worker confidence in the future and considerably raised his standard of living. Socialism assures everyone free medical care and adequate social maintenance. It opens to the working people access to knowledge, to the wealth of spiritual culture, has vastly improved general and working conditions. We are therefore justified in saying that, already in its early stages, socialism demonstrates its incontestable superiority over capitalism in matters that are vital to the human condition. For it provides effective means for the development and flourishing of the personality, whereas capitalism obstructs use of all the achievements and potentialities of modern civilization for the benefit of the working people.

In launching out on the building of socialism, our Party was guided by the definition of communism given by the founders of Marxism, namely, as a social system in which 'the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle.' (Marx, *Capital).* We drew on the rich experience of the CPSU, whose underlying principle, formulated by Lenin, is 'ensuring *full* well-being and free *all-round* development for *all* members of society.' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 6, p. 54). But unlike the utopian socialists, the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary working class parties guided by their teaching, have never understood all-round

development of the individual as some abstract postulate deduced from an equally abstract understanding of 'human nature' applicable at all times and in all historical situations. They understood all-round development of the personality as an ideal rooted in social reality and concrete historical conditions. Hence, the substance, completeness and pace of its achievement are determined by the objective regularities of socialist and communist construction, and are dependent on the resources at the command of society at one or another stage and on the conditions obtaining in that society. The experience of world socialism has shown that the greatest success in achieving these humanistic ideals is scored by parties which take careful account of internal and external factors, relate their goals to available resources, and make sure that their words are not at odds with their deeds.

All-round development of the individual presupposes, above all, creation of the necessary *material conditions*. This implies, on the one hand, abolishing all the privileges that enabled a tight group of exploiters to monopolize the material and spiritual values of society to the detriment of the working people. On the other hand, it implies gigantic expansion of the productive forces as the foundation for satisfying the people's constantly rising requirements.

Achievement of our magnificent social aims necessitated fundamental restructuring and expansion of the economy in some socialist countries and starting from scratch in others. At the same time, Lenin's plan of building socialism envisaged from the very outset that, with economic progress and fuller realization of our social aims, there will emerge new means of *social development* facilitating the formation of the new man. For as Marx emphasized, in the future '... the main basis of production and wealth will be not the direct labor of man ... but an understanding of his own overall productive force, his understanding of nature and the ability to dominate it ... in short, the development of the social individual.'

It is precisely for this reason that the principle 'all for man,' which is the supreme aim of socialism, has from the very start of socialist construction been basic to our Party's activity. The Party devised its economic development plan on entirely new, class principles, closely tied in with its broad program of social change, with the process of forming the new society and the new man.

Looking back on the path we have traversed, and assessing our achievements in the light of present-day requirements and problems, we can clearly see that, for the first time in history, the socialist countries have made economic development a means of refashioning the life of the people, an instrument of social transformation. And at every stage of socialist construction these two components

have been in dialectical unity, though their concrete forms were, naturally, different at various periods and in various countries.

What has been the process of our country? The main task of our economic policy after 1948 centered, above all, on developing and reconstructing industry and laying the foundations of large-scale socialist agriculture. Our Party worked on the premise that this is a universal law governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and an essential condition for asserting the socialist mode of production.

The impressive scale of industrial development in Czechoslovakia — an industrial country even before the war — can be judged from the fact that industrial output is now 10 times the 1948 figure, with a 23-fold increase in engineering and a nearly 27-fold rise in chemicals. This has strengthened Czechoslovakia's position in the world, and structural changes in industry have strengthened its position among the more developed countries.

Agriculture has developed from small commodity production to large-scale cooperative farms. Output indicators are more than 50 per cent above prewar and labor productivity has increased by 340 per cent. Living and working conditions in rural areas have improved markedly.

However, economic reconstruction was not an aim in itself. Our very first steps changed the social-class basis of national life, creating the conditions which open broad vistas to all the working people. From objects of policy they became the makers of policy, with an active share in the management of state and public affairs through direct and representative democracy.

This was accompanied by removal of the sharp contrasts in living standards inherited from capitalism. A beginning was made on devising a system of differentiated wages and incomes based on the socialist principle of remuneration according to one's work, supplemented by a wide range of social services. Full employment and rising earnings, sick benefits, old age pensions and generous family grants, gave every citizen firm confidence in the future. Much was also done to equalize working conditions in industry and agriculture, and in this way obliterate the differences between town and village.

The economic map of Czechoslovakia has very little resemblance to that of the early days of socialist construction, industrialization has infused new life into once economically backward areas.

Economic progress has gone hand in hand with solution of the many problems involved in raising living standards. One of our priorities was to improve nutrition, i.e., provide conditions for the entire population to enjoy a high-calorie and balanced diet. In this

respect Czechslovakia holds one of the top places in the world. And we have worked with the same consistency and perseverance in solving other social problems, such as assuring an adequate supply of clothing, shoes, etc. We can now say that our ambitious housing program, reconstruction of old buildings, environmental improvement and the provision of new comfortable flats, has in this respect too put Czechoslovakia among the most advanced nations.

From the very early days of socialist construction our Communist Party adopted a policy of comprehensive social maintenance, on the premise that socialism creates a new pattern of society's attitude to the people, the family, the aged. Every year our government assigns more money for public health, education, culture, old-age pensions, sick benefits, assistance to new families, child care, etc. And this expenditure is increasing at a faster pace than personal incomes. Thus, in 1961-76 wages and other earned incomes increased 120 per cent, whereas grants to the population out of social consumption funds, i.e., expenditure on the social needs of the people and on free services, increased 190 per cent, which means that their share in income rose from 37 to 47.5 per cent.

In the early 70s our social services were extended by a wide-ranging program of mother-and-child care and assistance to large families. This changed the long and negative demographic tendency, as a result of which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had one of the lowest birth rates in Europe; today it has the third highest.

Mention should also be made of our progress in public health. Czechoslovakia was the first country in the world to eliminate poliomyelitis. Our system of free medical care has solved an old and burdensome problem — the need to pay for treatment, especially in cases of chronic sickness.

We can look back on a period of considerable achievement also in culture. Even in the early years of socialist construction, Czechoslovakia held a top place in Europe in the number of theatres, cultural institutions, etc.

We have removed all class barriers to education at every level. The student body of our higher and secondary schools reflects the social structure of our society, in which the working class is the most numerous and leading class. For the first time in Czechoslovak history the level and scale of education are ahead of the requirements of the economy, but we accept that because our aim is to create the basic preconditions for the all-round development of the ability, talent and social activity of every member of society. How radically our education system has changed can be judged, for example, from this fact: today Slovakia has three times more university instructors than bourgeois Slovakia had university students.

In its economic policy the Communist Party has always given priority attention to creating the necessary prerequisites for removing the differences in social and economic development levels of our two fraternal nations, the Czech and the Slovak, as a cardinal element of national equality. Industrialization has changed the image of once backward Slovakia. Its share in total industrial output in 1937 was less than eight per cent, today it is 27 per cent. The sharp difference in living standards and living conditions between Czechs and Slovaks, so characteristic of the old bourgeois republic, has disappeared.

New stage, new goals

The social and economic development program for the current five-year period and subsequent years takes into account the potentialities of our society and the magnitude and nature of the social tasks that arise objectively as we advance to developed socialism. Naturally, their fulfillment depends in decisive measure on dynamic economic development through more efficient production and more rapid scientific and technological progress. The Party also proceeds from the fact that at a time when we are solving the problem of linking the Scientific and Technological Revolution (STR) with the advantages of socialism, to raise the working people's standard of life is essential to economic development and a key prerequisite for fast-growing production. This concept of the oneness of economic and social development underlies the policy adopted by the 15th Party Congress.

The Congress stressed the great importance of fostering people's creative abilities and moulding a socialist way of life. Its decisions are aimed at continuing to mould that way of life, which is not limited to growing material consumption but implies meeting all requirements, material and spiritual alike. Gains in achieving social objectives also find reflection in the level of social, political and ideological unity of society, which is led by the working class, and of unity of the working people behind the Party. Besides, they express themselves in a gradual elimination of class distinctions and in growing unity of the interests of all classes and social groups, in the development of socialist democratic principles.

Thus, Czechoslovak society is developing as an integral social, economic and political system, on its own, socialist basis. It has a powerful economic, scientific and technological potential and has gone very far in meeting the people's material and spiritual requirements. One may well ask: What should the main guidelines of further social and economic development be in these circumstances? What is the reasonable limit in meeting material and spiritual re-

quirements? What should be the priorities? How are we to prevent the desire for material well-being from sidetracking spiritual growth and ideological and moral maturity? What role should the Party's social and economic policy play in this respect?

In answering these questions, it is necessary to bear in mind the essential features and potentialities of developed socialism, which is a new stage on the road to communism. Developed socialism combines the achievements of the STR with the advantages of the socialist economic system and puts the emphasis on intensive methods of economic development. It is characterized by a qualitatively new level and scale of production, which make possible a steadily rising standard of living and guarantee the harmonious development of every aspect of public life. The laws of socialism are operating in every sphere of social life and, indeed, are acquiring decisive importance. And this brings to the fore the problem of interaction of all the aspects of socialist society as one entity.

Speaking at the 15th Party Congress, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz, defined the main features of developed socialism as follows: 'A developed socialist society, whose construction is the content of this stage, is characterized, first of all, by combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with new social relations and by comprehensive fulfillment of political, social, economic, cultural and ideological education tasks, which makes it possible to meet people's steadily growing requirements.'

Our experience suggests that with more intensive economic development, greater accent on scientific and technological progress, more efficient organization of production, growing skills and a richer pattern of relations between people, the results of economic development acquire a different character. To be specific, economic development leads not only to quantitative changes but — in much greater measure — to qualitative ones, for it sets in motion deeplying factors promoting the development of socialist society; there arise new requirements and values, the nature of people's work and the scope of this public activity change, their standards of education and qualifications rise. In other words, intensive economic progress necessarily brings out the latent abilities of the working people.

It follows that in the period of building a developed socialist society, the all-round social development of the individual, of all working people, stands out more and more as the immediate *aim* of socialist construction. At the same time, it serves as a new powerful *means* of this construction. And it is here that the deepest source of the strength and advantages of socialism lies, a source beyond capitalism's reach.

Accordingly, the socialist way of life also has a twofold aspect. It is the social objective of economic, scientific and technological progress and, on the other hand, it is itself an active factor in this progress. By developing it consciously and meaningfully, it becomes possible to ensure that allocations for social needs are used properly, that is, for fostering the working people's abilities, and not wasted in purely consumer fashion or to the detriment of people's abilities or heatlh.

Only a system in which all economic, technological, social, political and cultural changes are closely interconnected can consciously set social objectives and achieve them one by one. This no longer implies merely overall, quantitative increase in production and consumption, a rising standard of life, and so on. The qualitative aspect is becoming the important factor. The decisive question is one of priorities, of the items to be produced on a particularly large scale, the services to be expanded first of all, the standards to be maintained in satisfying material and cultureal requirements, the standards which education and qualifications should meet and the likely impact of all this on the way of life of the individual and society.

A fact of great social significance in this respect is the changing nature of labor, such as the mechanization of auxiliary and monotonous jobs, especially loading and unloading, the provision of the service industries with more technical facilities, and measures to protect and improve the environment. Economizing on labor is not merely a matter of economizing on the wage fund. It also means gradually eliminating hard, unskilled work and using the worker's abilities for more productive activity. With this approach, the worker's educational standard cannot be assessed solely in terms of the immediate skilled labor requirements of production and society. Account must also be taken of the value and significnace of this indicator as an independent factor in scientific, technological and social progress, in the working people's creative effort.

It is just as evident that a narrow view of production efficiency should give way to a broad socio-economic conception of the efficiency of social production and socio-economic planning and management, at the level of both individual socialist countries and the socialist community as a whole. Man's all-round development is the main goal of the Communist movement and the fundamental value of socialist society. It is a powerful factor in human progress and its highest goal. This was how Marx, Engels and Lenin approached the matter, and the course of development of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union, proves their ideas correct.

The social policy of the Communist parties of socialist countries is not restricted to adjusting current economic laws or to gearing them to popular needs. It regulates the whole range of relations between

classes and social groups, between the collective body and the individual, and is based on materializing the program goals of socialism and communism, that is, achieving complete social equality, conceived as the all-round development of every individual.

We have created a society that is not divided into hostile classes but characterized by increasingly close bonds between class and social groups. There is no such thing in this society as extremes of poverty and wealth, for all of society's wealth belongs to those who create it by their labor.

Socialism is thus the first society in history having no closed, strictly isolated social groups, a society with an open and dynamic structure of interests reflecting relations of cooperation between all its members. This creates the prerequisites for achieving complete social equality.

Our interest in further progress on these lines is not prompted by philanthropic considerations, nor by an egalitarian tendency. It is inseparable from the social objectives we have set ourselves and is based on careful analysis of the conditions in which these objectives can be achieved. We hold that, as we have already stressed, *the development of the abilities and qualities of each at this stage of socialist construction is a requisite for the development of socialist society as a whole.*

The advancing STR has given rise in the West to a spate of views and concepts alleging a total split of society into the specific and technological 'elite' and those outside it. A fact of invaluable importance in refuting such concepts is that in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, science and knowledge are neither 'private intellectual property,' nor a source of social privilege but serve all working people.

Our country's entire economic and social policy as defined by the 15th Party Congress, like the policy pursued by other countries of the socialist community, is based on the principle 'everything for man, everything for his development.' With every step forward, this principle gains and will gain in importance in our society and will be applied ever more fully and consistently because it combines the program goals of our movement and the most powerful sources and potentialities which socialist society can draw on in its forward movement.

Real and alleged humanism

For the first time in history, socialism has turned humanism from a dream into a concrete task, into the meaning and content of people's revolutionary activity. Strictly speaking, humanism put into practice as comprehensively as possible is socialism, a system gradually de-

veloping into communism, and the road to it leads through one of the most radical transformations in social history. This is why the question of the fundamental goal of socialism, of its nature, the forms of transition to it and the ways and means of building it, is constantly in the focus of ideological struggles.

When, six decades ago, the working people of Russia led by Lenin's Party set about building socialism, bourgeois propaganda bombarded the world with 'evidence' supposed to show that however attractive in theory the socialist ideal may be, there have never been, and never will be, means for its materialization, so that socialism will always be no more than a dream. This allegation was repeated in every way after World War II, when socialism became a realistic goal for the working people of several East European and Asian countries.

Now that no one can deny the vast progress made by the socialist countries in production, consumption and the application of scientific and technological achievements, hostile propaganda approaches the problem of socialism from a different angle. It counterposes the aims and means of socialist change, its significance and the ways of effecting it, saying that the only result of the socialist revolution is economic progress, the more rapid industrialization of what had been more or less backward countries. According to opponents of Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism, socialism 'sacrifices' man to advance production and sees in the individual only an instrument for achieving economic objectives, and hence existing socialism has nothing to do with 'genuine socialism,' 'humane socialism,' 'socialism with a human face,' and so on.

These allegations, which bear no resemblance to reality, are prompted by perfectly obvious considerations. They are designed, first of all, to conceal from the working people of non-socialist countries the fact that the working class and other working people of socialist countries are no longer an object of capitalist exploitation but real builders who actively use the means of production and available resources to advance society and man. One of the principal aims of anti-communist propaganda is to reduce or paralyze if possible the working people's socialist activity, which in socialist countries is boosted by social, technological and economic changes.

The bourgeoisie's propaganda attacks on existing socialism are also prompted by the desire to divert attention from the current deep crisis of capitalism. Relatively rapid progress in science, technology and production over the past decades, often artificially accelerated by quickening the pace of the STR to save the capitalist system, takes an irrational form, the form of fatal spontaneous processes, many of them disastrous, owing to the inability of capital-

ism to make economic, scientific and technological progress serve the working man. They are accompanied by recurrent imbalances in the 'metabolism' of society and nature, by deformations of social production resulting from the arms race and enormous military spending.

Manifest today is the inability of the wealthiest and technologically most advanced capitalist countries to solve social problems in the working people's interest and provide social and production conditions really in keeping with the interests of the masses. Bourgeois ideologues refuse to admit that while historical causes have so far prevented existing socialism from outstripping industrially developed capitalist countries in productivity level, it has, nevertheless, demonstrated its ability to place all material and spiritual resources at man's disposal. They argue, therefore, that socialist and communist construction, which requires intensive economic development and the use of modern science and technology, is bound to have the same disastrous consequences resulting from the STR as have already given rise to disappointment and protest among the working people of the West. Bourgeois propaganda tries to reduce the influence exerted on people's minds by the fact that the socialist countries have already attained a level of economic development enabling them to solve the problem of providing optimal material and cultural standards for the working people. The key to this solution is the unbreakable unity of the social and economic policy pursued by the Communist and Workers' parties.

Under socialism, the measures adopted for the good of man, for the formation and development of the working people's material and spiritual requirements, are not merely an embellishment of economic policy designed to improve its image. On the contrary, they express the internal objective goal, the meaning and essence of socialist society and its economic development. They are an imperative of socialist development itself, with the overall growth of the working people's abilities being regarded as the goal of social progress and a decisive factor in accelerating it. In this process, the development of every individual is a prerequisite for the development of all members of society, and conversely, every individual needs the development of all as a means of enriching his own life.

Peace in Middle East: sheet anchor for Israel

Meir Vilner
General Secretary, CP Israel

The years of struggle have shown to the Communists of Israel the undeniable truth that their achievements originate in their principled internationalist positions that are based upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the particular conditions of Israel. Under the complex and changing conditions the Party has to come up with the right answers and provide correct solutions to the numerous problems facing it.

Take, for instance, the Middle East problem. In their unrealistic and adventurist position, the ruling circles in Israel ignore the viewpoint of the majority of the nations of the world, as expressed in the decisions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly. They ignore world public opinion, which demands the elimination of the dangerous hotbed of war in the Middle East. They completely belittle the sovereignty of the neighboring Arab states, which is confirmed by the intervention in Lebanon. Their nationalist and militarist arrogance is especially expressed by their attitude to the national rights of the Palestine Arab people. The desire for territorial annexations and the denial of the rights of this people are one of the foundations of the official Israeli Zionist policy.

The Israeli government is directing all its efforts toward obtaining from the USA the biggest possible allocations of modern weapons and the largest possible sums of money for their acquisition. At the same time it brands any peace initiative as a move against the existence of the State of Israel.

The reactionary bourgeois-class policy of the powers that be is a policy of pro-imperialism, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. In the struggle in the international arena between the forces coming out for détente and peaceful coexistence among states of different social systems, on the one hand, and the forces aspiring to renew the cold war and international tension, on the other, the Israeli government sides with the latter, as it obviously feels apprehensive at the prospect that consolidation of détente and peace might put an end to the occupation of the Arab areas and bring justice to the Palestine Arab people.

One of the difficult problems encountered by our Party is how to lead the workers in Israel, the youth, the Israeli people in general, to a realistic vision of events in the Middle East and the rest of the world, since the media in Israel — radio, television and the majority of newspapers — detach almost completely the problems of Israel from the problems of the world, from the new correlation of forces in the international arena, from the changed correlation of forces in the Middle East and from the perspective of historical development in our region and the world. It is the duty of the Communist Party to tell the working people the truth about the situation in Israel and elsewhere, and help them to form the broadest front of struggle against occupation, for peace, democracy and social progress. The 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel proved to be a landmark along the road to this goal, an outstanding event in the history of our Party.

Communist influence is growing

The 18th Congress of the CPI, convened in Haifa on December 15-18, 1976, summed up the Communists' activities over the preceding four and a half years. It demonstrated the ideological, political and organizational unity of the Party, the increase of its influence in the life of society and manifested the firmness of its Jewish-Arab unity, which has been cemented in the big political struggles of the last few years that have impressed their stamp on the political development in Israel.

During the period between the 17th and 18th Congresses, the number of CPI members increased by 41 per cent, which is a considerable increase in the conditions of Israel. The majority of those joining the Party came from the ranks of the Young Communist League; 21 per cent of the delegates were in the 31-40 age group, while 30 per cent were under the age of 30. Thus the majority of the Congress delegates were under 40; 23 per cent of the delegates had been less than five years in the Party, while 10 per cent of delegates had been members for more than 30 years; 76 per cent of the delegates were wage earners.

Eleven new local branches of the Party had been opened since the preceding Congress, making 79 altogether.

By the time the 1976 Congress was held the Communists had a number of major political gains to their credit. In the elections to the Knesset in 1973 the Communist Party achieved a success, receiving 53,353 votes, 3.4 per cent of all votes, as against 38,827 votes, or 2.8 per cent, in 1969. The Party increased the number of its deputies in the Knesset from 3 to 4. At the time of the 17th Congress, there

were Communist representatives in 18 local councils; now the Party is represented in 25.

In all elections to Histadrut and trade union institutions, held in this period, our Party increased its strength. In the National Union of Building Workers, the increase was particularly big. In the elections held in November 1975, our list of candidates received 8.92 per cent of the total, as against 4.55 per cent in 1972.

The Party's extension of relations and widening of influence were expressed, *inter alia,* by the greetings conveyed to the Congress on behalf of numerous political and public organizations in Israel. The Congress aroused a wide response among working people and democratic circles. The presence at the Congress of many delegations from Communist and Workers' parties, and particularly the delegation of the CPSU, was a powerful expression of proletarian internationalism and support for the policy and struggle of the CPI against occupation, and for peace, democracy, national and communal equality of rights, for the interests of workers. The Congress listened with a great sense of inspiration to the greetings that arrived from the Communist Parties of Arab countries, among them the greetings from the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party and the Palestinian Communist Organization of the Occupied West Bank of the Jordan. The Congress of Israeli Communists proved to be a major milestone in the progress of the CPI's internationalist cooperation with Communist and Workers' parties.

Fair settlement program

Special attention was paid at the Congress to the situation in the Middle East, which is today a hotbed of war that is most dangerous to world peace. The development in our region during the last four or five years has been characterized by a sharpening of the class struggle. The development in Arab countries has not been uniform. On the one hand, there were further important achievements in the anti-imperialist struggle, the consolidation of national independence and carrying out of new progressive social changes in a number of Arab countries. On the other hand, there were retreats, especially in Egypt; and the imperialist pressure aimed against the independence and revolutionary achievements of the Arab countries became more intense. Imperialism now increasingly utilizes, along with its principal prop in the region — the State of Israel — the activities of reactionary and pro-imperialist Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Federation of Arab Emirates.

American imperialism exploits the occupation of the Arab areas by Israel, the continuation of the Middle East crisis and the non-solution of the Palestinian question as a means of pressure and

blackmail against the anti-imperialist Arab national movement. The American imperialists deliberately prolonged the crisis in our region and prevented the achievement of a comprehensive solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestine question by partial agreements on the separation of forces, whose main purpose was to gain time in order to extract concessions from the Arab states for the benefit of imperialism, and in order to enable Israel to follow the accomplished-fact policy in the occupied territories. In recent years the U.S. has poured enormous quantities of sophisticated modern weapons into Israel, as well as into a number of other countries in the region in order to serve its objectives against the anti-imperialist national movement in Arab and African countries.

The CPI Congress deemed it necessary to stress that, on the whole, the Arab national movement today is also an important anti-imperialist factor, and the historical prospect is that the anti-imperialist and progressive social changes will expand and deepen, while the rightist, reactionary trends will pass with the times, since they contradict the basic national interests of the Arab peoples.

Experience has proved, however, that not by collaboration with the American imperialists and participation in their intrigues, not by stepping up the arms race from which the American arms magnates gain superprofits, but by struggle against them and against their henchmen in the region will it be possible to put an end to the occupation and attain peace for the benefit of all the peoples and states.

The Congress delegates discussed at length ways to end the crisis. The Communists pronounced a severe indictment against the ruling circles in Israel and the extreme right parties, which also support the general line of the government's policy of occupation and annexation and even demand that it should be given a sharper edge. We Israeli Communists accuse the government of being responsible for the outbreak of the October 1973 war. And if the danger of a fifth Israeli-Arab war exists — and it does — this is not the result of anyone's threatening Israel's existence, but of the Israeli ruling circles' desire for territorial expansion and their amazingly obstinate denial of the national rights of the Palestine Arab people, as well as their refusal to hold any negotiations with its competent, recognized and exclusive national representative — the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It must be clear that whoever opposes talking with the PLO, opposes talking with the Palestine Arab people, and whoever opposes talking with the Palestine Arab people, opposes peace and encourages a new war. The proposal made by the Israeli government at the UN Assembly in December 1976 to convene a Middle

East peace conference in Geneva, but without the PLO, was just a demagogical and cynical proposal. The Israeli Communists demanded the convening of the Middle East Peace Conference in Geneva without any delay, under the auspices of the UN, with the Soviet Union and the USA as co-chairmen, and with the participation of all sides involved on a basis of equality, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Congress formulated a just and realistic peace plan for the Middle East. The plan takes into account the rights of the peoples and the real correlation of forces in the world. It is based upon the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly on the Middle East since 1967, and includes the following main points:

— Israel shall withdraw all her forces from the Arab areas seized by her in the June 1967 war. The June 4, 1967 borders shall be the peace frontiers.

— The right of the Palestine Arab people to self-determination and to establish an independent state alongside the State of Israel shall be respected.

— A just solution of the question of the Palestine refugees shall be ensured in accordance with the UN decisions, which recognize their right to choose between return to their homeland or receipt of compensation.

— The right of the State of Israel and the Arab states to sovereign existence, territorial integrity and development in conditions of peace and security shall be respected. Also, free navigation[1] shall be ensured for Israel, as for all the states.

— The peace conditions shall be anchored in agreement of a contractual nature.

In the conditions prevailing in the Middle East, and in view of the aftermath of many years of quarrels and distrust — efficient international guarantees under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the Soviet Union, the USA and other states, could do much to ensure a peace settlement.

On the other hand, our Party categorically opposes an Israeli-American military alliance, as proposed by certain Israeli and American circles. Such an alliance would not only mean abandonment of Israel's independence, but would also serve as a source of tension, insecurity and imperil peace in the region.

The Congress turned its attention to some particularly dangerous aspects in official Israeli policy. Lately, the nuclear arms threat from certain Israeli quarters has intensified. The Israeli delegation to the latest UN General Assembly voted against the decision, which had been adopted almost unanimously, to turn the Middle East into a zone free from nuclear arms. Our 18th Congress sounded the

severe warning that turning the Middle East into an area of the nuclear arms race would constitute the gravest criminal act against the Israeli people, the Arab peoples and world peace. The Communists demanded an end to the development of the atomic military option at the reactor in Demona. Israel should sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and agree to the decision of the UN General Assembly to turn the Middle East into a nuclear-free zone.

In this context, the Congress alerted public opinion in Israel against the infamous alliance with the racist regime in South Africa. This racist alliance has been tightened since the visit to Israel of South African Prime Minister Vorster in April 1976, and following the military and economic agreements signed between the two states, including an agreement on nuclear cooperation. The Congress denounced the Israeli government's diplomatic, economic and military ties with the murderous fascist junta in Chile and demanded their severance.

For the broadest peace front

Analyzing the internal situation in Israel, the Congress described it as more favorable for the maximum rallying of forces for the struggle against the occupation, for peace, democracy, equality of rights, and the workers' interests. In the past years the camp of partisans of peace has increased in Israel. At the same time, the political map indicates a turn to the right. This is expressed by the increased strength of the bloc of the extreme right parties of the big bourgeoisie — the 'Likud,' by the strengthening of rightist and hawkish influences within the ruling Labor Party and also within the National-Religious Party, and by the setting up of new political parties, headed by generals in reserve, which show clear anti-democratic tendencies and intensify the danger of fascism.

However, the rightists and bellicose reactionaries lack accord. The increasing contradiction between the policy of the government coalition parties and the extreme right, on the one hand, and the real development in the world and the region, on the other, as well as the failures of the prevailing policy in all spheres of social life, have caused fermentation, struggles and even splits within the government coalition parties, as well as within the 'Likud.' The resignation of the Rabin government and the postponement of the Knesset elections to May 1977 are clear evidence of the crisis of the official Israeli policy and the public's distrust of that policy.

The root of the crisis is very deep. This is not just a government crisis, but the crisis of the regime in Israel. The broad public — the workers and all toilers, the intelligentsia, the youth and the medium

strata — are dissatisfied with the regime. The economic and social situation is miserable. Prices soar from day to day. Taxes are intolerably heavy. The public services (health, education, welfare, housing, culture, etc.) are being reduced. In 1976 the military expenditures (including repayment of debts, principal and interest, for the arms purchased in previous years) came to two-thirds of the entire state budget. People fear a further war, they feel confusion and even despair at the situation.

The extreme right wishes to exploit this situation in order to seize power in the forthcoming elections. This is a concrete danger for the first time in the history of the State of Israel. The policy of occupation has paved, and is paving, the road to power for the fascist forces in Israel.

The CPI has alerted the working class, all the toilers and popular masses, to this danger and pointed out that the best way of blocking the path to power for the extreme right would be a change of official Israeli policy in the direction of peace and the rallying of all anti-fascist forces.

The CPI Congress clearly indicated the real choice facing the people: either a just and stable peace or another war, which is liable to be bloodier than the preceding ones. Nobody doubts the hopelessness of the reactionary aspiration of the government to continue the no peace — no war situation in order to perpetuate the occupation and liquidate the national rights of the Palestine Arab people. The Communists stressed that the allegation of the annexationists that peace is a trap for Israel, is a lie. We said: peace in the Middle East is a sheet anchor for Israel, it is in the interests of all peoples in the region, in the interests of universal security.

Our Party has made great efforts to rally the forces of peace and political realism in Israel in a broad peace front, irrespective of ideological views and party affiliation. Joint mass actions of peace forces have been held. To this day, however, the main weakness of the peace forces is their lack of unity. If they were united, they could be a concrete alternative to the policy of war and annexations pursued by the government and the extreme right.

The Communist Party proposed — for the first time — to draw up a list of candidates for the Knesset elections in 1977 from the front of the forces of democracy and peace. Its task is to ward off the furious drive of the rightist forces to power, to bring about a change of the government's policy, to struggle on a broader scale for preventing a new war, for attaining peace, defending democratic rights, and workers' rights, for equality of rights of the Arab population in Israel and eliminating discrimination against the Jews of Afro-Asian descent. The Congress has also clarified the Communist standpoint

with regard to the inter-relation between the struggle for unity of action and the ideological struggle.

Speaking about the ideological aspect, it must be stressed that the CPI, adhering to its principled positions, is consistently unmasking the ideology and practice of Zionism, which expresses the interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie and contradicts the interests of the toilers, the true interests of the Israeli people and the general cause of progress and socialism.[2] This activity is associated with our struggle against the falsifiers of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, against the falsifiers of the character of the socialist regime in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states. We are making a special effort to fight all kinds of anti-Sovietism, which seeks to undermine the faith of the workers and the youth in the socialist ideal and serves the class enemy.

There is no contradiction between the ideological struggle and the struggle for unanimity in concrete questions on a progressive basis. Divergencies of views must not prevent the unity of all forces in the vital struggle for peace, democracy and workers' rights. And the struggle for unity of action must not prevent ideological and political discussion and the bringing out of differences on various issues.

The decisive division in today's political struggle in Israel is not between Communists and the realistically-minded Zionist elements and groups,[3] but a class division, and a political one, between workers and capitalists, between forces of peace and forces of war and annexation, between democratic forces and forces leading to fascism. There are Zionists who take up a correct and realistic position on concrete political or social issues. Hence the possibility of the establishment of a peace front, a democratic front, and a united workers' front.

Under the present circumstances, the strategic objective of the progressive struggle in Israel is putting an end to the occupation and for the achievement of peace. The peace front in Israel should comprise all those who are prepared to struggle against the occupation, against the prevailing policy, and for a just and stable peace. The front can and must be very broad. It must unite organizations and individuals, Jews and Arabs, people of different ideological views — Communist, Zionist, religious — all who support a just and real peace.

Equal rights for Arabs and Jews

In recent years the government's policy of discrimination and national oppression against the Arab population in Israel has sharpened. Supported by the Jewish democratic forces, the Arabs have been stepping up the struggle against oppression and for national

equality. In 1975, and particularly in 1976, the struggle reached a new peak. It is only logical that the problems of the Arab population were in the focus of attention at the 18th Congress.

The Communists categorically rejected the government's fundamental Zionist concepts on the Arab minority status, and the ruling circles' views on the character of the State of Israel. The Congress absolutely repudiated the declaration of Prime Minister Rabin, according to which the State of Israel is a pure Jewish, Zionist state, and that, therefore, the national rights of the Arab population there could not be recognized as a national minority.

The State of Israel is indeed a Jewish state, as it expresses the right of the Jewish people in Israel to self-determination. This right was recognized, together with the right of the Palestine Arab people to self-determination and state independence, in the decision of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947. This has nothing to do with the reactionary and metaphysical Zionist concept of the alleged existence of a world Jewish nation. The reference is to the Jewish people who inhabit this country, Israel.

However, Israel is not only a Jewish state, but a state with a substantial Arab national minority, which is part of the Arab people of Palestine. The official Zionist positions, which deny national rights to the Arab population in Israel, are intolerable, and only prove the racist character of Zionist concepts.

The forum of Israeli Communists drew up a highly important program for the civil and national equality of rights of the Arab national minority in Israel. On the basis of this program we will mobilize the Arab population in Israel to the struggle, together with the Jewish democratic forces. Today this struggle is against the occupation of the Arab areas seized in 1967 and for the right of the Palestine Arab people to establish its own independent state alongside the state of Israel, for a just and stable peace for the benefit of all the peoples and states.

The 18th Congress has given the Party a strong ideological and political weapon, a weapon which was made to be used in the anti-imperialist and class struggles in Israel and elsewhere in the region, for fresh victories and successes. This is facilitated by the international situation, which reveals new opportunities for greater unity of the forces of peace, national liberation, democracy, social progress and socialism.

1. Along international waterways (the Suez Canal, for instance). — *Ed.*
2. See J. Pittman and Z. Karkabi, 'The True Face of Zionism,' *WMR*, March 1977. — *Ed.*
3. See M. Vilner, 'The Struggle Against Zionism is a Class Struggle,' *WMR*, January 1976. — *Ed.*

The revolution's most militant political force

The third anniversary of the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal will be celebrated on April 25. The Portuguese Communist Party, which is consistently and firmly defending its positions in the struggle for democratic social reforms and socialist development, has won respect and political authority among the working people. The eighth Party Congress set out the tremendous tasks facing Portuguese Communists in the sphere of mass political work and building up the Party, that is to say, improving the Party's organizational structure, training and educating new cadres and improving the forms and methods of guiding the masses.

The *WMR* has asked some prominent Party people to tell readers about the work being done in this direction, the Party's experience and the problems it faces.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK SHOULD BE ADEQUATE TO THE NEW TASKS

Octavio Pato
Member Secretariat and
CC Political Commission,
CP Portugal

Our political opponents have never succeeded in belittling either the Party's role in national affairs or the people's revolutionary gains. And the hostile campaign started by counter-revolutionary circles in connection with the Party's recent eighth Congress has also failed.

Reactionaries and anti-Communists of every hue first predicted that the Congress would pass unnoticed because, they claimed, the Party's program and political line were far from reality and 'divorced' from the working people's interests. Reactionary hopes, however, were buried long before the Congress was convened. The Central Committee's theses were greeted with attention and interest by the broad masses, who approved of the document's appraisal of the struggle that culminated in the overthrow of the fascist regime, and of the revolutionary gains made by the people — nationaliza-

tion, the agrarian reform and worker control. The Communist Party's analysis of the domestic situation, of the tasks facing the workers and all toiling people, and of the broad horizons revealed to them was likewise approved by the people. The response to the Congress in Portugal and abroad, and the close attention it received from local and foreign observers confirmed the Portuguese Communist Party's vanguard role in all areas of national life.*

Equally bankrupt were reactionary predictions of a split and disagreements at the Congress. Our opponents were generous with forecasts and even 'advice.' Some maintained that Communist strategy had failed, while others insisted that the Communist Party was 'excessively' revolutionary, that it was going through a crisis and was now ripe for 'Europeanization,' which in the jargon of opponents of socialism means weakening, if not revision, of the Party's class positions and revolutionary line. Still others went so far as to 'recommend' that the Party replace its General Secretary.

Today, we, Portuguese Communists, can confidently say that this Congress will go down in Portuguese history as an outstanding event and a wonderful success for the Communists. It demonstrated that our Party is the most organized, the most firmly oriented and militant political force in the country. The Communist Party is still the only political party in Portugal which has not experienced any internal political contradictions in the course of the revolutionary process. The results of the eighth Congress and the first few months of fulfilment of its decisions have shown that the CP Portugal has not only preserved, but is strengthening its unity and rallying closely round the Central Committee headed by Alvaro Cunhal.

Even the reactionaries have been forced to acknowledge Communist fidelity to an accepted political line, principled irreconcilability in relation to the enemies of social progress, and firmness in developing revolutionary democracy and defense of the working people's interests. The Communist Party is the conscious vanguard of the working class; it is a powerful organization uniting 115,000 like-minded people.

However, there is no reason for complacency. Our pride in our Party's growing influence does not blind us to our weaknesses and shortcomings.

Now that the Eighth Congress is over, Portuguese Communists are faced with the big and complex task of fulfilling its decisions. The entire Party, from the Central Committee to the primary organizations, must be up to the political demands of the day. This means, first, that to guide the revolutionary transformation of soci-

*For more information see A. Cunhal, 'Results and Prospects of the Portuguese Revolution,' *WMR*, January 1977.

ety the Party must actively influence events and not just trail along in their wake. We must foresee events and correctly analyze the situation in the country, and this, in turn, requires greater theoretical research. Secondly, the scope, variety and complexity of the problems facing our Party require improvement of its organizational structure.

On the whole, of course, the work of the Central Committee and the leading Party organs in large regions is adequate to present demands, to the tasks of developing the revolutionary process. The results, however, are being achieved by overstraining the comrades working in these organs. At the same time there are groups even in the organizational structure of the Central Committee and the executive bodies whose work is not sufficiently effective. In such cases new mechanisms of Party guidance must be set up or the existing ones improved.

On the eve of the Eighth Congress, besides the Central Committee and its executive organs — the political commission and secretariat — we had a central organizational commission, a trade union commission, an information and propaganda department and an international department.

Several specialized commissions, operating on a national scale, were set up just before the Congress. These included the agrarian reform and peasant commissions. Our experience has shown that such organizational methods are fully justified and the Congress decided to continue the practice of setting up such commissions. It is apparent today that we will need them, in the women's movement, for example, in local government, in the education and health services, among the small merchants and employers, intellectuals and artists, and even among the Young Pioneers, who for some time now have been requesting that the Central Committee permit them the 'right of association.'

Personnel and resources must also be found to broaden our ideological work. The Congress reviewed the work of our newspaper *Avante!* and the information and propaganda department which, the Congress found, must improve and extend their work.

There is an urgent need to form a commission on cadres, if only with limited functions, in order to relieve the CC secretariat. Certain organizational measures are needed to help Party members who have been elected to various government bodies.

We agree that in order to improve the work of regional Party organizations they should likewise form specialized commissions in their many areas of activity.

Since the Eighth Congress, greater attention has been paid at the regional and national levels to working people's commissions func-

tioning at nationalized enterprises or those that are under worker control.

These organizational measures are meant to gradually increase the initiative and independence of the middle and lower levels of Party leadership. Such decentralization is absolutely necessary, for in present conditions the leading regional and national organs are no longer able to guide and control all sectors of Party work themselves as was the case in underground conditions.

However, the decentralization measures and the formation of specialized organs in the framework of a unified system should not be confused with proposals to erect what are called fully independent, parallel structures, or structures indirectly dependent on the leading Party organs. Such proposals would tend to disrupt unified leadership and undermine the principles of democratic centralism. We are careful not to make such mistakes, particularly because while striving for decentralization in some areas, we must work for centralization in others.

The Party believes the Central Committee's leading role should be enhanced. With this in mind the Eighth Congress expanded the CC membership, a move which will undoubtedly improve conditions, style and methods of work. But, we shall stand by the golden rule that workers and other categories of working people should comprise an absolute majority on the Central Committee. Unlike the minister of the present government and a leader of the Socialist Party, Dr. Campinos, who declared at his party's last congress that the working class is an abstract concept, we, remaining true to Marxist-Leninist principles, see it clearly as a concrete reality, and believe it to be the most consistent and revolutionary class with the greatest interest in liquidating capitalist exploitation and building a classless, socialist society.

We are firmly convinced that collective methods of leadership and developing inner-Party democracy in all organizations on the principles of democratic centralism, is the basic condition for the growth of our Party's strength and its political authority and influence among the people.

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO CADRES POLICY

Jose Vitoriano
Member CC Political Commission

Since emerging from the underground and in the conditions of the revolutionary-democratic regime, our Party has had much broader opportunities for working among the population. The struggle to

defend the people's gains from reactionary intrigues, to mobilize the revolutionary initiative of the masses and guide it along socialist lines, confronts us with ever new problems of both a local and national character. Besides having to analyze them and determine our position, which must conform with a unified political line, it is necessary to inform all Party organizations, the membership and all working people of our decisions and instructions and ensure their correct fulfilment.

The problem of cadres, the people responsible for carrying out the numerous and difficult tasks that life places before us, requires our undivided and careful attention. Our functionaries must be ideologically staunch Party workers, qualified to deal with ideological, propaganda and organizational problems, capable of working in the Party apparatus itself and among the people, political activists both locally and on a national level.

There are many experienced people in the Party today, staunch Marxist-Leninists, devoted to the cause of the revolution and socialism. Many were schooled in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, in conditions of the underground. Thousands of others have shown themselves to be able political workers, organizers and propagandists in the post-April 25 period, in the struggle for democracy, the agrarian reform, nationalization and worker-control. Taken together they form a reliable nucleus of the Party's theoretical, political and organizational forces.

However, despite the fact that in these three years after the revolution, more Party functionaries have been trained than in all the preceding decades of the Party's history, the need for them remains acute. Party membership has outstripped the training of experienced Party workers with the result that certain areas of our Party's organizational structure have been denuded. For example, of the 115,000 Party members, approximately 35,000 still play a minor part in day-to-day political activities. This is because of the acute shortage of middle-level organizers capable of keeping the local Party organizations in close contact with the higher Party organs.

The number of experienced Party workers in some district organizations falls far short of their needs. In one such organization with a membership in the vicinity of 3,000, there are only five full-time Party functionaries and each has twice as many workers to work with as the average for the country.

It is not our intention to replace all volunteer Party workers with professional cadres, but there must be a certain minimum.

Of course, we must prepare our own cadres, promoting the most capable, especially the youth, to executive and other responsible posts, doing this boldly, possibly with a certain risk and not fearing

mistakes. In the final analysis, this approach should justify itself.

But we must be self-critical enough to admit that not always is this done as well as it should be. Talented organizers are not easily found. A closer acquaintance with local organizations can bring them to light. But, at times we do not know these organizations, or have a superficial knowledge of them, and so are not able to discern talented persons among the membership.

The Party is interested in providing its experienced workers with the necessary political, theoretical and special knowledge. This is achieved through the Party system of special monthly or weekly courses, which have been attended by about 1,000 Party members. Several fraternal parties have helped us greatly in this.

Besides the central CP organs, the district and local bodies are likewise responsible for training cadres. Most have their own shorter courses, usually working on Saturdays over a period of several weeks. The local Party organs make wide use of lectures, talks and other forms of political education.

All these methods have proved effective and we intend using them more extensively. At the same time we plan to supplement these courses with practical instructions and by promoting active participation in the daily political struggle.

In the school of revolution, Party workers broaden their political and ideological outlook and capabilities and rid themselves of many shortcomings. However, we must not forget that in complicated situations new members may be taken aback by the difficulties and it is here that they will need help and support. Trust, attention, respect and a comradely concern for young Party workers are essential to a correct cadres policy and one of the conditions for its success.

We believe that regular participation in the work of Party organs and in collective discussions and approval of decisions is an effective method of educating cadres and helping them to improve their leadership qualifications. It also leads to a broader and more comprehensive appraisal of one's work. Besides, such common efforts teach cadres to turn to collective experience in times of difficulty, to constructive criticism and self-criticism which helps Party members discover and correct shortcomings and mistakes.

At times, there may be extremes in cadres policy, when some individuals divide Party functionaries into two groups — those who joined the Party before April 25 and those who joined after. We are decidedly against such a purely formalistic approach. Today, everyone is a part of the united and indivisible Communist Party, whose members enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. An experienced Party worker is judged not only by membership seniority, but also by revolutionary services, efficiency and dedication to the Party

cause. An objective and friendly attitude to people, the ability to form a correct idea of their qualities, merits and mistakes, are imperative to a correct cadres policy.

ORGANS OF POPULAR INITIATIVE

Jaime Serra
Member CC Political Commission

Last December's elections to the local organs of popular government confirmed the Party's tremendous influence and respect among the working people and its role as a mass party. The support given the Party by voters shows that the CP Program, providing a socialist alternative, reflects the working people's interests. The election returns, however, were in large measure the result of the Party's daily and systematic political and organizational work among the population, its participation in and guidance of the activities of various public organizations.

In the early stages of the revolution, many Party members, able organizers with experience in the underground struggle, were promoted to administrative posts in local government, where they defended the working people's interests against attacks by reaction and countered the resistance of the central administration to popular initiative. And they won public prestige and respect by their understanding of the people's needs and their determination to achieve the goals of the revolution.

The elections also showed that in order to increase Party influence among the people and to guide the local organs of government effectively one has to be active in the local mass organizations. These organizations were created on popular initiative and unite the workers of a given factory (for example, working people's commissions), the population of a city neighborhood or a village (residential commissions). Experience has shown that in the manifold activities of these commissions problems arise requiring joint efforts on more than just a local scale. This has led to the emergence of people's assemblies in parishes, regions and districts. During the last elections to the parish and municipal assemblies and the municipalities these organizations played a big role in nominating candidates from the United People Election Front created on our Party's initiative. It was these commissions and assemblies that nominated, discussed and approved the United People candidates and this went a long way in helping to elect thousands of Communists and persons with firm revolutionary-democratic convictions to local government.

Our Party has accumulated a good deal of experience in working

in mass organizations representative of various democratic segments of the working population and embodying their will and initiative. The Eighth Party Congress theses state 'The *primary, unitary organizations,* and those, that after their renewal have preserved the traditional forms that appeared during the fascist dictatorship, such as the *working people's commissions,* and those that reappeared after April 25 as *commissions of the local population and popular assemblies,* are a most important expression of the popular movement and one of the conditions for its development.'

The April 25 revolution has changed all aspects of public life in Portugal, including these organizations. The working people's commissions at enterprises, for example, now unite workers not only for better working and living conditions, as they did in fascist times. Nationalization and the introduction of worker control have made their work broader and more intricate and these commissions also play a constructive role in the development of their forms of the popular movement. They have provided models for the formation of urban and village residential commissions and popular assemblies. It is no accident that these forms have flourished in the more industrialized areas of the country with long-standing revolutionary traditions such as the regions of Greater Lisbon, the Margem Sul do Tejo, and in the North, in the zone better known as Grande Porto. Nor is it accidental that in these zones the unitary organizations were most resistant to the revolutionary ebb connected with the events of November 25, 1975.*

There is one more significant aspect in the development of such forms of uniting the working people. This is the dual influence exerted upon them by the Armed Forces Movement. On the one hand the democratic forces in the army actively supported the development of popular initiatives and the formation of primary popular organizations. On the other hand, there were functionaries in the Armed Forces Movement who planned to establish their control of these organizations and to interfere in their internal affairs. This had obviously negative consequences because various forms of popular initiative will develop and flourish only if the civil and military authorities respect their autonomous nature.

The success of the December 12 elections, the many progressive candidates voted into office on the United People ticket will undoubtedly help to liven up the local popular organizations and consolidate their cooperation with the democratically elected government organs.

*On that day there was uncoordinated action by individual military units who fell under the influence of leftist elements. Reaction took advantage of this to launch a wide political campaign against progressive, revolutionary-democratic organizations and movements.

Another point worth mentioning is that of the unitary organizations. These organizations do not figure in the legally defined structure of Portuguese society, nor are they provided for in the Constitution. Conditions for their recognition have become more favorable, however, in view of the formation of municipal councils. 'The municipal council,' says Article 253 of the Constitution, 'is a consultative organ of the municipality; the law defines its composition in such a manner as to guarantee adequate representation of economic, social, cultural and professional organizations existing in the corresponding area.' This means that practically all public organizations can have a seat on the municipal councils. In other words, the Constitution grants legality to commissions at place of residence. As for the assemblies, these effective weapons in defending working peoples' interests and mobilizing the population for building the new democratic society, they have gained sufficient strength to be accepted as institutions.

The Communist Party of Portugal has strong positions in these organs of popular initiative and is turning them into a reliable bastion for defending and consolidating the Portuguese peoples' revolutionary gains. For example, the charter of the popular assembly in the Almada district speaks of developing the revolutionary process, defending the existing social transformations, and also 'encouraging, stimulating and mobilizing the working people of the district to build socialism.' Although not all the primary, unitary organizations compare with the assembly of the Almad workers' district in the development of their conscious revolutionary political platform, on the whole they certainly play a big part in the democratic process as a school for the mass training of organizers and educating the masses in a revolutionary and creative spirit.

Communist Party of Denmark after its congress: confidence and optimism

Jorn Christensen
Secretary CC, CP Denmark

Developments since the 25th Communist Party Congress (September 1976) have fully confirmed its analysis of the crisis of capitalist society, the urgency of the tasks facing the Danish Communists and their demands for a change of government policy.

The Congress was expressive of the rise in Party activity. After a wide-ranging democratic discussion, it adopted the Party's new Program directed against the domination of big capital and, with the Party now strengthened, was able to set new goals.

The Danish Communists have to work in a complicated situation. The Social-Democrat government's policy of deals with the right-wing parties has led to the gradual dismantling of all the social gains of the working class. The government has introduced new measures to help state-monopoly capital find a way out of the crisis. These measures, which have increased unemployment and depressed real wages, bear out the assessment of the situation given by the congress: 'Danish society is in the throes of a crisis caused by the absence of planning in the capitalist system. Big capital is bent on depressing the working people's standard of living and using for this purpose its legislative power and also the supranational Common Market agencies. The Social-Democrat government has taken on the job of implementing that policy and is making overtures to the parties that speak for big capital. Its policy is not to resolve the crisis but to worsen it: massive unemployment, the offensive against the working people's democratic rights, reduction of social expenditures, high prices and erosion of the education system, which is fraught with such ruinous consequences for the young generation.'

The government has not kept its promise to bring the country economic stability. The August agreement between the Social-Democrats and a number of bourgeois parties on economic and currency problems, as a result of which social expenditures were further cut, has not led to political stability. Increasing pressure by the labor movement throughout the country, expressed also in

strikes by workers with no trade union traditions, particularly in the oil and dairy industries, precipitated another political and parliamentary crisis in November and December.

There has been a new assault on the working class. The 1973 collective agreements were prolonged in 1975 for a two-year period by legislative act, and as a result of the subsequent compromise with the right-wing parties, wage increases were restricted to two per cent in preparation for the new round of collective bargaining in 1977. Even the right-wing Social-Democrat leaders of the Central Trade Union Federation found themselves compelled to disavow these new measures. And yet they were considered insufficient, and in December, yielding to pressure by the bourgeois parties, a new deal was rigged up in parliament, which factually imposed a three-month freeze on any wage increases. This means that parallel with the existing system of labor legislation and arbitration, with its multitude of juridical procedures, which effectively curtail the right to strike, the new law forbids the working class, albeit temporarily, to fight for higher wages.

This law was followed by another one, on freezing prices. From the very outset everyone knew that this was a sheer illusion because there is no way of controlling prices. Still another law provides for a three-month rent freeze. In other words, the two per cent wage-increase ceiling actually hamstrings the workers, unless they are able to force the government to change its policy. In other areas, such as prices and rents, where the working class does not exert a powerful influence, free market laws will again begin to operate. In present-day capitalist conditions this will mean more profit for big capital.

It need hardly be said that this policy is totally unacceptable to the working class, which is bearing the main burden of the capitalist crisis, with its right to fight for better conditions being cut away piece by piece. This explains the new strike wave and other actions by the working people. A leading capitalist newspaper, reporting that there were over 1,000 strikes in 1976 (as against 755 in 1975) remarked that 'this number is a record for the 70s.' But there were also 240 political strikes in protest against the parliamentary deal which limited wage increases to two per cent, and about 25 strikes of solidarity with the workers of the royal porcelain factory who were out for 12 weeks in the summer of 1976.

These figures indicate that last year's expectations of a more acceptable policy by the Social-Democrat government have given way to greater determination by the workers and their organizations more actively to fight for their interests. And mindful of this mood of the workers, the big trade unions, all of them under Social-Democrat influence, had no choice but to come out against the

government onslaught on living standards. This is evidence of the big contradictions between the trade union movement and the Social-Democrats. These contradictions can no longer be played down or brushed aside, and they cannot be resolved by the old customary methods, such as 'dialogue' or 'negotiations.' For today the workers demand, more persistently and energetically than ever, measures that would lead to a real improvement of their economic and social conditions.

The situation fully corroborates the formulation of the immediate tasks of the working class given in the new Party Program: 'Unity and organization are necessary methods of working class struggle. For only in this way can the majority of the nation, whose labor ensures the progress of society, create a counterforce opposing those who rule over society.'

But the creation of such a counterforce is the duty not only of the Communists. The period discussed in this article saw one of the biggest trade union conferences ever held in Denmark. It was convened not on the initiative of the Central Trade Union Federation, but by the Coordinating Committee of Copenhagen Trade Unions, which over the past few years has shown what the Danish trade union movement should be like: viable, active and steadily building up its influence in society. The conference was attended by more than 1,000 delegates elected by trade unions throughout the country and representing different political trends. It formulated the following demands: jobs for everyone; higher purchasing power of wages; redistribution of the tax burden; control of the movement of capital; nationalization of banking, insurance, energy, and the pharmaceutical industry. It called on the workers to 'demand that the Social Democrats end their cooperation with the bourgeois parties and join with other workers' parties in upholding the interests of labor.'

The conference formulated the following basic demands for the forthcoming collective bargaining negotiations: 35 crowns an hour, a 35-hour workweek, a 35-day annual paid holiday.

An end to unemployment and more jobs is a basic demand of all Danish workers. But unemployment enables the ruling classes to exert pressure on the workers; that, in fact, is part of their economic policy. And that is why the repeated assurances of the parliamentary majority of its desire and readiness to solve this crucial problem have remained just promises. The repeated pledges to provide 'work for many,' 'take off the edge of unemployment,' etc., have remained hollow words. In fact, the results have been just the opposite: unemployment has become permanent despite all the government's promises to 'improve the situation on the labor market.' More, the

latest available data show that unemployment now stands at 170,000 and that the tendency is toward further increases.

Unemployment affects practically all sections of the population, but the youth are the hardest hit. Education opportunities are restricted by the lack of places in schools and colleges resulting from cuts in social expenditure. On leaving school thousands of young people have but one choice, to join the unemployed army. According to recent figures, about one-quarter of all unemployed are under the age of 25. The situation is further aggravated by the constant attacks on the rights and interests of all working people, launched by the right-wing parties which have now been joined by the Social-Democrats. The position of the aged and invalids is rapidly deteriorating. There is less money available also for child care.

Furthermore, the ruling circles are preparing a fresh offensive against the working class and the most helpless part of the population (pensioners, etc.). These plans are being countered primarily by the Communists, who are mobilizing the working people for a fight to remove the causes and consequences of the crisis.

The crisis is having a powerful impact also on parties which, albeit inconsistently, champion working class interests. The Socialist People's Party, a right-wing breakaway from the Communist Party, formed in 1959, is in a state of deep crisis that threatens its very existence. Conceived as an 'alternative' and 'catalyst' standing midway between the Social-Democrats and the Communists, it is torn by discord over policy principles and organizational structure. On the one hand, there is the ineffectual struggle to maintain its image of a socialist party, while on the other there is a conflict over who should determine its policy, the parliamentary group or the elected leadership. There have been many conferences in an attempt to reconcile the two factions, declarations which are violated even before they are published, attempts to undermine the position of the majority of the party's parliamentary group. In the 60s, in the days of the apparent stabilization of capitalism, the party managed to increase its membership; now it cannot even maintain its electoral support. It has now come to realize that it does not have a real ideological basis, something the Communists were the first to point out. As things stand today, there is a clear threat to the survival of this party as an organization allegedly standing to the left of the Social-Democrats. Its activity more and more clearly reveals its reformist tendencies, which differ from the traditional reformism of the Social-Democrats in words but very little in deeds.

The evolution of the Left Socialist Party is another story of endless discord and bickering due, on the one hand, to the accumulation of 'ultra-left' views, and, on the other, to the absence of political and

ideological principles that would go beyond simple exposure of some of the defects of capitalism and would be directed against the system as a whole.

Common to both of these parties are their anti-Communist prejudices which hamper both their development and their influence in the working class and its trade union organizations.

More than ever before, the situation requires a strong and viable Communist Party. And the Danish Communists have scored fresh successes by their policy of united action of all workers and democratic forces which, as our Congress has stated, is the alternative to the dominance of big capital. These successes can be seen, in particular, in the Party's growing influence among the workers and in various youth organizations, also in the practical results of our work to explain the Communist view. Party membership has grown since the last Congress to more than 10,000, and the tendency is for continued growth. The circulation of our newspaper, *Land og Folk,* and of our theoretical journal, *Tiden,* has increased. The growing popularity of our paper is evidenced, in particular, by the success of its financial support campaign: in five weeks Party members and supporters contributed nearly three million crowns to the paper's fund.

The February parliamentary elections did not significantly alter the Social-Democrats' class collaboration policy. The crisis difficulties and problems remain unsolved, and there is still greater need for powerful mass pressure to prevent a shift to the right and force the government to change its policy.

Despite the virulent anti-communist campaign, our Party has kept its seven seats in the Folketing. The election results reaffirmed anew the correctness of the 25th Congress policy of intensifying the class struggle against big capital and raising the activity of Party members in industry.

The Party's growing influence, its role in parliament and in many municipal councils, necessitates new forms of political struggle and a wider scope of party activity. The program approved by our 25th Congress creatively applies Marxism-Leninism in Danish conditions. And taking the program as our basis, we are working to enhance the role of Communists in society. Accordingly, propagation of the program is a priority task for all Party organizations.

There are also other tasks to be accomplished. Having analyzed the results of the Congress, the Central Committee outlined a number of measures to translate its decisions into practice. This entails, first, more intensive ideological training of Party members and supporters, for which purpose we are establishing a Central Party School. Other goals are: increasing the circulation of the Party press; more intensive Party recruitment to double the membership

by the next Congress; timely preparation for the 1978 municipal elections. We feel sure that all these tasks will be effectively carried out.

We are optimistic about the future. But we realize that accomplishment of these tasks will present certain problems and make new demands on our Party. But we shall solve these problems in accordance with our Program, working to convert the Communist Party of Denmark into a 'more powerful and more efficient weapon in the working class struggle.'

The struggle of the Sudanese Communists

Ibrahim Zakaria
CC member, Sudanese CP

Last year the Communists and all progressives of our country celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Sudanese Communist Party. On August 16, 1946, advanced representatives of a young working class and revolutionary intellectuals founded the Sudanese National Liberation Movement, which later became the SCP.

The rise of an independent political organization of the working class adhering to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook was of great historic significance and left a deep imprint on the anti-colonial movement in the Sudan. As soon as it came into being, the SCP set out to bring the working people into the fight against British colonialism, for national independence and to impart an explicitly social character to this fight. Along with the people, it flatly rejected the false choice which the traditional parties tried to impose, alleging that there were only two alternatives for the Sudan: independence 'under the Egyptian crown' (known as Nile Valley Unity), or entry into the British Commonwealth of Nations. The SCP was the only party to advance a consistent political program of anti-colonial struggle, which ended in winning national independence early in 1956.

The SCP has invariably attached vast importance to the formation of mass labor unions, bearing in mind the social and economic situation in the country and the political structure that had taken shape after World War II. This structure represented by parties founded at that time, was not based on class principles but on communal and tribal divisions.

The very existence of a growing trade union movement tended to undermine conservative communal and tribal institutions. The masses became aware of their interests and increasingly based their activity on political and economic principles. Led by the SCP, the working class, though relatively small, emerged as a major social and political factor in the late 40s and early 50s. We have now good reason to say that our country has an organized movement of the working class, which, in turn, has a political vanguard.

The SCP has always done its best to meet the requirements of the revolutionary movement of the masses. Mention should be made, however, of the negative effect of difficulties that arose in the Party leadership at various stages. Naturally, they told on the work of the Party as a whole. This was so mainly in the period following the winning of independence, when the Sudanese bourgeoisie, formerly a party to the anti-colonial front, became one of the forces ruling the country. It inclined towards conciliation with imperialism and tried to disrupt the working-class movement from within. That was when the first opportunist groups appeared in the trade unions, which they wanted to turn into organizations trailing behind the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie pursued similar aims in regard to the student movement and peasant unions.

The Party's work in those conditions was hampered, in particular, by the lack of a clear-cut strategy. The situation improved as a result of the Third SCP Congress (February 1956), which adopted a program formulating the key tasks of the revolutionary movement after the winning of political independence and envisaging non-capitalist development.

The new tasks induced the Party to make appropriate changes in its working methods, specifically those of keeping in touch with the masses and leading them. The program was evidence of a higher level of political and ideological work in the Party and the revolutionary movement as a whole. This was particularly important in view of the intensifying confrontation between democratic forces, which strove to use political independence as a means of bringing about progressive social and economic changes, on the one hand, and a bourgeois and feudal coalition intent on monopolizing political activity and subordinating it to its interests, as well as to the interests of imperialist neo-colonialists, on the other. The problems of social and economic development are still the pivot of the political struggle in the Sudan, for the manner in which they are solved will largely determine the outlook for setting up a national economy and ridding the country of neo-colonial dependence.

When, in January 1956, the national liberation movement culminated in declaring the Sudan a sovereign state, ours was an exceed-

ingly backward country with an economy largely controlled by foreign capital. The state protected 'traditional' social structures and relations which doomed the mass of the people to poverty, ignorance and suffering. The Third SCP Congress called for non-capitalist development as the best way of ending the country's lag. But the propertied classes and strata that had come to power led the country along a capitalist road. The past 20 years have revealed the inability of this policy to ensure economic growth and national progress. Indeed, it has strengthened relations based on exploitation at home and has resulted in still greater dependence abroad, the exhaustion of economic resources and a slowing down of social and economic development.

The objective inability of the ruling bourgeoisie and feudal landowners to proceed to an effective solution of the problems that arose after the declaration of independence, popular unrest, and the steadily growing influence of revolutionary elements, especially of the SCP, in the mass movement, produced an acute political crisis in the country that in 1958 prompted the ruling classes to transfer power to a military regime under General Abbud. Six years of military dictatorship brought out the disastrous role which the top bureaucracy, both civilian and military, plays in the state. The bureaucracy, which enjoyed definite privileges and completely disregarded the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, did nothing but enrich itself and dragged the country deeper and deeper into the meshes of economic and political dependence on imperialism. Hence one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary democratic movement is to eliminate the pro-colonialist bureaucracy, democratize the state and assign leading posts to patriots.

In October 1964, a general political strike put an end to General Abbud's regime. The great progressive significance of this event is beyond question. However, certain factors gave its results a limited character and barred the way to the fullfillment of national democratic tasks. The military dictatorship was succeeded by a civilian dictatorship of semi-feudal and bourgeois elements professing to seek a return to 'parliamentary democracy.'

These factors include, first of all, the general state and trend of the popular movement at the time. The movement restricted its objectives in the main to the overthrow of the military dictatorship, which it did not regard as merely a special instrument of maintaining a conservative social class system. The people's political consciousness had not yet risen to a genuinely revolutionary understanding of the meaning of the military dictatorship's fall or of the opportunities this could provide.

Secondly, brutal persecution of the SCP and other progressive forces led to a certain swing of the popular movement to the right. In particular, the policy of repression and of removing Communists and democrats from the trade unions inevitably affected the strength, organization and militancy of the working class. As a result, the general political strike was not led by the working class but by the petty bourgeoisie, which could not express the people's interests firmly and consistently, as experience showed. This enabled the rightists after October 1964 to prevent a deepening of the revolutionary process.

Thirdly, the SCP had not prepared adequately for the new situation, although as early as the summer of 1961, it made a correct forecast of its main features. By the time the military dictatorship was brought down, the Party had been weakened by the impact of left extremist ideas. It wasted much energy combating division within its ranks.

Fourthly, the military dictatorship was eliminated at a time when the army was somewhat passive politically. Although the army showed certain dissatisfaction with General Abbud's rule, the sentiment was not widespread enough for the army, or part of it, to become a factor in the progress of the national democratic revolution.

For all that, the events in October 1964 undoubtedly helped the people understand the situation. The people showed in various forms that they no longer trusted the bourgeois and reactionary parties. More and more, they realized the necessity for a revolutionary change of power and strove to unite behind the SCP. Most Party activists held that only by mobilizing the masses, raising their ideological level, improving their organization and uniting them in a broad popular movement could we influence the political structure and lead the people in accomplishing national democratic tasks. It was in that situation, with right-wing influence declining, and the popular movement gaining strength, that on May 25, 1969, a group of army officers carried out a coup and seized political power.

To appreciate the Party's attitude to the new regime, it is essential to take account of the situation in the Party at the time and the fact that serious ideological differences had arisen in it. These were due to the emergence of a right wing in the SCP leadership. The difficulty of operating amid continuous persecution and repression had reduced some members of the leadership to a mood of hopelessness and despair. This led to a certain curtailment of revolutionary activity, especially of the effort to unite all progressive social forces in a national democratic front. There were calls for a 'suitable' alliance with the bourgeoisie on the latter's terms and in its interests, and for renouncing in its favor the struggle for the leadership of the mass

movement. These calls betrayed the right wing's failure to understand the principles of relations with the national bourgeoisie formulated by the Fourth Party Congress (October 1967). The rightists in the Party leadership took an equally wrong view of the principles of cooperation with the petty-bourgeois group of military men that came to power in May 1969. A policy of unqualified support for the group could merely lose the Party its independence.

The Marxist-Leninist core of the SCP proceeded from the possibility of transforming the group into a revolutionary democratic force. It considered that the army, being a 'replica' of society as to social composition, may change its class allegiance at different stages of the revolution and hence support different social, political and economic objectives. This transformation implies that the military will engage in constructive action to solve social and economic development problems on anti-capitalist lines and help to bring about freedom of political activity in the people's interests, remove whatever prevented the masses from using their revolutionary potentialities and establish a national democratic front of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and part of the national bourgeoisie. In these circumstances, a correct attitude toward the ruling military group would have encouraged its national-democratic orientation, and discouraged anti-democratic trends. Of course, this presupposed the Party retaining its organizational, political and ideological independence.

The struggle inside the SCP was influenced by the development of some Arab and African liberation movements into national democratic revolutions.

This process provided the basis for the general theoretical conclusion that developing countries led by revolutionary democrats could advance in a socialist direction. Needless to say, the socialist orientation of revolutionary democrats in the national liberation area is an important progressive factor in spite of a certain theoretical vagueness of their conception of socialism. This orientation is expressive, in particular, of the growing political and ideological impact of world socialism on the progress of mankind. On the other hand, we believe it would be wrong to form a political alliance with the revolutionary democrats at the cost of renouncing the struggle for an independent working-class movement and of its party's losing its own political position.

The Party's attitude to diverse social and political forces has always been determined by the desire for alliance with those who help to advance the democratic revolution, to isolate and neutralize the forces that oppose the working class and its political vanguard. The Sudan's experience is proof that such an opposition to the working

class and the Party poses a real threat of reactionary changes and plays into the hands of advocates of a capitalist orientation. These principles conditioned the decisions of the SCP conference held in August 1970, or slightly more than a year after the May 1969 coup.

As most of the army officers who had come to power were influenced by the revolutionary democratic ideas current in the Arab region, particularly Egypt, at the time, conference approved the stand taken by the CC in support of the new regime and advanced a program of economic, political, social and cultural cooperation with it to transform the armed revolt into a broad and far-reaching popular revolution. To this end, it was indispensable, among other things, to end reactionary influence in the state apparatus, revise financial and economic policy, set out to free the country from the economic oppression of colonialism and neo-colonialism while respecting the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie, initiate an agrarian reform, find a democratic solution to the problem of the national minorities in the south of the country and follow a policy of cooperation with countries of the socialist system, first of all with the Soviet Union.

Having examined the situation in the Party, the conference condemned the right-wing liquidationist tendency and factional activity of those who argued, for instance, that there were no political or ideological distinctions between the fundamental demands of the working class and the program of the regime. This activity was aimed, in the last resort, at destroying the Party, as has been said. And so all that could be done was to expel the splitters from the Party.

Regrettably, the view which the SCP took in August 1970 in respect of the likely evolution of the military regime was not borne out by developments. The Party's strong effort to extend the popular basis of the regime and turn it into a broad national democratic alliance failed because some army officers on the Revolutionary Council strove to 'exclude' the SCP from politics and public life generally and, indeed, to prove that it 'must' be abolished. In the circumstances, these officers' call for a one-party system was anti-democratic.

This also applies to the slogan of Arab unity,* which ignored the social, political and cultural characteristics of the Sudanese and other Arab peoples. The problem of Arab unity was raised before the requisite conditions had been created, including the abolition of the basis for exploitation and the abandonment of an ideology based on narrow nationalism, and before the Arab countries concerned had provided the prerequisites for social progress on democratic lines,

*Meaning the Tripoli Declaration (1969), which provided for the merger of Libya, Egypt and the Sudan.

with unity meeting the desire of the people of each Arab country and free from coercion or violence.

The removal of the group of progressive army officers from the Revolutionary Council in November 1970 was a logical sequel to the growing tendency of some leaders of the new regime to reject democratic principles, undermine the independent working-class movement and rely more heavily on the military and police machinery.

The imperialists and reactionaries promptly took advantage of these developments. Operating under anti-communist catchwords, they pushed the regime closer and closer to dividing and weakening the unity of the democratic forces. The authorities abolished organizations — the trade unions, peasant associations, student and youth leagues — that had been brought into being by the masses and had served them in their revolutionary struggles over a quarter-century. These organizations were supplanted by others formed by decree and linked with and subordinated to the military bureaucracy.

The political atmosphere deteriorated after the regime's bloody repressive measures against noted Communist and democratic leaders following the defeat of the action of army officers' groups in July 1971.

It is in this climate that the SCP is carrying on its fight at the price of heroic sacrifice and with the support of the international solidarity of the progressive forces of the world. At five meetings held after July 1971 (September-November 1971, July 1972, May 1973, January 1974 and June 1975), its Central Committee examined the pressing needs of reorganizing the Party and strengthening its unity; it discussed general questions bearing on every aspect of Party life and the revolutionary movement, and the political problems facing the country. It adopted decisions providing for more efficient political, ideological and organizing work by the Party. The January 1974 meeting was particularly important because it concerned itself with organizational matters of the Party, the situation in the trade union movement, and the fundamental tasks of Party activity among the workers, peasants, students, youth and women to increase influence over the masses and perfect the pattern and methods of Party work. This was done with due regard to the given alignment of forces, and to the losses of the Party and the popular movement. The meeting stressed, in particular, the need to lay solid foundations for work based on the growing role and possibilities of the working class in economic and political struggles for general democratic and trade union freedoms. It decided on specific ways and means of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. The CC also pointed to the need for sustained ideological and theoretical activity to perfect the national democratic program, whose implementation is an objective requirement of our country.

The Sudan's economic, political, social and cultural problems, as well as its problems arising from relations between ethnic communities, are highly complicated. Experience suggests that to begin solving them effectively, it is indispensable that all progressive social forces should cooperate. This, in turn, makes it necessary to discard authoritarian forms and methods of government and pursue a policy based on the principles of the national democratic front. There are objective possibilities for this — they matured throughout the history of the Sudanese people's anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement. To translate these possibilities into reality has been, and remains, the fundamental goal of the Sudanese Communist Party, which has passed through severe trials and yet is unbroken and determined to fight on for progressive, far-reaching social and economic changes, for the vital interests of the working class and other working people, for democracy and socialism.

We were regents

Academician *Todor Pavlov*
Honorary President,
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Todor Pavlov is a noted Bulgarian Communist, public figure, Marxist philosopher and lecturer. He has been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1919 and took an active part in the fight against fascism (for this, the Bulgarian fascist government held him in a concentration camp from 1941 to 1943). After the country's liberation (1944), he was a member of the Regency Council and one of the organizers and leaders of socialist construction in Bulgaria. He was a member of the Political Bureau, CC BCP, from 1966 to 1976.

Following are Todor Pavlov's recollections of his activity as a regent.

History hardly knows any other case of a working-class party representative holding the office of regent, as I did. During a meeting with the members of the Bulgarian Regency Council, Marshal of the Soviet Union Fyodor Tolbukhin, Commander of the Third Ukrainian Front troops which took part in the liberation of Bulgaria, said with a smile, looking at me: 'A Communist regent? Why, that's grand! But whose idea was it?' Although I did not fully realize the significance of what was going on, I told him that the idea was history's, the people's.

Looking back at that episode today and thinking of the brief but interesting record of the Regency Council and of what came before and after it, I find in it much that is instructive — much more than previously. I no longer have any reason to regret that I was made a member of the Council against my wish and contributed as best I could, and as far as the political situation made it possible, to the Council's fruitful activity in the early, particularly difficult yet decisive years of Bulgaria's transition to socialism.

I may yet have an opportunity to tell in greater detail about the formation, functioning and role of the Regency Council. At the moment I will try to answer above all the following question: Why did a Communist become a regent — what made the Party do that?

It is common knowledge that the regency is the provisional exercise of the powers of the sovereign during his minority, illness or protracted absence and is the responsibility of a collective body, the regency council, or an individual, the regent. The procedure of establishing a regency and the latter's exercise of power is generally laid down in the Constitution. In Bulgaria, the Regency Council was set up under the Tyrnovo Constitution (1879) after the death of Tsar Boris (1943), for the Crown Prince was under seven years of age. It was composed of Prince Cyril, Bogdan Filov and General Nikola Mikhov, who were all supporters of Hitler Germany.

As a result of the victorious anti-fascist armed rising on September 9, 1944, when the Soviet Army was pressing forward its offensive, the fascist regime in Bulgaria fell and power was assumed by a government of the Fatherland Front. The makers of a policy disastrous to Bulgaria, including the members of the pro-fascist Regency Council, were arrested. However, the regency as an office was preserved because the Constitution made the monarchic form of government legal.

In an exceedingly complicated international and domestic situation, our Party showed political maturity and tact from the very beginning of the formation of a new state apparatus. Our people were faced with the following tasks of fundamental importance: terminating the state of war with the Soviet Union and its allies, breaking completely with Germany, eliminating the monarchy and establishing a people's democratic state. The Communists were well aware of the vast significance of the radical changes to be effected and knew that these could only be brought about with the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation.

'It was necessary,' said Georgi Dimitrov afterwards, at the Fifth Party Congress (1948), speaking of that period, 'to tackle only the most pressing tasks, without skipping any stage in the developing struggle of the working class and other working people of town and

countryside against capitalism... The only correct policy was to unite all the anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces of the people, including certain anti-German bourgeois elements, on the broadest possible basis in order completely to defeat the fascist clique, join successfully in the anti-Hitler war, defend and safeguard the country's national independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty. To implement this policy was a prerequisite and a guarantee of maintaining and furthering the historic gains of the popular rising on September 9.'

It was this policy that enabled the Party to establish links with the masses, strengthen its positions and isolate the enemies of the revolution and of people's rule. The problem of using certain old institutions of the state was dealt with accordingly. We preserved for a time such components of the old system as regional, district, town and village communal government bodies but imparted a new, socialist content to them: the Fatherland Front removed frankly fascist and other reactionary elements from local government.

Those were the circumstances in which the Party made me a member of the Regency Council. Its two other members were likewise supporters of the Fatherland Front. They were Professor Venelin Ganev, a liberal representing the interests of the bourgeoisie, and Tsviatko Boboshevski, a non-party man who expressed the views of the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie but was a Russophile. The new Regency Council, like the Fatherland Front government, which comprised four Communists, four members of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union (BAPU), two Social Democrats, four members of the Zveno People's Union and two independents, was formed on September 9, the day of the rising.

I need hardly say that none of the regents had any experience of government bodies of that nature. Yet the situation called for prompt and resolute action. To begin with, it was necessary to see clearly in the intricate domestic and foreign political situation and to work out (as far as this could be done by advocates of Bulgaria's capitalist development and by a Communist) a common approach to problems. The armistice signed in October 1944 between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, on the one hand, and Bulgaria, on the other, and the establishment of the Allied Control Commission to supervise execution of the provisions of the agreement largely facilitated the task. But even so, there were difficulties. Every blunder in the work of the Regency Council or in regard to it could set reactionary forces in motion and delay the country's transition to building socialism. The revolutionary masses had to show a particularly keen sense of responsibility and did show it, which certainly helped me as a regent in upholding the Party line.

I cannot go into the details of how the Regency Council worked out its various decisions or of the political actions it took, for this would require too much space and, besides, would hardly interest the general reader. I will try to give an idea of the more important efforts of the Council and of the causes of discord among its members after the Bulgarian People's Republic was proclaimed.

Due to the Party's flexible and principled leadership of the incipient revolutionary transformation of society and to the tremendous prestige which Georgi Dimitrov enjoyed among the masses as the Party's leader, it was on the whole easy enough, in spite of disputes, to achieve unanimity on the Council on key problems relating to Bulgaria's foreseeable future. What I mean is, first of all, the issue of joining in the anti-fascist liberation war, which deeply agitated Bulgarians and on which the Regency Council adopted an appropriate decision, thus providing more favorable conditions for signing peace and abolishing the Allied Control Commission.[1]

The Regency Council promptly took a correct stand on the issue of reforming Bulgaria's royal army on revolutionary lines to bring into being a new, people's democratic army, which was greatly strengthened by the institution of political assistants to commanders introduced on the Party's initiative. The assistants were mostly Communists — former guerrillas, political prisoners and underground Party workers. In an exceptionally short time, the army was reformed and rid of fascist elements and nazi agents, and joined in fighting the retreating nazi troops late in September 1944 as an ally of the Soviet Army and the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

In forming the new army, it was decided to keep those officers of the former royal army who had distinguished themselves in these operations. Most of them, being professionals, proved to be entirely devoted to the ideas of the Fatherland Front and made a noticeable contribution to the training of new commanders of the people's army recruited from workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals.

The Regency Council was unanimous on a number of other problems, too. I wish to stress, however, that the speech from the throne delivered by Ganev at the opening of the first session of the People's Assembly (1945) expressed, in effect, our common idea of the outlook for the political development of Bulgaria — common in the sense that it was shared by both the leadership of our Party and the leading bodies of the other Fatherland Front parties, including the BAPU.

On the other hand, the Council could not entirely dispense with compromises, such as the one over the appointment of General Demyan Velchev, a reactionary politician who had taken part in the fascist coup of June 9, 1923 and had been one of the organizers of the 1934 military coup, to the post of war minister of the first Fatherland

Front government. (As soon as he had assumed his duties, he began to resist the new power, an activity which was promptly stopped, of course.) It is also indicative that the post of head of government of the Fatherland Front was assigned, on Georgi Dimitrov's proposal, to General Kimon Georgiev, also a participant in two military coups, a wealthy landowner. (He devotedly served the Fatherland Front to the end of his days.)

Differences which subsequently developed into an ideological and political struggle emerged in the Regency Council after the rise in the middle of 1945 of an opposition group led by Grigory Mikhailov (Gemeto), Nikola Petkov, Georgy Cheshmejiev, Kristyn Lulchev and other BAPU and Social Democrat leaders. What happened was evidently inevitable because the time was drawing near when the Bulgarian people had to choose the path of their further progress. The opposition, which was backed by wealthy peasants, speculators and the urban bourgeoisie and also enjoyed foreign support, took an intransigent stand against people's democratic rule. When, after the Moscow Conference,[2] it was invited to join the government, it refused and some ministers opposed to the government, such as P. Stoyanov, resigned. I tried to dissuade them from stepping down, saying that it was an unwise thing to do, but got nowhere.

Not until it had suffered a really crushing defeat in elections and then lost virtually all ideological and political influence in the country did the opposition set out to normalize and activate its relations with the new, people's democratic regime.

The members of the Regency Council did not participate to an equal degree or in the same way in measures to set Bulgaria on a socialist course. Boboshevski, the spokesman of conservative and reactionary circles, extended his traditionally Russophile sympathy to the new, Soviet Russia. This considerably facilitated the role of the Communist regent whenever it was necessary to decide on joint Council action against the external and internal enemies of people's rule and the socialist construction that had begun.

Ganev disagreed with the Council's policy as the prospect of Bulgaria becoming a bourgeois republic faded. He maintained permanent contacts with the U.S., British, Italian and other foreign envoys and with opposition leaders, had large gold deposits in a Bulgarian bank and abroad (as transpired afterwards) and was a hard-line bourgeois ideologist. He wrote articles and appeals for Nikola Petkov, plotted with bourgeois representatives on the Allied Control Commission and in various diplomatic missions, drafted a typically bourgeois constitution and proposed to discuss it and put it to the vote in the Constituent People's Assembly as an alternative to the draft

Constitution proposed by Dimitrov and supported by all sound forces of the Fatherland Front.

But all attempts of this nature by Ganev and his followers, which were designed to maintain a system of inequality and oppression in the country, were doomed to failure. This became perfectly clear during the referendum on the form of government (September 8, 1946) and the elections to the Grand People's Assembly (October 27, 1946). The proposal to abolish the monarchy and proclaim Bulgaria a people's republic won 92.7 per cent of the votes cast in the referendum. In the elections to the Grand People's Assembly, the Communists polled over 50 per cent of the votes. The leading role of our Party in the social development of the country and its high prestige among the masses were beyond all doubt.[3] After the Regency Council had been abolished, Ganev, who persisted in active opposition, was banished to the town of Dryanov. Afterwards, in response to a proposal submitted by this writer to the then Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vylko Chervenkov, Ganev was allowed to return to Sofia. He was given back his confiscated house and granted a regent's pension and the title of corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He declined the title but engaged in research which resulted in a valuable work on Tsar Krum's[4] laws. This work was well received on the whole by historians and law experts in both Bulgaria and other socialist countries. Ganev also wrote a scholarly book on some theoretical problems of music, but failing health prevented continuation of his work. When he died he was buried with honors befitting his one-time office of regent. Shortly before his death, he told me repeatedly that he thought the opposition had failed owing to the overall complicated situation at home and abroad. At the same time, he acknowledged the growing political influence of the Soviet Union in the world and its enormous economic and military power. He went no further than putting that evident fact on record. It is revealing, however, that although he was a firm supporter of capitalism, he had in the end to accept that fact after witnessing the collapse of counter-revolutionary attempts to reverse the march of history.

Reaction's plans failed completely. The struggle against remnants of the monarchy, the bourgeoisie and its accomplices, which was particularly bitter in 1946 and 1947, did not develop into a civil war as certain circles had apparently expected it to. This did not happen due primarily to the tremendous prestige and influence of the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front among the masses.

But a factor of no less importance was, beyond all doubt, the presence of the Soviet troops, who did not interfere in the country's internal affairs yet prevented reaction from trying armed struggle and

inspired confidence in the strength of people's democratic rule. I have been convinced ever since my regency days that without the Soviet Union, let alone against the Soviet Union and its friends and allies, we would have been unable to accomplish the September revolution, which was people's democratic in form and socialist in content, or begin building a socialist society and marching toward communism.

In October 1947, an enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee decided to speed the country's social and economic development. It stressed that this depended on the Grand People's Assembly approving the PRB Constitution and on the early and judicious reorganization of the state apparatus according to the Constitution and with a view to advancing the country toward socialism. The socialist Constitution was adopted by the Assembly on December 4, 1947. As a result, the Tyrnovo Constitution became null and void, the monarchy was abolished, the gains of the socialist revolution were given legal form, and opportunities were created for its further development.

The problem of transition to socialism and of the ways in which the working class can win power is central to the theory of the socialist revolution and is solved according to the historical conditions of development of the revolution and the national characteristics of the country concerned. The preservation and functioning of the Regency Council may be regarded as something extraordinary or exceptional in the development of the socialist revolution. Recalling the meeting with Marshal Tolbukhin I mentioned at the beginning, I think the answer I gave him was also correct in the sense that that relatively accidental fact was influenced by trends 'operating and materializing with iron necessity,' as Marx expressed it. Lenin wrote: 'The class struggle waged by the proletariat *for* the sympathy and support of the majority of the working people does not end with the conquest of political power by the proletariat. *After* the conquest of power this struggle *continues,* but in *other* forms' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 30 p. 60). After the Fifth BCP Congress, it became particularly obvious that people's democracy in Bulgaria was not merely an executor of the function of proletarian dictatorship, as it had seemed originally. In reality it was a genuine form of proletarian power, but with distinct tactics, slogans and pace of revolutionary social transformations. What helped to achieve victory was an understanding of the logic of historical development and the distinctive conditions of Bulgaria, on the one hand, and a thorough knowledge of the general laws of the revolutionary process, on the other, both of which are at the basis of our Party's entire activity.

1. The peace treaty which put Bulgaria on an equal footing with other democratic states was signed in Paris on February 10, 1947. The Bulgarian government delegation to the peace conference was led by Vasil Kolarov, interim President of the Republic, Political Bureau member of the CC BCP. — *Ed.*

2. Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, USA and Britain (December 1945), which decided to draft peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. — *Ed.*

3. The Communists held 278 seats, or 60 per cent of the total, in the Grand National Assembly. According to a universally accepted parliamentary tradition, the Party could have formed a government of its own. Instead, it proposed to form a government of all Patriotic Front parties. — *Ed.*

4. Ruler of the first Bulgarian kingdom (early ninth century) — *Ed.*

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viewpoints

Crisis in the citadel of racism and apartheid

Yusuf Dadoo
Chairman, South African CP

Last year saw a massive upsurge of the movement against the inhuman system of apartheid — a new chapter in the history of the struggles carried on by the oppressed people of our country. The tide of indignation and protest among the long-suffering people of South Africa, set off by the heroic revolt in Soweto, may be regarded as one of the greatest acts of resistance in the history of anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-racist battles in Africa. This has lifted the revolutionary movement in South Africa to a qualitatively higher level, furnishing another proof that the deep-going changes in the world are irreversible. The balance of power has positively shifted in favor of the powerful mainstream of revolutionary change — the socialist world, the working class in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

The current revolutionary upsurge in our country is connected with a number of domestic and international factors.

Among these, a major factor is the impoverishment of the Black people, the African majority. The per capita income gap between whites and blacks is 14 to 1, and the whites (16.7 per cent of the population) receive 76.5 per cent of the country's gross domestic product. Approximately 90 per cent of the Africans live below the poverty datum line which covers only the absolute minimum required for the reproduction of labor power. In the so-called Bantustans,[1] already suffering from overcrowding, the situation has been made intolerable by the forcible deportation to these areas of over two million Africans from so-called 'White South Africa.' Herded into what are virtually concentration camps, the deportees, primarily old people and children, are doomed to die of starvation and lack of any social and medical care and attention.

Nearly two million Africans are unemployed. They live in horrible conditions and receive no unemployment benefits from the racist state. The prices of necessities keep soaring, so does inflation, and the living standards of the African population are going down. This, naturally, evokes protest among the population, inducing the Africans to purposeful revolutionary action.

Speaking about the international factors that have largely helped to change the situation in favor of the revolutionary forces in South Africa, mention should be made, above all, of the deep psychological and political impact of the victories in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and of the collapse of Portuguese fascism and colonialism. Most of all, the defeat of the imperialist aggression by the people of Angola led by MPLA has been of utmost significance in fortifying the confidence of the Black people in their ability to launch an offensive with the objective of overthrowing the apartheid regime and seizing power. The battles of Angola have forever shattered the myth of the superiority of the colonialists and the invincibility of the armed forces of the South African imperialists. Like the victories of the Vietnamese people, the events that took place in the south of Africa in the mid-70s demonstrate that a people fighting for its freedom does not fight alone. This was clearly evidenced by the assistance rendered by the socialist countries, especially Cuba and the Soviet Union, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The intensified political and guerrilla activities in Namibia and Zimbabwe have also greatly contributed to the growing ferment of resistance in South Africa. Progressive and democratic forces in our country welcome the decision of the front line African states to render full support to the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe — another blow to the attempts by the racists and imperialists to impose a neo-colonialist solution on the people of Zimbabwe. In the conditions of the changed balance of forces in the international arena, the imperialist-racist alliance is unable, even with U.S. support, to install puppet regimes in southern Africa. The broad masses in South Africa are becoming increasingly aware of this fact.

And, last but not the least, the revolutionary impact of the events in the mid-70s in the south of Africa is that they have clearly demonstrated to the exploited and oppressed in our country, by the example, in the first place, of South Africa's closest neighbors — Angola and Mozambique — that a militant, united and disciplined people led by revolutionary movements following socially progressive policies and fully supported by progressive mankind can defeat even the most powerful enemy.

These are, in brief, the preconditions of the developments which began in Soweto, a suburb of Johannesburg, last June, when schoolchildren rose in revolt against the imposition of Afrikaans as a language to be studied in African schools. These developments swept right across the country, marking a new stage in the revolutionary struggle to seize power for the people and overthrow the much hated system of apartheid. The Soweto revolt demonstrated the wish of the

young to take an active part in the mounting revolutionary struggle and signalled the start of massive acts of protest and resistance against the Vorster regime which holds millions of Black people, Africans, Coloreds and Indians in bondage.

Defying the shooting by the hirelings of the South African fascist political machine, the oppressed — the youth, students and workers — went into the streets. They have demonstrated their courage, a will to oppose the racist regime, a readiness to sacrifice their lives in the name of freedom.

Contrary to the claims by the world capitalist press, it was not only the students and unemployed youth who participated in the militant actions. Since last June the African working class, especially in the two key cities — Johannesburg and Cape Town — has come out on two successive three-day general strikes in the face of intimidation from the employers and police. The employers cut the wages of the strikers, forced many workers to sleep on the premises and issued dire threats of dismissal whilst the heavily armed racist police tried to compel them to resume work. But, encouraged by their successful actions, the workers responded by stubborn resistance. It is appropriate here to recall a well-known utterance by Lenin who said that 'strikes . . . teach the workers to unite; they show them that they can struggle against the capitalists only when they are united; strikes can teach workers to think of the struggle of the whole class against the whole class of factory owners and against the arbitrary, police government' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 4, p. 317).

Another significant aspect in the nationwide movement is that it was joined by the colored population, especially the colored community of the Cape Province. Thousands of Coloreds came out in solidarity demonstrations and protests in the face of police brutality and shootings. Undaunted by the brutalities and mass arrests, the Colored and African youth students jointly demonstrated in the very heart of Cape Town's business and commercial district. In Durban some sections of the Indian community also came out in solidarity with their African brothers. The 1976 events in South Africa demonstrated the growing unity of the oppressed Black people — Africans, Coloreds, Indians. This process could not be reversed by the numerous attempts of the authorities to divide them.

Since the middle of last year South Africa has been the scene of daily clashes between the enraged and trigger-happy police and unarmed civilians, of general strikes and boycotts, and sometimes virtual uprisings. The ferment of militant resistance, which engulfed the whole country last year, has substantially deepened the crisis of capitalism and racism in South Africa.

The symptoms of the crisis are manifest in the economy, politics

and ideology. It is penetrating ever more deeply into the ruling social, economic and political system in South Africa.

Between 1963 and 1973, white South Africa enjoyed one of its most rapid periods of economic growth. This economic boom with an annual growth rate of over five per cent was only possible because of the brutal suppression of the national liberation and working-class movements, bad working conditions and the absence of social security, the fascist-type rigid control and regimentation of black labor power, and the use of cheap migratory labor. But this boom is now over and South Africa, like the rest of the capitalist world, is going through a serious economic crisis, a crisis that is exacerbated in South Africa by the apartheid laws, which constitute an obstacle to economic recovery. Inflation in South Africa is among the highest in the world. In the past two years the South African currency has already been devalued twice, by a total of 23 per cent, and in mid-June 1976, the trade deficit increased by more than 40 per cent (from $1,700 million in 1975 to $2,400 million).[2] The economic growth rate last year was negative, with very little prospect for improvement in the near future.

South Africa has to cover its trade deficit by the inflow of foreign capital and from the sale of gold. But both have decreased rather sharply. According to the racist Minister of Economic Affairs, Chris Hennis, South Africa's net inflow of foreign capital has declined from R620 million[3] in the last quarter of 1975 to only R89 million in the second quarter of 1976.

Alarmed by the economic decline, the main organizations representing the interests of the monopolists and white businessmen, have been pressing the racist regime for political reforms which, they believe, would impart a stimulus to the economy and check the growth of social tension, which is proving so dangerous for the regime. They are calling, in particular, for the creation of a black middle class, removal of constraints upon blacks doing certain skilled jobs and giving the Africans in the urban areas a little more security.

Foreign investors are also perturbed about the present political situation. Fearful of losing their 'investors' paradise,' which South Africa was considered to be only recently, they have also called for some reforms, as they wish to preserve the basic socio-economic structures which enable them to reap exceptionally high profits from the super-exploitation of black labor power. Although the racist regime now finds it increasingly difficult to raise money abroad, it managed to borrow R400 million on the Euromarket, got a R160 million loan from the IMF and a R260 million loan from the giant City Bank of America. This goes to show that racists enjoy the full support of international capital.

The 1976 events have sharply aggravated the political crisis in the country, brought the racist regime into deeper isolation and facilitated the further maturing of the revolutionary situation.

Lenin pointed out: 'Oppression alone, no matter how great, does not always give rise to a revolutionary situation in a country. 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' (Vol. 19, pp. 221-222).

The Vorster regime today is showing increasing inability 'to rule and govern in the old way.' The powers that be are all out to find solutions and reforms which, they imagine, can defuse the highly volatile political situation. There is, however, no clarity among the various sections of the ruling class on a way out of the crisis. Even within the ruling Afrikaner National Party, there are fundamental differences on this matter. There are some Afrikaners who rigidly believe that no reforms or concessions should be made and that the old approach should be followed. There are others, like the editors of the two mouthpieces of the National Party — *Transvater* and *Burger* — and leading Afrikaner politicians, monopolists and businessmen who agree with certain foreign imperialist forces that unless some reforms are made the country will rapidly move into a revolutionary situation to the detriment of the entire system of capitalism.

The ruling circles are now faced with an insoluble dilemma: how under the present circumstances to adapt the policy and ideology of the regime, without changing its racist nature, to the goals of South Africa's development along the lines of monopoly capitalism. Hence the search for 'new' methods of management and attempts to get rid of the most irksome aspects of racism, such as 'petty apartheid,'[4] in order to keep intact the basic structure of apartheid. More than ever before the enemy understands that it must secure the support of Black collaborationists.

Vorster's regime hopes that a Black middle class comprising African traders, administrators, especially in the Bantustans, some Colored and part of the Indian commercial bourgeoisie and professionals will fulfill the role of collaborationists. But as long as apartheid is in operation, only a minority of the Black middle class is likely to fully support the policies of the racist regime.

The deep socio-economic and political crisis is also reflected in the greater militarization of the economy and the huge arms build-up. It is estimated that the record military budget of R1,350 million for 1976, an increase of 40 per cent over the previous year, will be exceeded. White South Africa is now one of the most heavily armed civilian populations in the world. Every day the fascist regime calls upon the

whites — men, women and children — to prepare themselves psychologically, physically and militarily to combat the freedom fighters. Compulsory cadet training has been introduced this year for all white high school students. What Vorster fears above all is the escalation of guerrilla activities to the territory of South Africa.

The ideology of racism is also in disarray. Instead of open racism and chauvinism, the politicians and ideologues of the ruling class attempt to camouflage their anti-human and obscurantist ideas with sophisticated demagogy. They claim that the policy of apartheid is not racist because it is supposed to give the Africans 'independence' in their own areas — in the Bantustans. Pik Botha, South Africa's ambassador to the UN, asserted that Vorster's regime was prepared to dismantle discrimination based solely on color. Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Interior and Information, who is widely tipped as a possible successor to Vorster, claimed in an interview given to the *Rand Daily Mail:* 'Is it discrimination solely on the basis of color if I refuse, as a white, to have other people in the white parliament, if at the same time I create opportunities for other people in their own parliaments? Even if it is discriminatory, it is also discriminatory against the white man who will have no authority in the Transkei.'[5] In essence this rhetoric means that the African people in the so-called 'white areas' of South Africa — 87 per cent of the country — will have no rights whatsoever and the reality of racist oppression is not going to be altered.

Our Party believes that only a revolutionary change in the social system can help overcome these conflicts by putting an end to the colonial and racist oppression of the Black people.

This is not an easy task to accomplish. The revolutionary struggle in our country is a complex, immensely difficult and at times contradictory process. We shall utilize different forms and methods, armed and unarmed, illegal and legal, and planned mass actions, to strengthen the capacity and determination of the oppressed and exploited and to weaken the enemy's morale. At the same time the revolutionaries should have a clear idea of the essence and direction of their struggle.

The characteristic thing about our revolution is that it is developing in conditions of extreme national oppression, expressed in the system of racism and apartheid, which deprives the oppressed majority of the people, the creator of the wealth of the nation, of even the very minimum economic and political rights. Thus, the main content of our struggle is the national liberation of the African people from the yoke of racist and colonialist rule. As monopoly capitalism is closely linked with the racist system of oppression, the tasks of national liberation are closely linked with those of social liberation. Furthermore, the

country has attained a social and economic level that provides objective material preconditions (the developed capitalist state sector, large-scale and mechanized farming) for transition to an advanced social system. When free, the people of South Africa will be able to proceed toward socialism fairly rapidly.

In the coming battles, as in the past, the African working class, steeled and tempered in numerous struggles, is called upon to play its historic role. It is being increasingly concentrated in large enterprises, rapidly gaining political maturity and quickly absorbing the lessons of discipline, unity and organization. The working class has shown in practice that it is the leading force in the struggle for national and social liberation. For over three decades the fascist regime has tried to bludgeon it into submission by fascist terror, shootings, the imprisonment and torture of its leaders and trade unionists and refusing to recognize the right of African trade unions to exist. But of no avail. Over the past three years, even though it was illegal for African workers to strike, we have had over 1,000 strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers. All of them had a political content.

Operating in conditions of naked terror, the ANC and SACP have greatly contributed to the ferment of militant resistance amongst the oppressed masses. The continuous stream of illegal propaganda and agitational material, including the newspapers of the two organizations, plays a crucial role. One of the appeals of the Communist Party says in part: 'Workers! Comrades! We are the backbone of the struggle for national liberation. It is only our collective strength which will ensure that the mass of the people will benefit from liberation, and not just the few who want to step into the shoes of the white exploiters.

'Intensify the struggle for higher wages and better conditions! Build strong black trade unions! Organize secret committees of the most reliable workers to lead the struggle in the factories! Support and strengthen your political organization — the South African Communist Party!

'Study the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism and fight against anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism — the weapons of the enemy. Support and strengthen the African National Congress and its allies in the National Liberation Front.'

Comradely relations between the SACP and the ANC are steadily growing stronger. The working class in South Africa is an integral and indispensable part of the national liberation movement headed by the ANC. The Party's relations with the ANC are based on mutual confidence and mutual commitment and determination to overthrow the white minority regime. This has led to greater clarity and understanding on the part of both organizations on how to evolve the

correct revolutionary strategic perspectives and tactical maneuvers in the revolutionary struggle.

Today the national liberation and working class movements are facing a number of important political, organizational and ideological tasks. They are to be accomplished in conditions when the racist regime, reeling under the mighty blows of the people's resistance, is preparing to hit back. It has already stepped up the implementation of its Bantustan policy and is trying to balkanize the country, divide the African people into tribal groupings, split the anti-racist front and isolate the ANC and SACP from the people. Our primary duty is to foil the racist scheme, and prevent the international recognition of the so-called 'independent' Transkei. To be sure, Vorster, supported by world imperialism, will encourage the activities of tribalists, renegades and reactionaries, and we must learn from the experience of Angola, where UNITA and FNLA were used as the shock-troops of imperialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

The future course of the revolutionary struggle is going to be determined first and foremost by the mobilization of the African working class and its close links with the rural population. To fulfil this task the SACP and ANC intend to encourage the African workers to create their own factory committees — legal, semi-legal and illegal — and use their collective strength to fight relentlessly for higher wages, better working conditions and free trade union rights. In this battle the revitalization of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial trade union center, is imperative. Well experienced in class battles, SACTU has the responsibility of leading the trade unions' struggle for their immediate as well as long-range goals.

The urgent task today is to enlist the support of more and more colored and Indian workers in the struggle of the African workers for common interests, to achieve a broader participation of coloreds and Indians and their registered trade unions in the strike movement. In their efforts to disrupt the unity of the black people, Vorster may offer coloreds and Indians certain concessions, promising them certain political and economic rights in the distant future. It is therefore vitally necessary for the liberation movement to build up the unity of the oppressed people and ensure that the overwhelming majority of coloreds and Indians reject the attempts to divide them from their natural allies and comrades-in-arms — the African people. It is this unity in action that will ensure the speedier demise of the racist regime and of the capitalism which sustains and nurtures it.

Another urgent task of the revolutionary forces is to rebuff anti-communism and anti-sovietism in all its manifestations. Anti-communism constitutes an organic part of the policy and ideology of

apartheid. Under the Suppression of Communism Act the SACP was banned in 1950, and the ANC in 1960; tens of thousands have been imprisoned, arrested and tortured. Following the racist-imperialist defeat in Angola there has been a deluge of wild, hysterical anti-communist, anti-soviet and anti-Cuban propaganda. It was impressed on white South Africans that they alone would have to fight the 'communist menace.' Vorster, after ruefully reflecting on Angola, bitterly declared, 'If, therefore, a communist onslaught should be made against South Africa, directly or under camouflage, then South Africa will have to face it alone and certain countries who profess to be anti-communist will even refuse to sell arms to South Africa to beat off the attacks.' Statements of this sort are meant to spur anti-communist hysteria and secure stronger support for the racist regime on the part of world imperialism.

Today we face the important problem of strengthening our underground machinery. Our illegal structures are constantly improving their style of work, introducing innovatory methods to prevent detection and arrest and are forging closer links with the masses. The underground cadres understand that the illegal structures must fully utilize whatever opportunities there are for mass political action that ties in with the immediate and long-term needs and grievances of the people.

After decades of peaceful mass militant resistance, the main revolutionary forces in South Africa have come to the conclusion that to defeat this fascist monster we are to prepare our people, organizations and cadres for armed revolutionary struggle. But we are hampered by the thorny problem of logistics in this struggle, since every single inch of the country's territory has felt the jack-boot of fascist rule, and enemy troops can very rapidly reach any point in the country. Our party believes that it is imperative to create political conditions in which armed revolutionary struggle can not only be initiated but also sustained. Armed struggle has to be directly linked to the intensification of mass action. Of great significance for the further development of the armed struggle is the fact that hundreds of young workers and students are leaving the country illegally to join the ANC and its military wing Unkhonto We Sizwe (Spearhead of the Nation), in order to acquire the political and military skills with which to confront the enemy.

As Vorster and his clique find themselves in growing isolation in South Africa, people throughout the world angrily condemn the racist regime, this bastion of imperialism, neo-colonialism and counter-revolution in Africa, and expose the policy of the imperialist quarters supporting it. World public opinion is gravely concerned over the fact that South Africa, which already possesses a considerable military

potential, including such barbaric means of mass annihilation as napalm and nerve gas, is about to acquire nuclear weapons.[6] Racist South Africa is not a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and therefore presents a threat to the peoples, to peace in Africa and the world, a threat which now comes from the policies followed by the racists. Therefore it is encountering a powerful rebuff at home and abroad.

The international solidarity movement with the oppressed people of South Africa is gaining momentum. In this struggle the international communist movement has consistently played a significant part, demonstrating that it is in the forefront of the struggle against all forms of exploitation, racism and fascism. Ever greater numbers of democrats, progressives and anti-racists in the capitalist countries are now demanding that their governments withdraw their support from the racist regime. With ever greater vigor the majority of the African countries, through the OAU, are expressing their deep commitment to clear Africa of the remnants of racist colonial regimes. All revolutionaries and patriots in our country welcomed the worldwide Week of Solidarity with the workers and people of Southern Africa held in January 1977 in response to an appeal from all the three international trade union federations — WFTU, ICFTU and WCL.

It is the duty of all progressives in the world to curb the racists. The international campaign to isolate the racist regime economically, politically, militarily and diplomatically must be taken to higher levels. To achieve this, we must continually expose the anti-communist and anti-people course of the Vorster regime, oppose the Pretoria — Tel Aviv axis, this sworn enemy of the national liberation movement, and obstruct the U.S. plans to set up a South Atlantic organization of South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

The fighters for freedom and social progress in our country are fully convinced that racist imperialist slavery will not last long and that racism and world imperialism will fail to reverse the course of history. The revolutionary forces led by the ANC and SACP are totally committed to the destruction of apartheid and fascism in South Africa.

About 15 years ago, we South African Communists wrote in our Program that the system of colonialism and racial oppression in our country was powerfully challenged and would be overthrown by the unified struggle of national-liberation and working-class movements, that had grown, developed in experience and maturity and become steeled in many years of complex and difficult struggle. The developments of the recent past clearly confirm this conclusion. The mass movement against the racist regime, which started in Soweto, has

reached unprecedented proportions, involving millions of the oppressed — Africans, coloreds and Indians — and is growing broader. Now it is more obvious than ever before that the racists' defeat is inevitable.

1. See Y. Dadoo. *Crisis of Apartheid, WMR,* February 1975 — *Ed.*
2. *International Herald Tribune,* October 13, 1976.
3. South African rand equals $1.15.
4. Open segregation of Africans, Coloreds and Indians in public places, in transport, etc. — *Ed.*
5. On October 26, 1976, the government of South Africa granted 'independence' to the Transkei Bantustan, which is another political farce, as that territory and its puppet rulers are wholly dependent on the racist regime. — *Ed.*
6. Military nuclear research, conducted in South Africa with the connivance and support of certain imperialist quarters, has reached a level when this country may come to possess nuclear weapons in the near future, even, according to some sources, within a few months.

Outlook for détente and disarmament

TWO INTERVIEWS

The problem of disarmament involves the fundamental interests of all countries and the whole of mankind. Peace-loving opinion has to play an important part in solving it, in bringing about real progress toward ending the arms race. This has been the theme of numerous representative meetings, particularly at the recent World Forum of Peace Forces in Moscow and the latest session of the World Peace Council Presidium in Sofia.

WMR has interviewed Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the World Peace Council, and Gerhard Kade, Vice-President of the Vienna International Institute for Peace, member of the Leading Bureau of the Committee on Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation (FRG), professor at the Darmstadt Higher Technical University, member of the SPD, on the significance of the struggle for disarmament and detente.

ROMESH CHANDRA: New initiatives inspire optimism

Q. The last months of 1976 and the early months of 1977 saw new major international events. Which of those events would you describe as particularly favorable to détente and disarmament?

A. A number of governments, some non-governmental organiza-

tions and spokesmen of diverse political and other social forces have lately put forward proposals to promote the 'spirit of Helsinki.' Among the most important of these initiatives are the proposals of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which met in Bucharest last November. The proposals comprise numerous measures relating to the military, economic and cultural spheres of international relations. They carry unprecedented political and moral weight, because they are a product of the coordinated peace policy of the socialist community, which is marching in the van of the struggle for peace and social progress. I would like to lay special emphasis on the socialist countries' appeal to all signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference to commit themselves never to be the first to use nuclear weapons in any armed conflict. This initiative accords entirely with the Helsinki spirit. A treaty against using nuclear weapons first could substantially ease international tensions and give the peoples of Europe and the world greater security.

Also worthy of full support is the Bucharest proposal to renounce extension of membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. The socialist countries in the WTO have repeatedly signified their willingness to discuss the abolition of the two opposed military blocs. The PCC confirmed this proposal at its Bucharest meeting. At a time when NATO rejects the idea, the proposal to renounce extension of the number of nations in the two blocs should become a starting point in the campaign for military détente. It is essential to foil plans to bring Spain into NATO and set up a military bloc in the South Atlantic involving racist South Africa and the Brazilian fascist regime — a bloc that would merely be a branch of NATO. It is fair to say that the Warsaw Treaty countries have again demonstrated their readiness to go on working for detente.

Q. How do you regard the negative stand on the socialist countries' proposals taken by the NATO Council in Brussels?

A. Détente provides new, more favorable conditions for the struggle of all peoples for peace, security and social progress. This causes particular concern to reaction and, last but not least, to the NATO leadership, which is very strongly influenced by the most reactionary, aggressive circles in the United States. It is not accidental, therefore, that NATO generally plays a delaying role in matters of détente and disarmament.

Revealingly NATO rejected the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposals in the midst of a growing campaign against the 'Soviet military threat,' a campaign which militarists and the military industrial complex use as an argument in favor of more war preparations and greater arms spending. The campaign is seen with concern by all intelligent

people, who realize that the answer to the question whether peace on earth is to be or not to be, and whether or not the arms race should continue, cannot be left to bellicose Pentagon and NATO generals or to the monopolies that make profit by manufacturing and selling arms. This is a matter for responsible statesmen and for the peoples whose destinies are involved. It is only logical that in reply to the NATO reactionaries' rejection of the latest proposals of the PCC, numerous non-governmental organizations, trade unions, peace organizations, prominent politicians, MPs and members of some governments in the non-socialist part of the world have voiced support for these initiatives.

Peace movements in all countries are working to make the significance of the Bucharest declaration known and are mobilizing public opinion to compel the leaders of NATO countries to take, on their part, specific and constructive steps towards lessening military tensions.

The actions of the peace forces are aimed at isolating reactionary politicians, generals and industrialists trying to step up the arms race, which is the principal obstacle in the way of the consolidation of détente and, indeed, threatens to slow down and even stop the process. Over 400 million people in more than a hundred countries of the world have already signed the New Stockholm Appeal for an end to the arms race, for disarmament.

Due to the activity of the World Peace Council, more and more people the world over are coming to realize that in this age, security cannot be achieved by stockpiling armaments but solely through political means, by putting international relations on a sound basis, fostering détente, following a reasonable foreign policy and ending the arms race without delay.

Q. Does that mean that in spite of the difficulties created by the enemies of détente and disarmament, you take an optimistic view of the chances of curbing the arms race and carrying forward international détente?

A. Certainly. The initiatives I have mentioned inspire us with optimism. I consider that this year has begun in an atmosphere of growing confidence in the peoples' ability to make an even more effective contribution to the great cause of safeguarding and promoting peace. This confidence rests on the solid basis of the gains made by détente as a result of the peoples' struggle for peace and national independence, for disarmament, economic and social progress, restructuring of international economic relations, and for human rights.

I wish, first of all, to point out the role which has been played in this process by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the implementation of the Soviet Peace Program and its

continuation in the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation approved in 1976. This is why Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, had every reason to say in his interview with Joseph Kingsbury-Smith, an American political commentator: 'By achieving political détente, we have also paved the way for really concerning ourselves with key problems of limiting armanents and disarmament.' Leonid Brezhnev expressed the hope that the year 1977 would really be a turning point in the effort to stop the arms race.

This is what the Soviet Union's peace-loving and humanist policy seeks. We see it in the Soviet government's efforts for a new agreement with the USA limiting strategic armaments. We see it in the efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community to achieve progress in the Vienna talks on mutual cuts in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We see it in many other steps of the socialist world intended to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

International détente is also a result of the great efforts of the UN and its specialized agencies and committees. The non-aligned movement has made major contributions to détente. So have sober-minded statesmen and governments, whose efforts are directed towards a peaceful settlement of the most complicated international disputes.

The victory of the cause of peace and national independence in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the conclusion of the terrible, inhuman wars that had raged in these countries, the overthrow of fascism in Greece and Portugal, the liberation of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique from colonial rule have all contributed to the creation of a new international atmosphere. The Helsinki Conference and its Final Act became a powerful stimulus for détente in Europe and inspire peace workers throughout the world. Action by the peace movements has been a powerful factor in assisting the United Nations in deciding to convene a Special Session of the General Assembly on disarmament. This will be a big step towards calling a world disarmament conference.

This is a dependable basis entitling one to look on the prospects of détente with optimism. Peace builders seek to make the year 1977 a turning point in the efforts to end the arms race. The World Assembly of Builders of Peace, to be held in Warsaw from May 6 to 11, will be a most powerful contribution towards this aim.

GERHARD KADE: The search for mutually acceptable measures

Q. How do you regard the outlook for containing the arms drive?
A. The first steps to contain the arms drive were taken in the early

60s, when détente was only beginning. One of them was the treaty banning nuclear tests in the three spheres. Important measures have been taken since then, for instance, the USSR-USA agreement on limiting strategic arms. These steps have substantially facilitated détente.

Developments over the past few years have proved that, despite the tempestuous progress in science and technology, we can come to an agreement banning the development of certain types of weapons that represent a danger to the very existence of mankind. The arms drive is not consequent on scientific and technological progress. On the contrary, limiting the arms drive would open much wider vistas for the use of science and technology to resolve worldwide problems, notably those of the developing countries.

The material and financial burden of war preparation is now so painfully felt, even in a number of highly developed capitalist countries, that people are asking themselves: Can the accumulated social problems be resolved without disarmament? So far these problems are being exacerbated, largely due to the arms drive. An understanding of that fact (which is gaining ground among ever larger sections of the public) leads to the conviction that the arms drive has to be contained and then halted altogether. It is now becoming perfectly clear that it is not the reduction of armaments production, but the arms drive that is increasing the number of insecure jobs and fostering among white-collar and blue-collar workers apprehension for the future. In the FRG, for example, before the revival of the arms industry, there was practically full employment over a certain period.

Normal relations with the socialist states in the present détente atmosphere would provide new opportunities for cooperation and very broad opportunities for creating secure jobs.

Every step towards disarmament means more security for the whole of society and for each of its members. I feel that the public can help promote détente and disarmament. Our own Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation wants the public forces brought into motion. But they must clearly see who opposes détente and why.

Q. What about the forces that are trying to block détente and disarmament negotiations?

A. The consequences of the cold war are felt in the FRG, possibly more than in other countries. This finds expression both in politics and ideology. At times one gets the impression that certain political circles even want to revive the cold war, in direct opposition to the Federal government's Eastern policy — its Ostpolitik — which has made a positive contribution to détente in Europe. The reactionary forces are keeping up a steady campaign against it. Hostility to

détente is especially apparent in CDU/CSU circles and also in the Bundeswehr.

In keeping with international agreements, the FRG does not have strategic weapons, but there is a dangerous buildup of its military potential. And what is of special concern is not so much the quantitative as the qualitative aspect of this buildup.

Plans for new weapons systems lay a heavy burden on the national budget, with all other budgetary items being steadily reduced. The arms buildup tends to strengthen the elements that want to complicate international relations by boosting the sale of arms. This would cause considerable political and moral damage to the FRG.

In short, FRG citizens have ample reason to reflect on this question: Can a foreign policy be successful if it is based entirely on military strength? In my view, such a policy stands no chance of success. For the Federal Government's Eastern policy has clearly demonstrated that a policy founded on reason and reality is more effective than one oriented on achieving superiority.

Q. Stagnation of the disarmament talks has produced the theory that 'détente and the arms drive can coexist.' What is your view?

A. The arms drive is bound to narrow the sphere of political action. It is therefore senseless to speak of political détente if there is a continuous buildup of armaments. The lack of confidence and the danger of war, which increases with the increase in weapons and the concentration of military force, could torpedo political détente.

All the countries represented at the Helsinki Conference demonstrated their will to continue the political détente process, and military détente is now a practical proposition. Naturally, no realistic politician will demand a disarmed planet as an immediate goal. The principle of 'all or nothing' is least of all applicable to the disarmament problem. In the political sphere, the most important thing is to use all available opportunities to reach reasonable compromises. Since the Helsinki Conference there have appeared realistic preconditions for consolidating détente and for progress in the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

Q. What is hampering the success of the Vienna negotiations?

A. We still have to eliminate the lingering distrust between the negotiating powers and work out and discuss proposals acceptable to all. Incidentally, in 1976 the Warsaw Treaty nations submitted new proposals couched in a spirit of reasonable compromise. They take into account a number of points raised by the capitalist countries in December 1975.* And yet there has been no progress in Vienna.

In the view of the Warsaw Treaty countries the present military

* The socialist countries presented new proposals on February 16 and June 10, 1976. — *Ed*.

equilibrium in Central Europe must be maintained, with simultaneous reductions of troops and armaments. This is a small but necessary step which I believe, the capitalist West could accept.

Naturally, reduction of the military confrontation in Europe, which everyone expects of the Vienna negotiations, will not mean the dismantling of military blocs. But the important thing is that reduction of armamants and armed forces on the continent will substantially reduce the danger of war and thus create the prerequisites for further progress in the political and economic cooperation of European countries, which, in turn, would have a positive effect on détente.

The Vienna negotiations are being impeded by forces that have scant regard for reality and are hampering détente by irrelevant arguments. The imperialist circles that control the mass media play a definite role in this. They are spreading all manner of fabrications about the terrible menace emanating, allegedly, from the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Q. What is the purpose of these fabrications?

A. Though the principle of equilibrium is the very basis of the present negotiations on military matters, the reactionary forces still harp on an imaginary danger from the East. Obviously, they want to compel responsibile political circles to accept the arms buildup. This serves the interests, above all, of the military-industrial complex, whose profits are directly dependent on maintaining tension centers. To proposals designed to extend détente and achieve disarmament, the reactionaries counterpose their anti-communist figments. They maintain, for instance, that the East does not really want détente, and, hence, neither disarmament; that the present negotiations are no more than a tactical maneuver by the Communists, who are out to gain military superiority. This type of 'interpretation' of the disarmament problem has produced a situation in which the capitalist West has no clear-cut concept of comprehensive disarmament negotiations, for anti-communist propaganda is hardly likely to help the success of the negotiations.

Q. Do you think that disarmament negotiations and discussions involve the ideological positions of the countries concerned? Is there any justification for ideological concessions and ideological reconciliation as a condition of disarmament?

A. The disarmament talks do not mean that the FRG has to become a socialist state, or that the socialist camp has to abandon Marxism. Neither the SALT talks between the USA and the USSR, nor the Helsinki negotiations envisage that every country shall renounce its ideological principles. More, it was clearly emphasized that despite ideological differences, common political viewpoints can be worked out, or can be brought closer together through com-

promise. The measures taken so far have not halted the arms race, but the initial steps indicate that there is ground for useful agreements, even if the parties are motivated by different considerations.

Application of the peaceful coexistence principle is a prerequisite for equality of the parties in disarmament negotiations. He who tries to make ideological reconciliation a prior condition for détente is, objectively, an opponent of détente.

For instance, it would be a gross falsification of the principles accepted at Helsinki to maintain that progress in détente and disarmament are possible only if there is ideological levelling out. My own opinion is that the success of the Helsinki Conference created important preconditions for wider disarmament measures precisely because all its participants pledged to resolve all disputed issues peacefully with respect of the sovereignty of all the parties.

Belgium's urgent problems and the communists' attitude

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To say that Belgium has not avoided the deep crisis of the capitalist system in the economy, as well as in the social, political and cultural spheres, would be an understatement. At the end of last year there were 250,000 registered fully unemployed, or 8.7 per cent of those on the social security register. Of the Common Market countries, Ireland alone has broken Belgium's record. Those who have remained on the job have to work at an exhausting pace. The employers and the government are deliberately attacking wages, which fail to keep pace with the rising prices. Such major gains of the working class as the principle of bringing wages, salaries and pensions into line with retail prices and that of protection from partial unemployment have to be defended from erosion by the authorities.

The swelling tax burden has not saved the state finances, which are going from bad to worse. A vast number of small and medium enterprises are facing bankruptcy. The policy of austerity which, the government claims, will help overcome the crisis, while it only aggra-

vates it, affects the population at large and has been evoking strong protest, in particular from teachers, scientists and students.

The depth and prolonged nature of the crisis poses fundamental questions. The poll conducted by the public opinion institute in March 1976 has revealed that 40.4 per cent of those questioned (48.6 per cent in Wallonia) think there must be a cardinal change in the economic system in order to overcome the difficulties confronting society.

On top of this, the crisis has shown the urgency of a problem that in Belgium is known as the problem of the communities. This is the problem of the relations between francophonic and Flemish-speaking communities. A new development here is that in the local government elections on October 10 last year three large regions, Wallonia, Flanders and Brussels, voted differently on this question, thereby reaffirming the urgent need for radical institutional reform.[1] The consequences of the problem of the communities and the policy of rigid economy compelled the government in December 1976 to make painstaking and ignominious reshuffles.[2]

Now let us go into the problem of communities in more detail.Belgium's population of almost 10 million (9,813,152, Dec. 31, 1975) speaks different languages. The 5.5 million Flemings who live in the north speak Flemish and the 3.25 million Walloons in the south speak French. In the heart of the country the one million inhabitants of Brussels claim that they are neither Flemings nor Walloons. Most of them speak French, some prefer Flemish and many are bilingual. In addition, there are some 60,000 German-speaking people in the eastern provinces.

The problem of the communities is more than a purely linguistic and cultural problem. Its social and economic aspects cannot be resolved today within the framework of the unitary and centralized system set up by the Belgian bourgeoisie way back in 1831. The problem encouraged the emergence of political organizations — the People's Union (Folksunie) in Flanders, the Walloon Association in the south and the Democratic French-Speaking Front in Brussels — whose initial programs all contained linguistic demands.

The roots of the regional problem in Belgium, as stated in an article by Claude Renard,[3] are the same as in other countries. Wherever the problem crops up it is made more acute by the cumulative effect of the crisis and the concentration of capital in the hands of the monopolies. But in Belgium this problem acquires a new dimension since Brussels, which is the capital and a region at the same time, is a knot of contradictions, and also because Wallonia and Flanders are not comparable with, say, Tuscany in Italy or with the departments Nord and Pas-de-Calais in France. Although the Walloon region has

its geographic boundaries and distinctive culture, Wallonia as part of a future federal state is yet to be created. I repeat, a federal state, since the Communist Party believes that the communities problem can be solved only along the lines of democratic federalism. In the conditions of Belgium, with almost equally important language communities and strictly centralized political structures, federalism may help to avoid a situation in which linguistic problems are a constant source of discord among the populations of various regions. More, federalism is bound to create conditions for broader democracy, because the setting up of elected assemblies with broad powers and executive government bodies in each of the three major regions will bring the decision-making centers closer to the people directly concerned.

The 'traditional' parties — the Christian Social Party, the Freedom and Progress Party (Liberals) and even the Socialist Party (at least until recent years) — moved slowly on this problem for a long time, but its growing acuteness gradually compelled them to start adjusting the unitary structures of the state to the current situation by way of their 'cultural' or linguistic separation. This was done first at top level, but without allowing any democratic regional arrangement. For this reason Belgium today has two ministries of education, two ministries of culture and two 'councils on cultural affairs,' comprising MPs from the two main linguistic communities. On the other hand, regionalization as such has been blocked by the big bourgeoisie, which is strongly opposed to the granting of genuine rights to Wallonia, Flanders and Brussels.

By widening the gap between regional development levels, the crisis has reaffirmed the urgent need for an acceptable solution to the communities problem within the framework of democratic federalism, combined with structural reforms in the social and economic spheres.

This growing unevenness of development is the result of the structural changes in industry over the past decades. Belgium is an industrial country. It was the first to follow Britain in capitalist industrialization and since the middle of the 19th century industry has been predominant over farming. Up to World War I, industry, operating on domestic mineral resources, was concentrated mostly in the coal basins of the Walloon provinces, which became centers of coal-intensive industries producing ferrous metal, zinc, glass and ceramics. Later there appeared cement works and big chemical plants turning out nitric fertilizers and other produce. Flanders at that time, with the exception of its textile mills, had few big industrial enterprises, and its population was engaged mainly in agriculture.

The situation has changed completely since then. The discovery of

richer coal deposits in Campine, in the north, and especially the construction at the turn of the century of the first big machine-building and power engineering enterprises in the port district of Antwerp, signalled the start of industrialization in the Flemish provinces, which rapidly gained momentum. The decreasing role of coal as a source of energy later resulted in the closure of nearly all coal centers in Wallonia. This has hit Wallonia especially hard, as most of its enterprises were in traditional industries producing steel, glass, cement, etc. The modern and fast-growing industries (oil and oil products, synthetic chemical materials, motor-vehicle assembly, power engineering, electronics) developed mostly in the north, particularly within the Brussels-Antwerp-Ghent triangle.

Now Belgium is no longer divided into industrially advanced Wallonia and agrarian Flanders. The workers in the Flemish area by far outnumber workers in Wallonia. Also Wallonia has suffered most from the crisis: in the Flemish part of the country production dropped a mere 3.5 per cent against the 1970 level, while in the Walloon area, according to the July 1976 statistics, it shrank by 27 per cent.

This change in the industrial pattern proceeded parallel with the growing dominance of multinational companies in the Belgian economy. Investments in the new industries were made for the most part by foreign companies, more often American, and also German, French, Dutch, British and others, which either opened their subsidiaries in Belgium or gained control over big Belgian enterprises like 'Ateliers de constuctions electriques de Charleroi,' which Baron Empain gave up to the Westinghouse company, or Glaverbel, the biggest glass producer in the country, which was taken over by the French BSN company.

Long-term credits, low-interest loans and other government-sponsored financial benefits to encourage investment only smoothed the way for foreign domination, a chance which the multinationals did not hesitate to take. The subsidiaries of foreign firms received 44 per cent of all credits granted by the National Industrial Crediting Society between 1966 and 1975.

Already in 1968 the Belgium-based subsidiaries of multinationals were marketing one-third of the output of the country's industrial sector and were employing one-third of the labor. They have a predominant, and at times absolute, influence in the greater part of the most advanced sectors of the economy, including motor-vehicle assembly, oil refining, power engineering, electronics, organic chemistry and pharmaceuticals.

The dominance of the multinationals has created a situation in which major decisions concerning some of the enterprises operating in Belgium are made at headquarters functioning uncontrolledly

abroad. This renders the economy still more vulnerable, as purely Belgian enterprises, mainly in the traditional industries (ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemistry, cement, textiles, etc.), are for the most part turning out semi-finished goods. These goods are hard to sell during a recession, because 80 per cent of the exports produced by the Belgian-Luxembourg alliance is shipped to industrial capitalist countries, which are also gripped by the crisis. Although one of the most advanced industrial countries in the world, Belgium imports more machines and transport vehicles than it sells abroad.

It is only natural then that in the face of this grave and all-embracing crisis the Communist Party focussed the attention of its latest congress (April 1976, Ghent) on the effort to 'rally the popular masses to end the crisis.' This important congress, which was attended by delegations from many Communist and Workers' parties, set clear-cut political tasks.

The primary task is to gear our policy to the struggle that the working people and their organizations are mounting in reply to the offensive of big capital. The numerous efforts to combat the consequences of the crisis tend to have a unifying effect and often assume a broad character.

The Belgian working-class movement is known to have long-established militant traditions and to be well organized. The two major trade union organizations — the General Federation of Belgian Labor and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions — with the overwhelming majority of the working people as their members, have repeatedly taken action as a united front. The proportion of organized labor in the country has reached 67 per cent, which is a record high.

The main elements to be stressed in the campaign against the effects of the crisis are, on the one hand, opposition to the attack on the working people's purchasing power and, on the other, efforts to stop the closure of factories and to keep the employment level steady. In their action to keep up employment the workers' organizations often come out against the policies of the multinationals, as was the case at the factories of 'Ateliers de constructions electriques de Charleroi.' where the campaign was spearheaded against the Westinghouse company; at the Glaverbel works against the French BSN trust; at the Fabelta enterprises against AKZO; and at the Siemens branches against the parent firm. The workers exposed the policies of these multinationals and the government, which granted these companies aid and offered them lucrative orders in return for mere 'contractual commitments' in the sphere of employment that have been met only in part. In many cases the workers' action prevented the shutting down of enterprises and massive lay-offs. What is more, it helped them to gain a better understanding of the demands first

advanced by the Communist Party, namely: any government action to stimulate the economy (aid, distribution of government contracts, etc.) must be backed by precise guarantees that the companies will fulfill their obligations and will be controlled with a view to maintaining industrial potentials and the level of employment.

The Congress in Ghent underscored the significance of these battles, which are already having a limiting effect on the power of monopoly. To carry out the measures planned by the CPB in its 'program of urgency,' the Party must base itself on this struggle. What are these measures?

In protecting employment: bringing the pension age down to 60 years for men and 55 for women with full pensions paid; cutting down the work week to 36 hours without wage reduction; making any aid to companies and other measures of this kind by the state dependent on the guarantees stipulated in agreements, in order to retain or increase the level of employment; reviving employment in the municipal services; strict observance of the six months' notice of closure of enterprises; transfer of major enterprises owned by multinationals and facing liquidation to the state sector.

In protecting the workers' wages: automatic indexing of taxes for low and medium incomes; a change in the price policy concerning consumer goods produced by monopoly-type enterprises.

In combating the plundering and wasting of state funds: abolition of tax privileges for trusts, strict parliamentary control of the use of state means by private firms and punishment for any gross violation of tax laws.

For Belgian Communists it is perfectly clear that these urgent measures recommended by the Ghent Congress are only the starting point for broader effort to restrict and break the power of monopoly.

The CPB has not yet drawn up a program for this effort, but the Congress did adopt a document called a 'general program basis for a political union in the near future.' This general platform justifies its title in the sense that the proposals formulated by the CPB have managed to combine the hitherto isolated ideas that emerged in the large workers' organizations in response to the crisis. The main burden of these ideas is that state control should be established over such key branches of the economy as power engineering and the granting of credits so as to clear the road for an economic policy not tied to crisis trends and the drive for profit.

It is evident to the Communists that only this policy, which is daringly anti-monopoly, can bring about a drastic change. But we should not forget that the political forces behind this policy are obviously in the minority. The CPB has substantial influence in some regions and at some large enterprises, but on the national scale its

weight is as yet modest. The Belgian Socialist Party (BSP), now the largest political organization of the working class, still confines itself to purely reformist goals. Since it became the opposition in 1974, the BSP has on several occasions assumed firmer positions, but the aims of many of its leaders and activists are to regain their place in the government, a government which would get the Socialists to join it in crisis management.

Most of the Christian working people, or about half of all wage earners, still show confidence in the Christian Social Party, especially in its Flemish wing, the Catholic People's Party, which enjoys influence in the north. Many leaders of that party and even its spokesmen in parliament consider themselves to be part of the labor Christian-Democratic movement, but its political orientation is mainly in the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

Although it has spread all across the country, the opposition to the policy of rigid economy has been impaired by the vacillation of a part of the working-class and democratic movement still influenced by a variety of trends of Socialist and Christian reformism. This opposition has no clear program and policy for a government and parliamentary majority that would want to follow a different course. Louis Van Geyt, Chairman of the Communist Party, stressed this at the 22nd Congress of the CPB: 'The main weakness of the opposition to the policy of crises is political weakness, which is the result, above all, of the fact that the left opposition on the whole (to the extent to which traditional reformist views still prevail there) has failed so far to offer the working-class movement and the country an effective alternative.'

The local government elections on October 10, 1976, did not register the 'shift to the left' which the action to protect employment and a certain consolidation of forces in reply to the policy of rigid economy had allowed us to hope for. Therefore the task today is to double our effort and achieve a new alliance of the workers and democratic forces, which is the only way to convince the masses that this alternative to the policy of crises and rigid economy will prove effective and that the desired changes are attainable.

In addition to the slogan of 'rallying the masses to end the crisis,' the Ghent Congress reminded Party members that the goal is to develop democracy 'to the utmost' and in this way to build socialism. This goal will be attained in a struggle which will crush the power of monopoly. It had been pointed out at earlier congresses that socialism in Belgium could be only pluralistic and democratic. 'Enriched by the entire experience of the international working-class movement,' declared the 19th BCP Congress (1968, Ostend), 'the Belgian working-class movement will chart its own way to socialism proceeding from the specific historical conditions in our country.' In his

report to the 22nd Congress, the Chairman of our Party said on that score: 'This socialism, insofar as it depends on workers and democratic forces, will be a "Belgian" type of socialism, and will be achieved by democratic and peaceful means, through a democractic and peaceful winning of power by the working class and its allies. This implies the need to win over the majority of the population and, consequently, the voters, to the idea of a socialist transformation of society . . . "Belgian" socialism will have a political system based on consolidating and spreading to all spheres the democratic freedoms (incomplete, of course, but, nevertheless, real), which the workers and all popular forces have been able to secure or retain under the power of the big bourgeoisie. Therefore this system will be (I repeat, insofar as it depends on workers and democratic forces) the kind of system that is wanted by workers, democrats and the vast majority of the Belgian population.'

To sum up, democracy 'to the utmost' will give rise to a socialist society that will be built with due attention to our country's specific historical features, a society nurtured by the struggles of all its active forces, a society desired by the majority of the population. But before that, we have to go through a number of stages, always basing ourselves on the activity of the working-class and democratic movements: the struggle to maintain and increase employment, raise the purchasing power of the masses, extend the rights of trade unions and ensure observance of democratic norms at the level of residential district, community and region; the struggle to democratize the education system, culture, health service and territorial planning; the struggle to end discrimination against women. The first set of structural reforms proposed by the CPB to the other forces in the working-class and democratic movements (a limited, but not isolated set) should also be viewed in this context.

It is a limited proposal, of course, but this does not detract from the significance of its objective. It is the start of the anti-monopoly stage and is aimed at unifying and tying in with the actual political prospect the most progressive ideas concerning structural reform, ideas which have up to now been proposed isolatedly in large organizations of workers. This proposal is aimed at imparting a political direction and nationwide scope to the courageous actions of the working people, which sometimes lack foresight and are isolated. It is aimed also at achieving a successful continuation of the struggle, which will at last be united by a joint program for ending the crisis, and promises anti-monopoly action. It calls for patient and well considered effort, so that in the foreseeable future the bulk of the workers and democratic forces will be in a position to form a government majority of a

different kind, its aim being not management of crisis, but an end to the policy of crises.

1. The local government election returns revealed that Belgium is split into three parts, each having a political face of its own; Wallonia is dominated by Socialists, in Flanders the Social-Christian Party has gained a foothold and in Brussels nationalistic francophonic sentiments have got the upper hand. Since the election the Tindemans government has been in difficulties because in order to carry through drastic economic reforms it needs the support of all three regions. — *Ed.*

2. The new cabinet (formed Dec. 8, 1976) won a vote of confidence in the lower house by the narrow margin of 110 against 90, with 3 abstentions. — *Ed.*

3. *Cahiers Marxistes,* April 1976.

Patriots of Paraguay will be victorious

At the end of January 1977, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party Antonio Maydana and Central Committee members Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, were released, along with some other political prisoners, after 19 years in prison.

The staunchness, courage and boundless devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people of Paraguay that they displayed in all the years of imprisonment have earned them respect throughout the world. Their release by the Stroessner dictatorship is a big victory for the people of Paraguay and the worldwide solidarity movement with their heroic struggle, to which *World Marxist Review* also contributed.

However, hundreds of political prisoners still remain in Paraguayan jails and concentration camps, and the leaders of the Communist Party are under close police surveillance and the constant threat of repression.

World Marxist Review conveys its warmest congratulations to the leaders of the Paraguayan Communist Party on their release and supports demands of the progressive world public that the Paraguayan authorities grant full freedom to the Communist Party leaders and all political prisoners and that all persecution of patriots and democrats in Paraguay be stopped.

New horizons in Nigeria

Dapo Fatogun
Editor-in-Chief,
New Horizon,
Nigerian Marxist journal

The eventful history of Nigeria since she won political independence in 1960 mirrors deep-going social and economic processes. Since that date, there have been a popular insurrection in Western Nigeria, a civil war in the eastern part of the country and pogroms in the north; there have been three coups, three development plans, massive industrialization and a series of anti-imperialist economic programs — these are but a few elements of the fast-changing social development in Nigeria in the years of her sovereign existence.

The civil war was part of the imperialist countries' attempt to 'balkanize' the largest state in Africa. They failed, thanks to the heroic effort of the people of Nigeria, and the timely cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

After the civil war ended in 1970, changes in Nigeria were more rapid and of a clearer class character. The people had become more united and powerful in their struggle against imperialist conspiracies. The civil war raised considerably the level of the people's political consciousness. Nigeria's firm anti-imperialist stand on the Angolan issue and her active support for all liberation movements in Southern Africa have been applauded by progressives the world over.

How did these positive changes mature? What are the prospects and problems of the further social and economic advance of Nigeria? To properly appreciate the change in Nigeria's political horizon, we need to look back into the recent past.

Heritage of the past

Nigeria was born as an administrative entity in 1914, when the British colonial authorities of the time merged two socially and ethnically different territories (Northern and Southern Nigeria) into one. The merger was meant to improve the colonial administration of such a vast territory with a relatively large population. The Northern sector had, for many decades, been in trading and cultural contact with the Arab-Islamic civilization. The influence persisted when the British

moved in and colonized it later. The Southern sector, on the other hand, was exposed for decades to the influence of the Euro-Christian culture and religion.*

So, Nigeria's biggest problem since its emergence as an administrative entity in 1914 has been to remove the religious and cultural barriers in the way of national liberation during British colonial rule. When the colonialists left, the problem grew more acute due to the maneuvers of British colonial authorities on the eve of independence. In keeping with their 'divide and rule' strategy, they kept alive the embers of religious strife.

In addition to the problem of two rival religions and two unidentical civilizations, the newly created amalgam, called 'Nigeria,' was also a hub of 50 'diverse tongues' and tribes. Before the British imperialists handed power over to their native stooges in Nigeria in 1960, they set a booby-trap of tribal contradictions into the edifice of Nigerian statehood. They pitched the three main tribal groups (Hausa, Yorubas and Ibos) against one another. They created a three-region loose federation where a little inter-tribal spark could cause a political conflagration. Each of the three regions was a veritable tribal empire of its own.

The long European presence in the southern regions of the country and its vigorous drive to penetrate the world market, which resulted in trade development, were among the major causes of the rapid emergence of the national bourgeoisie. The building of workshops and factories made for the growth of the working class and the middle strata. The spread of school education helped raise the general level of political consciousness. All this could not but weaken the power of the feudal lords in the South. In the Northern region, the reverse was the case because the impact of the Arab-Islamic civilization with its peculiar effect on social development, and because of the limited market relations, and the power of autocratic princes and emirs remained in the region due to the deeply rooted feudal relationships.

When the British colonialists handed power to their stooges, they pinned their hopes on religious strife and a power struggle between the feudal elite in the North and the bourgeois elite in the South for the control of the feudal government. They also counted on such a negative factor as uneven development between the main regions, which, they expected, would prevent Nigeria from becoming a sound state formation and from pursuing home and foreign policies unacceptable to London. In the maze of diverse doctrines and religious dogmas, in the confused and confounding conflict between tribes and

*Moslem and Christian missionaries in Nigeria had one feature in common: together with the feudal aristocrats and colonial authorities they exploited the population.

in the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust — a legacy of the colonial past — the following three factors can be said to hold the country together in effective unity: the comparatively well developed network of roads that run across tribal boundaries; the army that managed to suppress separatist action; and the trade union movement of the working class, which was rapidly gaining strength and broke all barriers of religious, tribal and sectorial concepts.

From tribal strife to social delimitation

In spite of all the political trappings created by the colonialists, the winning of political independence was followed by the emergence and gradual expansion of the movement for economic independence. In the forefront of this movement were the working class and its trade unions, which were growing stronger fast with the advancement of the national economy, though it still depended in many respects on the interests of imperialist monopolies. This was not without the influence of socialist ideas spreading in the young states of Africa, also in Nigeria.

On the eve of independence there were three organized forces in the country: the political parties acting predominantly on a tribal basis; the army which, though it was deliberately cultivated as an instrument of colonial domination, had progressive patriots among its officers; the trade unions representing the working class, whose power developed apace with the economic and industrial upsurge brought about above all by the new petroleum prosperity. The mounting working-class movement helped the creation in 1963 of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria (SWFPN), representing the class interests of the proletariat and poor peasants and the interests of the progressive youth and intelligentsia. Its program has been based on Marxist-Leninist principles from the outset.

The formation of the SWFPN was a major milestone in the consolidation of progressive forces in Nigerian society. This process could not, of course, bring about rapid changes in the traditional political contradictions and struggles in Nigeria. But the Party's activity greatly speeded up the transition of this struggle from the ethno-religious into the socio-class plane. It also accounted for the fact that the striking workers, apart from economic demands, were advancing political demands.

Indeed, if, for instance, the basic goal of the general strike called by the trade unions in 1964 was to achieve an improvement of working conditions, the 1965 general strike expressed the demand of the working class and other progressive strata of society for political change, above all for the removal of the reactionary government created by colonialists. The working class was already a major social

force, though it was still ill-prepared to head the struggle for the country's renewal. It is only natural therefore that when the progressive-minded officers led by Major Nzegwu staged a coup, they sought the collaboration of the trade unions.

This intervention by the military in politics, the first one in Nigeria, failed in the sense that its democratic purpose was foiled by the counter-coup of the reactionary officers led by Brigadier Ironsi. But the outcome of those events could have been different if the progressive officers had established, before the coup, a close alliance with the working class and the trade unions. A solid alliance of the military and the workers would have effected, we believe, a major political change in the country.

The officers who seized power were concerned for their tribal interests. They began by issuing a decree banning all political parties and public organizations. The rightist officers who led the succeeding military coups regarded the working class as their enemy and treated the trade unions with fear and suspicion, subjecting them to repression. This was especially so during the nine-year Gowon regime.

Preconditions for new orientation

The civil war period brought some relief to the progressive forces. An outstanding role here was played also by the Soviet Union which rendered effective support to the struggle for Nigeria's territorial integrity, against the separatist elements encouraged by the imperialists. The people of Nigeria have seen for themselves that cooperation with socialist countries is a sure means of disrupting the plots of imperialism and local reaction.

By the end of the civil war, it was obvious to all that the masses were increasingly coming to think in terms of socialism. The need for radical change was gaining ground also in the army. The political level of the trade unions heightened. Although General Gowon, taking his cue from outside, persecuted trade union leaders to weaken the influence of progressive organizations, the general trend toward choice of a non-capitalist road was not halted by the repression.

It will be recalled that before political parties were banned in 1966, the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party had foreseen the spread of such sentiments among the popular masses. The work of Marxist-Leninists in the trade unions, among farmers, in the youth organizations and among the working women was directed toward this goal. Understandably, the acute social, economic and political contradictions in Nigeria were a major constraint to this work. But, in keeping with our assessment of the power and possibilities of the revolutionary working-class movement, the aim of the SWFPN was a non-capitalist way of development, and the Party proved correct when it

laid the main stress on work among the trade unions, the only organization of the people that clearly survived the neo-colonialist campaign of inter-tribal hate and suspicion.

The rapidly rising level of education, skill and political consciousness among the bulk of Nigerian workers has brought about substantial changes in their mentality and rendered their class struggle more effective. All this largely predetermined the unification of hitherto isolated trade unions in Nigeria into one powerful trade union center. This move was initiated by a number of progressive trade union organizations. After a year of hard work, in December 1975, the formation of the Nigerian Labor Congress was a long step forward by the working-class movement.

This caused consternation among the bourgeoisie. A strong and united working class, especially one committed to internationalism, is the last thing it wants. Regretably, this attitude is shared by the military.

Early last year, the military government set up a judicial tribunal to examine, among other things, the slanderous charges concerning the reliance on 'foreign ideology and finance' of each of the four trade union organizations that formed the new United Congress.

Although the Federal Military Government of Nigeria has adopted a number of very progressive, anti-imperialist resolutions and policies, especially in matters related to Southern Africa, it has always taken a 'no socialism, no capitalism' stance at home, which is reflected also in its attitude to the trade unions. A reason often given by some members of the Armed Forces is that the military government, being a transitional regime, should leave the choice of ideology to the future civilian government.

This ideological uncertainty affects, in a degree, economic policy, although the military regime has achieved certain success here. After the civil war, the rate of economic activity increased fourfold. The Second Development Plan (1970-74) boosted the country's GNP. The efforts of the administration in the new states* to activize their economies resulted in a notable industrial growth, which was followed by a fast increase in the number of wage-earning workers, from about 350,000 at the time when the country was proclaimed independent to almost 3,000,000 at the present time. The figure is expected to reach 5,000,000 with the fulfillment of the Third Development Plan (1975-80).

In scope and investment, the Third Plan is the most ambitious. It provides for 30,000 million naira's worth of investment against the N2,200 million of the first plan (1962-68) and N3,000 million of the

*The country's four tribally-based administrative regions were rearranged after the war into 12 semi-autonomous states.

second plan. Provisions have been made for an annual industrial growth rate of 9 per cent against 4 and 6.6 of the first and second plans respectively. The top priorities of the new plan include such giant projects as an iron and steel complex and a number of other big projects of the infrastructure. A key role in their construction is played by cooperation with the Soviet Union. The USSR will also cooperate in the installation of oil pipelines, introduction of new technology in the oil and chemical industries and the training of technical personnel.

Rapid industrialization and subsequent urbanization accentuate the problem of food production, and the plan envisages measures to boost agriculture and increase the harvesting of food crops by expanding the sown areas. But the social implications of the government food policy are not yet clear. The military government, which regards itself as a transient regime, does not wish to change the land tenure system and, in general, to interfere in the existing agrarian relationships. Meanwhile the peasantry, still under the yoke of semi-feudal exploitation, is anxiously awaiting a positive program which would improve its condition.

Choice of path

The present military government has given notice of its determination to step down in October 1979. One of the current tasks is to get a new constitution written. Its draft was prepared in 1975 by a 49-man civilian committee, most of the members holding conservative views.

In the opinion of our Party, the draft is mainly in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its aim is to protect the propertied classes and to encourage capitalism. The very few progressive-minded committee members insisted that the Constitution should positively take a socialist position. Their suggestions were rejected. But the Constituent Assembly, most of whose members will come from local government bodies, will cast the final vote on the type of Constitution we will have. The local elections of December 1976 brought a number of socialists and progressives into the Constituent Assembly so there is hope of more positive results.

In saying so, we are confident that the Constituent Assembly cannot ignore the obvious and growing tendency among the broad popular masses to chose the socialist path. The tendencies of Nigeria's social development are acquiring a special significance in view of our country's role on the African continent. Indeed, in population (nearly 80 million), wealth of resources, and skilled manpower, Nigeria is considered to be a giant in Africa and the direction of its social development cannot but largely influence other African countries.

The imperialists are all out to block Nigeria's turn toward a socialist

orientation. Now they rely increasingly on the Nigerian bourgeoisie to oppose the progressive forces when the civilian government will be taking over. Furthermore, imperialists and their local allies are trying hard to cultivate in our country various ideas of 'national' or 'autonomous pseudo-socialism and anti-internationalist sentiments. But the working people, who have come through the grim experience of struggle against imperialist conspiracies, are fully aware that only a clear-cut program based on principles of scientific socialism can promote peace and unity in the country and resolve all the dangerous contradictions that once brought tribal revolts, pogroms and the civil war.

Nigerian Marxist-Leninists are today confronted with many difficulties and enemies. But we are optimistic, first, because of the people's will: the working class, as well as working people in general, are for the choice of non-capitalist development. Second, because of the decisive change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and the continuous growth in strength of its greatest bastion — the USSR. And, lastly, our faith in the correctness and invincibility of the principles of scientific socialism and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the unfading beacon illuminating the path of revolutionary change to all the peoples.

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exchange of views

Protecting natural resources and fighting for national independence

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN HAVANA SPONSORED BY 'WMR' IN COLLABORATION WITH THE CC CP OF CUBA

Latin America has lately been the scene of a growing movement to end imperialist monopoly control of the continent's economy and establish national control over natural resources. This is seen in demands made by the most diverse social and political forces and in the activity of some governments.

'Protection of Natural Resources: An Instrument in the Struggle for National Independence' was the theme of an international symposium in Havana sponsored by *WMR* in collaboration with the CC, Communist Party of Cuba. The symposium brought together, as we have reported, representatives of Communist and Workers' parties and progressive opinion from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Following is a brief account of the symposium. A fuller account will appear in a book to be brought out in Russian and Spanish by Peace and Socialism International Publishers.

The symposium was opened by *Isidoro Malmierca,* member of the CC Secretariat, Communist Party of Cuba, who conveyed greetings from Fidel Castro, Cuba's Communists and the Cuban people. Our Party leadership, he said, welcomed the proposal of *World Marxist Review* to hold this symposium in Cuba. Its theme is highly topical. The economic crisis in the capitalist world tells strongly on the underdeveloped countries. It is becoming more and more important for the peoples to exercise undivided sovereignty over their natural resources, utilize them judiciously and protect the environment. 'The world as a whole,' said Fidel Castro at the First Congress of our Party, 'is beginning to meet serious obstacles in view of the limitations of traditional energy resources, the progressing exhaustion of mineral deposits, environmental pollution, a considerable growth of

the population, whose subsistence is already precarious in some areas, and a dearth of food. Naturally, these problems are aggravated by the uneven development of nations and by a monstrous waste of natural resources in the capitalist consumer society.'

Marxism-Leninism has demonstrated, I. Malmierca continued, that the solution of the problem of resources will only be made possible by far-reaching political and economic changes eliminating today's deformed social structures and determining the right strategy for social and economic development. The road to progress leads through protection of natural resources, a radical agrarian reform, control over finances, incomes redistribution in the interest of the working people, and a genuinely independent policy.

The Cuban example shows that measures of this nature are the first step in the gigantic amount of work that must be done to end the age-old backwardness inherited from the period of colonial and neocolonial exploitation.

Cuba continues to enjoy the solidarity and disinterested assistance of socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. Without that, the gains and achievements of our revolution would virtually have been impossible. They contrast sharply with the situation in which most Latin American nations find themselves.

'Penetration by multinational consortiums' says the declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, 'has introduced into certain branches of Latin American agriculture modern forms of exploitation that also constitute a new method of extracting our natural resources and making us still more dependent on U.S. monopoly capital.'

FAO research has revealed that agricultural production, which is vital to the peoples of Latin America, is doomed to stay at one and the same level. Its growth indices are so insignificant as to be unable to meet even minimal food requirements of the population.

At the same time, oil, bauxites, copper, tin, iron ore and other natural resources of the continent are an object of foreign monopoly plunder. Latin America's peoples get very little from the utilization of the resources of their own countries.

That was also the situation in Cuba before the victory of the revolution. It was characterized by a lopsided economy, meagre productive forces, a weak industry, extensive farming hardly using machinery, a shortage of technological and managerial personnel, unemployment, illiteracy, hunger and poverty.

To put the nation's riches in the people's service, the Revolutionary Government passed agrarian reform and nationalization laws, with the result that the state established control over virtually all foreign investments in the country, as well as over major enterprises

of the bourgeoisie linked with imperialism, and introduced state monopoly of foreign trade.

In spite of a backward economy, a criminal blockade imposed by the U.S. imperialists, every manner of aggression against our revolution and the scarcity of natural resources, Cuba has made notable social and economic gains. Nevertheless, it will still cost us much effort to fulfill the economic plans we have laid down for the years ahead.

In *Dialectics of Nature,* Engels pointed to the harmful consequences of the exploiting classes' predatory utilization of natural resources. He referred, in particular, to the destruction of Cuba's forests on mountain slopes with the aim of growing coffee. 'What cared they,' Engels wrote, 'that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock!'[1]

Engels wrote those lines in 1876. It took our people almost a century, during which they fought first against Spanish colonial rule and then against neo-colonial oppression by the U.S. imperialists, to set about building a new life free from exploitation. We are now in a position to restore our forests, protect nature and make wise use of our natural resources. We can do all this because we have removed the principal political, social and economic obstacles on our road. Our entire activity serves the interests of the working people and is aimed at improving their life. People are our country's greatest asset. They are being educated according to new spiritual values and in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. It is for their good and happiness that the revolution is being carried on.

Imperialism and monopoly are the chief enemy

Drawing on a wealth of statistical data in analyzing the social and economic situation in various countries and on the continent as a whole, participants in the symposium showed that U.S. imperialism is the main plunderer of Latin America's natural resources. Plunder and reckless exploitation of raw material resources are typical of the U.S. monopolies' activity in the region.

Argentina, said *Alberto Kohen,* member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, has untold natural wealth but it is in the hands of foreign monopolies, of a handful of big capitalists. These riches are recklessly exploited or lie unused. The criterion of the attitude to natural resources is not the country's national interest but the amount of superprofit made by monopolies. Argentina is still dependent on imperialism; it is a country with a backward, unevenly developed economy, which breeds irrational methods of economic management. It gets over 85 per cent of its electricity by burning oil, coal and gas,

although it is very rich in hydropower resources, which it did not begin to utilize until recently owing to the resistance of foreign companies. The raw material requirements of industry are met largely with imports because imperialist monopolies block the working of the country's own rich mineral deposits.

To give an idea of the plunder resulting from foreign capital domination, suffice it to say that from 1966 to 1974, $2,813.6 million in dividends, brokerage and profits from foreign investments was taken out of Argentina whereas direct investments stood at a mere $86.6 million.

Monopoly capital's tendency to use other countries' natural resources at will has always been a source of war danger, said *Antonio Diaz Ruiz,* head of department, CC CP of Cuba. Fidel Castro pointed to this important aspect of the problem in receiving the International Lenin Peace Prize. 'Capitalism and its higher stage — imperialism,'' he said, 'develop primarily by exploiting the labor of other peoples, the natural resources of other countries, and the labor of the workers and other propertyless classes of their own people.'

'Due to the peoples' growing struggle for liberation from imperialist tyranny,' said *Rogelio Gonzalez,* CC member, Paraguayan Communist Party, 'the monopolies' sphere of domination is shrinking. This is why they are out to lay hands on the riches of countries still under their control. They are helped in this by dictatorial regimes put in power by imperialism. The U.S. Anschutz Corp., has secured from the venal Stroessner government a concession for a term of 40 years to explore and work mineral resources, on 43 per cent of the national territory. Not long ago, the corporation announced that it had found uranium in the Ka'acupe area. Of the net profit to be made by the corporation, the Paraguayan state will get a meagre three to five per cent, nor will the corporation pay any taxes.

Leopoldo Bruera, Executive Committee member, CC CP of Uruguay, stressed that the establishment of fascist regimes in several Latin American countries has made those countries still more dependent on imperialism. The financial oligarchy, the most powerful latifundium-holders and the big commercial bourgeoisie of Uruguay try to preserve and consolidate antiquated social and economic structures, allow foreign monopoly capital full play and transfer government enterprises to private ownership. The dictatorship has sold or mortgaged its gold reserves, made a shameful deal by putting foreign trade under the control of foreign capital, helped the latter to purchase banks, land and industrial enterprises and transferred a number of branches in the state sector (electrical engineering, communications) to private capital.

We consider, said *Alfonso Bauer Pais,* former Minister of the

Economy and Labor of Guatemala, that the problem of utilizing natural resources is closely linked with problems of national independence. Guatemala is virtually an occupied country. Its natural resources are either owned or controlled in one way or another by foreigners, first of all North Americans. Oil and nickel, the country's key resources, have been put at the disposal of multinationals. A score of oil companies have acquired the right to drill for oil on an area exceeding three million acres. In north-eastern Guatemala, U.S. monopoly capital works mineral deposits, including cobalt, chromium and possibly uranium. Some estimates set the amount invested in the project at about $250 million, which is more than the rest of direct U.S. investments in Guatemala.

The overthrow of the popular government and the establishment of a fascist regime, said *Rodrigo Rojas,* Political Commission member, CC CP of Chile, threw the development of our country back many years. They brought on runaway inflation, unemployment, poverty and hunger, to say nothing of barbarous terror. The fascist junta is restoring monopoly and landowner domination. Imperialism is getting back nationalized branch companies, which are paid enormous indemnities, as was the case with the copper companies and ITT. Foreign capital is granted easements it never had before. The junta's economic policy is making the country more dependent on U.S. imperialism, strengthening the positions of financial capital and ruining medium and small owners. The fascist regime undermines the fundamental policy principles of countries trying to protect their natural resources and establishing control over the activity of multinational companies.

The dictatorship's economic policy, said *Julio Benitez,* CC member, Socialist Party of Chile, is a strategic model supplied by the monopoly bourgeoisie and imperialism. The purpose is to prevent a re-emergence of social, economic and political conditions such as those that led to the formation of the Popular Unity government, and on the other hand, to vitalize a system guaranteeing monopoly capitalist and imperialist domination. It is becoming one of the main functions of the fascist government to turn over highly important resources to imperialism and shift the Chilean economy to the private sector. Everything is done to justify concessions to foreign capital and to further the monopolization of the economy. The regime has approved rules for foreign investment that remove obstacles to foreign monopoly penetration into the national economy.

Imperialism, said *Pedro Pablo Barauna,* CC member, Brazilian CP, tried for years to 'prove' that Brazil lacks any considerable natural resources and held back their exploitation, dooming the country to the fate of an essentially agrarian country. In the 60s, specialists invited from the Soviet Union ascertained the size of Brazil's oil

deposits by strictly scientific methods. This meant that the country could look forward to meeting its oil requirements in the foreseeable future. Imperialist monopolies, above all those of the United States, did not relish the prospect. Steps to set up a national oil industry and other measures of the Brazilian government of the time intended to protect national interests were among the causes of a reactionary coup. The transfer of oil-fields to foreign companies was one of the military fascist dictatorship's early measures. The new regime's policy was designed to denationalize the oil industry more and more. Petrobras, the state oil company, has become an enterprise refining imported oil. It finances oil prospecting and extraction in other countries and as for utilizing the nation's own raw materials, it has been relegated to a secondary place. At the same time, the company signs contracts with multinational companies for oil prospecting on the continental shelf.

The country's natural resources today are used by imperialist monopolies for drawing up and carrying out plans of armed aggression against the popular movement on the continent. Radioactive minerals, first of all uranium and thorium, find themselves in the hands of West German monopolies, with whose aid Brazil wants to manufacture nuclear weapons. Iron ore and manganese are widely used by a fast-growing military industrial complex, which already delivers arms and other military supplies to other dictatorial regimes of Latin America.

Ever since the beginning of this century, said *Efrain Alvarez,* Executive Committee member, CC Communist Party of Ecuador, the country's main agricultural export items — cocoa, coffee, rice and bananas — have been an object of foreign monopoly plunder. These monopolies also control 50 per cent of the assets of industrial enterprises. In the previous decade, successive governments of a venal oligarchy signed over 30 contracts with U.S. oil companies for geological prospecting on approximately 10 million hectares of land in the Gulf of Guayaquil area, on the coast and the continental shelf, or in areas potentially rich in oil. A government contract with the Texaco-Gulf consortium exempted the company from Ecuadoran control over oil exports, entitled it to fix oil prices, keep hard currency profits from oil, and so on.

It is becoming more evident, said *Jeronimo Carrera,* CC member, CP of Venezuela, that effective control by every nation over its natural resources and their utilization is a requisite of full independence and national sovereignty. This is one of the key problems facing Latin American countries today.

In spite of the existence of huge natural resources, in particular oil, said *Julio Posada,* Central Executive Committee member, Com-

munist Party of Colombia, our people are very poor. The cause of their suffering is primarily U.S. imperialism, which has been exploiting Colombia for decades. Up to 1975, oil held second place in Colombian exports. But today the country is compelled to import oil to meet its own requirements because foreign companies restrict oil production in the country. It is estimated that by 1980 Colombia will be importing an annual 500 million dollars' worth of oil, that is, at a cost equal to one-third of its present hard currency revenue.

Puerto Rico, said *Carlos Rivera,* CC member, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, is a political, economic and military bastion of the United States in the Caribbean, a strategic base of imperialism on the continent. Ever since 1898, when it was overrun by U.S. troops, Puerto Rico has been under the direct political sway of the United States and our economy has been developing according to the needs of big multinational capital. In 1975 foreign, primarily U.S. investments exceeded $14,000 million. Puerto Rico's foreign debt in the same year was set at roughly $12,000 million and, moreover, the country must pay an annual $200 million in interest alone.

U.S. imperialism, said *Cleto Souza,* Political Bureau member, CC People's Party of Panama, has been exploiting our country's principal asset — its geographical situation — ever since the turn of the century. I mean the Panama Canal Zone. Imperialism and monopoly capital, which own the Canal, derive huge profits from shipping and also use it for political and military interference in the affairs of Panama and other countries of the continent.

Having described the economic situation in their respective countries and throughout the continent, the participants in the symposium came to the conclusion that the chief cause of Latin America's backwardness and poverty is the policy of U.S. imperialism, which plunders the region and prevents the independent economic development of Latin American countries.

Forms and methods of plunder

Appropriating the natural resources and raw materials of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, A. Kohen said, is a feature of imperialism. With the colonial system falling apart, forms of appropriation are changing but the nature of imperialism today is the same as at the time of colonial wars. To be able to exploit these riches, imperialism resorts to war and intervention, to activity intended to undermine the political stability of countries that have won freedom or are fighting for it, as well as countries where the state sector of the economy has grown considerably or where reforms affecting imperialist interests are carried out. In Argentina, for example, imperialism prevented the implementation of even the reformist pro-

gram announced by the domestic bourgeoisie in May 1973, and now it is disgruntled by the fact that after the coup of March 24, 1976, Argentina's Pinochets have yet to gain the upper hand. The United States imposes on Argentina an open door policy toward foreign capital and the transfer of government enterprises to private owners on the propagandistic plea that the enterprises are 'unprofitable.'

Against the background of the energy crisis besetting the capitalist world, the economic program now being carried out causes concern in official quarters, for it provides for the transfer to multinational companies of rich oil deposits on the mainland and the continental shelf, as well as minerals and other natural resources in the fertile humid pampas. This goes on hand in hand with increasing control by a handful of monopoly companies and big landed proprietors over meat and grain production and sales.

Now that the balance of forces is becoming increasingly unfavorable to reaction, the planned South Atlantic pact, to be based on the Brazil-South Africa-Argentina triangle, is designed to strengthen the strategic positions of imperialism and at the same time to maintain control over the vast natural resources and strategic raw materials (oil and other minerals, including uranium) to be found in the countries of the area, including the continental shelf and Antarctic territories.

To frustrate the efforts of the Popular Unity government, R. Rojas said, imperialism resorted to an economic blockade, chiefly in the financial sphere. As for copper, steps were taken to prevent sales. By placing part of its strategic reserves on the world market with subversive intent while at the same time spreading lies about a 'large stockpile' of the copper in our country, the United States caused damage to the world copper trade as a whole. There was also the embargo on cargoes of our principal export item in foreign ports, imposed with an eye to causing a panic among Chile's partners on the copper market and making them distrustful of the solvency of our state.

U.S. monopolies, said *Longino Becerra,* Political Commission member, CP of Honduras, have stepped up their plunder of Central American countries, using an integration machinery which has aggravated the structural crisis in our country, economically the most backward in the subregion. This circumstance has brought protection of our natural resources to the fore and we must fight for it to rid them of the hold of monopolies, the main sponsors of the plans for Central American economic integration now being carried out, and to put natural resources in the people's service.

Mention should be made of technological dependence as an important form of exercising imperialist control over our natural resources, said *Ivan Garcia Solis,* CC member, Mexican CP. Like most Latin American countries, Mexico is forced to pay imperialist companies

huge sums for technological aid to its manufacturing industry. It paid them $840 million in 1968, $2,000 million in 1971 and as much as $2,600 million in 1974. The biggest profits are made in the chemical and medicinal industries because technological monopoly enables the big multinational companies arbitrarily to fix exorbitant prices for chemicals whose production costs are much lower.

The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, said J. Carrera, have had a long and bitter experience of unequal trade with European capitalist powers and the United States. Unequal trade is one of the principal causes of their poverty and as for the growing cost of living, it is a direct consequence of steadily rising prices for imported monopoly-made goods.

To preserve its privileges in Ecuador, said E. Alvarez, Texaco-Gulf uses various devices. It boycotts oil export, thwarts the construction of a pipeline, fails continually to deliver petrol, gas, diesel and other fuels, launches campaigns against the Ecuadorian State Petroleum Corporation and against all attempts to pursue an oil policy independent of the monopolies.

Economic measures against monopoly

In late years some Latin American countries have shown a mounting resolve to dispose of their resources on their own, according to their national interests. Already there are certain gains that have begun to deliver these countries from inequality and a subordinate role in economic relations between Latin America and the USA.

Speakers described nationalization as one of the means helping to win economic independence. The nationalization of Venezuela's oil industry on January 1, 1976, *J. Carrera* pointed out, means undoubtedly — for all its shortcomings — that our country has taken a first important step toward assuming control of its basic resources. It has created the prerequisites for pursuing an oil policy meeting the country's genuine interests, although the hope of setting up a national oil industry independent of imperialist monopolies is still far from coming true. We Venezuelans realize that the process of nationalizing oil is still incomplete. You cannot nationalize so powerful an industry without meeting bitter resistance from foreign capital, which does its utmost to foil the successful activity of government enterprises in charge of this industry today. That is why, in addition to the nationalization act, we must adopt economic and political measures at home and abroad to reliably safeguard Venezuela against inevitable attempts at retaliation and subversion by U.S. oil companies. Besides, the policy of protecting non-renewable natural resources calls constantly for prompt action to put an end to their reckless exploitation.

The threat to the government's policy of protecting natural resources will grow daily and may result in surrender to imperialism, which would immediately set out to plunder the heavy petroleum deposits, still intact, in the famous Orinoco belt, where they are estimated at not less than 700,000 million barrels of crude oil, and modern facilities would make it possible even now to produce much more oil than has been produced in Venezuela over the past 60 years. Venezuela must export both crude oil and petrochemicals. This is the policy proposed by the CPV Program.

Such important measures as nationalization of the oil industry and iron ore mining, the consolidation of the state sector, plans to develop metallurgy and industry as a whole, and raising the standard of scientific and technological research could not have been adopted without a drastic revision of Venezuela's traditional international role. For the first time ever, Venezuelan foreign policy has come to diverge in some respects from the U.S. State Department's.

While the Armed Forces Government of Ecuador has not nationalized the oil industry, said E. Alvarez, it has curbed monopoly privileges and is committed to a policy opening the road to struggle for the final recovery of the country's key asset. Appreciable headway has been made over the past four years when it is considered that oil production in Ecuador began only a short time ago. The gains made to date include the restitution of the greater part of the oil-bearing land concession, higher taxes on corporate profits, government prices for crude oil, the creation of the state-owned FLOPEC tanker fleet and the construction of a state oil refinery in the seaport of Esmeraldas.[2]

The transformation of Chile's economy under the Popular Unity, J. Benitez said, began with a policy of making the state sector dominant. An early measure carried out by the government was the nationalization of copper, iron ore, niter and other basic natural resources controlled by foreign and domestic monopolies. Economically, the nationalization of copper meant tranferring to the state what earlier had been pocketed in the form of profits by major U.S. companies. These earnings were allocated for education, public health, housing and other purposes. In the 1965-1970 period, they added up (in the case of only the El Teniente, El Salvador and Chuquicamata mines) to almost $552 million. Politically, the nationalization of copper was an important factor in uniting diverse social forces.

The experience of the popular government, R. Rojas noted, showed that by setting a truly patriotic goal, you can mobilize the broadest social strata, foster their anti-imperialist consciousness and build up national unity. It also revealed that the people's sovereign will can impose such measures even on forces traditionally hostile to

the country's interests, isolate them and defeat imperialism. The people's mobilization to achieve this goal led to the nationalization of copper, an act unanimously approved even by parliament, most of whose members were opposed to the popular government.

In assessing the social and economic process in Peru initiated with the assumption of power by the Revolutionary Armed Forces Government in October 1968, said *Moises Arroyo,* editorial staff member of *Unidad,* the Peruvian Communist newspaper, mention should be made, first of all, of the anti-imperialist agrarian reform, which is the most important of the changes being effected, as well as of the nationalization of some industries and the infrastructure.

Ever since the 1910-1917 revolution, said I. Garcia Solis, Mexico has gone on fighting against multinational monopolies to recover its natural resources. Action by the peasants and workers in 1917 resulted in the adoption of Article 27 of the Constitution formalizing the nation's ownership of the land and mineral resources. The oil industry was nationalized in the 30s, under President Cardenas. However, owing to the country's subsequent development on state-monopoly capitalist lines, nationalization amounted to virtually strengthening the positions of the big bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy.

Commenting on the lines to be followed in developing an independent national economy, speakers stressed the need for close economic cooperation with the socialist community. It is well known that the construction of national industrial enterprises in a number of new Asian and African states with Soviet aid and the training of competent personnel for them enabled these countries to carry out extensive nationalization and to assume an independent role on the world market, until recently under undivided monopoly control.

The Soviet position on developing countries, said J. Carrera, was defined by the 25th CPSU Congress as follows: 'The Soviet Union fully supports the legitimate aspirations of young states, their determination to free themselves completely from imperialist exploitation and dispose of their national riches as they see fit.' Economic and technological cooperation between the socialist community and developing countries is intensifying. Due to it, as well as to expanding mutually beneficial trade free from the influence of multinational companies, the imperialists' absolute monopoly on trade and economic relations with the 'third world' has been abolished. Ample opportunities have been provided to curb the activity of foreign capital and bring it under control, and the natural resources of nations have come to be utilized more effectively. Agreements signed by the Soviet Union with 56 developing countries envisage cooperation in the construction or extension of about 1,000 diverse projects. This cooperation is not burdened by any discriminatory stipulations injur-

ing the sovereignty of developing countries. It is not prompted by selfish interests, such as a bid for concessions to work deposits or use cheap labor. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are always willing to assist these countries in carrying out projects most likely to promote industrialization, extend and consolidate the state sector — a most important factor for economic progress — and the requisite basis for an independent national economy.

Financial and technological problems, said J. Posada, can be solved with the aid of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. The socialist community is our principal ally on whom we can rely at every stage of our struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Due to the socialist community, said E. Alvarez, our peoples are in a position to carry on even more effectively their struggle against imperialist oppression, for the right to use their natural resources as they see fit, for sovereignty, national independence and social progress.

Speakers emphasized the role which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries play in the struggle of developing countries for a new economic order. In October 1976, A. Kohen said, the CC CPSU pointed out that the Soviet side takes 'active steps . . . in support of the legitimate demands of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for a reorganization of international economic relations on the principles of equality and for the elimination of every form of exploitation of weaker "third world" partners by capitalist countries. In this sphere as in many others, the interests of the socialist and developing countries converge.'

Participants in the symposium voiced the opinion that to resist U.S. economic aggression successfully, the governments of Latin American countries must support anti-imperialist integration processes on the continent, in particular by strengthening the Latin American Economic System. It should become, said R. Gonzalez, a powerful force capable of neutralizing the actions of big monopolies, calling a halt to imperialist plunder and serving as an instrument of winning genuine economic independence.

While noting the importance of the economic measures adopted by some governments to protect the nation's riches, speakers stressed that Latin American countries must launch a vast mass movement to establish effective control over their natural resources.

Growing popular movement

The peoples of Latin America have never stopped fighting against imperialist plunder of their natural resources. In Honduras, said L. Becerra, the struggle against imperialism finds increasingly wide-

spread and strong expression precisely in the demand for the recovery of natural resources. Why? In every Latin American country, revolutionary forces are carrying on a political struggle against imperialism. This struggle requires a high degree of political consciousness and can succeed only if it encompasses primarily the workers, peasants and part of the middle strata. The purpose of the political struggle is to enable the masses to see for themselves that imperialism is their chief enemy. But the struggle against imperialism can be something more than a political struggle. It also expresses itself in the demand that natural resources seized by foreign monopolies be returned. The struggle for this demand can involve much larger sections of the population than political actions against imperialism do.

Protecting natural resources, A. Kohen stressed, helps to develop a broad democratic and anti-imperialist mass movement involving the workers, peasants and urban and rural middle strata, as well as part of the national bourgeoisie, the armed forces and the church, and also governments opposed to the predatory policies of imperialism. Current difficulties and imperialist counterattack in a number of countries have not diminished the possibility of mass movements, of achieving unity of the anti-imperialist forces, including patriotic servicemen, and above all, of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard playing their role.

To bring about the national liberation of Brazil, said P. Baranna, it is indispensable to overthrow the Brazilian dictatorship, which now heads the bloc of fascist regimes in the southern part of the continent. This is also the only way to ensure that the country's immense natural resources are used for the good of its people, in particular through peaceful and friendly cooperation with fraternal countries. In championing the formation of an anti-fascist patriotic front, the Brazilian Communist Party proposes that diverse political forces work out a common action program against imperialist monopoly plunder, in defense of oil, against contracts for oil prospecting and production.

The experience of Mexico's Communists, said I Garcia Solis, shows that to protect natural resources, the anti-imperialist and democratic forces must, first and foremost, work out a program for progressive economic changes providing for the protection of the national economy, curbs on monopoly profits, effective steps to reduce dependence on imperialism and a considerable extension of relations with the socialist and developing countries.

The Panamanian people know, C. Souza pointed out, that they must go through a stage at which the demand for the restitution of our natural resources now in imperialist hands, primarily the Canal Zone, is a slogan uniting all who want the national liberation revolution to

win. Our people will spare no effort to expel the colonizers from Panama.

To end imperialist monopoly power in dependent countries, said R. Gonzalez, it is essential to set up a broad anti-imperialist front of all progressive and democratic forces, the section of the national bourgeoisie unassociated with foreign companies, privates, NCOs and officers (including high-ranking) dissatisfied with the regime.

Protecting natural resources said A. Diaz Ruiz, is part of the struggle against imperialism. But only under socialism is it possible to bring them under full state control and use them for the good of the people. This, of course, does not imply that we underestimate the efforts made by progressive governments to protect national property. We have always backed these efforts and will continue backing them.

The communists are in the forefront of the struggle of the Latin American peoples for the right to dispose of their natural resources. Operating in difficult political conditions, especially in countries ruled by reactionary dictatorships, they work patiently and perserveringly, using flexible tactics, seeking and finding new forms of cooperation with non-Marxist revolutionary and democratic forces. All this helps the masses to realize that the communists are loyal defenders of their interests and the staunchest fighters for national independence and social progress.

The Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, A. Kohen noted, signified the Communists' readiness to support every measure aimed at protecting natural resources and carry them through to their logical end. The communists of Argentina have included in their program a chapter on 'Recovery of National Riches and Independent Economic Development.' This chapter provides for the expropriation and nationalization of major foreign monopoly enterprises, in particular North American, banks, credit, financial and insurance companies owned by foreign capital, the domestic landed oligarchy or compradors, the transfer of all non-renewable natural resources, first of all oil, to the state, the protection of national industries, including private enterprises unless their operation runs counter to the national interest and is out of keeping with the country's economic development plan, and so on.

The Communist Party of Ecuador, said E. Alvarez, calls on all patriotic, democratic and progressive forces, all servicemen and civilians, all believers and atheists, to campaign for the immediate nationalization of the oil industry. It welcomed and fully supported the Patriotic Front for the Nationalization of the Oil Industry set up recently.

Colombia's communists, said J. Posada, call for nationalization of

the oil deposits owned by U.S. monopolies. This is a thoroughly patriotic slogan meeting the national interest, the interests of our people.

Our Party, said M. Arroyo, backed the expropriation of the U.S. companies operating in Peru, as well as measures to reinforce the public sector and the government's anti-imperialist actions at home and abroad. Unfortunately, the process of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes has slowed down. The country is in a serious economic crisis. We communists consider that the crisis cannot be ended through economic and political concessions to those who would like to nullify revolutionary gains and re-establish foreign control over our natural resources, that is, primarily by securing credits from international monetary organizations controlled by imperialism, increasing private investment and assisting capitalist enterprises to the detriment of the state and public sectors and at the cost of greater exploitation of the working people. We consider that it is indispensable to normalize the balance of trade and payments by encouraging internal accumulation, increase production for export, raise taxes on items exported by multinationals and plan industrial production. At the same time, our Party warns against the danger threatening the revolutionary process in Peru from home and foreign reactionaries, who are even agreeable to the prospect of a fascist dictatorship.

The struggle to protect natural resources, I. Garcia Solis stressed, ranges over a broad front. It encompasses diverse strata which together make up a mighty force capable of holding its own against imperialism. But only the working class and its political vanguard are equal to imparting a really consistent and militant character to the movement for the protection of our countries' natural resources, for national sovereignty.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor, said A. Bauer Pais, considers that to put natural resources under the nation's control, it is necessary to carry out an agrarian reform, confiscate and nationalize mineral deposits, transport, banking, the land and plant of enterprises owned by U.S. and other foreign monopolies, annul the country's shackling foreign debt, establish trade relations with all countries on the basis of mutual benefit and introduce economic planning.

We communists, said J. Carrera, are deeply interested in a growing mass movement for the protection of natural resources at both national and continental level. We believe this movement should give strong and militant support to every anti-monopoly initiative irrespective of what social strata took it. It would contribute to the formation of a broad national front needed for the victorious completion of the fight against imperialism, a fight whose objectives would include control over natural and other basic resources. The Venezuelan

working class, without renouncing in the least its own policy and the fundamental principle of independence of its Party, appreciates the contribution which other classes and social strata make to the fight against imperialism.

Latin America's peoples are fighting for the right to dispose of their natural resources, speakers pointed out, in exceedingly difficult conditions. No quick or easy gains can be expected in this confrontation with imperialism and neo-colonialism. But for all the difficulties, the movement for the protection of natural resources, inspired by the revolutionizing experience of world socialism and above all by the example of socialist Cuba in the case of Latin America, is growing. It makes for the unification of progressive, patriotic forces, including some governments, in the struggle for national independence, deliverance from imperialist domination, for a better life for the peoples, against fascism, against home and foreign reaction.

The outlook for a comprehensive solution

Participants in the symposium stressed that the problem of protecting natural resources can be solved radically and definitely only under socialism. There is no proceeding to socialist changes in the economy without state control over natural resources.

Before the victory of the revolution, said A. Diaz Ruiz, the situation in Cuba with regard to natural resources was the same as in most Latin American countries today. In other words, key resources were controlled by the U.S. The victory of the revolution on January 1, 1959 paved the way for genuine political and economic independence. The first important law in protection of natural resources was the agrarian reform law (1959), which did away with the latifundium system and granted the right to own land to almost 100,000 landless peasants. This meant winning for the revolution the political support of the poor and middle peasants, who are the chief ally of the working class in socialist construction.

However, the first agrarian reform law affected mainly U.S. monopolies and the landed oligarchy. Property in land was limited to a maximum of 402 hectares. In reality this maximum turned out to be too great because it preserved a large stratum of rural bourgeoisie. Therefore, a new law passed in 1963 expropriated holdings in excess of 67 hectares.

The second law led to important changes in the pattern of agrarian property — 70 per cent of the land became state property and the rest found itself in the hands of small and medium producers.

In addition to the agrarian reform laws there were other measures which ended imperialist domination over Cuba and made it possible fully to retrieve the nation's riches.

Speaking to the First Congress of our Party, Fidel Castro analyzed Cuba's achievement in the economic field and the protection of its main natural resources. Nickel output had doubled as against 1958, electric power production was up from 2,550 million to 6,500 million kwh, steel from 24,000 to 240,000 tons, fertilizer from 195,000 to one million tons. Cement output had increased from 743,000 to two million tons.

It was the revolution that enabled the country to recover its natural resources and put them in the service of our people's legitimate interests. I wish to stress once again the significance of the aid we have had from the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. Along with a vast amount of material means made available for oil production and mining, the afforestation, hydropower engineering, and economic development as a whole, hundreds of specialists from socialist countries cooperate with us in this important effort.[3]

A. Kohen, member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, summed up the discussion.

'Engels' words that were quoted here have a direct bearing on the problems we are discussing,' he said. 'They are the best evidence that the communists' struggle for the protection of natural resources and for national independence has a long-standing tradition.

'The Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean noted that socialism is our main goal but that it will only become a realistic program for the countries of the continent in sustained struggles and through radical changes, including the struggle to protect natural resources. To be sure, imperialism will never abandon its positions of its own free will, let alone the riches it has usurped. It resorts to political and ideological terror and tries to intimidate the peoples who own raw material resources with all sorts of misfortunes that would allegedly befall them if they resisted imperialist control and looked on highly industrialized capitalist countries, especially, the United States, as countries dependent on developing countries rich in natural resources. The authors of such theories conceal the circumstances that in the course of the formation and development of the capitalist mode of production in the United States, a rapid transition from free competition to monopoly and the formation of an imperialist economy, the U.S. has found it more profitable to leave its own resources intact and exploit the cheap labor of colonial , semi-colonial and dependent countries. They also conceal the imperialists' immense responsibility for the reckless exploitation of vast natural resources, pollution of the environment, hunger, the food, energy and raw material crises, and so on. But the world situation is changing. The growing might of the socialist community and international détente afford the most favorable conditions for the protection of

natural resources, make for recognition of every country's right to dispose of its resources, and spell an early end to plunder by imperialism and multinational monopolies.

'Lenin said that imperialism means reaction all along the line. This political conclusion is suggested by economic relations shaped by financial capital and multinationals. In an effort to take possession of the national patrimony of our countries, imperialism sticks at nothing, as is shown by the tragic record of military intervention, the armed occupation of Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, the Malvive Islands and other territories, numerous coups in Latin America carried out with a view to establishing control over oil, copper, tin and other raw materials, the criminal terroristic and subversive activities of the CIA. All this is indicative of the close connection between the struggle to protect natural resources and the struggle against imperialism and home reaction, for democracy.

'The theme of the symposium arouses tremendous interest among all genuinely patriotic sections of our peoples, who want to see their countries free, sovereign, independent, equal, and united for the common cause of peace, democracy and social progress.'

The participants in the symposium summed up its results in a statement which reads in part:

'The various papers delivered at the symposium and the ensuing discussion showed by citing numerous proofs and precise data that U.S. imperialism is the greatest usurper of the natural resources of our continent. It plunders and wastes these resources, threatening in many cases to use them up or destroy them and actually using them up or destroying them in some cases.

'Large-scale concentration of land in the hands of latifundium-holding companies, direct exploitation of oil deposits or a monopoly on the sale and production technology of oil, the working of other mineral deposits with a view to exporting them as raw materials, the indiscriminate felling of trees yielding valuable varieties of timber, control of water resources, control over shipping companies, and ownership of enterprises in the service industry are only some of the examples illustrating the situation in major extractive and manufacturing industries, which are an object of the most brazen plunder by imperialism and the military industrial complex on which it rests.

'Statements by participants showed that the new balance of world forces, which is ever more favorable to socialism, social progress and peace, affords propitious conditions for the steady development of the peoples' just struggle to recover their natural resources. Speakers pointed out the resolute support given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the effort to attain these goals.

'The participants in the meeting stressed that at this stage unques-

tionable headway has been made toward recovering natural resources. This favorable situation has been developing above all since the victory of the Cuban revolution, which has regained all natural resources for the people.

'Faced with an irreversible process of history, the U.S. imperialists resort to ultra-reactionary methods. They ally themselves with the most reactionary elements, to the point of imposing fascist regimes, as was the case in Chile, in order to prevent the people from using their natural resources properly and from exercising their independence and sovereignty. They have treated the Uruguayan people in the same manner, continuing the criminal practice initiated in Brazil in 1964. They have reduced Paraguay, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Haiti to a similar plight . . .

'The participants in the symposium identified themselves with all Latin American fighters who are in prison because they champion their peoples' just cause. They also signified their full support for the struggle of the Panamanian people to re-establish their sovereignty over the Canal and their territory, for the struggle of Jamaica, Ecuador and Guyana to recover their natural resources, and for the Puerto Rican people's long and heroic struggle for independence from the U.S. colonial yoke.'

1. Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*. Moscow, 1972, p. 183.

2. On January 1, 1977, the Ecuadorian government purchased all the shares of the Ecuadorian Gulf Oil Co., a member of the Texaco-Gulf consortium, and transferred to the Ecuadorian State Oil Corp. the plant owned by Ecuadorian Gulf Oil. — *Ed.*

3. In January 1977, the CMEA Executive Committee discussed questions relating to Cuba's participation in specific long-range cooperation programs, a greater contribution by CMEA countries to the development of Cuba's sugar industry, nonferrous metallurgy, transport and paper industry, as well as problems of scientific and technological cooperation. The provision of new nickel-producing capacities in Cuba will raise output to 130,000 tons a year. — *Ed.*

Toward a new international economic and political order

Gheorghe Radulescu
Member CC Political Executive,
Rumanian CP, Deputy Prime Minister

We are living in an epoch of deep-going revolutionary, national and social changes that are decisively influencing the world balance of forces and are further strengthening socialism and the democratic and progressive movement.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the era of mankind's revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. It has seen the establishment and consolidation of the new social system, popular revolutions and the building of socialism in countries that account for a quarter of the world's territory and for a third of its population. In short, socialism became a world system exerting a steadily growing influence on every aspect of international life.

Ours has been an epoch of the collapse of imperialism's colonial system: the nearly 100 new independent national states that have emerged represent an immense world political force. our epoch has seen the general crisis of capitalism, the further aggravation of its contradictions both on a national and international scale. Before our eyes there is unfolding the revolutionary process of economic and social renewal of the world, with more peoples striving to refashion their lives along socialist lines.

Characteristic of our epoch is the tempestuous development of the productive forces and the broad sweep of the scientific and technological revolution which opens up tremendous perspectives for progress in material production.

It is against this background that one should see the vast scope of the struggle of the working class and the popular masses to transform national production relations and change the pattern of international relations. The peoples have come to appreciate the need for an end to the old system and the old international relations, achieve mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence based on equality of all nations and countries and build a more just and better world on our planet. It is in this context that there matured, as a reflection of an objective historical necessity, the idea of fundamentally restructur-

ing international economic and political relations and establishing a new international economic and political order.

The UN General Assembly has in recent years adopted a number of very important documents on the subject. They provide an international framework for active cooperation of all nations in finding constructive solutions for the complex economic problems that face the present-day world and upon the solution of which depend mankind's progress and peaceful life.

The need for a new international economic order stems from the reality of our times. The present long and profound crisis of the capitalist economy, which is but a new stage in the general crisis of the world capitalist system, is accentuating the instability of that system and, at the same time, is hampering the development of the world economy and of international economic relations. For some time now there have been serious difficulties, caused by the multinational monopolies, in the supply of raw materials, fuel and energy, and this is adversely affecting growth rates in many countries. The food crisis, hunger and malnutrition have spread to large areas of the world, threatening the very existence of some peoples and the progress of humanity.

There have been a number of negative developments also in the capitalist world currency and credit system: galloping inflation which afflicts the economy of the capitalist countries; instability of the main currencies used in international payments; balance of payments deficits in many countries. The international currency system devised some 30 years ago cannot cope with the world's grave economic problems. International markets are subject to sharp, uncontrolled price fluctuations that are undermining the stability of national economies and of world trade. All manner of restrictions and artificial barriers, unjust discrimination measures, tariff and extra-tariff barriers, and the protectionism practised by some capitalist countries are disrupting international economic ties and obstructing free exchange and equal cooperation between nations.

These negative developments are having an especially ruinous effect on the economic and social position of many underdeveloped and developing countries. Their economic backwardness is a direct result of long colonial misrule and imperialist exploitation. The wide gap between developed and underdeveloped countries is becoming wider still.

This evidenced by the following data: average per capita national income in economically developed countries is 13.4 times higher than in developing countries and, according to some estimates, the gap will not be bridged even by 1990. The ratio is much the same when measured in absolute figures: per capita national income in developed

countries rose from $1,412 in 1950 to $3,050 in 1973 and is expected to rise to $5,500 if the present trend continues.[1] In 1973, 105 economically underdeveloped countries, with a population of 2.4 billion (64.3 per cent of the world total) accounted for only 11.1 per cent of world national income, whereas 34 economically developed countries, with a population of 620 million (16.5 per cent) accounted for 65 per cent.[2]

This wide and growing inequality is an impediment to the harmonious development of the world economy. It prevents balanced and just international exchange, fosters tensions and discord, is a constant source of political instability and presents a very real menace to world peace.

As a result, the developing countries, and especially the least developed, are burdened with a foreign debt which in 1973 amounted to $100 billion and, according to some estimates, had actually doubled by the end of 1976.

Servicing that debt and loan repayment are an insupportable burden for these countries. Their balance of payments deficit increased from $12.2 billion in 1973 to more than $40 billion in 1975, and some estimates suggest that the figure will rise to all of $112 billion by 1980 if the present trend persists. Every year the developing countries import from 32 to 34 million tons of wheat, which meets only part of their food requirements, though hundreds of millions of hectares of good farm land are not being tilled. Or this comparison: the inflow of money into the developing countries in 1975 amounted to only about $20 billion; world expenditure on armaments amounts to about $300 billion a year.

It is a fact that this not only hampers efforts to eliminate economic backwardness, but also increases the danger to world peace.

All these negative developments and tendencies have had serious consequences for the people of various countries and for mankind as a whole. They reveal the harmful results of maintaining an international order imposed by the colonial powers and monopoly capital. The present system is clearly incompatible with the requirements of human progress, and yet the imperialists and neo-colonialists are doing everything to keep it alive.

In discussing the main cause of these negative developments, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of our Party and President of the Republic, noted that they stem from imperialist, colonial and neo-colonial policy, from relations based on inequality, domination and oppression. 'Retention of this policy and practice,' he emphasized, 'can only lead to serious upheavals in international economic life, to serious negative consequences for all the nations.'[3]

Moved by concern over the present situation and by a sense of responsibility for the destinies of the peoples, the Communists and

Workers' Parties of Europe, at their Berlin Conference, called for 'the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism; the establishment of a new international economic order; the ensuring of conditions for the social and economic development of all countries, primarily the least developed countries; the organization of broad international cooperation which should assist the peoples in the developing countries in their own efforts to remove the gap between these and the developed countries; the unrestricted exercise by each people of the right to sovereign control over its national resources; access by all countries to the achievements of modern science and technology; the establishment of a just relationship between prices for raw materials and agricultural products and prices for manufactured goods; and a broad development of trade relations without any artificial barriers and discriminatory practices.'

These demands fully accord with the interests of all nations. For the instability of the capitalist world economy and the negative developments on the world market are bound to tell, in one or another form, on the situation in every country. This is so because there is a growing interdependence of national economies, and because of the closer international division of labor and broadening cooperation in industry, science and technology.

The ills of the present world economic system are most painfully felt by the developing countries. But realistic-minded leaders of the capitalist West admit that the existing disproportions in the world economy are beginning to tell also on the long-range economic growth of industrially developed capitalist countries.

Some of the negative developments, for example, escalation of world prices, the deteriorating economic situation in developing countries, protectionist measures in the capitalist countries during the 1974-75 cyclical crisis, are making themselves felt also in the socialist countries. But drawing on the advantages of the socialist economic system, they have taken a number of measures to prevent or restrict the operation of these negative phenomena, and, most important, to prevent a slowing down of their dynamic social and economic development. Cooperation of their economies has played an important role in this.

In 1971-75 their average GNP growth rate was 8-9 per cent, or three or four times higher than in the capitalist countries. The socialist planned economy has thus demonstrated, and moreover in fairly complex conditions, its ability to ensure the stable and all-round development of society. This has further strengthened socialism and enhanced its prestige throughout the world.

However, in view of the peaceful, constructive character of socialist society, its humanistic aims, it should not be difficult to realize that

the socialist countries are deeply interested in eliminating negative tendencies in the world economy, promoting a healthier economic climate, and fundamentally restructuring international economic relations. They believe that unhindered and broad international cooperation can become a major factor in building the new society. Attainment of these goals is facilitated by cooperation of the CMEA countries, both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the Council, begun more than a quarter of a century ago. They are working toward a new type of international economic relations that would contribute to the all-round progress of each country, help the industrially underdeveloped countries, accelerate the process of levelling out economic development, and would make for closer understanding. Such, in fact, are the aims set out in the CMEA charter and Comprehensive Program. At the same time, the socialist states are helping developing countries build up their industrial potential and train skilled personnel as part of their economic and social progress.

In the opinion of the Rumanian Communist Party, in promoting a new international economic order it is especially important to put an end to imperialist, colonial and neo-colonial policy, to the present pattern of relations based on injustice, oppression and exploitation by other countries, and institute a new type of relations based on respect for independence and national sovereignty, full equality of all states, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual assistance, the inalienable right of each people freely to choose its social system and its path of economic and social development. This would entail also the right of every nation to be master of its natural resources and independently to decide on their disposal, and on the disposal of the results of the labor of its people in accordance with their interests and aspirations and with equal and just international cooperation.

Our Party and government believe that the rapid and continuous growth of productive forces and prosperity standards in each country and broad international cooperation necessitate the adoption and implementation of a complex of practical and effective measures designed to establish a new international economic order. This implies, in particular, the adoption of concrete standards binding on all states of the international community, and also a series of special programs calculated to assure attainment of the goals set out above.

These measures were formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the 11th Rumanian Communist Party Congress and were reflected in the Declaration which our Party presented to the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly. These measures call, first of all, for liquidation of economic backwardness, bridging the economic gap between developed and developing countries, measures to narrow development differentials and equalize economic

levels of all countries, with due account, of course, to historical, geographical and climatic conditions in each country and the material requirements of its people in accordance with specific national conditions. To this end we should elaborate special programs envisaging concrete measures relating to various aspects of the development of the productive forces; the building of a powerful national industry, the development of agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy.

Eliminating economic backwardness is undoubtedly a priority task of the developing countries, one that implies, first and foremost, overcoming the survivals of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and refashioning social and economic structures to open the road to expansion of the productive forces. Our own experience has shown that a country which wants to overcome economic backwardness must devote a substantial part of its national income over a long period to economic development projects.

Some time ago, the United Nations sponsored in-depth research on this problem. The study compiled by a group of experts concludes that rapid progress in the developing countries is possible only if they appropriate from 30 to 35 per cent, and in some cases as much as 40 per cent, of the GNP for economic upbuilding. And this requires, the authors of the study say, far-reaching social and administrative changes to secure fairer income distribution. Foreign investments are important but, they emphasize — and with good reason — less important than internal financial resources.

Since most of the wealthy, economically developed capitalist countries have assured their development by exploiting colonies and underdeveloped countries, it would be only fair and moral of them to return part of the appropriated riches to these countries and help them more substantially and in more ways to make economic and technological progress and build a new, up-to-date economy. Large-scale and effective aid to the developing countries in setting up their own industries and raising national production capacities, as well as these countries' active participation on an equal footing in the international division of labor are in keeping with the interests of all the peoples and states of the world, developed and developing alike, for they serve to guarantee steady, harmonious and balanced development of the world economy and hence benefit all countries.

But however considerable foreign aid may be, the social and economic progress of each country depends ultimately on its own effort. The RCP Program adopted by the 11th Party Congress (1974) says: 'To regard the independent social and economic development of a country as the result of assistance from without means dooming the country to backwardness. The decisive factor for social and

economic development is the effort of the people themselves. On this depends effective utilization of both a country's own means and resources and the advantages of international cooperation, including support from other states.'[4]

As for economic aid to the developing countries, mention should be made of the possibility of deducting for this purpose part of the huge sums now being spent on the arms race. Rumania has proposed to begin by cutting the military expenditures of all countries by at least 10 per cent, taking the 1975 amount as the basis, and putting half of the money saved in this way at the disposal of a UN development fund that should be set up to aid economically lagging countries. It is primarily a question of countries whose per capita national income is below $200 (there were 47 such countries in 1973, with a total population exceeding half of mankind).

A reduction of military spending by all countries would enable the developing countries to gear their efforts and resources plus funds released as a result of this cut to more rapid economic and social progress. A continued arms race is generally incompatible with shaping new international relations based on mutual confidence, ensuring extensive international cooperation and establishing a new international economic and political order.

Another important condition for setting up a new economic order is to solve on a fair basis the problem of energy and raw materials with a view to supplying all countries with adequate quantities of both and meeting social and economic development needs. From this point of view, the research mentioned earlier has produced interesting findings.

Its authors hold that, speaking generally, the earth is rich enough in ores and fuels to meet world demand till the end of this century and, indeed, till the middle of the next. Utilization of these resources can ensure an adequate rate of world economic development. But this necessitates intensive prospecting, especially in the developing countries, whose mineral resources have yet to be properly explored. This calls for large allocations. On the other hand, it is held that the costly yet increasingly imperative working of new lean ore and fuel deposits is bound to push up the prices of raw materials, minerals and fuels rather substantially before the end of this century. This means that to solve the problems of energy and raw materials, countries must cooperate extensively under a comprehensive program aimed at utilizing available resources, eliminating wasteful consumption, developing and using new sources of energy. Needless to say, every people must remain the master of their natural resources.

This requires, above all, a more equitable ratio between the prices of raw materials and industrial products, which must be correlated

with the prices of agricultural products. After all, the so-called energy and raw material crisis is less due to a lack of resources or the feared likelihood of their running out very soon than to an unfair pricing system imposed by capitalist monopolies for decades. This system has injured the interests of underdeveloped and developing countries and robbed them of means for rapid social and economic development.

Hence the need so to price basic commodities as to encourage the producer without being unfair to the consumer. And it must be borne in mind that the reduction of the real value of exports from developing countries is a consequence of the rapid growth of the prices of the manufactured goods, plant, food and services they import. This situation cannot be tolerated any longer. It is becoming more and more imperative to establish an international system guaranteeing stable prices for at least several years ahead.

In working for the establishment of a new international economic order, special attention should be given to solving the food problem. The food crisis is not due to the alleged exhaustion of food resources, the 'lack' of spare farm land or the 'overpopulation' said to be threatening mankind as a result of the 'demographic explosion.' The primary cause of the crisis is the backwardness of agriculture, especially in the developing countries.

Within the framework of the existing international capitalist division of labor, the monopolies have deliberately oriented agriculture in these countries on production of raw materials for export, particularly in unprocessed form, and not to supplying the population with food. This makes it indispensable to work out comprehensive programs for the early development in these countries of agricultural production, specifically by cultivating unused land, supplying more machinery and chemicals, building up-to-date irrigation systems, carrying out land reclamation, increasing crop yields, using new varieties of seed and raising new animal breeds.

The research I have mentioned, which has been done under the auspices of the UN, has revealed that by the year 2000 it will be technically feasible to increase the cultivated land area in the developing countries by roughly 230 million hectares. It is stressed that the technological revolution in the agriculture of the developing countries depends largely on effecting an agrarian reform and certain other social and administrative changes to overcome difficulties unrelated to technology.

This activity could be greatly promoted by establishing a fair ratio between the prices of agricultural products and raw materials and the prices of industrial products, as well as by encouraging agricultural

exports from developing countries through prices and by other economic means.

Economic progress today requires unlimited access by all countries to the latest achievements of science and technology, and measures to support the underdeveloped countries' desire to create technological potential of their own. All this could put an end to the dependence persisting in this field.

The training of national personnel, so essential for economic and social progress, is vastly important as a means of ending the developing countries lag. The developed countries could back efforts in this direction by granting them scholarships and in other ways.

The chief prerequisite of a new international economic order is a rational and equitable international division of labor guaranteeing every nation an active and effective part in world economic cooperation on the principle of complete equality. This would mean, first of all, a proper world distribution of the production of industrial, especially sophisticated, goods now concentrated in a few countries. If this problem were solved, the developing countries would have a bigger share in world trade in industrial goods, increase the volume, pattern and profitability of their exports.

It follows that a new international economic order means more trade and economic cooperation unfettered by restrictions of any kind, by any artificial barriers, discrimination or pressure, or attempts on the part of some countries to interfere in the affairs of others, all of which stem from the capitalist system. It also means efforts by all countries to set up a new, durable and equitable international monetary system that would reinforce national currencies, strengthen the rate of real, economically justified exchange and create the prerequisites for lasting monetary and financial relations. All this is also a key component of the whole range of international economic relations.

Evidently, to solve the problems I have listed and implement special programs in various fields, appropriate organizational forms are required. Our country considers that the organizational framework for this is provided by the UN and its specialized agencies, which in the past three decades have gained a certain experience of promoting international cooperation and defining the principles, forms and methods of cooperation on a universal basis.

It is also possible to evolve within the framework of the UN specific standards for a new international economic order valid for all UN member nations. Provisions could also be made for the establishment of an agency open to all countries that would supervise adherence to these standards and the implementation of special programs aimed at attaining the objectives of a new economic order.

Establishing a new international economic order is, in the opinion of the Rumanian Communist Party, part of a broader, genuinely revolutionary process of reshaping relations between states. It would be wrong to dissociate the economic and political aspects of new international relations by speaking of a new international economic order in 'pure' form. There can be no establishing a new economic order without doing away with political inequalities and unfair practices, thoroughly democratizing international relations and bringing all countries — big, small and medium — into the solution of complicated problems of world politics. Nor can détente, security and peace be achieved without establishing justice and equality in the world economy. The new economic order and new political order form a dialectical unity; they condition each other and are interconnected.

The task of setting up a new international order is inseparable, as our Party sees it, from the ideas of progress and socialism. The transition of the developing countries to socialism is a historical necessity, an objective requisite of rapid social and economic progress and of ending underdevelopment in a historically short time. 'In the conditions of fast-developing modern productive forces and the contemporary scientific and technological revolution,' the RCP Program points out, 'the capitalist road no longer enables these countries to make rapid progress. It is only socialism that can assure concentration of the means needed for the rapid development of the productive forces and the creation of an up-to-date technical and economic basis in the hands of the whole people and unified, meaningful and particularly effective utilization of these means. Only by reorganizing industry and agriculture on socialist principles, according to one plan, with society directly guiding this activity, can the peoples put an end to their economic and social lag, build an independent economy and overtake the developed countries.'[5]

More and more developing countries are renouncing the capitalist model. This tendency is manifest in investigations, reports and other works dealing with the current problems of the newly-free states, above all with the problem of closing the gap in economic development levels.

The struggle to abolish relations based on inequality and oppression, for a new international economic order and new international political relations, is a reflection of the worldwide conflict between oppressors and oppressed. 'Reality shows,' said RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu at the Berlin conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, 'that without rapid progress in the underdeveloped countries, without eliminating inequality and closing the gap in the development levels of different countries, ending the hunger and poverty affecting a large part of the world's population,

and bringing about a new and just economic order, lasting peace on our planet is out of the question.'

On the other hand, the process of bringing about a new international economic order is taking place at a time when there are countries with opposed social systems. It will probably be long before this historical reality is eliminated. Therefore, in grappling with the formidable problems facing mankind, it is necessary to proceed from the principle of peaceful coexistence, the demand that all countries should cooperate actively to settle various issues in a new spirit of respect for the interests of all peoples, and the need to continue and strengthen the policy of détente and cooperation. This is the only way to a constructive solution of fundamental problems of key importance to the progress of world civilization which require international effort.

Achieving security in Europe, extending cooperation between all European countries in various fields in complete accordance with the fundamental principles of international relations and the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, which must be unfailingly respected, are all likely to contribute substantially to the creation of a new international economic order and new political relations, and to extend considerably the possibilities of active cooperation between European and developing countries.

Like other developing countries, Rumania has inherited a certain economic lag. This is a result of protracted foreign domination, of exploitation by big imperialist monopolies, which before World War II controlled over 50 percent of the Rumanian economy. The country's natural resources and the labor of its people brought the monopolies huge profits.

In the years of socialist construction, due to the advantages of the new system and to the people's hard work, our country has achieved signal successes in developing a socialist economy and has ended its economic lag. Nevertheless, its per capita national income is still only one-third or one-fourth of that of highly developed countries. This is why socialist Rumania is still a developing country. It is compelled to exert considerable efforts in order to close as early as possible the gap separating it from developed countries and to raise the people's material and cultural standards. Accordingly, it spends one-third of its national income on economic development.

A socialist as well as a developing country, Rumania is deeply interested in the triumph of a new international policy that would assure the progress of all countries, primarily of those lagging behind. Therefore it takes part in the activity of Group 77, which comprises over 110 developing countries. It also has guest status at forums of the non-aligned movement, that important sector of the world anti-imperialist front.

This is why socialist Rumania, while concentrating its foreign policy efforts on the promotion of friendly relations and all-round cooperation with all socialist countries, also searches for the most suitable forms of cooperation with developing and non-aligned countries, both on a bilateral basis and on a world level. Trade between Rumania and these countries in 1975 increased more than fivefold over 1970. Prominent in mutual relations are cooperation in production, the utilization of natural resources, the development of manufacturing and the modernization of agriculture.

The Rumanian Communist Party considers that this activity is entirely in harmony with the overall policy of our country, serves the cause of solidarity and cooperation between socialist and developing countries and contributes to the unity of all anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic forces opposed to imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policies. In this way, our country contributes to the materialization of the principles of peaceful coexistence and helps to further détente and international security, to achieve the common goals of social and economic progress and ensure the well-being of peoples.

1. 'Era Socialista,' No. 7, 1976, p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Nicolae Ceausescu. Romania pe Drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate. Vol. II, Editura politica. Bucuresti, 1975, p. 702.
4. *Programul PCR de faurire a societatii multilateral dezvoltate si inaintare a Romaniei spre comunism.* Bucharest, 1975, pp. 180-181.
5. *Ibid.* pp. 192-193.
6. *Scinteia,* June 30, 1976.

the press

Marxism-Leninism: the source of strength

William Kashtan,
General Secretary, CP of Canada.
Towards Socialism.
Selected Writings 1966-1976,
Progress Books,
Toronto, 1976, 372 pp.

Alfred Dewhurst, member of the CPC Central Executive Committee, writes in the Foreword to this collection of writings and speeches by William Kashtan: 'In these selected works, the author explains the position of the Communist Party on the vital questions facing Canada and Canadians. He exposes the political and ideological roadblocks that retard forward social development both on the home and on the front of international working class and democratic struggle. ... These questions and the immediate and long-term answers of the Communist Party are dealt with in the pages of this book in live and creative Marxism-Leninism' (pp. X, XI).

All this is equally true also of the speeches by William Kashtan addressed to the Party and his written words addressed to the Canadian readers, communist and non-communist, in which he gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the vital problems of the class struggle carried on in Canada and in other parts of the world and, not least, the struggle for a strong, united Party.

About a decade ago the *Toronto Star,* the paper of the Canadian bourgeoisie, wrote that 'the Reds (in Canada) had failed' and that the source of that failure was that the CPC 'continued to talk of Marxism-Leninism.' Kashtan's reply was trenchant. Speaking at the 19th Congress of the CPC he said that the Party of Canadian communists saw Marxism-Leninism as a 'source of strength.' 'It is a science,' he continued, which 'gives us an ability to relate the present to the future, to see and understand the real processes and contradictions at work in capitalist society and to make our contribution to the advance of the working class and democratic movements in their struggle against monopoly rule and eventually for the socialist transformation of society' (p. 26).

Throughout the book the recurring themes became more insistent and demands more strongly pronounced in the interests of the Cana-

dian working class and its allies. Decisive anti-monopoly drive for the interests of the broad popular masses and the persistent effort to build up proletarian international links with the world Communist and Workers' parties constitute, as the book shows, a solid feature of the policies and actions of the CPC and its leaders.

The keynote addresses call for an independent Canadian foreign policy for stepping up the struggle against U.S. control, for Canada's full independence, for a new, made-in-Canada Constitution based on equal, voluntary partnership of the two nations (English and French) and on the right to self-determination up to, and including, secession,* for a guarantee of full democratic rights to all nationalities, against nationalism and racism. The struggle to extend democracy, the author stresses, must include defense of the rights of the Indian, Inuit (a northern nationality) and Métis peoples, full recognition of their national identity and the development of their native cultures. This struggle also implies support to the demand for regional self-government of the Indian and Inuit peoples.

Coming out relentlessly for social progress and cooperation of the left forces, Canadian Communists carry on work for stronger unity within their own Party. This all-important matter of unity was dealt with in some detail at the 20th Convention of the Party in 1969. Before the convention, the questions discussed on the highest ideological plane raised points of difference between communists. William Kashtan, speaking at the Convention on behalf of the Central Committee, argued that the CPC was 'not only a party of action but also a party of unity of will, that is, a party with a common ideological standpoint, one political and tactical line.' 'To lose sight of this fact,' he went on, 'would undermine the unity of the Party. To have comrades go their own way, accept the questions of actions they may agree with, is to undermine the revolutionary character of our Party' (p. 79). 'When the Party does not fight opportunism, opportunism takes over,' the Convention stressed. (p. 80).

The special importance of the 21st Convention of the CPC lay in the fact that it was held in 1971, the year of the Party's Golden Jubilee and that it had the task of adopting the Party Program and a policy statement setting forth the immediate tasks of the communists. The Program, Kashtan writes, 'situates the distinct stage of the anti-monopoly coalition and government based on it while emphasizing its relationship with the struggle for socialism' (p. 167).

William Kashtan's book explains and specifies the challenging plan

*To this end, in 1965, the Communist Party of Quebec was established as a distinct entity. This action was an integral part of the struggle of the CPC for a voluntary, equal partnership of English and French Canada and the adoption of a new Canadian Constitution.

of struggles for a democratic way out of the deepening crisis, including monetary crisis, which tend to further affect Canadian independence, and ways of improving the economic situation. It includes the following provisions:

— adoption of a long-term and balanced all-Canadian industrial development program, ensuring a rational utilization of Canada's resources under public ownership. This is to be followed by regional development programs merged with the overall program;

— restructuring of Canada's trade policies to make possible the extension of trade with socialist and newly-free countries on a mutually advantageous basis;

— an active policy of peaceful coexistence, withdrawal of U.S. military bases from Canada and an end to flights by U.S. military aircraft over Canadian territory;

— economic and social policies directed to achieve full employment, rising living standards, and a say for every Canadian on all questions affecting the lives of the people;

— adoption of a new Constitution based on equal voluntary partnership of the French-Canadian and English-speaking peoples and on their right to self-determination;

— adoption of a Bill of Rights which guarantees the right of labor with respect to collective bargaining, the right to strike, to picket, to organize. No wage freeze or incomes policy (pp. 186-187).

The task is, Kashtan stressed at the 22nd Convention in 1974, to mobilize the broadest popular masses in Canada to join in the implementation of the Communist program for democratic reform and to draw all anti-monopoly forces into this struggle (p. 258).

The book ends with the article 'Canada in a Changing World,' a summary of a decade of working-class and democratic struggle, written specially for the collection, in which the author notes that the struggle is gaining the momentum parallel with the steady economic growth of the world's first socialist state, the USSR, and the entire socialist community. Against this background the contradictions in crisis-ridden Canada appear glaringly conspicuous. The data on the growing unemployment in Canada, which seems to be an incurable ailment of the capitalist world, sound as the author's stern indictment of capitalist reality; in 1967 there were 315,000 unemployed in Canada; in 1974, 520,000; and in 1975, close to 800,000 (in the beginning of 1977, unemployment figures for Canada, as estimated by the trade unions, was better than one million. — *B.S.*).

'Truly it can be said that Canada is at the crossroads,' Kashtan writes in conclusion, 'The working class and working people are not only faced with the necessity of uniting their ranks to defeat the monopoly offensive; the Canadian people are also faced with the

necessity of checking and defeating the growing pressures of U.S. imperialism on Canada, and winning the new direction in Canadian policy. That is the crucial task' (p. 315).

The article and speeches included in Kashtan's new book show that Canadian Communists, who have joined in the effort to carry out the program of action charted by their 23rd Convention (October 1976), well aware that they are part of the international revolutionary movement, come out for unity of the three components of the movement: the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The book brings to the forefront the courage with which problems facing their countries are tackled by communists, in this case, the communists of Canada. It shows the firm confidence of Canadian communists, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of present-day realities, that the working class, of which they are the vanguard, will fulfill its historic mission and lead the country toward peace, progress, independence and socialism.

Betty Sinclair

Revolutionary brotherhood

Participation of Yugoslav Working People in the October Revolution and Civil War in the USSR. Documents and materials. Moscow, Nauka, 1976,556 pp.

In all respects this carefully researched work is the first volume of documents recreating a broad picture of the many-sided political and military activities of Yugoslav internationalists in revolutionary Russia in the period from April 1917 to April 1921 and the active part they played in the struggle for the victory of Soviet power. The volume, identical editions of which have been put out in Moscow and Belgrade to mark the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, is a joint venture by Soviet and Yugoslav historians and researchers, working in central and local archives in the USSR and Yugoslavia. They painstakingly studied a wealth of material, particularly newspapers and journals published in those revolutionary years by the internationalists and circulated among Yugoslavs and members of other nationalities who found themselves in Russia during the First World War.

Most of the documents are here made public for the first time. Those not included figure in the commentaries. The book also contains materials from periodicals many of which are out of print.

Historians will be interested in the material on the Yugoslav Communist group in the Russian Communist Party and its local branches. The documents from the archives of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia reflect the attitude in those days of the working people on the territory of what is now Yugoslavia toward the October Revolution. They also reflect the mounting revolutionary movement there, influenced by the events in Russia, and the vain attempts by the authorities to destroy the 'Bolshevist contagion.' More information is provided on the outstanding Yugoslav internationalists Oleko Dundic, D. Serdic and B. Agatonovic who made a big contribution to the Red Army's victories over the White Guards and interventionists. There are many new names and facts, attesting to the revolutionary selflessness and dedicated internationalism of the Yugoslav working people, who fought for the revolution shoulder to shoulder with their Russian brothers and members of other nationalities.

All in all, this is a rich source of information for those studying the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its international implications.

Although this is a work mainly for historians, it should likewise be of interest to the younger generation in both countries, to our contemporaries who cherish the ideals of peace and freedom, giving them a new insight into the events of the revolution. Much can be gleaned by the historian from the military orders, resolutions of meetings and conferences, newspaper accounts and magazine articles, etc.

For the young Yugoslavs and other internationalists, the months and years spent in Russia, their part in the struggle for the victory of the revolution, were an invaluable school of class struggle and proletarian internationalism. Many went on to become prominent in the international Communist movement, leaders of Communist parties. Many of the Yugoslav internationalists, inspired by Lenin's ideas and the achievements of the October Socialist Revolution, helped establish the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, saw action with the anti-fascists in Republican Spain, fought together with the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and in the liberation movement and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia.

'The Great October,' whote Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and a former soldier in the Red Guard, 'ignited the revolutionary spirit in the hearts of millions of working people the world over, inspiring them with confidence in their great struggle for a new world . . .

'That is why the October Revolution, this majestic turn in the life of man, has been and remains a solid foundation of the modern history of civilization. That is why the gains of October, this great cause of

Russian workers and peasants, have been acclaimed by working people the world over.'

The experience of history and the revolutionary practice of our days prove irrefutably that no one has ever been able to extinguish the flame of the international solidarity of Communists. This flame that flared so brightly during the days of October has been borne by generation after generation of revolutionaries. Proletarian internationalism is the indestructible weapon of the international working class, and this book, a collective effort by Soviet and Yugoslav researchers, is proof of that.

V. Dino

A staunch internationalist

Rodolfo Ghioldi,
Escritos (Writings). Vol. III.
Buenos Aires,
Editorial Anteo, 1976. 270 pp.

Volume III of the writings of Rodolfo Ghioldi, Executive Committee member, CC CP of Argentina, has come out in Buenos Aires, the *WMR* has already reported on Ghioldi's philosophical and sociological writings, which made up the bulk of Volume I and whose publication was a notable event in Argentine public life. It also reported the appearance of Vol. II. which comprises fundamental works analyzing the situation in Argentina and theoretical problems of key importance, such as the Communists' attitude to the state, democracy and the agrarian question.*

Vol. III came out shortly before the 80th birthday of the author, whose life is inseparable from the international Communist movement and the Communist Party of Argentina. Ghioldi was one of the founders of the CPA along with Victorio Codovilla and has been a member of its Central Committee ever since.

'The glorious Communist Party of Argentina, founded in the wake of the Great October Socialist Revolution and now entering the 60th year of its existence,' says the congratulatory letter sent to the Communist leader on the occasion of his birthday by the CC CPSU, 'has been together with the CPSU throughout these decades in the struggle against fascism and imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

* See *WMR*, July and November 1976

It has fought unrelentingly against every attempt to destroy the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Your contribution to this noble and selfless struggle is widely known, Comrade Ghioldi. You who met the great Lenin and devoted your whole life to Lenin's cause have won deep esteem among all genuine Marxists-Leninists.'*

A tried and tested leader of the international Communist movement Rodolfo Ghioldi is warmly congratulated in other messages. He was decorated with the order of the October Revolution in 1972 and now, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has awarded him the order of Friendship Among the Peoples. The Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Working-Class Movement has conferred on him the degree of doctor honoris causa. These are all indications of the widespread recognition of the revolutionary services of this Communist, man of learning and staunch Leninist internationalist.

Vol. III is further evidence of the consistency and firmness of Ghioldi's convictions and his loyalty to internationalist principles. He stresses time and again that for a Communist, patriotism and internationalism are inherently interconnected, and that genuine patriotism has nothing to do with nationalism or chauvinism. 'Every revolutionary movement,' the author writes in one of his articles, 'has its own national characteristics due to purely national features. As for nationalism, it develops only when these features are exaggerated, put first and absolutized, all of which harms the cause of proletarian internationalism by undermining its principles' (p. 201).

There are some excellent articles in this volume on Lenin and Leninism, the Soviet Union — the world's first socialist country — and problems of today. Ther are written with the force of conviction that is so typical of this author.

Ghioldi's recollections of Lenin and the Third Congress of the Comintern are especially notable. He went to the Congress (Moscow 1921) as a CPA delegate and was subsequently elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The central topic of his recollections is Lenin's speech to the Congress — the deep impression made on the audience by Lenin's forceful arguments and brilliant mastery of the art of polemics, and also the unassuming manner and personal magnetism of the leader of the world proletariat.

The book, which deals with the revolutionary transforming role of Leninism in Latin American conditions, specifically in Argentina, comes at an opportune moment, at a time when the peoples of the world are preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. It is all the more important because the ideologists of imperialism and their yes-men are carrying on a cam-

* *Pravda,* January 21, 1977

paign designed to mislead people about what Marxism-Leninism stands for.

The military coup in Argentina (March 24, 1976), resulted in the suspension of legal activity by all political parties, including the CPA, of course. But Ghioldi and other Communists have kept up the search for a solution of the country's crisis, a solution at grips with reality and promoting the unity of all popular and patriotic forces, both civilian and military. His writings are invariably marked by consistent efforts to establish with the utmost accuracy the nature of changes needed to bring about genuine democracy in Argentina and remove the obstacles raised by foreign monopolies and the landed oligarchy. 'The assimilation of Marxism-Leninism,' Rodolfo Ghioldi stresses, 'is a prerequisite of victory for the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and its subsequent advance to the socialist stage' (p. 92).

A.K.

Present-day capitalism and classes

John Westergaard and Henrietta Resler. *Class in a Capitalist Society. A Study of Contemporary Britain,* London, Heinemann, 1975, XV, 432 pp.

The publication of this study is significant for many reasons. First, because this book, whose authors speak of the 'Marxist perspective' in their approach to crucial social problems, has been put out by a leading bourgeois publishing house. This is, in a way, a sign of the growing respect for and popularity of Marxist ideas. Second, for some time now, bourgeois and right-reformist politicians and scholars and the capitalist media have been at pains to prove that the welfare state has eliminated the basic elements of 'class inequality.' This is coupled with propaganda of such ideas as the 'end of classes' and of 'overcoming capitalism.' Marxist-Leninists and all objective researchers have consistently opposed such concepts. The central theme of this book is that the many forms of inequality in Britain today constitute class inequality rooted in the very nature of capitalism and determined by possession or non-possession of private property. More, this viewpoint is accepted as self-evident and the authors have been all but accused of trying to force an open door.[1] This is likewise unquestionable proof that opposition by Marxists (and some non-Marxist scho-

lars) to apologetic conceptions of capitalism is bearing fruit. It is also proof that the reality of existing antagonistic classes and social inequality have their effect, for they are ever present in a bourgeois society. That classes exist is made especially clear by the intensified struggle of the proletariat, which neither politicians nor bourgeois theorists can ignore.

The authors deal with a wide range of problems, and adduce facts and figures to show that the changes evident over the past half-century in incomes distribution have been very limited and have not removed the contradictions between the working class and capital. Taxation and the widely advertised measures to establish the 'welfare state' resulted only in a 'redistribution' of incomes within classes but not between them. The authors' conclusions, based on analysis of the problem of power in capitalist society, convincingly refute the theory of 'pluralism' of power, which in bourgeois society is wielded by 'capital with its associates' (p. 252). The authors also examine in detail published (and unpublished) data on social mobility in postwar Britain, concluding that, to all intents and purposes, this changes nothing in the division of society into opposing classes.

This 'valuable book' (Morning Star, Feb. 5, 1976) debunks the propaganda myths current in bourgeois sociology and widespread among the British public. The basic varieties of these myths relating to each of the problems dealt with in the book, are summarized at the beginning of the corresponding chapters and are critically examined. As a rule, the authors examine each of the problems, making critical use of official and other sources and of all the more profound sociological and economic studies.[2] This fortifies the credibility of their conclusions.

This study, however, provides only an 'anatomy,' the compositon and boundaries of classes and social strata in Britain. On the whole, the authors correctly place property owners, directors, top executives and officials in the class of capitalists. But the question of the 'elite professions' remains unclear (Westergaard and Resler consider them to be part of the ruling class). Undoubtedly, the 'elite of the elite' includes top lawyers, some scholars, etc., directly connected with big business, enjoying sizable 'capitalist' incomes, and socially intertwined with the capitalists. However, it would be right to regard most members of the 'elite professions,' along with the wider group of intellectuals (engineers, research workers and lower and middle-level managerial staff) as part of the middle strata.

The book devotes inadequate attention to the 'middle bourgeoisie,' though it is they, the owners of enterprises and the managers, who make up the 'mass' of the bourgeois class.

In the chapters on the working class, the authors, again using a

wealth of factual material, show the proximity of office employees and related groups to the workers, while noting the existing objective, and especially subjective, differences between them.

On the whole, the book provides a convincing picture of class inequality in Britain, showing how important it is today for Marxist researchers to focus attention on a general theoretical and concrete analysis of the social structure of modern bourgeois society. This would provide a better picture of the classes and social groups in capitalist society, and a deeper understanding of their real (and potential) interests, which, in turn, would help devise a strategy of radical social change.

Valentin Peschansky

1. See reviews in *The Times Literary Supplement,* March 12, 1976, and *New Society,* November 6, 1976.

2. Mention should be made of some of the works not used by the authors, such as publications of the Labor Research Department, and the following books dealing with classes and inequality in Britain: A. Grant, *Socialism and the Middle Classes,* London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1958; S. Aaronovitch, *Monopoly,* London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1955. Idem, *The Ruling Class,* London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1961.

These books use less material and do not examine the problems in such detail, but the authors were among the first to criticize the very myths exploded by Westergaard and Resler. An interesting book by H. Frankel on British society, *Capitalist Society and Modern Sociology* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1970) is mentioned in a footnote.

World Peace Council scroll of honor to *World Marxist Review*

At its session in Sofia on February 11-12 the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (WPC) adopted a decision to award a Scroll of Honor to *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism). A telegram from Romesh Chandra, WPC Secretary General, notes the journal's consistent efforts over the years to spread and popularize the noble ideas of a durable, democratic and just peace. In its decision the WPC Presidential Committee emphasized that the award was in recognition of the journal's outstanding contribution to the promotion of détente, to the struggle for disarmament and national independence, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and exploitation, for social progress and a new and happy life for all peoples.

In a cabled reply to the World Peace Council the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of the journal, on behalf of its multinational staff and readers, expressed cordial gratitude for the award and for the WPC Presidential Committee's high assessment of the journal's contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress. They said they would redouble their efforts to popularize noble ideas and goals that would inspire the peoples to build a durable, just and democratic peace.

Editions of the journal

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