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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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feature

Lenin's documents of the first day of the Great Revolution

This issue appears at a time when progressive people the world over are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October, when their thoughts turn once again to the heroic days of the first victorious socialist revolution. To recall the atmosphere and pulse of those days, we open the issue with some of the well-known documents written by Lenin and made public in the first hours of the Revolution.

Russia in 1917, Tsarist autocracy overthrown. The whole people up in arms in the struggle which the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, is directing toward complete victory and genuine popular rule.

On October 25 (November 7) the socialist revolution won. The decisiveness of that moment in history was reflected in the concentrated thought and the way the pen obviously dashed across the page as Lenin was writing his famous appeal 'To the Citizens of Russia!' announcing that the Provisional Government had been deposed at 10 a.m. A few hours later the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies called an emergency meeting, at which Lenin gave a report on the tasks of the Soviet power. In the evening, when Red Guard detachments and the garrison units that had joined the revolutionary forces were storming the Winter Palace, the last stronghold of the landlords and capitalists, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets opened only a few blocks away from the scene of the fighting. People's power became a reality. Between three and four in the morning, on hearing the news of the seizure of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the Provisional Government, the delegates approved the appeal 'To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!' This, too, had been written by Lenin. During the next session the Congress approved the historic Decrees on Peace and on Land, based on Lenin's reports.

These documents are precise and factual evidence of what the socialist revolution was all about. They set forth its paramount ideals: full democracy based on people's rule, an end to exploitation, public ownership of the means of production, and pursuance of a basically new foreign policy, a policy in the interests of peace and the people's well-being.

To the Citizens of Russia[1]

The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies — the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and the garrison.[2]

The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production and the establishment of Soviet power — this cause has been secured.

Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!

Revolutionary Military
Committee of the Petrograd
Soviet of Workers' and
Soldiers' Deputies
10 a.m., October 25, 1917.

Report On the Tasks of the Soviet Power[3]

Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organizations.

From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought.

We shall be helped in this by the world working-class movement, which is already beginning to develop in Italy, Britain and Germany.

The proposal we make to international democracy for a just and immediate peace will everywhere awaken an ardent response among the international proletarian masses. All the secret treaties[4] must be immediately published in order to strengthen the confidence of the proletariat.

Within Russia a huge section of the peasantry have said that they have played long enough with the capitalists, and will now march with the workers. A single decree putting an end to landed proprietorship

will win us the confidence of the peasants. The peasants will understand that the salvation of the peasantry lies only in an alliance with the workers. We shall institute genuine workers' control over production.

We have now learned to make a concerted effort. The revolution that has just been accomplished is evidence of this. We possess the strength of mass organization, which will overcome everything and lead the proletariat to the world revolution.

We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia.

Long live the world socialist revolution!

To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants![5]

The Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has opened. The vast majority of the Soviets are represented at the Congress. A number of delegates from the peasants' Soviets are also present. The mandate of the compromising Central Executive Committee has terminated. Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison which has taken place in Petrograd, the Congress takes power into its own hands.

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The majority of the members of the Provisional Government have already been arrested . . .

The Congress decrees: all power in the localities shall pass to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, which must guarantee genuine revolutionary order . . .

From the Decree on Peace[6]

The workers' and peasants' government, created by the Revolution of October 24-25 and basing itself on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, calls upon all the belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace.

By a just or democratic peace, for which the overwhelming majority of the working class and other working people of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving — a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants ever since the overthrow of tsarist monarchy — by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without indemnities.

The Government of Russia proposes that this kind of peace be

immediately concluded by all the belligerent nations, and expresses its readiness to take all the resolute measures now, without the least delay, pending the final ratification of all the terms of such a peace by authoritative assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations . . .

The government considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the terms indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception.

At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the above-mentioned peace terms as an ultimatum; in other words, it is prepared to consider any other peace terms, and insists only that they be advanced by any of the belligerent countries as speedily as possible, and that in the peace proposals there should be absolute clarity and the complete absence of all ambiguity and secrecy . . .

1. The appeal was written by Lenin on behalf of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and published on October 25 (November 7), 1917, in the *Worker and Soldier* evening daily, and later reprinted in *The Poor Peasants, Izvestia* and other papers.

2. The Revolutionary Military Committee (RMC) of the Petrograd Soviet was set up on October 12 (25), 1917, on the instructions of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee, and included representatives of the Central Committee, the Petersburg Committee of the Party, the Petrograd Soviet, factory committees, trade unions and military organizations. Functioning under direct guidance from the party's Central Committee, and in close collaboration with the Bolshevik Military Organization, the RMC supervised the formation of the Red Guard units and the arming of the workers. The chief mission of the RMC was to prepare an armed uprising in line with the directives of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee.

3. From a newspaper report of the speech made by Lenin at the emergency meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on October 25 (November 7), 1917.

4. The reference is to secret diplomatic documents, such as the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist and later by the bourgeois Provisional Government of Russia with the governments of Britain, France, Germany, Japan and other imperialist powers. From November 10 (23), 1917, these documents were published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia,* and in December were put out in a series entitled 'Collection of Secret Documents from the Archives of the Former Ministry of Foreign Affairs.' Seven volumes were published from December 1917 to February 1918.

5. The appeal was written by Lenin and adopted at the first session of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies held on October 25-26 (November 7-8), 1917, in Petrograd.

6. Written by Lenin, the Decree on Peace was approved at the second session of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The new epoch of world history

Mikhail Suslov
PB Member, CC CPSU,
Secretary, CC CPSU

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary is today being celebrated by all progressive humanity, is the main event of the 20th century. It fundamentally changed the course of world development and in practice launched the replacement of the capitalist by the communist formation, thus opening up a new epoch in world history.

The winning of power by the working class, the working people of our country, the creation of the world's first socialist state were a most striking historical confirmation of the scientific depth and transforming power of the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The triumph of October and the whole further progress of history proved that for the realization of the working people's class interests, their salvation from exploitation, the abolition of national oppression and inequality, the emancipation of the peoples from poverty and denial of rights, from the sacrifices and horrors of war, in a word, for the revolutionary renewal of the world, there is not and can never be any other road than that which is pointed out by communist scientific theory, and by which the socialist countries, the international working class are proceeding under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

1

The 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution coincides with a major event in the contemporary social and state development of the Soviet Union — the adoption of the new Constitution. This document, which reflects the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people and their Communist Party, is of exceptional political and theoretical importance because, as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, the preparation of the new Constitution pursued the goal of formalizing 'not only the general principles of the socialist system, expressing the class substance of our state, but also the basic features of the developed socialist society

and its political organization.' Today, after active and creative nationwide discussion, the new Constitution has come into effect as the Fundamental Law of the life of a developed socialist society, the building of which is the main result of the Soviet people's struggle and creative labor in the conditions of the epoch opened up by the October Revolution.

Developed socialism is a natural stage in the development of the communist formation. It covers a long historical period, which sees the accomplishment of such complex tasks of communist construction as the building of the material and technical basis of communism, the convergence and subsequent fusion of the two forms of socialist ownership of the means of production, the obliteration of class divisions, the abolition of essential distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical work, the ensuring of an ample supply of consumer goods, and the formation of the new person.

Only on a basis built by socialism itself are its creative forces fully revealed. The action of the objective laws of its development, the laws of its functioning, which form the foundation of the constant perfecting of socialist society and the unfolding therein of the processes leading up to this society's transition to a communist society, manifests itself only on this basis.

The in-depth theoretical work of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other socialist countries has made it possible to establish the fundamental laws of the building of developed socialism: ensuring a high level of development of the productive forces through application of the latest advances of the scientific and technological revolution; further development in society's economic basis of socialist property in its two basic forms — state and kolkhoz-cooperative — and their gradual drawing together; a steady growth in the people's well-being, which is the chief aim of the socialist national economy; preservation over a long period and perfecting of the socialist principle of distribution according to work as the basic means of distribution; changes in the social structure toward enhancement of the leading role of the working class, strengthening of its alliance with other strata of the working people, and consolidating of the unity of the whole society and its social homogeneity; growing ideological and political unity of all nations and ethnic groups on the basis of their equality and common communist ideals, the rapid development of their economies and culture; the growing of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a socialist state of the whole people, deepening and all-round development of socialist democracy; further raising of the broad masses' level of education and culture, growth of their political awareness, ideological maturity and the formation of

the working people's scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook; strengthening of all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries; enhancement of the Communist Party's role in all spheres of social life as a necessary condition of the victory of socialism and communism.

In the USSR socialism was built in the main by the end of the 1930s. In a country with a backward economy, with the working masses lacking all rights and living in poverty, as they did in tsarist Russia, the decisive victory of socialism was achieved in a mere two decades thanks to the efforts of the workers and peasants, who translated the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into reality. The components of this victory were the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism, the successes of socialist industrialization, the completion of the collectivization of peasant farms, the establishing of friendship among the peoples on a countrywide scale, the making of a cultural revolution, and the abolition of capitalist production relations and establishment of the undivided sway of socialist production relations.

The outstanding success of the socialist economy achieved during the 60 years of the existence of the Soviet state are well known. We may note, for example, that in the postwar period (as compared with 1947) the USSR's national income has grown 13.5 times, labor productivity in industry more than 7 times, and retail state and cooperative trade more than 15 times. This testifies to the rapid improvement of the people's material well-being.

It is noteworthy that particularly important successes in the development of our national economy have been achieved in the past decade, that is, in the conditions of developed socialism. Moreover, this is true not only of the impressive quantitative indicators of economic growth, of the enormous scale of our economy. It is also true of the fundamental qualitative changes which have taken place and which have made it possible to link up all elements of social production, of distribution and exchange in the unified national economic complex and to ensure its development on the basis of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The highest rates of development have been achieved in the industries that determine scientific and technological progress throughout the economy: engineering, precision instruments, automation, electronics, gas, chemicals and petrochemicals, and microbiology. The qualitative renewal of the national economy's technical potential creates a sound material basis for realization of the course approved by the CPSU's 25th Congress toward a steep rise in the efficiency of all social production.

The supreme goal of the socialist economy is the optimal satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual needs. Increased consumption is achieved both by a constant increase in the production of consumer goods and by the steady raising of the Soviet people's incomes through the systematic increasing of wages and social consumption funds, and through the lowering of taxes. Under the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) the incomes of 115 million people (out of a population of 259 million) were raised through wage increases, tax reductions, and increases of pensions, allowances, grants and other payments from social funds. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan wages and salaries of another 31 million blue- and white-collar workers will be raised. The growth in Soviet people's monetary incomes is taking place against a backdrop of preservation of the stable level of state retail prices on all basic foodstuffs and consumer items.

The successes in economic construction, in raising the people's standard of life are the result of heroic efforts on the part of the mass of the people themselves led by the Communist Party. Socialism engenders great creative energy among the people and an eager reaching out toward the future.

The working class makes the decisive contribution to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to the development of Soviet society. Its key positions in the socialist economy, its revolutionary spirit, organization, collectivism, discipline, political awareness and active participation in state administration and public affairs also determine its leading position at all stages of socialist and communist construction.

At the same time, on the basis of the steady growth of the economy the development of the social structure of Soviet society continues toward a further converging of classes and social groups and further consolidation of its unity. The growth of the homogeneity of our society is characterized by the common features in the Soviet people's way of life, which has absorbed all that is best in human progress. Such features are: free and creative labor for the good of society, socio-political and ideological unity of the people, a spirit of genuine collectivism and comradeship, moral purity, and firm friendship of all the nations and ethnic groups of our country. Internationalism has become the profound conviction and norm of behavior of Soviet people.

An important feature of the socialist society and the state is that democracy expands and deepens as they develop. The world's first socialist state, in complete accord with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, arose and developed as a state of the dictatorship of the

proletariat, of the political hegemony of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other working people, that is to say, the overwhelming majority of the people. The dictatorship of the working class established in our country by the October Revolution was the broadest ever democracy for working people, for the majority of the population. Socialist democracy differs radically from bourgeois democracy in that the principles it proclaims are actually translated into reality. The revolution and socialism gave Soviet people the right to work, to a guaranteed pension, to paid holidays and free medical attention, to housing and education. The revolution brought genuine equality to all the nations and ethnic groups; it gave women equal rights with men. It ensured freedom of speech, the press, assembly and demonstrations for those who had been deprived of these rights — the working people. Socialist democracy and freedom are the democracy and freedom that are created by the people, for the people.

Defining the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of the class alliance between the proletarian vanguard of the working people and their numerous non-proletarian strata, Lenin stressed that this alliance, this type of state is established 'for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, p. 381), that is to say, only for a definite historical period, namely the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. And it is a fact that the experience of the Land of Soviets has confirmed that after the elimination of the exploiting classes, with the victory of socialism, in conditions of the growth of social homogeneity and the moral-political unity of society the dictatorship of the working class exhausts its functions and ceases to be necessary.

The growing of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people means that in the course of communist construction the transition of all strata of the population to the ideological and political positions of the working class has been completed, that the social base of the Soviet state has expanded. It now expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, of all nations and ethnic groups of the country. In the state of the whole people the range of socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms of citizens of the USSR has not merely expanded; these rights are more fully and more solidly guaranteed by the state, and conditions have been created for the further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order.

Socialism's economic, political and spiritual gains determine the major features of the contemporary epoch — the epoch launched by the Great October Revolution.

The revolutionary achievements, the creative activity of the working class of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which in the process of profound social changes has united and consolidated all the social strata and groups of the working people, have confirmed the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the proletariat's world-historic mission. The experience of the USSR and the other fraternal countries has also confirmed that the working class can successfully perform its role as the leading force in the abolition of the exploiting system, in the building of socialism, only when it is headed by a revolutionary party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, uniting the most conscious sections of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and built on the principle of democratic centralism.

The growth of the leading role of the communist party is one of the most important laws of development of socialist society, of the building of communism. The CPSU is a party of the working class, a party which in the conditions of developed socialism has become the vanguard, the party of the whole Soviet people. Today it has a membership of over 16 million, nearly 7 million (42 per cent) of whom are workers. On the basis of a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of economic, socio-political and ideological processes, the skilled application of the laws of social development, the CPSU reveals the roads ahead, awakens in the people a tremendous creative energy and ensures the purposeful development of all social life, the successful solution of the complex problems arising in the course of this development. Only under the leadership of the party, which enjoys the greatest prestige among the people and their unlimited confidence, can there be an intensive and efficient boosting of the material and moral forces of the whole of society for building communism, for a consistent improvement in the material and cultural conditions of life.

During discussion of the draft Constitution Soviet people particularly emphasized the fundamental importance of including a special article on the role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society. Accordingly, the Constitution of the USSR today defines with complete clarity the Communist Party's place in our country's political system, fully describes its leading and guiding role, and specifies the content of its activity. The Constitution states: 'Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party defines the general perspective of society's development, the line of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, guides the Soviet people's great creative activity and puts its struggle for the victory of communism on a planned and scientific basis.'

One of the special features of the Communist Party's guiding activ-

ity in present-day conditions is the substantial increase in the influence of inner-party life on the whole of society. The party, as its program demands, is an example and model for all state and public organizations, whose activities the party, as their guiding nucleus, coordinates and orients, helping them to elaborate and apply the best and most effective forms and methods of work. The party shows a constant concern to stimulate the activity and initiative of public and state organizations, endeavoring to foster the Leninist style in their work, a style that demands a scientific approach to all questions and their creative solution.

In its inner-party life the Communist Party rigorously demands the strict observance of Leninist standards and constantly perfects the forms and methods of its organizational and political activity. It is untiring in its efforts to maintain collectivism in leadership, consistent and undeviating observance of the principle of democratic centralism; it demands that the broad development of inner-party democracy should unfailingly be accompanied by a strengthening of party discipline and enhanced responsibility of all communists for the tasks entrusted to them.

The CPSU devotes much attention to the systematic improvement of the qualitative composition and ideological-organizational strengthening of its membership, to the selection, distribution and training of cadres in all fields, to the development of criticism and self-criticism, to perfecting the structure of party bodies and primary party organizations, to extending and consolidating its ties with the masses. It is in these main directions that the party develops its inner life, improves its organizational, political and ideological leadership and enhances the efficiency and militant capability of all its sections. It is on this basis that inner-party standards and principles are comprehensively developed, and this tends to perfect socialist social relations, the whole system of political organization of our society.

The CPSU regards it as its duty to unswervingly put into practice the Leninist theory of the revolutionary party of the working class, to develop and defend the time-tested Leninist principles of party building and political leadership.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in the process of the revolutionary transformation of the social structure of life, in the dynamic conditions of developed socialism, human beings themselves change, grow morally and spiritually in changing society. This is plainly visible in our present-day realities. The party's many-sided ideological and educational work plays a tremendous part in people's spiritual growth. The CPSU fosters in the working people a feeling of international brotherhood and socialist patriotism, helps them master the wealth of man's cultural heritage. It develops their creative activities

for the good of all. Soviet society has a rich spiritual and moral potential and the party seeks to make maximum use of this potential in the interests of the complete triumph of communism.

The theoretical activity of the CPSU, the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory plays a great role in forming the Soviet people's communist outlook, in strengthening the ideological and political unity of socialist society. For the Communist party revolutionary theory, as Lenin taught us, is to be regarded 'primarily and predominantly as a *guide to action*' (Vol. 23, p. 330). This constant attention and deeply serious attitude to theory stems from the nature of the Leninist party as a revolutionary and innovatory party, a party that is always moving forward, from the essence of socialist society being transformed into a communist society and encountering many problems demanding scientific elucidation and solution, from the character of the tasks confronting the party and people, tasks that can be fulfilled only if we are guided by Marxism-Leninism.

Fidelity to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory is the main condition for the Communist Party's realization of its leading and guiding role in Soviet society. The CPSU cherishes the revolutionary theory embodied in the brilliant works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in the many documents of our party and the international communist movement. But it approaches theory not as a collection of fossilized dogmas, cut and dried for all situations, but creatively, as something living and constantly developing.

The CPSU is a party of scientific communism, of creative Marxism. It builds all its revolutionary, transforming activity on the firm basis of science, of advanced theory. Hence its constant concern for the people's ideological and political education, for the wide dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, for the all-round development and further enrichment of theory with new conclusions corresponding to the changing situation and the new experience accumulated by our party itself, by the international working-class and communist movement and all the revolutionary forces of modern times.

3

A crucial feature of our time is that all world development is taking place under the decisive influence of existing socialism. This influence is based on the following:

— the successes of socialist and communist construction, the all-round social progress of the fraternal socialist countries;

— the growing solidarity of the socialist countries, the close collaboration of the parties guiding them, the deepening of economic integration, the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community;

— the steadily growing international prestige of the socialist coun-

tries, the substantial enhancement of their role in world politics and world economy.

The combination of these factors has a dual effect on the world situation.

First, there are the great historical achievements of victorious socialism and, at the same time, the increasingly favorable external and internal conditions for their further development, for the successful unfolding of the working people's class struggle in the capitalist world, for new victories of the democratic and national-liberation movements, for decisive social changes both in the citadels of capitalism and in the extensive world zone that was once imperialism's colonial hinterland and reserve and has now become an important springboard of social progress.

Second, objective prerequisites have formed for the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, for ensuring complete equality and mutually advantageous cooperation between all countries and peoples and, above all, for ridding humanity forever of the danger of a world war.

The advances in both these directions are inseparably interconnected. They express one general process, the process of the revolutionary transformation of the world, a process embracing social development both within national borders and on the international scale.

The swing toward peace, toward détente has imparted a new quality to the development of the whole system of international relations. Life itself confirms the correctness of the conclusions drawn by our party and by collective international communist thinking that a world military conflict, in present-day conditions, is not a fatal inevitability.

Communists, all Soviet people are rightly proud of the contribution that the Land of October had made and is making to international détente. A line of unbroken continuity runs from Lenin's Decree on Peace to the Peace Program adopted by the 24th and developed and supplemented by the 25th CPSU Congress. Today the bedrock principles of the Soviet peaceful foreign policy are laid down in the Constitution of the USSR.

An outstanding role in elaborating and realizing the foreign policy course of the Soviet state belongs to Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This course is designed to make détente stable and irreversible, all-embracing and universally effective.

The main road to this goal lies through stopping the arms race and

taking practical measures for disarmament. Humanity today faces no other problem that is more urgent or more essential. No one can fail to see that the ship of détente is sailing on a troubled sea. There are influential circles in the capitalist world that would have sunk it already if their hands had not been tied by the present balance of world forces, the active policy of the countries of the socialist community and other peaceful countries, by the pressure of world public opinion. There are still explosive areas in many parts of the world. Reactionary and military circles have not abandoned their attempts to propel the world back to the days of the cold war. The increased activity of the North Atlantic hawks, eager to swell the military spending of the NATO countries, the continuously growing U.S. military budget, the demonstrative race to design new weapons, particularly such a sophisticatedly cruel weapon as the neutron bomb — all this carries the grave danger of a fresh round in the arms race. This is why the peace forces rightly regard it as their most vital task to continue combating the threat of war.

The Soviet Union is stepping up its efforts to carry out the program adopted by the 25th Congress of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. We are doing and will go on doing everything for the complete realization of the Helsinki accords, for the success of the Belgrade meeting. The peoples of the world can continue to count on the USSR as a bastion of peace and world security.

It has happened more than once in history that the representatives of an obsolete system, seeking to prolong its existence, have disguised themselves as supporters of progress and lovers of freedom. Something similar is happening today. Alarmed by the successes of the cause of peace and fearing the growth of socialism's ideological influence in the context of détente, world reaction is stepping up its ideological subversion and slanderous campaigns against world socialism. Moreover, precedence is being given to hypocritical speculation on human rights and freedoms.

The defenders of a social system built on the ruthless exploitation of the working people, on the privations and oppression of the millions, a system that is responsible for crises, for the escalating cost of living and unemployment, for predatory wars, for tens of millions of dead and disabled, for all the horrors of colonialism, racism and fascism, the defenders of this system present themselves as champions of liberty. To appeal to liberty in the name of this system means advocating freedom for the domination of imperialism and reaction, freedom for the exploitation of human beings, freedom for racial discrimination and hatred, and for the spiritual enslavement of the working people. The number of convinced opponents of such 'free-

doms,' and of the social system itself which creates and supports them, is growing throughout the world among people of labor and among true democrats.

The October Revolution put an end to such 'freedoms' in our country and we shall never allow them to be restored. We shall not give hostile forces any opportunities of subverting the gains of the working people. This is what determines our attitude to the paltry handful of 'dissidents,' the henchmen of imperialism. To demand freedom of action for these people means, in effect, demanding freedom for the subversive operations of imperialism within our borders.

The CPSU advocates development of all-round contacts between the peoples and sees this as an essential element in the policy of détente. We have been and remain supporters of the broad exchange of truthful information, of the spiritual treasures of the peoples. But we are opposed to this activity, which is called upon to serve the development of international cooperation, being used as a pretext for interference by some countries in the internal affairs of others.

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A distinctive feature of our times is the unprecedented upswing of the world revolutionary movement. Its various contingents are fighting in countries with dissimilar levels of development of the productive forces and of socio-economic maturity, with dissimilar political structures, with different historical traditions. The wealth of national and historical peculiarities confronts every communist party with the problem of creatively applying and developing Marxist-Leninist teaching, of making a thorough and concrete analysis and consideration of all the specific features of the situation; it engenders different ways of leading the masses to socialism, forms of organizing the working people, methods of struggle, concrete programs of social change. To be specific, it is a matter of using the opportunities for peaceful transition to socialism, which have become considerably greater owing to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the creation and massive progress of the socialist world system, the collapse of colonialism, the general upsurge of the international working-class and national-liberation movements, and the overall crisis of capitalism.

On the other hand, experience shows that the multiformity of the ways of struggle for socialism and of the methods of socialist transformation imparts an additional urgency to the question of the general principles of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the general regularities of socialist revolution and the building of socialism. These regularities are not abstract 'rules,' but scientifically established and practically tested guidelines for action, which, of course,

demand creative application. The question of one's attitude to them is, in effect, a question of one's attitude to the universal significance of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the accumulated immensely rich experience of the class struggle and socialist construction. It is no accident that the communists, acting in most diverse conditions, emphasize that they consider it impermissible to ignore the general laws of socialist revolution and the creation of a socialist system, because this would lead them to futile wandering in darkness.

Finding concrete ways and forms of struggle for democracy and for socialism in specific national-historical conditions does not mean always starting from scratch in every country. Marxist-Leninists are well aware that the method of ignoring the lessons of history, the desire to start from the opposing view at any cost in relation to the well-tested forms of struggle, cannot provide a reliable way of evolving an independent political strategy and tactics.

The CPSU has always advocated and still advocates the thorough study and rational application of the experience of the fraternal parties. We all know that Lenin, when considering the history of the Bolshevik Party, noted that it 'assimilated most eagerly and successfully the appropriate "last word" of American and European political experience' (Vol. 31, p. 26). Now, as then, our party carefully studies the fraternal parties' experience and takes it into account in its own activities.

History testifies that the success of the revolutionary forces is won by a creative approach to the theory and practice of social change based on Marxism-Leninism, an approach inseparably bound up with acknowledgement of the hegemony of the working class, with understanding of the need not only for its participation in administering the state, but also for its winning of political power in alliance with other strata of the working people. Marx converted socialism from a Utopia into a science precisely because he discovered the social force capable of realizing the objective need for the socialist transformation of the world. This force is the international working class. To refuse to recognize its historical role would mean going back from Marxism to a social Utopia.

The policy pursued by the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries of making broad social alliances, of uniting all left-wing and democratic forces, introduces much that is new in postulating the task of ensuring the vanguard role of the working class, of its communist party but, as experience shows, it does not, by any means, remove this task; it makes it even more urgent and important.

One of the most important principles of the revolutionary movement is the international solidarity of the fighters against social and national oppression. The outstanding achievements of the revolution-

ary forces of today would be unthinkable without their international interaction and mutual support. The significance of internationalist solidarity in our time was emphatically stressed by the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

The multifaceted character of contemporary revolutionary internationalism, the widening circle of the social and political forces, whose international interaction is essential for the solution of the fundamental problems of world transformation, cannot overshadow the fact that the working class and the international communist movement remain the principal vehicle and voice of this internationalism. By their very nature and ideology they act as the most consistent internationalist force, as the uniting element in the general revolutionary process of modern times. Their internationalism, their solidarity, their unity and joint efforts are based, primarily, on the common, fundamental interests of the international working class, on the common goals, outlook and unity of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science.

Today the dialectical interconnection of the national and the international in the revolutionary movement is becoming more flexible. The significance of the national element in all world development and in the activity of each fraternal party is undoubtedly growing, but at the same time the role played by the international uniting of all liberation forces is also becoming increasingly important. Never before have the internal conditions of the class struggle been so closely linked with the balance of world forces, with the state of international relations, with the successes of socialist foreign policy, with the international struggle for peace and social progress.

The need for solidarity, for unity of the international revolutionary forces is also dictated by the fact that the imperialist reactionary circles are systematically coordinating their actions in the fight against socialism, democracy and national liberation and are ready to stoop to the most despicable means of exporting counter-revolution.

At the Berlin Conference, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'As regards proletarian internationalism, that is, the solidarity of the working class and the communists of all countries in the struggle for common aims, their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, and voluntary cooperation among fraternal parties with strict observance of the equality and independence of each — we hold that such comradely solidarity, of which the communists have been standard-bearers for over a hundred years, has retained all its great significance to this day. It has been and remains a mighty and tested weapon of the communist parties and the working-class movement in general.'

As we know, at the Berlin Conference Leonid Brezhnev also

expressed the view of our party on the need for a broad comparison of the views and experience of the fraternal parties in order to test their proposals in a comradely discussion. We fully agree with the comrades from many communist and workers' parties who advocate a fraternal, respectful manner of discussion, believing that this should serve to strengthen our general positions, the interests of the theory and practice of the entire communist movement.

The Soviet communists, the whole Soviet people assess with satisfaction and profound appreciation the wide-ranging ideological and political campaign launched by the fraternal parties in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We see in this a new and vivid expression of the traditional solidarity of our class brothers with the Soviet people's struggle for socialism and communism, for peace and social progress across the world.

For its part the CPSU has always believed and still believes that the main and decisive thing in relations between the communist parties is friendship, cooperation and joint struggle for common goals and interests. It is on this basis that our party has always built and will continue to build its activity in the international communist movement.

The victory of the October Revolution, of the socialist revolutions in other countries, the formation of the socialist world system, the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, its successful creation in the countries of the socialist community, the strengthening of socialism's international positions and the change in the balance of world forces in its favor — all this confirms the conclusion of Marxist-Leninist theory that capitalism is necessarily and inevitably bound to be replaced by a new system. This is also indicated by the extreme aggravation of all the contradictions of present-day capitalism, by the continually deepening, insoluble general crisis of its economic, political and ideological system, a crisis from which there is only one escape route — to socialism.

In the epoch launched by the Great October, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have emerged from the sphere of theory alone. They have become a practical cause for hundreds of millions of people. They serve as a guide for the many-sided activities of our party, and of the other communist parties that make up the united, worldwide family of communists and are blazing the trail of mankind's social progress in the 20th century, the century of the revolutionary renewal of the world.

True to the behests of October

Gustav Husak
General Secretary,
CP Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

Sixty years separate us from the Great October Socialist Revolution — the first triumphant proletarian revolution. These years have seen the oppressed and exploited masses' age-old dream of a better life, of justice, of the possibility of building a society that would be the embodiment of genuine humanism, come true. Socialism has become a world system and is ever more convincingly demonstrating its advantages over the exploiter capitalist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution also opened up a new epoch in the history of our country and was a mighty impulse in a development which has turned into the present, happy socialist reality. And that is why we in Czechoslovakia, together with the Soviet people and progressive forces of the world, are marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October as our own red-letter day.

In October 1917 the proletariat of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party — the Party of Bolsheviks headed by Lenin — rose up against the exploiting classes and won a historic victory in alliance with the peasants and the finest representatives of the intelligentsia.

After winning power it took on the difficult but honorable role of pioneer in exploring the paths leading to the deepest of social changes that history had ever known. In the struggle against the internal counter-revolutionaries and outright intervention by world imperialism, the working class of Russia defended its revolutionary gains, which transformed the life of the working man and the face of the country. By its unity, discipline, dedication and heroism the working class proved that it rightfully was the vanguard in building a new society.

Allied with the peasantry and other working people, led by its Leninist party, the working class of Russia rose to great historical triumphs. It built the foundations of socialism, defended the freedom and independence of its socialist homeland in the Second World War and created a developed socialist society.

We are well aware of the extremely difficult conditions in which Soviet Russia launched the building of a new society. Despite this, socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, the just solution of the nationalities question, the rapid growth of the productive forces and the perfecting of new social relations resulted in the Land of Soviets becoming a mighty socialist power in a historically short period. Establishment of people's power made it possible to ensure the working people rights and freedoms which are inconceivable in a bourgeois system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution thus marked the beginning of a new and higher form of democracy — socialist democracy, democracy for working people. These 60 years have convincingly shown this to be a creative and revolutionary democracy flowing from the very essence of the socialist system. Its most salient feature is broad and active participation of the people in management, policy-making and economic and cultural development.

The CPSU and all the Soviet people, applying the great historical advantages of socialism, are continuing the cause begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and we, the working people of Czechoslovakia, rejoice at the great economic, political and cultural progress that has been made. The Soviet people's impressive achievements in recent years were duly assessed at the 25th CPSU Congress. The decisions of this Congress generated great activity and initiative among the Soviet people as seen in the labor achievements of the first year-and-a-half of the tenth five-year plan.

The radical changes that have taken place in Soviet society in these 60 years of building socialism and communism required that they be reflected in the new Constitution of the USSR. All the Soviet people feel deeply involved in the historical event of the adoption last month of the new Fundamental Law of the USSR. It preserves and further develops the characteristic traits of a socialist-type constitution as formulated by Lenin. There has been great interest among Czechoslovakia's working people in the nationwide discussion of the new draft. Its adoption is a milestone in the history of the Land of Soviets. The 1977 USSR Constitution formalizes the main aspects of a developed socialist society and this is very important for Czechoslovakia.

From the outset the Great October Socialist Revolution acquired far-reaching international significance. It was supported by the proletariat and exploited masses of the world, to whom it showed the way to abolishing social and national oppression. At the same time it triggered the hysterical fury and hatred of world reaction, which spared no means in its efforts to liquidate the gains of the Great October. But in this the reactionaries failed. They failed because the

October Revolution expressed the vital interests and will of Russia's nations and ethnic groups, and also because it was widely supported by the revolutionary proletariat and other progressive forces throughout the world.

The birth of the first socialist state — fathered by the October Revolution — was marked by Lenin's Decree on Peace. This is symbolic of the organic unity of peace and socialism. But history allowed only a short period of peaceful endeavor to the young Soviet state, for imperialism was bent on destroying it in the crucible of war and drowning working people's power in blood. But socialism, which flourishes in peaceful conditions, withstood the tribulations of war.

The Soviet Union's decisive contribution to defeating fascism intensified the universal magnetism of socialist ideas, perceptibly weakening world imperialism. Socialism transcended the boundaries of a single country, becoming a world system. And today it is the mainstay of the world's peace forces who justly view existing socialism as the main guarantee of the greatest right of each individual and of mankind as a whole — the right to a peaceful life.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished on the basis of a scientific analysis of social development in Russia and the rest of the world. The brilliant synthesis of Marxist-Leninist theory and working-class practice marked the beginning of a new period in the relationship between science and social development. Socialism was the first system in history to govern social processes on the basis of a knowledge of and conscious application of the objective laws of society. The entire course of events from the October Revolution to this day has fully confirmed the indivisible unity of science and socialism, of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class revolutionary movement.

Leninism teaches that every country's progress toward socialism, accomplished on the basis of general and fundamental principles, is marked by its own distinct traits, which depend on the pecularities of its historical traditions, a definite level of economic and cultural development and other socio-political factors. Several such specific and inimitable traits are common to the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

But most important is the fact that the October Revolution and the Soviet Union's 60 years of development have shown the universal nature of the general laws of socialist development. They were confirmed in the course of the socialist revolutions in other countries after the Second World War, including the revolution and socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

The 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution is a wonderful opportunity for our people to express yet again their deep gratitude

to the Soviet people and their heroic army for their liberation from Hitler's fascist oppression, for the aid extended during the years of building socialism and for the fact that today we are successfully coping with the tasks of building a developed socialist society.

The Czechoslovak people's struggle for state independence, national freedom and socialist development is inseparably linked with the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. The victory of the Great October was largely instrumental in the emergence of an independent Czechoslovakia. And although at that time the bourgeoisie was able to capture power, it could not stop the example of October from influencing the thinking and the stance of workers and other strata of the working people, whose sympathy for the first socialist state steadily increased.

The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the logical outcome of the differentiation of our working-class movement into trends, (a process strongly influenced by the October Revolution). The party became the vanguard of the proletariat of all the nations and ethnic groups of our country and, guided by the party, the working class started the struggle against bourgeois rule. The movement for recognition of the Soviet Union and establishing diplomatic, economic and cultural ties between the two states was an integral part of the struggle. These efforts by Czechoslovak communists were instrumental in inducing the bourgeois government to recognize the USSR not only de facto but also de jure and to sign the first treaty of alliance with it in 1935.

The people of Czechoslovakia will never forget that it was the Soviet Union's consistent anti-fascist and peaceful policy that created the main prerequisites for Czechoslovakia to defend itself against the Hitler aggression. The Soviet Union was the only state that remained true to its commitments to our country when we were betrayed by the Western bourgeois states in Munich and handed over to Hitler. During the national-liberation struggle against nazi occupataion the Czech and Slovak peoples realized that fulfillment of their national interests was linked with the historical role of the Soviet Union.

After the tragedy of the period of the bourgeois republic, its liquidation and the nazi oppression, the Czechoslovak people, whose faith in and support for the Communist Party were steadily growing, demanded an alliance with the Land of Soviets. In this alliance they saw a guarantee of their future, and of unhampered national and state development. Alliance with the USSR was and still remains the cornerstone of socialist Czechoslovakia's foreign policy orientation. And this policy was again formalized in the May 6, 1970 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the CSSR and USSR.

We can state with satisfaction that today Czechoslovak-Soviet relations are strong and many-sided as never before and that the broad and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, between our peoples, the fraternal ties between the CPCz and the CPSU are constantly developing and strengthening.

It has always been important for us, Czechoslovak communists, to know that in building socialism we could rely on the Soviet Union's experience. Drawing on the wealth of Lenin's theoretical legacy, the experience of the three Russian revolutions and socialist construction in the USSR, the CPCz creatively applied the main principles of Leninist strategy and tactics in the transformation of the national-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution and, after the defeat of the bourgeois reactionaries in February 1948, in building socialism. Moreover, our party remembered Lenin's famous proposition that 'fundamental revolutionary principles must be adapted to the specific conditions in the various countries' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 32, p. 465).

What we have achieved in building socialism proves irrefutably that after the Second World War the Czechoslovak people, guided by the behests of the Great October, took the correct road. The working people of our country are justly proud of their great historical achievements, which demonstrate convincingly the advantages of socialism and which are, at the same time, a worthy contribution to the consolidation of world socialism and increase its prestige.

We have created the powerful material and technical basis of socialism, which is constantly being improved in the process of the scientific and technological revolution. Thanks to the continuing development of the socialist mode of production, the comprehensive and deep revolutionary changes in the political sphere, in the class and social structure and in our people's mentality, the main traits of a socialist way of life have crystallized in our society. And this has led to the emergence of a new, socialist quality of life, which is distinguished by a high level of satisfaction of growing material and spiritual expectations, a striving to broaden one's education and professional qualifications, for a full cultural and social life, and greater labor and political initiative and responsibility.

The constantly expanding labor and political activity among all strata of the population is a sign of their unconditional socialist orientation. And this expresses a qualitatively new stage in our society. It is successfully coping with the complex tasks of building developed socialism, which are primarily aimed at the all-round and harmonious development of the individual. This process rests on people's actual guaranteed rights to work and to fair remuneration according to the results of this work, to education and access to cultural values, health

protection and social security and active participation in managing public affairs. This is supported by the people's faith in the policy of the CPCz, whose goal has always been concern for man and his well-being.

Speaking so highly of the socialist development of Czechoslovak society does not mean that we have never had any difficulties, shortcomings and unsolved problems or that we do not have them today. In our country just as elsewhere the building of socialism has been accompanied by a difficult and sustained struggle against both objective and subjective difficulites. The enemies of socialism together with their allies, bourgeois propaganda and all manner of opportunists and revisionists, claim untiringly that all of Czechoslovakia's shortcomings in building socialism are the result of 'copying the Soviet model' and that 'Leninism is a theory based solely on the Russian experience,' etc.

Our experience, however, gives the lie to such slanderous allegations. It shows that Czechoslovakia's socialist development has been successful because the CPCz, as the leading political force, has been able to identify and correctly apply the general laws of the development of socialist society, correctly apply Marxism-Leninism and Leninist principles in our conditions. Whenever we followed this pattern we were invariably successful and our society progressed at a particularly rapid rate. Such is one of the definitive traits of our development. And this reality is a living testimony to the universal validity of the Leninist principles of governing a socialist society.

Czechoslovakia's experience in building socialism, particularly our success in overcoming the crisis developments of the 1960s and the transition to building a developed socialist society, is confirmation, first of all, of the Communist Party's growing role as a leading and guiding political force. Our country's successes since the 14th CPCz Congress (1971) have again shown that the party can fulfill its historical role only if it bases its work on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, if it is closely linked with the people and if it is headed by a strong, united and determined leadership.

In this we see one of the basic lessons of our revolutionary path to the socialist realities of today, a lesson which, with a full sense of responsibility, we recalled at the 15th CPCz Congress in 1976. We recall this lesson again today as we observe the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, for its victory and the entire road subsequently followed by the Land of Soviets are inseparable from the leading and inspiring role of the CPSU — a party with a wealth of revolutionary experience which has always been and remains an example for us, Czechoslovak communists, also.

We were guided by this lesson both during the period of overcom-

ing the crisis and in subsequent years, when we attached prime importance to the work and development of the Communist Party itself. Our further progress was made possible thanks to the growth of the party's internal strength, its unity and efficiency, its increasingly leading role in society and its more pronounced Marxist-Leninist character. One sign of this is the fact that in the five years between the 14th and 15th CPCz congresses 333,952 persons were admitted as candidate members of the party. Of these 62 per cent were workers, over 90 per cent were under 35 and more than 50 per cent, under 25 years of age. Politically, this is impressive for it shows the growing attraction of our party, which expresses the vital interests of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, all the working people of Czechoslovakia.

The CPCz is society's political, ideological and guiding center. Our party believes that the growing role of the subjective factor, in its broadest sense, i.e., activities of the socialist state, of public and other organizations, the increased activity and initiative of the broad sections of the working people and particularly of the working class as society's leading force, depends decisively on how deeply the party comprehends the laws of social development and how well it goes about its political and organizational work.

Our party bases its work on the ideas of scientific socialism, the universally valid laws of building socialism, its own experience and that of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, on a consistent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia. Our own experience shows that as socialist social relations mature, as social processes become more complex and accelerate, as the need arises to control them more effectively, one of the main features of scientific socialism — the unity of science and the revolutionary working-class movement — is ever more fully revealed. And it is this unity that lies at the foundation of our progress today, in the course of which we are striving for even greater and deeper activity on the part of the working class and all the people. The Czechoslovak working people are the true masters of their country. They are steadily expanding their creative endeavors and participation in governing society.

Our experience also teaches us that socialist society, particularly at the stage of building and perfecting developed socialism, can progress only if the solution of questions and problems is approached from many sides. Practice has shown that society's progress requires development of the socialist economy, a deeper democracy and strengthening of the socialist character of social consciousness.

Our development has confirmed, for example, that the task of improving the people's livings standards while maintaining the social-

ist principle of remuneration according to quantity and quality of work, is directly interconnected with higher labor productivity and effective functioning of the entire socialist economy. Application of objective economic laws in the process of the planned management of society is a condition for realizing the goal of the basic economic law of socialism which, as we know, is steadily growing satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual needs by creating the ever more powerful capacities needed for this and encouraging broad initiative and activity on the part of the masses.

Our party's experience also shows that its successes in the revolutionary transformation of society are closely associated with the scope of creative work in the field of ideology, theory and political education, and the effective dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas. We never cease to learn from the history-making battles for class and national emancipation which span the 60 years separating us from the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The generations of experienced Czechoslovak communists who stood at the helm of our party's and people's great revolutionary struggle for the victory of socialist ideas, exemplify the ability to combine theory with purposeful political practice.

The mounting crisis development in Czechoslovakia and the crisis itself in the 60s showed us what can result from unrealistic slogans, from running ahead of events, from idealizing the degree of society's moral and political unity, underestimating and weakening ideological work, in other words, from contradictions between words and deeds, between theory and practice. In its document, 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz,' our party revealed the causes and exposed the roots of the Czechoslovak crisis, among which those mentioned above feature prominently. That is why after April 1969, during the period of consolidation and following the 14th CPCz Congress we started developing our party's best traditions also in this direction.

We believe one of the main reasons we were able to overcome the crisis is that our party built its policy on a deep analysis of the present stage, taking into account our society's real, existing needs and abilities, and on the many years of party experience. This realistic policy had the trust and support of our people who understood the reasons and lessons of the crisis development and expressly came out in favor of our country's further advance along the socialist road.

The CPCz's ideological work played a major role in these positive processes. We satsified ourselves once again that unity of theory and practice, of words and deeds in party policy logically leads to the working people's deeper socialist orientation, a more developed con-

sciousness and creative endeavor and a stronger unity of the party and the people.

Our people have learned a lesson from the recent past. They now understand the need to consolidate and defend the power of the working class, of the working people, their own power in the direct sense of the word, in a world divided into two opposing social systems. They are aware of how necessary it is to counter all the attacks of external enemies and domestic opponents of socialism. And this is the reason for the failure of all past and present actions and campaigns by the enemies of socialism against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other socialist countries.

An important aspect of our development is the solution of the nationalities question. And in dealing with this question, so vital to the future of the socialist revolution, the starting point and source of inspiration for the CPCz was Marxism-Leninism, the behests of the Great October as embodied in the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which brought the peoples together in a single, close-knit family on the basis of fraternity and equality. For Czechoslovak communists the behests of October and the experience of the CPSU and of the Soviet state have always served as an example of consistent solution of one of the most complex questions in the development of human society.

Gradually, the CPCz learned to apply a Leninist approach in dealing with this complex and, for us, sensitive problem. The party was able to defeat stubborn resistance by the bourgeoisie and implement the principle of Slovak national equality, to raise Slovakia's economic development, which was lagging behind that of Bohemia. The party surmounted the mistakes and shortcomings in approaching this question which had surfaced also at the stage of socialist construction and resulted in a departure from the Leninist principles on the nationalities policy.

The logical consequences of these efforts by the CPCz was the creation of a federation in Czechoslovakia. In its formation account was taken of the wealth of experience accumulated by the Soviet Union. The 14th and 15th party congresses stressed that the federative system in our country had fully justified itself. It helped consolidate the unity of our nations and ethnic groups and created a firm basis for their further development and gradual drawing together.

Our successes in this respect figure among Socialist Czechoslovakia's most outstanding historical achievements. This is why they were so highly appraised at the 15th Party Congress. In line with the course outlined by the Congress and relying on our accumulated experience we shall continue the policy of creating conditions furthering the comprehensive development of our socialist nations and

ethnic groups and all that is progressive in their traditions and national cultures. As before our actions will be based on all that unites our peoples, that adds to their unity, strength and awareness of belonging to a unitary Czechoslovak state.

The revolutionary road we have travelled has also taught our party the necessity of relying on the principle of proletarian internationalism in implementing party and state policy. This is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the experience of building a new society in Czechoslovakia, which shows conclusively that building socialism is a deeply internationalist matter, presupposing an internationalist responsibility and solidarity, and that the socialist world system is a great historical achievement of the entire international working class.

Throughout the post-October period the counter-revolutionary anti-socialist forces have been driven by their anti-Sovietism. This was also the case in our country during the crisis. Our experience is fresh confirmation that anti-Sovietism is the main weapon of bourgeois reaction in the struggle against the unity of the socialist community and the international solidarity of the communist parties.

Our successes in recent years are closely bound up with Czechoslovakia's growing stature in the socialist community, development of cooperation with the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. All of Czechoslovakia's achievements in building socialism are linked with its all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is from these positions that we, Czechoslovak communists, see the struggle for national goals and the struggle for internationalist interests as two inseparable and interrelated sides of the revolutionary process. Aware of its patriotic and internationalist responsibility the CPCz is concentrating on building socialism at home, and this is in the interests of our people, the successful development of socialism, progress and world peace.

Our greatest advances in building socialism have been achieved in the post-April 1969 period. They are the result of strengthening the Leninist character of the CPCz and the fact that the party, heading the working class, consistently fulfills its vanguard role in society, and that Czechoslovakia is a reliable member of the family of socialist nations. We have achieved these successes because we defeated right-wing revisionism and opportunism ideologically and organizationally and consolidated and multiplied the positive results attained in the earlier stage of building socialism.

In speaking of the positive achievements in our development in recent years, we have no intention of detracting from the efforts and dedication of millions of our working people throughout the entire course of building socialism. On the contrary, we should like to stress

that it was precisely this labor enthusiasm that helped lay the foundation of today's successes. They strengthen our faith in socialism, multiply our determination, patriotism and creative abilities and are proof of the Czechoslovak people's dedication to the CPCz, the internationalist cause of the world proletariat and fidelity to the behests of the Great October.

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution there have been radical changes not only in Czechoslovakia, but in other countries as well. We should like to note in particular the profound transformations in the fraternal socialist countries.

Under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist parties the working class in these countries has strengthened its leading role, socialist democracy has developed, ensuring the full measure of human rights and guaranteeing the working people's confidence in society, and the people's well-being and cultural level have greatly improved. Despite the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns organized by world reactionaries, the socialist community is gaining strength, and cooperation among the socialist countries is growing.

Although socialism is a young system its example is becoming ever more convincing and its universal appeal is increasing. Highly relevant today are the words spoken at the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party (1962) by Palmiro Togliatti, that outstanding figure of the international communist and working-class movement, who pointed out that the successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries 'are a guide for the broad masses of working people, offering them new perspectives, instilling a new faith in the possibility of realizing their desire for a better life, freedom and peace.'

In the capitalist countries the balance of forces has shifted in favor of the working class. The document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that in these countries there is a growth in the activities of the working class — the main force in social development, which represents the interests of social progress and overall national interests. The working people's movements have grown in scope and are now more in a position to react quickly and in an organized manner. This growing political struggle is spearheaded against all forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people, it is a struggle for their just demands, a struggle in which a crucial role is played by the communist and workers' parties, who have greatly improved their positions in several countries.

The October Revolution also opened up new perspectives for developing the national-liberation struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies. Dozens of newly independent nations have emerged to

replace former colonies and we are witness today to the great upheavals racking the last remains of the imperialist colonial system. Despite the efforts of imperialist reaction the revolutionary-democratic forces are strengthening their positions in many Asian and African countries, where socialist orientation is making headway and where scientific socialism is gaining popularity and prestige. In these regions of the world communists belong to the more active sections of the national-liberation movement. They are also initiators of movements for socio-economic changes and are consistent fighters for the full economic and political independence of their countries.

The course of history, particularly the events of recent years, is confirmation of the fact that the strength of the communist parties and their ability to be in the vanguard lies first of all in their unity, their unshakable fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the growing solidarity of all elements of the world revolutionary process.

A restructuring of international relations is characteristic of the epoch started by the Great October Socialist Revolution. From the day the first socialist state emerged, an irreversible process was started, reducing the sphere of imperialist diktat and violence in international affairs. As soon as it appeared on the world scene the Soviet state began applying new standards and principles that corresponded to the needs of the working people and the need for peaceful solutions of the world's problems.

The achievements of Soviet foreign policy have been widely acclaimed throughout the world. The change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, the achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in peaceful endeavor, the fact that their common positions have grown stronger, and also the active and coordinated foreign policy of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and the support this policy enjoys among the world's democratic, peace forces — are all factors that have helped promote the success of the Soviet Peace Program. In the course of numerous negotiations in recent years with representatives of capitalist countries, the Soviet leaders, said Leonid Brezhnev, have always aimed at ' ... finding ways of resolving the crucial issue of consolidating the positive changes in world affairs, of asserting the principles in relations between states that we have been working for since the days of October, since the days of Lenin.'

Thanks to their coordination and solidarity in international affairs, thanks to their unity and cohesion, the countries of the socialist community are making a big contribution to the cause of world peace. They are playing a leading role in strengthening the foundations of world peace and security, in furthering the process of disarmament

and developing cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence. This is how the message of Lenin's historical 1917 Decree on Peace is being fulfilled.

With the emergence of the socialist community a qualitatively higher form of international relations began to develop and gain in strength on the world scene, relations based on the principles of Marxist-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Socialist international relations help to strengthen the independence and freedom, deepen the all-round cooperation and ensure the peaceful development of the socialist countries.

The class essence of the socialist states, their socio-political structure and their development goals form the objective basis of mutually advantageous economic integration, exchange of experience and cooperation in all spheres of social life, thus helping a mutual acceleration of progress, the creation of conditions for realization of the true purpose of socialism — to continually improve the people's material and spiritual well-being.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in the spirit of its best traditions, in the spirit of the behests of the Great October, will continue fulfilling its duty both to the working class and all working people of Czechoslovakia, and to the international communist and workers' movement. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as an inalienable part of the socialist community, will continue its efforts together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries to make the ideals of social progress, peoples' freedom and a happy and peaceful life, as inscribed on the banner of the triumphant October, an ever greater influence on the development of society.

An event that changed the face of the world

Luigi Longo, Chairman of the Italian Communist Party, replies to three questions by *WMR*.

Q. Sixty years have elapsed since the October Socialist Revolution. How would you assess that event and the period following it?

A. I should say that any assessment today cannot, of course, differ essentially from that made by millions of working people throughout the world immediately after the victorious consummation of the October Revolution: something unexpected and grandiose that was destined to change the course of history and the very face of the planet had taken place in tsarist Russia.

Old maxims, whose immutability seemed to be unshakable, were upset. The former political equilibrium, whose precariousness led to periodic 'repartitionings of the world' as a result of imperialist wars — in accordance with the logic and interests of international capital — was broken with the establishment of a new power in Russia and the emergence of a social system in opposition to capitalism.

Although socialist ideas, which encountered violent hostility everywhere, served as the mainspring of a broad movement, they had hitherto belonged to the category of Utopias. The October Revolution signified, as Marx foresaw, the conversion of these ideas from a Utopia into a science, their transition to the category of tangible phenomena: socialism had become concrete experience, the 'material' process of the building of a new society. This had happened in Russia, a country that was still largely pre-capitalist and in which, in the view of many people in the West, there was no sign that revolution was imminent.

The difficulties in the way of this process were enormous. They sprang from the size and specific features of the country in which it began and from the total novelty of the experiment, which had no historical 'precedents'. However, the communists of Russia tackled these difficulties with exceptional determination: despite the attempts of the capitalist powers to destroy the young Soviet state it held its ground and ultimately gained the upper hand over all hostile forces.

The service of the Communist Party of Russia, of its leaders and militants was that they waged the victorious struggle courageously and wisely. But this striking result was also due to the just ideals and demands permeating this struggle and accurately mirroring the aspiration of the working people of the whole world for emancipation, freedom, social justice and peace.

Hardly anybody will dispute the fact that these 60 years were characterized mainly by political and social processes which emerged and were intensified as a result of the October Revolution.

A glance at the political map of the world is enough to see an impressive picture of the profound changes deriving directly or indirectly from that great event. The appearance of many socialist states with their intrinsic features, achievements and problems drastically changed the alignment of forces in the world; new realities took shape on the scale of countries and entire continents with the downfall of colonialism and the rapid growth of the liberation movements, in the course of complex and difficult, but unquestionably irreversible processes.

The working-class movement grew in the developed European capitalist societies themselves, in many countries becoming the deci-

sive force capable of defending democratic freedoms and exercising a progressive influence on socio-political reality.

These processes took place as a result of the involvement of the broad masses, as a result of the enlistment of millions upon millions of working people into political and social activity: this fact alone is enough to refute the theories of those who would like to deny the democratic nature of the October Revolution and its national and international impact.

On the other hand, it is doubtful if these processes could even have begun had a victorious revolution not been accomplished 60 years ago and had the state born of that revolution not come forward concretely and constantly in support of the liberation movements in all parts of the world.

This is an objective historical factor. In addition to its important and specific effects in Russia, the October Revolution imbued the working people of the whole world with political and ideological confidence and gave them the impulse to organize and fight, thereby paving the road to new hopes, to the spread of socialist ideas and to the growth of the international working-class and communist movement by, among other things, the recognition that there are possibilities for diverse ways of approaching socialism and new means for achieving socio-political transformations.

To this day this impulse, this dynamic impetus is far from having been exhausted. To this day the October Revolution is not merely a glorious date that should be marked, but also something much more profound: it is a source of experience over which one must constantly meditate and from which new lessons must be drawn.

Q. What is your opinion of the role played by the USSR during these 60 years?

A. It is an incontrovertible fact that within a brief span of time the USSR became a great socialist power, a world force on such a significant scale. This is testimony to the impressive successes that have been achieved in the extremely difficult work of building a new society.

Consequently, the Soviet experience is a historical fact of immense significance, naturally, not only for the international working-class and communist movement but also for the oppressed of the whole world. Those who stubbornly continue to ignore it or try to belittle its significance are closing their eyes to history. As a matter of fact, this experience is still in process: needless to say, new obstacles will have to be surmounted and other problems resolved in the course of the further development of Soviet society. But it is unquestionably capable of achieving perfection, and the potentialities of the peoples of the USSR, their organizations and Communist Party are such that they

can assure the achievement of the aims set in the new Constitution.

Indeed, the new Fundamental Law of the USSR does not simply bring the state system into conformity with the present state of Soviet society (as had been the case in preceding Constitutions), but charts realistic objectives that must be attained in the immediate future on the basis of the new potentialities created in all fields.

After what I have said I feel it is important to underscore what I believe to be an element that most strikingly characterizes the Soviet Union's participation and role in international affairs in the period from the October Revolution to our day: the USSR is a great force of peace. It is indicative that the first act of the Soviet government in 1917 was the Decree on Peace, the appeal for an end to the war of extermination. The principles underlying that decree have guided Soviet foreign policy throughout these 60 years. An extremely significant fact is that the new Constitution solemnly and responsibly reaffirms these principles: 'The USSR,' Article 28 of the Constitution declares, 'shall unswervingly pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international cooperation.' In Article 29, it is stated: 'The relations of the USSR with other states shall be based on the observance of the principle of sovereign equality and of the principles of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, cooperation between states, and scrupulous fulfillment of commitments arising from universally recognized principles and norms of international law, and the international treaties signed by the USSR.'

Along with the other, key provision concerning the Soviet state's commitments to strengthen the positions of world socialism, support the liberation struggle of peoples and take action to prevent wars of aggression, these provisions most solemnly assert the Soviet Union's spirit of and will for peace.

Q. At the present phase of international relations how do you assess the Soviet Union's proposals and policy on détente and disarmament?

A. I spoke of and singled out some articles of the new Soviet Constitution not only to show their link with the principles proclaimed by the first Soviet government immediately after the October Revolution but also to re-emphasize their topical significance. In the most reactionary circles in the West today there are dangerous trends pursuing the aim of returning the world to the situation obtaining in the 1950s, to cold war times. Attempts are being made to hinder or restrict détente, and difficulties are created in the talks on relaxing the

arms race and on disarmament. The U.S. decision to begin the manufacture of the neutron bomb, which leaves 'things' unharmed and kills people in accordance with a logic entirely consonant with the spirit of imperialism, and its cynical attachment to material goods and disdain for human life, is not only a blow to détente and disarmament but also a terrible threat to humankind.

I therefore believe that for our entire planet it is vital that a great power like the USSR perseveringly strives for peace and cooperation among nations. As a matter of fact, this is the field in which broad common action involving the forces of democracy and peace of all continents can and must be started.

Inspiring force of example

Franz Muhri
Chairman, CP of Austria

PRESENT-DAY SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

Six decades ago a salvo from the cruiser Aurora told the world that a new epoch, the era of socialism, had commenced. Lenin characterized it as follows: 'The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 392).

The Great October Socialist Revolution more than "shook the world,' to quote John Reed. It triggered the historical process of putting the ideas of socialism and communism into practice, the process of transforming scientific theory into reality.

Nearly 20 of the past 60 years were spent on defeating the imperialist intervention and the counter-revolutionary whiteguard armies, on the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War to repulse the rapacious attack by Hitler fascism, and on restoring the unparalleled losses inflicted by these two wars. This multiplies the value of the colossal successes and progress achieved by the Soviet people in all fields of industry, technology, agriculture and culture, the overall improvement of the nation's living and cultural standard, and the far-reaching social transformations carried out in the USSR.

These successes and progress and the Soviet Union's steadily

growing influence in the world are today acknowledged by the enemies of socialism themselves. However, the anti-communist forces, using the modern mass media to manipulate public opinion, continue to misrepresent Soviet reality and the Soviet Union's foreign policy. But, as in the past, the facts will ultimately prove to be stronger than the anti-communist lies.

Today it would be useful to recall the countless prophecies made by enemies of the Land of Soviets and by people posing as its 'well-wishing friends.' It was alleged, for instance, that workers and peasants, many of whom were illiterate in those faraway days, would never be able to administer the state or understand its intricate economic mechanism, much less manage it.

Forecasts of this kind were made during the early years of the socialist state's existence and much later. In a work published in 1919 and then translated into the German, Gowronsky, a Russian Menshevik leader, lamented that factories were placed 'under the surveillance of factory committees' and the 'entrepreneur was placed by a group of workers. In this situation,' he asserted, 'the bankruptcy of the state is inevitable.' (*Die Balanz des russischen Bolschewismus.* Berlin, Verlag Paul Cassierer, 1919, p. 68). Wishing to be regarded as a left Social Democrat, Otto Bauer gave his dismal prophecy the form of 'theoretical' arguments. The Bolsheviks, he wrote, 'have drawn the proletariat into experiments that can only end in the defeat of the proletariat.' He agreed with the Bolsheviks that 'these steps were inescapable,' but forecast that 'they will inevitably fail' (*Der Kampf,* Vienna, 1918, pp. 145-146).

When Lenin proclaimed the New Economic Policy in order to breach the blockade organized by international capitalism and take the first steps to build up the economy, and when later the first five-year plan of building the socialist economy was drawn up, the Western bourgeois prophets raised a clamor, which was joined by the right-wing social democrats. 'It cannot be fulfilled,' they shouted.

When the nazi forces attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 the early defeat of the Soviet Union was predicted not only by the fascist leaders but also by nearly all the anti-communist prophets in the West.

These are only isolated examples. Today it would be quite useful to publish all these prophecies and compare them with reality.

Anti-Sovietism is as old as the socialist Soviet state. During the years that have passed since the founding of the Land of Soviets, every more or less important social movement has been fought by the reactionaries with the use of anti-Sovietism, of base lies and slander against the Soviet state. The imperialists have never started a war in any part of the world without a preliminary campaign of lies and

slander, without juggling facts and without whipping up distrust of the Soviet state. The most virulent war criminals and stranglers of freedom sought to justify their bloody crimes under the banner of anti-communism. A new reminder of this was the fascist putsch in Chile.

In our country the same banner was used in 1934 to destroy democracy and establish the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg dictatorship, and then in 1938 to install the bloody nazi regime. Austria was wiped off the map as an independent nation. War, death and appalling poverty befell our people.

That is why it is so important today to recall the impact of the October Revolution on the development of world history, in particular on Austria, what the socialist Soviet Union has done for our working class, for our country and people, and what it means to us.

The overthrow of the tyrannical Hapsburg monarchy in Austria in November 1918 would have been inconceivable without the revolution in Russia. Also, it would have been impossible to win the considerable social gains that were won during the first years of the young Austrian republic. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a beacon for the working-class movement in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It gave that movement a powerful impetus.

The mood of the masses in that period is shown by the resolution that was adopted with eager enthusiasm at a mass rally of solidarity in Vienna. This resolution, published on November 12, 1917, in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, states: 'In this hour, when the workers and soldiers of Petrograd have deprived the treacherous bourgeoisie of power, swept away the government and on behalf of the Russian people offered to conclude peace without annexations and indemnities with all countries, the workers of Vienna send their fraternal greetings to the workers of Petrograd. We welcome the victory of the Petrograd workers as the beginning of a new epoch in the liberation struggle of the international proletariat. The proletariat's will for peace triumphed in Petrograd, and this inspires us with the hope that by united effort the workers of all countries will finally put an end to the fratricidal war. We pledge to fight tirelessly and fearlessly in our country to terminate the war by the earliest possible conclusion of a democratic peace, which is consistent with the vital interests of all the peoples.'

Small wonder that the ruling, exploiting class in Austria was mortally frightened. Pressured by the mounting class struggle and mass movement and fearing that the Austrian working class would 'begin to speak Russian,' in other words, that it would accomplish a socialist revolution, the Austrian bourgeoisie had to make concessions. The working people won a number of democratic rights and freedoms, including the right to elect their representatives to the production

councils at factories, an eight-hour working day, insurance in the event of illness, and some other social and political reforms.

Throughout the entire 60 years of its existence, development and consolidation the Soviet Union has beneficially influenced Austria and the struggle of the working people in our country, contributing to the cause of peace, democracy, independence and social progress.

The Soviet Union was the only European country to denounce Hitler's seizure of Austria as an act of brutal violence. The USSR demanded the restoration of a free, independent and sovereign Austria with determination and perseverance. Led by the Communist Party, the peoples of the Soviet Union were not daunted by colossal sacrifices and fought the nazi aggressors heroically, thereby making the decisive contribution to the liberation of Europe, including our country, from nazi oppression.

After the Second World War the Soviet Union disrupted the Western plan of turning Austria into an 'Alpine fortress,' into an outpost against the socialist countries. The world's first socialist country thereby paved the way for the 1955 agreement among the great powers in the signing of the State Treaty.

Fulfillment of the provisions of that treaty, which envisaged the withdrawal of all foreign troops of occupation from Austria, was made conditional on the voluntary proclamation of the country's perpetual neutrality by the Austrian federal government. Austria's ruling circles agreed to do this only after they saw that the Soviet Union's consistent policy had doomed the plans of the Western allies to draw Austria into their system of military pacts.

Since then political, economic and cultural relations have been developing successfully between Austria and the Soviet Union. In many ways these relations are an example proving the feasibility and mutual benefit of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

It will be recalled that during the economic crisis Austria's economic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, based on equality, non-interference and mutual benefit, helped to save more than 150,000 jobs in 1975. Had it not been for these economic relations, there would have been mass unemployment in Austria.

The whole world, including our people, is grateful to the Soviet Union and its persistent policy of peace for the fact that the cold war has given way to détente and peace, which are consonant with the will of nations. Also vital to the Austrian people is the fact that détente has become a reality and that, as a result of concrete steps, it is creating the foundation for disarmament. The Soviet Union, ever consistent in

its policy of peace, is a dependable bulwark of all the peace forces in the world.

What has been achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, inspired by the tested teaching of Marxism-Leninism, has had a revolutionizing influence on the working people of all countries, on the peoples of all continents. This impact is steadily growing stronger and deeper. World capitalism, on the other hand, is in the grip of a severe crisis with its mass unemployment, uncertainty and capitalist profit system that holds no prospects for the future.

In *'Left-Wing' Communism — an Infantile Disorder* Lenin wrote that from the angle of the October Revolution's impact on all countries 'not merely several but all the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international significance' (Vol. 31, p. 21). This impact does not spring from 'export of revolution,' as is alleged by anti-communist propaganda. Its mainspring is the force of example, the successes and progress in the building of a new social system, which is increasingly and convincingly proving in practice the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

This superiority is strikingly reflected in the new Constitution of the USSR, which ensures fundamental democratic rights and freedoms unknown in the most highly developed capitalist countries. All citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, regardless of origin, social and property status, nationality or race, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, and type or character of occupation. Soviet people are guaranteed the right to work, rest and leisure, health protection, material security in old age, low-rent housing, education, access to cultural achievements, and participation in the administration of state and social affairs.

Thus, the new Soviet Constitution, which grants Soviet citizens the entire spectrum of socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms, convincingly bears out the conclusion that there is unbreakable unity between democracy and socialism, which Leonid Brezhnev formulated in the following words in the CC report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU: ' . . . genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, and . . . socialism is impossible without a steady development of democracy.'

The moulding of the new man is the greatest achievement of the October Revolution, of socialist and communist construction. Selfishness and the drive for profits are being replaced by service in the interests of society, by a close bond between social and personal interests. The development of a new attitude to work has become a major element. Instead of the oppressed, exploited and frequently politically apathetic individual, there is now a politically active work-

er, a free and conscious builder who champions society's interests. National strife and racist prejudices, so familiar to the peoples of tsarist Russia, have given way to the flourishing of nationalities, genuine friendship among peoples and Soviet patriotism, whose essence lies not in the Soviet citizen's national seclusion but in the development of his internationalist consciousness and peaceableness. Leonid Brezhnev had every reason to state in the CC report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU: ' ... there is the Soviet man, the most important product of the past 60 years. A man who, having won his freedom, has been able to defend it in the most trying battles. A man who has been building the future unsparing of his energy and making every sacrifice. A man who, having gone through all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, combining ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. This is a man who, while an ardent patriot, has been and will always remain a consistent internationalist.'

As we know, the shaping of this new man is a complex and difficult process. The CPSU does not consider that this process has been completed. Many major problems remain to be resolved. Lenin noted repeatedly that traditions and habits formed over many centuries of exploitation are extremely tenacious. Nevertheless, the fact that today the Soviet Union is accomplishing the transition from developed socialism to communist society is due largely to the formation of a new consciousness, of a new moral code.

Man, the masses are the actual creators of the new, socialist and communist system. This was reaffirmed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Profound social transformations are accompanied by the development of man, by his conversion into a free and conscious personality. The party is the vanguard and decisive force of these transformations, and it can fulfill this function only if it has the closest bonds with the masses. The moulding of the new man is the cardinal feature of Soviet society that proved socialism's superiority over capitalism.

Needless to say, the 'force of example' of the USSR does not act automatically, not of its own accord, but through the ideological struggle waged by the communists parties, by the revolutionary and progressive forces against anti-communist propaganda. We regard unremitting struggle against all varieties of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and the dissemination of the truth about the Soviet Union as part and parcel of our struggle against the state-monopoly system of extracting profits, a struggle whose aim is to build a socialist society in Austria.

Lenin stressed that there was yet another aspect to the international significance of the October Revolution. He wrote: '... in the

narrowest sense of the word, taking international significance to mean the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country,' ... it 'must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance.'

And he added: 'It would, of course, be grossly erroneous to exaggerate this truth and to extend it beyond certain fundamental features of our revolution.' (Vol. 31, p. 21). It means therefore that the example set by the October Revolution and the further development of its principles cannot be blindly copied. The point is that its experience is used, allowing for the conditions obtaining in each country. This was always stressed by Lenin. It was also stressed by the communist parties at all their international conferences, and not long ago at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Berlin.

We believe that the universal laws springing from the experience of the October Revolution are: socialization of the principal means of production; abolition of exploitation of man by man; leading role of the working class and its alliance with all the other working strata; need for revolutionary Marxist-Leninist guidance of the working class; creation of a new durable state power of the working class to ensure the building of a socialist economy, carrying out profound transformations in culture, safeguarding socialism against attempts at undermining it by the deposed exploiting classes from within and by international monopoly capital from without, and assuring the broadest democracy and freedom for the working people.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism call this new state power the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party of Austria maintains the view that the diversity of the ways of transition to socialism in accordance with the different conditions in each individual country increases, but the essence of the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, as it was understood by Marx Engels and Lenin, remains the same for all socialist revolutions, regardless of whether one party or another accepts this term or not. The politico-ideological theses approved by the 22nd Congress of the CPA state: 'The aim of the CPA is to achieve socialism, to establish the power of the workers, which shall perform the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the purpose of abolishing the dictatorship of capital in all its manifestations and implementing the broadest democracy for the working class. This, the establishment of the power of the workers, is the only way it is historically possible to create a classless society.'

In *'Left-Wing' Communism — an Infantile Disorder* Lenin made it plain that the communists had to establish a link between the general, principal features of the socialist revolution with specific national

features. He wrote: 'As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries — and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a worldwide scale — the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . ., which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars,* correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions' (Vol. 31, p. 92). In this context he noted that revolutionary parties had to take into account 'that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task' (ibid.), namely, the abolition of the power of the bourgeoisie and the building of the new, socialist society. In this lies the universal significance of the experience of the October Revolution.

In the CPA's politico-ideological theses we declared that Austria's road to socialism differs in many respects from the road of the October Revolution, for the conditions, the economic and political structure and the traditions in our country are entirely different. New possibilities and forms of transition to socialism emerge largely because the alignment of forces in the world has changed substantially in favor of socialism, democracy and peace since the October Revolution. In keeping with the internal and external conditions of our country, we believe that it is possible and expedient to achieve anti-monopoly democracy long before working-class power is established. The road to socialism in Austria, as the CPA's politico-ideological theses point out, will be determined, among other factors, by the existence of a highly developed industry and agriculture, a strong public sector and developed forms of cooperatives; by the opportunities that the industrial and agricultural monopoly enterprises offer for the struggle of the working class; by the possibility of transition to socialism in the form of a multi-party system which, due to the orientation on socialism and to the leading role of the working class, will differ radically from Austria's present three-party system.

It is our belief that there is no single model of socialism. As the CPA sees it, the attempts to propagate a single model for industrialized capitalist countries under the slogan of 'Eurocommunism' come into conflict with the principle of the autonomy of each party which, among other things, states that each party creatively applies the general laws of socialism, which can only be realized in national form with account of the national features of each country. Even if the developed capitalist countries have some features in common, the

considerable national distinctions between them must be taken into account.

Ever since the October Revolution solidarity, friendship and close links with the first socialist state and the party of Lenin have been the paramount component of proletarian internationalism. As they have always done, the enemies of socialism continue to depict our party's internationalist bond with the Soviet Union and the CPSU as tantamount to a retreat from our party's national character and independence, as subordination to 'Moscow's claim to the leading role,' a claim that has in fact never been made. Actually, there is no contradiction whatever between our class autonomy and the Austrian character of our party, on the one hand, and our internationalist solidarity with the Soviet Union, the CPSU, other socialist countries and all the forces of socialism, democracy and peace in the world, on the other. The anti-communist dogmatists neither can nor will understand this.

The CPSU has repeatedly noted that there is no leading center in the communist movement, that the relations between communist parties are founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Indeed, all parties, big and small, are equal. However, the objective fact is that the Soviet Union, as the largest and most powerful socialist country, and the CPSU, as its leading force, bear a special responsibility and are making the greatest internationalist contribution to the cause of socialism, to the national liberation of peoples, to democracy and peace. As an autonomous party the CPA maintains that the entire 60-year period since the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution proves that the solidarity and friendship with the Soviet Union championed by us are entirely consistent with the national interests of the Austrian people.

Crucial stage in the peoples' liberation struggle

WMR correspondents have asked some prominent statesmen and public figures in Asia, Africa and Latin America to answer the question: 'What significance do you consider the October Revolution and the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union have for the national-liberation movement in general and your country in particular?' The answers published here come from communists, revolutionary democrats, and other participants in the anti-imperialist struggle, including people who do not share or do not entirely share the world view of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. The answers differ accordingly, but there is a common thread of agreement in assessing the most important aspects of October as a turning point in history, and particularly the history of the national-liberation movement.

Dr. Phung Van Cung
Presidium Member, Vietnam Fatherland Front, Presidium Member, Vietnam Committee for Peace and Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa

The Great October Socialist Revolution showed all humankind the way to liberation. Its victory prepared the ground for the merging of three movements that developed in subsequent years into the three mighty revolutionary streams of our epoch: inspired work to build socialism and communism in the socialist countries; the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and the struggle of the working class, the broad masses of the working people and other democratic sections of the population of the capitalist countries for peace, democracy and social progress. We are celebrating October in an epoch when the socialist system has become the decisive factor of social development, the citadel of revolution and the bastion of universal peace.

The influence of the October Revolution in shaping the destiny of Vietnam manifested itself in the activity of its Communist Party founded by our beloved President Ho Chi Minh. In the long and arduous struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh

our people always associated patriotism with proletarian internationalism. After victory we set about uniting the country and gave it a new name — the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. And our working class, the socialist people of Vietnam recall with enormous gratitude all that they owe to the great Lenin and the October Revolution. In its turn, the united socialist Vietnam will build up militant solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the peoples of the whole world in the common struggle for the triumph of the noble ideals of our epoch: peace, national independence and socialism.

As we all know, every success of the revolutionary movement comes as a result of intense and resolute struggle against the treacherous policy and stratagems of imperialism. Imperialism will never yield voluntarily to the national-liberation movement. Only energetic and enterprising action by the peoples of the oppressed countries can engender the new forces and conditions that will compel our common enemy to acknowledge their legitimate rights.

Imperialism's schemes and conspiracies designed to destabilize the countries of the Middle East and Africa have been shown up for what they are during the recent stirring events in these regions. Interference in internal affairs, divisive and other subversive actions, including even political killings — the imperialists stop at nothing to weaken the progressive forces.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America the confrontation with imperialism, along with the national contradictions, which in themselves run very deep, are accompanied by growing class contradictions. This also tends to aggravate the situation.

All this provides irrefutable evidence of the need to further strengthen the great unity of the three revolutionary streams, to build up solidarity and mutual assistance of the peoples still under the yoke of imperialism with all the progressive forces fighting for peace, freedom, democracy and social progress. It highlights once again the special importance that the solidarity and support of the socialist countries have in making these peoples' struggle successful.

Dr. D.R. Regmi
President, Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Nepal

The October Revolution has had a tremendous influence in moulding the destinies of Asia and Africa. Having gained political independence, the peoples of these continents have set out to eliminate inequality, the domination of feudal lords and landowners, to launch industrialization and to raise the cultural level of the masses. All these aspirations come to them from the October Revolution.

It so happened that the October Revolution made its initial impact on the intellectuals of our countries. I myself entered politics under

the banner of Mahatma Gandhi. But at the same time I was much influenced by Lenin, from whom I learned the dialectical approach to reality. So, although I am not a Marxist-Leninist, I can say that I have been profoundly influenced by Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and Gandhi travelled different paths — as I see it, different situations demand different methods of struggle — but both these great men strove to create a new social order, a new society. Gandhi never came to power and, unfortunately, his ideas were not realized, in their true form, by his followers. Lenin's ideas have been realized in the Soviet Union, a great power. Its main achievements — the creation of a new society and new type of person — have roused a wide response in all parts of the world, including my country, Nepal.

The cardinal problem that the countries of Asia and Africa, including Nepal, are trying to solve today is that of developing their economies. In this they are receiving consistent, effective and disinterested help from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We hope that Nepal-Soviet collaboration will grow in strength and scope notwithstanding the difference in their social systems.

The Soviet Union's policy of détente also creates favorable conditions for development of the Asian and African countries. Of particular importance was the meeting in Helsinki, where two ideologically different Europes came together at the conference table. We believe that Helsinki was only the beginning, that there are new 'Helsinkis' to come — in Asia and Africa, where the most diverse countries, including those that are today divided by conflicts, will also meet at one table. The peoples of Asia and Africa need peace for their development and we are convinced that it would be an illusion to imagine that world war could benefit anyone. Such a war would destroy all that has been achieved by civilization.

I know how much the Soviet Union suffered in the war. It is not surprising that this country is more aware of the need for peace than any other. We fully agree that to strengthen peace political détente must be supplemented by military détente. The arms race must be stopped.

Yasser Abed Rabbo
Executive Committee Member, Palestine Liberation Organization,
PB Member, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

There is no doubt in our minds that all the achievements of the national-liberation movements over the past 60 years are directly connected with the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

— with the growth of the economic, political and military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries;

— with the increased ideological influence of the Soviet Union and

other socialist countries on the processes of world development;

— with the peace policy that the Soviet Union, the country of the October Revolution, has conducted from the first day of its existence.

And finally, with the change in the balance of world forces in favor of the socialist countries and the working class.

For this reason socialist ideas are today spreading round the globe more rapidly than even before. The national-liberation movements are taking a deeper course and adopting more radical positions, up to and including revolutionary democracy. The number of people in their ranks who are approaching the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is increasing.

Not infrequently one hears talk about a so-called third path, an intermediate path of development between capitalism and socialism, or about the socialist countries, the Soviet Union having 'abandoned' national-liberation goals. But the growing pressure of facts reveals how false and groundless these 'ideas' and assertions are. Indeed, the most influential liberation movements have no time for them at all.

To the fighters for freedom it is becoming increasingly clear that there are some people who export big-sounding slogans without doing anything specific for the liberation movements, while there are others who take into account the actual condition in which the liberation movements operate and give them effective and unconditional assistance for the achievement of their aims — the liberation of their countries and adopting the path of social progress. This is the noble role performed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And this is a continuation of the policy pursued since the first days of the October Revolution. This is creative application of Lenin's ideas, of the ideas and decisions approved by the CPSU, particularly at its 25th Congress.

The advocates of extremist, leftist, anarchistic trends in the international sphere, who would like to undermine relations between the Soviet Union and the national-liberation movements, are getting nowhere. In fact, the anti-imperialist camp's growth potential has never been so great as it is today. In Africa and Asia imperialism is in a state of severe crisis. And there is no other way for the peoples of these continents to realize their aspirations than to take the socialist road.

For many years there have been unceasing attempts to provoke a split between us Palestinians and the other Arab peoples, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the other. These attempts are aimed at weakening our national struggle. And when in our countries we defend solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries we do so not only because we are defending the principles of proletarian internationalism, the principles

of unity between the national-liberation movements and the socialist countries. In doing so we are defending our own national interests.

For us the question is this: either to be isolated in our struggle with imperialism and Zionism, or to be in the international camp of anti-imperialist struggle in order to ensure a national, democratic and socialist future for our peoples. So in our struggle against the rightist trends in the Arab ranks — and it seems that these trends have currently gained considerable strength — we must do all we can to assert solidarity with the Soviet Union.

We see the illusions spun by the right in the Arab world bursting like soap bubbles. The rightists maintained that they would receive arms from the capitalist world to combat the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands. Now they admit that they have received nothing and we know that they will receive nothing in future. They also peddled the idea that the capitalist monopolies would help in the economic development of their countries. Now they admit that not a single factory has been set up here with the help of the international monopolies and banks of the capitalist world. On the contrary, imperialism's economic 'aid,' which is used for non-productive purposes, has led to inflation and higher prices, to the further impoverishment of the masses. And the masses themselves see how different these 'achievements' are from Aswan and Helwan, from everything that has been made and built in the Arab countries thanks to solidarity, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. These are living examples for the masses. And they will inevitably play their role not only in the ideological but also in the political struggle between the two trends, the trend that seeks to undermine the peoples' economic and social gains and the trend that opposes imperialism, and favors economic and social progress.

Omar Mukhtar Do
Department Head, General Secretariat, Supreme People's Congress
of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

We cherish the October Revolution as a revolution of liberation. It has made a huge contribution to the development of the national-liberation movement throughout the world and, at the same time, was itself the result of the historic struggle of peoples, of vast preceding experience. We Arab Moslems see many points of similarity between the Revolution of September 1, 1969, in Libya and the October Revolution in Russia: both pursued the aim of delivering man from bondage, tyranny and oppression, and establishing peace. This has paved the way for cooperation between the two revolutions, and allows them to act in unity.

When we evaluate what the October Revolution means to us we look back to the history of the Arab nation and recall that in critical situations the Soviet Union was on our side and supported Gamel Abdel Nasser, helping him with, among other things, armaments, with the result that the Western monopoly in this area was broken and the Arabs were equipped for a liberation struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. To forget this would be utter ingratitude.

Our country, too, the country of the Revolution of September 1, is aware that the peoples of the Soviet Union are on our side, that their stance is permeated with the spirit of struggle and liberation. We look forward to a further strengthening of unity in the struggle for liberation.

In Libya today we are conducting an experiment, putting into effect our 'third world theory.'* So far we have only put its first part into practice, in other words, we have resolved the question of the political system and created the organizational structure of rule by the people. We see that the Soviet Union respects this approach and we highly appreciate its attitude.

Our experiment is not confined to organization. We are waging a struggle for socialism and are adhering to the socialist view. If a person is not the master of his destiny, of the sources of his strength, his potential, he is not free, whatever may be said to the contrary. It is only under the socialist system that a person is the master of his potential and of the sources of his wealth. It is only the socialist road that restores freedom and dignity to man.

Of course, we have our ideas of how socialism can be embodied in Libya. It is our belief that socialism — and also communism — presuppose that their practical realization must be consistent with the conditions obtaining in each country. But this does not mean that we are beginning from scratch. We are drawing upon the experience of the October Revolution. In carrying out our experiment, we treat the experience of others with respect and try as far as possible to utilize the Soviet experience of building socialism.

Free economic, political, social, cultural, scientific and military cooperation, based on mutual respect, is a source of knowledge. The peoples must use each other's expertise. The Soviet Union has achieved a high level of development in the most diverse spheres. This and the Soviet Union's policy of supporting the liberation movements create the conditions enabling the Arab peoples, the peoples of Africa and all the forces of liberation to utilize the Soviet experience, while enabling the Soviet Union for its part to take the experience of other, including the Arab, peoples into account. This

*The name by which the theory of 'direct rule by the people,' proclaimed by Moamar Quaddafi, is known in Libya. — *Ed.*

ensures a unity of effort that is making it possible to defeat world imperialism and colonialism.

Mohammed Rezzag
Executive Editor of *Al-Moudjahid,* central organ of the National-Liberation Front, Algeria

When the October Revolution triumphed, sweeping away a reactionary system and creating the world's first socialist state, the entire African continent and most of Asia were languishing in colonial bondage. The October Revolution brought a ray of hope to the oppressed peoples. They realized that a close link had to be established between the national-liberation movement and the country that had begun to build socialism. Today, 60 years after the October Revolution, the overwhelming majority of the African peoples have won independence, and colonialism has been driven out of almost the whole of Asia. This is the result of the colossal battles fought by the peoples for liberation. In these battles the freedom fighters felt the unfailing support of the homeland of the October Revolution.

This applies to the Algerian revolution as well. When it commenced in November 1954, the October Revolution, to put it metaphorically, immediately took its side. Firm relations of joint struggle against colonialism were moulded between our peoples. These were not transient relations brought to life only temporarily by the current situation. They had a strategic significance and were therefore durable and consistent. The Algerian revolution won through the self-sacrifice of our people and the assistance extended to us by friendly and fraternal countries, notably the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the Soviet Union's experience of building socialism is strongly influencing all countries striving to create a socialist system. Algeria, which is advancing rapidly and confidently along the road of socialist transformations, is no exception.

The Algerian revolution has, of course, accumulated experience of its own, which takes the actual conditions of the life of our people and their cultural and intellectual traditions into account. But this does not mean that the Algerian revolution is developing in isolation, as it were. Every genuine revolution is influenced from without and, at the same time, influences other revolutions. Algeria makes wide use of the experience of the October Revolution in both theory and practice.

As regards the relations between the Soviet Union and Algeria, we can say that they are better than excellent. These are durable relations governed by a series of agreements and maintained through constant contacts at all levels: party, government and public organizations. I should like to make special mention of the all-round assis-

tance that we received from the Soviet specialists working in Algeria, and also the broad cooperation in the field of education.

Manuel Duarte
Chairman, Supreme Court, Republic of the Cape Verde Islands

The significance of the October Revolution for the national-liberation movement has manifested itself in many aspects. The main aspect is, of course, that the world situation has changed fundamentally in favor of the forces of social progress and national liberation. But I should like to stress the impact of the October Revolution on the moulding, training and ideological and political maturing of those who subsequently became leaders of the national-liberation movements.

The epoch-making victory of the October Revolution and the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union fostered a new way of thinking among forward-looking representatives of peoples oppressed by colonialism. The fact that Lenin evolved the first-ever anti-imperialist, anti-colonial concept scientifically and in detail was of supreme importance. This concept became part and parcel of Leninism. Understanding of this concept opened the road to a decisive historic change in the areas ruled by 'classical' colonialism (as distinct from present neo-colonialism).

The future leaders of the national-liberation movements, including the founders of our party, the African Party of the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) headed by the immortal Amilcar Cabral, were powerfully influenced by these ideas. Of course, the Leninist method of social, economic and political analysis was used by these leaders on the basis of a concrete study of the specific conditions obtaining in each country. Cabral repeatedly made the point that without this preliminary study of the conditions actually obtaining in our countries — Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands — it would be impossible to begin a successful struggle for liberation. He also noted that no responsible political leader of our continent faced with the problems generated by underdevelopment and foreign domination could afford to ignore the scientific truths revealed by Lenin.

The experience of the October Revolution, particularly the experience of promoting the development of the eastern republics of the Soviet Union, of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, is of immense importance to the countries that have won liberation from colonial suzerainty. Socially and economically, these tsarist-oppressed regions were similar to the colonial countries in Africa and other continents. For that reason, by studying their experience of surmounting backwardness we can use the lessons of the October Revolution effec-

tively and concretely in both the social and economic spheres and thereby bring nearer the solution of our own problems.

One must, of course, mention the considerable political, material, moral and military assistance extended to us by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries during the years of the war of liberation. We regard the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as our friends. And we hope that our cooperation will continue to develop and broaden in all fields.

Laurent Radaody
PB Member, Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA)

It is well known that reactionaries of all hues always allege that Third World countries that opt for the socialist road of development are importing foreign ideas. When in 1975 Madagascar made the socialist choice we were asked: 'What sort of socialism do you intent to build?' It will be recalled that it was the fashion in certain quarters, particularly in the 1960s, to speak of, for example, 'African socialism' or 'national socialism,' in other words, of socialism of a given country.

But for us there is only one socialism. It is by no means an 'imported ideology.' On the contrary, the only ideology hitherto brought into Third World countries, including Madagascar and other African countries, has been the capitalist ideology in its most reactionary form, i.e., imperialist. It is the capitalist doctrine and the capitalist social system that are entirely alien to our countries.

Rational and scientific reasoning has given us the only effective way to fight capitalism — that imported ideology and system. This way implies, first, the use of the weapon of scientific analysis of capitalist society made by Marx and Engels; second, the application of Lenin's scientific conclusions not only in theory but with an eye to the practical experience that has been accumulated in the course of 60 years; third, the utilization of this practical experience of the world's first socialist country brought into being by the October Revolution that was headed by Lenin.

All this enabled us to fight the manifestations and consequences of capitalism in our country. We chose our road on the basis of these considerations. We are convinced that one cannot speak of a thousand roads to socialism. It is therefore senseless to start all over again, to go through what the socialist countries have already been through. But for this one must make a thorough study of their experience, with its achievements and mistakes.

Of course, in our analysis we based ourselves on the conditions actually obtaining in our country, on the specific features of its history. We came to the conclusion that the laws of socialism, like the laws of the struggle for socialism, are universal. As long as there are

classes, class relations, capitalist economic relations — we did not invent them — they must be fought. For that reason in Madagascar we endeavored to make a scientific analysis with the purpose of determining social classes in accordance with their position in production and their interests in society. And we applied this analysis to the specific realities of our country.

Further, we made maximum use of the Soviet people's experience of building the world's first socialist state. A key component of this experience is the application of Lenin's teaching on the building of the vanguard revolutionary party that must lead any revolution. We are gratified that one of the underlying principles of our party (AREMA), the principle of democratic centralism, is recorded in the Charter of the Socialist Revolution of Madagascar.

We are doing everything to promote class consciousness among the working masses in order to achieve the ultimate objective of the class struggle — the eradication of exploitation and the abolition of the exploiting classes.

The principal aim of the phase of the struggle for national and social liberation which we have now entered is to achieve economic independence and restore the national wealth to the people. We are aware that economic independence must be attained chiefly by our own efforts, by restructuring the entire economy, by making the most of our own resources. Neither the legacy of colonialism and imperialism nor the international situation permit autarchy, a life in isolation. There are quite definite technological and financial requirements that demand cooperation with the more developed nations. However, our fundamental principle is that assistance should augment and not replace our own efforts.

In this cooperation we give priority to relations with socialist countries. It will be borne in mind that these countries have never colonized other peoples. They are countries that have asserted new moral principles in international relations. And this is the guarantee that our relations are fair and mutually beneficial. Moreover, these countries have been through the struggle we are now waging. They have known the same phases of that struggle, and they can therefore understand us better and help us more effectively.

Ali Lankoande
Member, National Politbureau, National-Liberation Movement, former minister, Upper Volta

The Great October Socialist Revolution is a model for the national-liberation movement in Africa, a model of what may be achieved if, of course, we take into account specific objective and subjective conditions.

The national-liberation movement in Africa is young. It must analyze the successful (or unsuccessful) experience that has been accumulated and it is in need of multiform support.

The October Revolution was accomplished 60 years ago. These 60 years have witnessed major political, social, economic and technical achievements. Of course, there were also mistakes (as in any other creative activity). This entire experience is extremely valuable to Africa.

Moreover, the 60 years of the October Revolution have been years of ideological, material and military support for liberation movements in all latitudes, particularly in Africa. This has obviously played a big part in the development and successes of these movements.

In Africa today the concept 'national-liberation movement' means, in my view, not only an organization engaged in full-scale armed struggle but also an organization which, in an independent country, fights frequently under extremely difficult conditions against agents of the international financial oligarchy, against accomplices of neo-colonialism who seek to make the state apparatus serve the foreign monopolies and prepare the ground for new colonization. Whatever their type, all these national-liberation movements need the solidarity of the socialist countries.

For the young African states that have embarked upon independent development, the socio-economic transformations carried out in the Soviet Union are tangible proof giving the lie to the inventions of the detractors of socialism. These transformations are a model for our peoples. They show socialism's ability to satisfy the basic requirements of the largest number of citizens of a given country within a reasonable time. We believe that the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries will help the young African states to achieve results that will likewise serve as further proof of this ability.

Dr. Kasuka Matukwa
Head of the Department of Political and Administrative Studies
at the University of Zambia

It is usual to celebrate an anniversary, but the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution of the Soviet people is not an ordinary event. It is a milestone of world history. More, it is a turning point in the development of the world revolutionary process.

The ideals of the October Revolution are ideals for which millions of people have given their lives and more thousands will sacrifice themselves so that coming generations may breathe the air of hope under conditions of peace and security, under conditions free of slavery and devastating, unjust wars, without experiencing oppres-

sion and repression. The October Revolution sparked off other revolutions in oppressed countries and took these countries under its protection. It spells an end to imperialism, capitalism, colonialism and the other 'isms' of exploitation and reaction.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is inseparably linked with the national-liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In many respects its success continues to inspire disinherited peoples. Our President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda said: 'As the Soviet people celebrate the 60th anniversary of the revolution, we congratulate them on their achievements. We wish them happiness and further successes in building socialism, a socialism deeply rooted in the Marxist-Leninist principles of freedom, justice and support for all the oppressed peoples of the world.'

We, too, have received invaluable assistance from the Soviet Union during our liberation struggle headed by the United National Independence Party.

First, the firm revolutionary, anti-imperialist stand, which the Soviet Union has always maintained at important international forums, including the UN, has helped our liberation struggle, weakening and demoralizing our enemy.

Second, our party has received material assistance, including assistance in the training of cadres, from the Soviet Union. We publicly express our gratitude for that assistance.

The ideals and traditions bequeathed by the October Revolution conform entirely to the present situation in the south of Africa as well. The forces of liberation of that region are more determined than ever to abolish the last remnants of colonial rule and put an end to the intrigues of the imperialists. These forces have every reason to learn from the experience and example of the Great October Socialist Revolution. As a 'front-line state,' which supports the fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the RSA, Zambia is grateful to the Soviet Union for its huge assistance to the forces of national liberation in the south of our continent.

Anjo Eduardo Mengo-Waku
Member, Department for External Affairs,
People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)

1977 is a special year for Angola, for the liberation movement in Africa and for the whole world, for it is the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

For the first time in human history the genuinely revolutionary theory evolved by Marx and Engels and brilliantly enlarged upon by Lenin, was, under his leadership, translated into practice — in the triumph of the October Revolution and socialist construction. And

this gave the liberation struggle of the peoples of our continent great hope. That is why in Angola we regard the October Revolution in Russia as the turning point in our own destiny as well.

The people of Angola knew colonial tyranny for five centuries. But they did not submit. They knew that Angola was their country and fought for this in the wars of liberation. For a long time the struggle was unequal and our people suffered defeats. The conditions for our imminent victory took shape only when the situation in the world changed fundamentally as a result of the October Revolution, followed by the formation of the socialist world system, which has become increasingly powerful.

The founding of the MPLA in 1956 signified that the leadership of the struggle waged by the Angolan people had been taken over by an organization that was able to apply Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory in the specific conditions of our country and that set the aim of applying this theory for the welfare of our people. The lessons of the October Revolution became a weapon facilitating the victory of the Angolan people and the MPLA.

The theory of scientific socialism is now the lodestar of the Angolan people in the building of a new life. We hold that it is not enough to achieve political liberation from the colonialists. Enemies do not cease to threaten our country. The Angolan people have no desire to find themselves again under foreign rule in its new, neo-colonialist form, to come under the domination of reaction. To prevent this from happening exploitation must be abolished and a socialist society must be built. Here, too, the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is of immense significance to us. We are confident that by applying it to the concrete reality of Angola we shall achieve good results.

Suffice it to mention some of the most important areas of our work.

First, education. The bulk of the population of Angola is illiterate. Obscurantism is obstructing the advance of the revolution. The MPLA has therefore proclaimed the priority task of teaching the masses to read and write. In this we are drawing upon the experience of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union.

In our country agriculture is the foundation of the economy. The great majority of the population lives in the countryside. All the more valuable to us, therefore, is the experience of restructuring agriculture in the Soviet Union. The same may be said of the development of industry, the solution of the problem of training national cadres, and so on.

In all this work we constantly feel the effective support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Like the military assistance to the MPLA during the war of liberation, Angolans regard this

support as a concrete manifestation of proletarian internationalism, which, we are confident, is a key element in the success of the liberation movements, in the struggle for fundamental socio-economic reforms and the happiness of the people.

Eduardo Viera
Member, Executive Committee, CC, Communist Party of Uruguay

The October Revolution triumphed not only in the unbounded expanses of Russia — its call resounded throughout the world. It ushered in the era of building socialism and communism, the era of humankind's transition, to quote Engels' famous expression, 'from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.'

Already in the revolutionary dawn of 1905 Lenin saw the radiance of the proletarian revolution: 'The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, so valiantly begun by our working class, will be the turning-point in the history of all countries; it will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 8, p. 100). These words have been borne out by the history of the past 60 years.

A new social system arose with the victory of the October Revolution. The laws of the socialist revolution, broadly formulated by Marx and Engels, were confirmed in practice and further developed theoretically.

Some people believe that the October Revolution does not possess (or if it does, only to a small degree) any universally applicable features. The reason for this, they say, is that it happened in a huge multinational state where obvious survivals of feudalism and serfdom existed alongside developed capitalism. But the very character of the socialist revolution, a revolution carried out under the hegemony of the working class, which rallied the support of all the oppressed masses, and also the fact that in the vast borderlands of the former Russian Empire the situation was in many respects similar to that which existed in parts of the world dominated by imperialism, objectively led to the emergence and affirmation of universal features, features that are also intrinsic to the mighty, many-sided revolutionary process of today.

For the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, particularly for the nascent proletariat of these countries, the significance of the October Revolution was that by dealing imperialism a crushing blow it gave a powerful impetus to their struggle against their oppressors. Having shed the yoke of capitalist exploitation, the most advanced class stretched its hand out in fraternal assistance to the oppressed masses. Founded on entirely new principles of international relations, the peaceful and anti-colonial policy of the young Soviet state gave

the peoples wide possibilities for national liberation and for advance along the road of socialism without having to pass through the stage of capitalism. With the strengthening of the Soviet power and the change in the alignment of forces on the international scene, the first socialist state became a bastion of peace, a roadblock against imperialist intervention and aggression. Lastly, the settlement of the nationalities question by the proletarian power in such a manner as to enable the once extremely backward outlying areas to become economically and culturally flourishing regions is a model for oppressed peoples.

The October Revolution gave inspiration also to the peoples of Latin America, opening up new perspectives for them. Communist parties, vanguards of the working class, sprang up in many countries. The influence of Lenin's teaching mounted, and many advanced intellectuals became its followers. It may be stated that the beneficial influence of the October Revolution was felt by every popular movement of any importance in the continent.

In Uruguay this influence was seen in the formation of our party (1920) and in the swift growth of the trade union movement. Our people have always vigorously shown their solidarity with Soviet working people — during the revolution, during the peaceful building of the new society and during the fascist aggression.

Today our party, operating under difficult underground conditions, and the people, despite the brutal reign of terror, are in one way or another marking the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. They are expressing their fraternal gratitude for the solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet people and for their unremitting support for the demand to release the political prisoners languishing in Uruguay's jails.

Elberto Cobos
Head of the Propaganda Department, Panama Provincial Committee, People's Party of Panama

Progressive circles in Panama, in fact all the working people, assess the Great October Socialist Revolution as the most important event of our century. Accomplished under the leadership of the immortal Lenin, it showed all humankind what can be achieved by a people organized and brought up on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Assessing the October Revolution correctly means understanding the fact that November 7 not only witnessed the victory of the proletarian revolution but ushered in the next revolutionary phase of the world's development, the phase of the establishment of socialism and the beginning of a process that is exercising a growing influence on all the major events taking place on our planet.

Like our people, every people fighting for complete liberation feels the disinterested support of the socialist community.

In Panama we are working to achieve full sovereignty. This means that our main objective is to banish imperialism from our territory and bring the occupied zone into the mainstream of our country's development. We can see distinctly that the present international climate in which Panama has been able to make the North American imperialists sit down and negotiate stemmed from the growing might of socialism, the socialism born in the crucible of the Great October Revolution. During the 13 years of these negotiations, the alignment of forces in the world has continued to change in favor of socialism. That is why the USA has to maneuver and make crucial concessions in Latin America, including the settlement of the problem of the colonial enclave in the canal zone.

Important agreements have been concluded that are helping to decolonize Panama and abolish U.S. jurisdiction over the canal zone. The successes scored by the Panamanian people in their struggle for the conclusion of a new treaty with the USA are an international victory, because Panama has had the backing of all the Latin American peoples, the non-aligned movement and the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, which has always maintained a clear-cut stand in support of the just aspirations of the people and government of Panama.

Land of Soviets — 60 years

In early 1977 the CPSU Central Committee passed a resolution headed 'The 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution,' which stated in part: 'The achievements of the homeland of the October Revolution over a period of six decades are eloquent testimony to the fact that socialism has ensured unparalleled progress in all fields of social life.'

L.M. Volodarsky, head of the Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and V.P. Ruben, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, write of progress in key areas of Soviet society — the national economy, the people's living standard and the nationalities question.

ON THE WAY TO LEADING POSITIONS

Lev Volodarsky

The peoples of Russia received a bitter legacy from tsarism, from the rule of landowners and capitalists. The national economy had been pillaged and dislocated. During the years preceding the revolution the economy had been falling into increasing dependence upon foreign capital. Industrial output was far below the level in Britain, France, Germany and, particularly, the USA. Special note must be made of Russia's lag behind the USA in industrial production on the eve of World War I. Russia's industrial output was one-sixth of that of the USA in 1870 and only one-eighth in 1913. This huge gap can be seen by comparing the output of some key commodities in Russia and the USA in the early 20th century. In 1913, for instance, whereas Russia (within the boundaries of the former tsarist empire) produced 4,600,000 tons of pig iron, 4,900,000 tons of steel (including smelt iron) and 42,000,000 tons of coal and oil (in terms of conventional fuel), the corresponding output in the USA was 31,500,000, 34,100,000 and 587,500,000 tons.

When the development of the socialist economy is assessed it must be borne in mind that of the Soviet state's 60-year history nearly 20 were taken up by the civil war, the struggle against the foreign intervention, the Second World War and the subsequent periods of economic restoration.

The damage suffered by our country as a result of the imperialist intervention and the civil war amounted to 39,000 million pre-war gold roubles or the equivalent of roughly one-fourth of pre-war Russia's national wealth.*

Huge losses were inflicted on the Soviet national economy during the Second World War. The most painful was the loss of more than 20 million lives. The fascist invaders entirely or partially destroyed or burned 1,710 towns and townships and more than 70,000 villages and hamlets, leaving nearly 25 million people homeless, destroying 31,850 factories, putting out of commission metallurgical plants that accounted for about 60 per cent of the nation's steel before the war, and mines that produced upwards of 60 per cent of its coal, and demolishing 65,000 kilometres of railway track and 4,100 railway stations. Moreover, they destroyed or pillaged 40,000 hospitals and

**Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1961, Vol. 5, pp. 295, 739 (in Russian). In the introduction to the document 'Russian claims to Countries Responsible for the Intervention and Blockade,' published in 1922, it is noted that the figures stated in it were incomplete and that a study of new information received after the report had been prepared showed that the losses were much greater.

other medical institutions, 84,000 secondary and vocational schools, institutions of higher learning and research institutes, and 43,000 public libraries. (See Table 1.)

Table 1
Direct material losses inflicted by the fascist invaders

	1,000 million roubles (1941, unchanged price scale)
Losses inflicted on the national economy and individual citizens (property destroyed or pillaged)	679
of which:	
state enterprises and institutions	287
collective farms	181
rural and urban inhabitants	192
cooperatives, trade unions and other public organizations	19

The Soviet Union's expenses on the war against Germany and Japan and the loss of income by state and cooperative enterprises and organizations and by the collective farms and the population as a result of the occupation reached the astronomical sum of at least 1,890,000 million roubles (1941, unchanged price scale).

No capitalist country has ever known losses and destruction such as were suffered by the Soviet Union in repulsing the assault of imperialist states.

The great vitality of the socialist system ensured the rapid restoration of the dislocated economy and the subsequent steady growth of production. Between 1945 and 1976 the GNP increased almost 14-fold, industrial output rose approximately 20-fold and labor productivity grew plus 9-fold.

In the past decade alone the Soviet economic potential has been practically doubled. Some 4,000 large industrial enterprises have been commissioned. The latest achievements of science and technology have been applied in the reconstruction of thousands of operating factories and mills. Programs for the comprehensive remaking of vast territories have been launched. They include the programs for the development of the non-black earth belt and West Siberia, and the industrial development of East Siberia in the region of the Baikal-Amur Railway project.

The Soviet Union's national wealth is today estimated at over 2,000,000 million roubles (in addition to the value of the land and forests). In 1977 it took only 19 days to equal the industrial output of the whole of 1940. In 1940 it would have required 24 days to produce the present daily quantity of electric power; the corresponding time to equal the present daily output is: for gas more than three months, for oil 18 days, for steel 8 days, for cars and trucks 14 days, for tractors 18 days, for mineral fertilizers 30 days and for cement 23 days.

The following figures show the Soviet economy's headway over the past 60 years. (See Table 2.)

Table 2
Basic indicators of economic development of the USSR

	1917	1940	1965	1970	1975	1976
Growth rate of basic indicators (1917=1)						
Gross National Product	1	7.8	45	64	87	91
Produced national income	1	8.2	49	71	93	98
Total industrial output	1	12	94	142	203	213
Total farm output	1	1.9	3.3	4.1	4.2	4.4
Freight carried by all modes of transport	1	5.8	32	45	61	63
Key industrial output						
Electric power, 1,000 million kwh	2.2	48.6	507	741	1,039	1,111
Oil (incl. gas condensate), million tons	8.8	31.1	243	353	491	520
Natural gas, 1,000 million m^3		3.2	128	198	289	321
Coal, million tons	31.3	166	578	624	701	712
Pig iron, million tons	3.0	14.9	66.2	85.9	103	105
Steel, million tons	3.1	18.3	91.0	116	141	145
Mineral fertilizers (conventional units), million tons		3.3	31.3	55.4	90.2	92.2
Metal-cutting lathes, thousand	0.2	58.4	186	202	231	233
Cars and trucks, thousand		145	616	916	1,964	2,025
Tractors, thousand		31.6	355	459	550	562
Paper, thousand tons	155	838	3,231	4,185	5,215	5,389
Cement, million tons	1.0	5.8	72.4	95.2	122	124

Fabrics, 1,000 million m²	1.2	3.3	7.5	8.9	10.0	10.3
Leather footwear, million pairs	50	212	486	679	698	724
Output of staple farm products						
Grain, million tons	54.6	95.6	121.1	186.8	140.1	223.8
Raw cotton, million tons	0.5	2.2	5.7	6.9	7.9	8.3
Meat (slaughterweight, million tons)	4.3	4.7	10.0	12.3	15.0	13.4
Milk, million tons	24.2	33.6	72.6	83.0	90.8	89.1

The Soviet Union's increased economic potential makes it possible to devote more attention to fulfilling the socio-economic tasks set in the program of the CPSU and by party congresses, chiefly the task of raising the people's living standard, which is the material precondition for bringing up and moulding the intellectually rich and harmoniously developed individual.

Table 3
Rise in the Soviet people's living standard and cultural level

	Prior to the revolution*	1940	1965	1970	1975	1976
Per worker average growth of real incomes in industry and construction, taking into account the abolition of unemployment and the shortening of the working day (1913=1)	1	2.7	6.4	8.0	9.4	9.7
Average growth of real incomes of peasants (1913=1)	1	2.3	7.8	11.2	13.7	14.1
Increase in output of consumer goods (group B; 1913=1)						
total		4.6	20	30	42	43
per capita		3.9	14	20	26	27
Total (useful) urban housing space (end of year) total, million m²	180	421	1,238	1,529	1,867	1,932

Students, total, million	10.6	47.6	71.9	79.6	92.6	93.7
of which:						
at general education schools	9.7	35.6	48.3	49.2	47.6	46.5
at secondary specialized schools	0.05	1.0	3.7	4.4	4.5	4.6
at institutions of higher learning	0.13	0.8	3.9	4.6	4.9	5.0
Number of children at permanently functioning pre-school institutions (end of year), thousand	5.4	1,953	7,673	9,281	11,523	12,108
Number of doctors of all profiles (end of year) total, thousand	28	155	554	668	834	865
per 1,000 of the population	1.8	7.9	23.9	27.4	32.6	33.5
Number of hospital beds (end of year) total, thousand	208	791	2,226	2,663	3,009	3,076
per 10,000 of the population	13	40	96	109	118	199

*For 1913 or the nearest year when statistics were published.

The Soviet economy's dynamic character becomes particularly clear-cut when it is compared with the economy of capitalist countries.

In the USSR the volume of industrial output has doubled during the past ten years. Meanwhile, in order to double their industrial outputs Great Britain required 28 years, the USA 17 years, and the FRG and France 16 years. In 1971-1976 industrial output increased by 50 per cent in the USSR, by only 2 per cent in Great Britain, by 19 per cent in Italy, by 20 per cent in the USA, by 13 per cent in the FRG and by 24 per cent in France and Japan.

Radical changes have taken place in the economic competition between the USSR and the USA in recent years. High growth rates have enabled the Soviet Union to surpass the USA in the output of steel, oil, mineral fertilizers, iron-ore, commercial coal and coking coal, cement, potassium nitrate, tractors, diesel and electric locomotives, cotton and some commodities. The Soviet planned economy is showing a considerably higher rate of development than the economy of the USA. Whereas in 1950 industrial output in the Soviet Union was less than 30 per cent of that of the USA, in 1976 it reached over 80 per cent. Fulfillment of the current, Tenth Five-Year Plan will result in further changes in the correlation of the Soviet and U.S. economic potentials.

Table 4
Correlation of basic indicators of economic growth in the USSR and the USA
(USSR in % of the USA)

	1913*	1970	1976
Industrial output	12.5	over 75	over 80
Electric power	8	43	51
Oil (including gas condensate)	27	74	130
Steel	15	95	121
Mineral fertilizers (in terms of 100% nourishing substances)	3	88	126
Cement	13	141	175
Cotton fabrics	41	98	136
Freight carried by all modes of transport	19	102	132
	1909-1913 (annual average)	1971-1975 (annual average)	1976
Farm products	65	About 85	over 85
Grain	73	78	90
Cotton fiber	7	99	119

*Statistics for 1913 for the territory of the former Russian empire.

The level of economic development in the Soviet Union is now among the highest in the world. In 1976 the USSR led the world in many basic indicators of industry.

Table 5
Place held by Soviet industry in the world and in Europe for the volume of output

	1913		1976	
	in the world	in Europe	in the world	in Europe
Total industrial output	5	4	2	1
Electric power	8	6	2	1
Oil (including gas condensate)	2	1	1	1
Gas	*	*	1	1

Coal (commercial)	6	5	1	1
Pig iron	5	4	1	1
Steel	5	4	1	1
Iron ore	5	4	1	1
Coking coal	4	3	1	1
Chemical output	‡	‡	2	1
Mineral fertilizers	‡	‡	1	1
Mechanical engineering output	4	3	2	1
Diesel and electric locomotives	None produced in pre-revolutionary Russia		1†	1
Tractors (in terms of aggregate motor)	Ditto		1†	1
Prefabricated reinforced concrete elements and details	Ditto		1	1
Cement	5	4	1	1
Woolen fabrics	‡	‡	1	1
Leather footwear	‡	‡	1	1
Granulated sugar (unimported)	4	2	1†	1
Butter	‡	‡	1	1

* Produced in small quantities in pre-revolutionary Russia.
† Statistics for 1975
‡ Statistics unavailable

The historic revolutionary achievements of the Soviet people, their successes in building a communist society and the victories won by them along a difficult and unexplored path have received worldwide recognition. They are the direct continuation of the work inaugurated by the October Revolution and embody the teaching of the great Lenin.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE LENINIST POLICY ON NATIONALITIES

Vitaly Ruben

One of the most important results of the Soviet state's socio-political development is the solution of the problem of nationalities, the elimination of the political and actual inequality of nations, and the establishing of relationships that the Soviet people rightly describe as Leninist friendship among nations. In 60 years they have achieved centuries of progress in this direction.

When it set out to build a multinational state on a voluntary basis the Communist Party was fully aware of the novelty and difficulties of this problem. It kept in mind Lenin's words that only close attention to the interests of the various nations could eliminate all grounds for conflict and win the confidence of workers and peasants speaking different languages. The firm confidence of which Lenin wrote has been won by the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and this is one of the greatest achievements of socialism, a triumph of the Leninist policy on nationalities.

From the very first years of Soviet power the party steered a course of accelerated economic, socio-political and cultural development of the outlying national areas. The practical realization of this policy was made possible by the generous and all-round assistance that the more developed parts of the country gave to the former oppressed nations. Whole factories were moved from the center to the outlying areas. Investments were transferred and new enterprises and schools built in these areas. Taken as a whole, their social and economic development was faster than that of the heartland.

The evening out of economic and cultural development and the creation of a uniform social structure were the basic preconditions of true equality for all the working people of the USSR, regardless of race or nationality. This equality of nations was given formal expression in the national-state structure of the USSR, in the whole organization and pattern of administration, and in state laws. It is also reflected in the new Soviet Constitution.

The Soviet Union today is an integral federal multinational state formed as a result of free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Each of the Union Republics that go to make up the USSR is a sovereign state and with the exception of the rights assigned by the Constitution of the USSR to the Union each republic exercises state power independently on its own territory. A Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes into account the republic's special features. It has its organs of state power and administration, its own courts and its own legislation. Every Union Republic retains the right freely to secede from the USSR.

The territory of a Union Republic cannot be altered without its consent. Every Union Republic has the right to enter into relations with foreign countries, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives and join international organizations. In recognition of their contribution to the victory over the nazi aggressors in the Second World War the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics have been admitted to the United Nations.

Besides the Union Republics there are 20 autonomous republics in

the USSR. Sixteen of them form part of the Russian Federation, two belong to the Georgian Republic, and Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan have one each. Autonomous republics are one of the forms of national statehood in the Soviet system of federation. Every autonomous republic likewise has its own constitution. The republics enjoy broad autonomy in exercising state power and they all have their own organs of power and administration. Many smaller peoples have also acquired autonomy within the framework of the USSR, forming autonomous regions and autonomous areas (in the USSR there are 8 such regions and 10 areas). By setting up their own national-state formation scores of peoples that have adopted the Soviet system have gained their first ever guarantee of self-government, defense of their national interests, and development of their national culture.

The sovereign rights of the Union Republics are protected by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its Constitution. There are firm guarantees of these rights. The ever closer convergence of the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR calls for a strengthening of the state's federal principles. This is reflected in the very definition of the USSR in the new Soviet Constitution as an integral federal multinational state. The Constitution's continued development and enrichment of the national-state structure ensures the genuinely democratic blending of the common interests of the multinational Union with those of each of its constituent republics. It ensures the all-round development and steady drawing together of all nations and ethnic groups of our country.

The country's highest body, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, represents the interests of all the Soviet nations and ethnic groups.* It consists of two chambers with equal rights — the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. They both have equal powers to initiate legislation. Moreover, whereas the Soviet of the Union is formed on the basis of equal representation of the population of the USSR as a whole — one deputy for a certain number of inhabitants — in the Soviet of Nationalities each Union Republic, irrespective of the size of its population, has equal representation — 32 deputies each. In

*Citizens of every nation and ethnic group in the USSR participate in the activity of all organs of power and administration. They are elected to the elective organs of the state, and appointed to state positions. For example, the present Supreme Soviet of the USSR, elected in 1974, includes deputies from 61 nationalities. Moreover, these are not only people belonging to the nationalities constituting the majority of the respective Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas. They also include representatives of nations and ethnic groups that have no national-state formations on the territory of the USSR, such as Bulgarians, Greeks, Koreans, Germans, Poles and Finns. Speaking of the Soviets as a whole, the deputies come from more than 100 nationalities, that is, representatives of practically all the nations and ethnic groups living in the USSR. The ethnic composition of the leadership in any branch of the national economy is also multinational.

this chamber all the autonomous republics are also equally represented (11 deputies each), as are the autonomous regions (5 deputies each), and the autonomous areas (one deputy each). This structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet makes it possible to pass laws, national economic plans, the state budget, and other decisions, combining the country's general interests with the specific interests of the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas.

The Union Republics are ensured equal representation in other state bodies as well. The deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR elect a presidium consisting of the President of the Presidium, the First Vice-President, and 15 Vice-Presidents, one for each Union Republic, a Secretary of the Presidium and 21 members of the Presidium. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev has been elected President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. According to an established tradition the Presidents of the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the Union republics are elected Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The fact that representatives of the Union republics participate in all-Union bodies is an important safeguard of the interests of the Union Republics. The Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics are members of the government of the USSR and the Chairmen of the Supreme courts of the Union Republics are members of the Supreme Court of the USSR. What is more, there are Union Republic ministries and departments and also state committees at all-Union level and in the Union Republics. They exercise administration in the sphere of the joint activity of the Soviet Union as a whole and the Union Republics, which guarantees realization of the interests of each republic and of the whole country. USSR organs have certain important obligations in respect of the Union Republics.

For instance, the drafts of the most important laws of the USSR are submitted to the Union republics for their consideration. A law comes into force when it has been passed by both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet by a straight majority in each chamber.

The clear delimiting of the powers of the Union and those of the Union Republics presupposes delimitation of all-Union and republican legislation. Some questions are decided only by Union legislation, others only by that of the republics. And finally there are some questions that are regulated by both Union and republican legislation.

Republican legislation deals in detail with questions defined as being the direct concern of the Union Republic, and also those that are assigned for joint regulation by the Union and the Union Republic. This makes it possible for republican laws to take into considera-

tion the specific conditions of the given republic. At the same time this provides for distinctions in the legislation of the various Union republics. Such questions arise most often in the regulation of relations in everyday life and the family because these relations are most closely connected with the national forms of life of the peoples of the republics, their national traditions and habits. Some distinctions between the legislation of the Union republics depend on geographical and climatic features. There are also distinctions in their criminal law. The criminal codes of some republics make special provision for crimes arising out of obsolete local customs, such as the crime of paying or accepting money (kalym) for a bride, which figures only in the criminal codes of the Russian Federation, Kirgizia, Tajikistan, Armenia and Turkmenia.

The Soviet state guarantees all citizens the right to work, to choose one's profession, the right to leisure, health care, material security in old age or illness, the right to housing, the right to use the achievements of culture, and to education, and the right to take part in the management of state and public affairs. Soviet citizens have equal rights irrespective of nationality or race. The enjoyment of these rights is ensured by the policy of all-round development and bringing together of all the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR, the education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and the possibility of using one's native language and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR. Any restriction of rights or, conversely, the granting of direct or indirect advantages for some citizens on account of their racial or national origin, and similarly any advocacy of racial or national superiority, hatred or contempt is punishable by law.

The nationalities policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state not only ensures the free development of all nations and ethnic groups of the USSR. It also promotes their continued convergence. The basis for this is the unified economic organism embracing the whole country and also the similar social composition of each nation. Not so long ago, in the 1920s, among many of this country's nationalities only 3 or 4 per cent of the population were workers, while the percentage among the Russian people was much higher. Social and economic changes have been accompanied by growth of the national contingents of the working class. All the republics today have a similar class structure, consisting of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The population censuses of 1939, 1959 and 1970 showed a steady growth of the proportion of the working class in the population of the Soviet Union.

Technical progress is also reflected in the lowering of the ratio of people engaged in mental work to those doing manual labor. By the

early 60s the distinctions between the republics in this respect had become negligible. The ratios of urban to rural population are also changing in the republics. While in 1939 there were only six republics with one-third of their population living in towns, in 1970 a half or more than half of the populations of eight republics had become urban dwellers.

The elimination of cultural inequality is one of the crucial gains of socialist construction. Economic advance forms the basis for raising not only the material, but also the cultural level of the population of all the national republics without exception. In pre-revolutionary Russia about three-quarters of the adult population were illiterate. In the USSR today literacy is universal. More than three-quarters of the people working in the national economy have a higher or secondary (at least eight years) education. Over 93 million people are engaged in some form of study. Sixty years ago even such numerically large nationalities as the Kirgiz and Turkmen had no written language. Nor had they any schools that gave instruction in their native language. Today nearly a half of the adult population of every Central Asian republic has a higher or secondary education. In the Uzbek Republic alone there are more specialists with higher or secondary education than there were in the national economy of the whole Soviet Union at the end of the 1920s.

Before the revolution many of the territories that are now Union republics had no institutions of higher education. Today in these republics (Moldavia, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kirgizia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan and Armenia) the ratio of students to population is 50 to 100 per cent higher than in Britain and Italy, and 100 to 200 per cent higher than in the FRG.

Since the Soviets have been in power the number of research establishments has increased 18-fold. The geography of science has changed. In Russia before the revolution there was one Academy of Sciences with a few research institutes. Now every Union republic has its own Academy of Sciences with an extensive network of research establishments. Many branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences are situated in areas where half a century ago it would have been hard to find a person who could read.

Since Soviet power was established books have been published in 145 languages, including 89 languages of the peoples of the USSR. In 1913 not a single book was published in the languages of Moldavians, Kirgiz, Turkmens, Bashkirs, Buryats, Kalmyks, Mordovians, Chechens and Ingushes. In 1975, 619 books with a total printing of 8 million copies were published in Moldavian, 444 books (4,300,000 copies) in Kirgiz, and 267 books (3,800,000 copies) in Turkmen.

In the Soviet Union today there are 573 professional theatres pro-

ducing plays in the languages of 47 nations and ethnic groups of the USSR. Uzbekistan has 26, Kazakhstan 28, Kirgizia 7, Tajikistan 11, Turkmenia 6, and Moldavia 7. There was not a single professional theatre in these areas before the revolution.

The organic merging of the spiritual values created by all peoples is one of the fundamental features of the culture of developed socialism.

The experience of building the Soviet multinational state has vividly confirmed the conclusion of Marxist-Leninist science that the problem of nationalities can be consistently solved only on the basis of the socialist transformation of society. Unlike bourgeois democracy, which proclaims national equality but does not carry it out in practice, socialist democracy guarantees the peoples equal rights and opportunities, and creates the conditions for solving national questions in line with the fundamental interests of the working people of the various nationalities. The unity, the flowering and steady drawing together of all the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR are determined by the nature of the Soviet system and form the objective pattern of developed socialism.

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Communist party independence

Martin Gunnar Knutsen
Chairman, CP of Norway

The issue of a proletarian party's independence is nothing new to Marxist-Leninists. It was first taken up by Marx and Engels, who indicated — specifically in the Communist Manifesto — the only solution that is in keeping with the interests and tasks of the working class. Their ideas were carried forward and enriched in theory and practice by Lenin. Recent decades have seen Marxist-Leninist parties operating in the most diverse conditions make a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist conception of the problem.

What makes us return again and again to a question which would seem to have been sufficiently elaborated in terms of both principle and theory? We Norwegian communists have very special reasons for this that flow from the experience gained before and during the existence of the Socialist Electoral Alliance. It was in that period — between 1973 and 1975 — that the independence of the Communist Party of Norway (CPN) in respect of other left-wing parties and alignments acquired exceptional importance.

However, it is not only in Norway but in other capitalist countries as well that this problem claims increasing attention amid mounting contradictions between monopoly and the majority of the people, that is, in a situation affording new opportunities for the unity of action of left-wing, progressive forces.

The issue is not merely one of communist party independence in national politics. It concerns in equal measure a party's independence at international level, within the world communist movement, and the way this independence is related to the struggle for the internationalist unity of the working class, to proletarian internationalism.

Problems relating to the communist parties' sovereign right to choose their position and development path, to their independence within our movement, have become highly relevant of late. This is due to the rapid growth of all international revolutionary forces, a development calling for both solidarity among the fraternal communist parties themselves and closer relations of mutual support and

cooperation between the communist and other anti-imperialist movements.

At the same time, favorable changes are occurring in relations between states — a result of the socialist countries' sustained campaign for peaceful coexistence. Today, in the wake of the 1975 Helsinki Conference, it is most important to advance détente, a task requiring joint efforts by the communist and workers' parties.

We believe, therefore, that the issue of communist party independence can and should be approached from three standpoints:

— the position and role of the given Marxist-Leninist party in national politics;

— the attitude to the indispensable international solidarity of the working class, of the communists;

— the interests and national peculiarities of one's country and people.

We in the CPN consider that each communist party tackles this whole set of problems and shapes its policies according first of all to the conditions in which it is operating and to its experience. This is a principle laid down years ago in program documents of our party. We have re-emphasized it at numerous international communist meetings and did so again at the Berlin Conference of fraternal parties of Europe (1976).

On the other hand, we regard the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism as a common and irreplaceable basis on which to study and solve the political and theoretical problems our party comes up against. This is why we think the following estimations and opinions may prove interesting for many in connection with the current debate on the communist parties' political, ideological and organizational independence.

I

Two years ago, we had to clarify this question both theoretically and from the point of view of organization and policy. We decided that the Marxist-Leninist party must be preserved in our country. The CPN could conceivably have dissolved itself had it been necessary to make way for a new Marxist-Leninist party, but such an alternative was lacking.

Our party was under strong pressure. Some expected it to liquidate itself — and indeed demanded that it should do so — in favor of the Socialist Left Party, a heterogeneous political alignment. They wanted the CPN to renounce its ideology, tactical and strategic principles and its organization. The 15th CPN Congress effectively resisted that pressure and put an end to all speculation as to the party's continued existence. Was this attitude of the congress prompted by

sectarian sentiments, by narrow or selfish interests? To answer this, it is useful to look into the background of the CPN decision to remain an independent force in the socialist, left-wing movement of Norway.

Ours is a time when capitalism has outlived its historical *raison d'être*. Its general crisis takes increasingly tangible and painful forms. In Norway, as in other capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie today is primarily concerned with survival, the preservation of its exploiting system. In that it counts largely on the working people's demands remaining mostly economic and not political, and on the socialist aspirations of the working class finding an outlet in illusions about various reformist remedies. This is tantamount to expecting that the working people will never realize their genuine interests and will meekly follow parties and leaders advocating ideas and solutions that do not endanger the bourgeoisie's rule; in other words, hoping to deprive the working class of ideological, social and political independence.

Yet this kind of independence is a prerequisite of the working class freeing itself from exploitation and fulfilling its historic mission, which is to transform capitalist society into a socialist society. In any capitalist country, the workers' fight for independence implies that they must break with reformism and all radical phrase-mongering. This task also faces our country, whose working class must win independence in this respect if it is to fight successfully for a socialist Norway.

Herein lies the fundamental antithesis between the strategic goals and interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the working people. This necessitates a consistently independent policy and an independent communist party organization playing the leading role in showing the Norwegian working class its chief historic goal and in mobilizing all working people to attain it. It is more than either the Social Democrats or the Left Socialists can do, for revolutionary ideology is foreign to them. In fact, we know by experience that such parties have never succeeded in leading their country and people to socialism.

Our 15th Congress resolved to defend the CPN, to uphold its integrity and independence and strengthen it politically, ideologically and organizationally. Thereby it served primarily the interests of the working class by preserving for it the main political instrument of meeting the working people's fundamental interests. 'The experience of the international class struggle shows,' says the report to the Congress, 'that socialism has never triumphed in any country without an ideologically consistent and politically active Marxist-Leninist party. The capitalist system reveals ever more clearly that it is on the brink of failure in our country as well, that it cannot solve the everyday problems confronting our people. The capitalist crisis shows that jobs

can be protected, inflation combated and social and democratic gains safeguarded only through an offensive against big capital and monopoly.'

We Norwegian communists see one of our responsibilities, in specifying the strategic objectives of the working people's class struggle and in showing Norway the road to socialism. We see it in striving for the working people's most active participation in the solution of the country's problems, and for assuring the working class the leading role in all democratic movements.

This responsibility for materialization of the ideals of the working class also makes us firm supporters of united action by the left and of cooperation with all democratic alignments opposed to monopoly domination. The 15th CPN Congress stated it as follows: 'we need organized cooperation between contingents of the working-class movement that hold different ideologies and different views on important political issues. But this cooperation can be lasting and will prove its worth only if we recognize the differences existing between us and cooperate as independent and equal partners. This is the only basis on which we can find the best common solutions to the problems which the working people constantly encounter.'

Is this stance prompted by the fact that the CPN is a small party? Or does it imply that by operating on its own, the party can at the moment achieve little in national politics? We have no doubt that a Marxist-Leninist party can never base its political activity on passing considerations of this nature.

The only road to a socialist Norway leads through the class struggle, and the mass of the working people; the majority of the population, must be brought into this struggle. This presupposes intensive cooperation among working-class parties and other democratic alignments. No effective struggle can be carried on against monopoly and reactionary power, nor can society's basic power structures be altered, without cooperation and unity of action, primarily among socialist left-wing forces. Besides, joint struggle on these lines can pave the way for the rapid growth of the working people's class consciousness, as well as for their acquisition of habits of independent political activity holding the promise of socialism.

The conclusion we draw is that neither the organizational independence of the CPN, nor its policy of unity with other left-wing parties is an asset sufficient in itself. Our purpose in preserving the party was not to make it an exclusive organization isolated from other political trends or to have it follow a policy of cooperation for cooperation's sake. We maintained the independence of the CPN as the only Norwegian party taking a scientifically based view of the key dilemma of today: capitalism or socialism. At a time when the masses are

inevitably coming to opt for socialism, the need for an independent communist party is being made ever more imperative by the very logic of the class struggle; so is the need for it to apply a strategy geared to alliance and united action with other left-wing parties and democratic segments of the population.

We note with satisfaction that despite certain rumors, not one fraternal party has in the past years advised us to disband. But others have claimed again and again that our allegiance to the principle of organizational and ideological independence is precisely what prevents the CPN from making headway toward cooperation with other Norwegian parties. Certain self-appointed advisers even tell us that we have only to forgo some of our independence for the number of party members and sympathizers to increase.

To be sure, we want our party to gain in numerical strength and political influence. We must stress, however, that we are speaking of a Marxist-Leninist party, one that will steadfastly uphold the interests of the working class.

A big and influential communist party is not an end in itself. It is a very important means of attaining the working people's socialist ideals but still no more than a means. A ship can always be steered downwind to increase her speed but this will be no guarantee of her reaching her destination. We in the CPN consider that we must steer a definite course without yielding to the temptation to sail with the current or with a favorable wind. We must be patient and firm enough to chart a correct course by ourselves at any particular moment no matter which way the wind is blowing.

2

In recent years we have witnessed a phenomenon which might seem paradoxical at first sight. Alignments which in the past were against the political sovereignty and organizational independence of the CPN are now 'concerned about the CPN's lack of independence at international level,' as they put it. They allege every now and then that our party lacks sovereign rights in the world communist movement and readily repeat allusions to our 'dependence on Moscow.'

There is no paradox, however. After all, to insist that the CPN should liquidate itself in favor of the Socialist Left Party in the sphere of national politics and isolate itself from the communist movement in the international sphere means for our party in either case to renounce an explicit class position. The common aim of those who want this is to reduce communist influence on the class struggle, both at home and abroad.

The issue of CPN independence within the world communist movement is dealt with in the party program and in documents of

party congresses and conferences. 'We communists want to emphasize,' says the report to the 15th Congress, 'that ours is an independent party in no way controlled from without and that we are in no way part of another communist party. We always work out our policies in Norway by ourselves, according to what we consider to be in the interests of the working class and the people.'

This attitude is not typical of us Norwegians alone. It is expressive of a general principle established in the world communist movement which has long been an aspect of the international solidarity linking fraternal parties. This principle is also stated in the final document of the Berlin Conference. 'The participants in the Conference,' we read, 'emphasize that their parties, on the basis of a political line worked out and adopted by every party in complete independence in accordance with the socio-economic and political conditions and the specific national features prevailing in the country concerned, are firmly resolved to continue waging a consistent struggle in order to achieve the objectives of peace, democracy and social progress, which is in line with the general interests of the working class, the democratic forces and the mass of the people in all countries.'

The CPN is a party of the Norwegian working class and we have national and historical traditions of our own. In fighting for the working people's interests, we regard it as our duty to adhere to these traditions and to proceed from Norwegian realities. The actual situation in our country often requires of us decisions different from those taken in other countries. We are not fettered by any prescriptions 'from without,' either tactically or strategically. And we can say in all sincerity that no other party has ever tried to compile a political handbook for the CPN.

This should not be confused with the fact that the CPN is an equal member of the international communist family, which is an important factor and incentive in our work. We see in international solidarity and close cooperation with fraternal parties our direct and active commitment to the worldwide process of revolutionary change now going on. In carrying on our political activity according to the universal laws of revolutionary struggle and to independent estimations taking account of Norwegian realities, we communists find understanding and support on the part of the most influential international political movement of our time. This gives us strength irrespective of whether we are sailing before or against the wind.

The standards of relations between communist parties that have become established by now are a reflection, in our opinion, of the parties' increased political maturity and the vast experience they have gained in the struggle of the working class. This experience cannot be fitted into any general pattern good for all parties. To do so would be

as shortsighted politically as to believe in the possibility of an identical road of transition to socialism for countries having entirely different histories, entirely different social and cultural conditions and entirely dissimilar traditions of class struggle.

To disregard national peculiarities in this matter is to oversimplify things impermissibly. This refers, for instance, to peculiarities of the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalist rule in various countries which have since become socialist, as well as to peculiarities of the situation in different capitalist countries.

We consider, therefore, that one cannot wage the class struggle in Norway by mechanically following the experience of the Soviet Union or any other socialist country, or by adhering to Spanish, British or Portuguese 'recipes.' Even in Scandinavia, the experience of political action gained in one country may prove useless if copied unquestioningly in another. This is why we reject as unscientific and hence unacceptable concepts ignoring the distinctive national conditions of the communists' struggle and advocating a regionally uniform — say, 'Eurocommunist' — road to socialism, even though we realize that the activity of the communist parties of developed capitalist countries has certain common features.

The internal conditions in which the communist parties of the socialist countries are operating are very unlike those existing in the capitalist part of the globe. It is perfectly natural that the fraternal parties of the socialist countries should cooperate among themselves in the form of, say, bilateral and multilateral meetings. Meetings of this nature are certainly useful also for the communist parties of the capitalist countries as forums at which to compare notes and, in particular, work out joint actions against multinationals, unemployment and crisis. We Norwegian communists consider such meetings and conferences a necessary and important means of promoting the communists' internationalist relations, a form of cooperation likely to contribute to the strength of the world communist movement as a whole.

We attach equal importance to bilateral and multilateral meetings of parties of both the socialist and the capitalist countries. The great variety of national situations in which the communist parties have to operate is no obstacle at all to their complete unity on matters of decisive importance for the destiny of peace and mankind, on problems of the further progress of the international revolutionary movement.

This was confirmed by last year's Berlin Conference, at which we stressed our conviction that the communists of the world have many more things in common than they have differences arising from the distinctive situations in which each party is operating. The final

document stated this, thereby demonstrating the communists' unity in the fight for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe.

What ultimately unites all Marxist-Leninist parties is the class content of their ideological, theoretical and political positions. Those who pointedly insist that the CPN show independence in regard to other communist parties are virtually demanding that it abandon these class positions. They pretend that they are calling on us not to follow others' ideas or imitate the policy of other parties. But what our critics really want is for the CPN to repudiate its own view and convictions, cease to be a party consistently expressing the interests of the working class, and give up the main goal of its struggle, the transition to a socialist Norway. To expect us to betray ourselves in this way is wishful thinking, of course.

Norway's communists settle the issue of the independence of their party in the world communist movement by taking an active part in internationalist efforts for a revolutionary socialist transformation of the world, doing this in complete independence and according to their own experience and their conception of present-day lines of the class struggle. No one imposes this stance on us. We choose it because we cannot do otherwise, being a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

The communists' attitude to national interests and to their country's positions in the international arena constitutes a special aspect of the problem of independence of a communist party, of its self-determination in domestic and international political relations. Ours is a democratic, Norwegian party, a component of the Norwegian working-class movement. This has been so throughout its 54-year history and has been confirmed, among other things, by the party's fight against the German invaders and against quislings, by its contribution to the movement against EEC membership, by its policy directed against NATO and by its activity in favor of a national defense system without foreign troops or bases on Norwegian soil.

As a party of the working class, the CPN also sees its duty in expanding the struggle in defense of the democratic rights won by the people. Our party always regards it as a duty to safeguard and uphold all that makes up our national culture. And yet there are those who allege that our policy ignores the national interest.

Let us see who is really to blame for such disregard.

Norway is on the northern flank of NATO and is held, not without reason, to be strategically important. It is linked with the United States by military agreements. It has a common frontier with the

Soviet Union. The discovery of oil deposits in the North Sea has attracted greater attention to Norway than before from big foreign monopolies and international finance capital.

What constitutes Norway's national interest in these circumstances is clear enough. Report No. 75 of the Storting for 1976/1977 defines it as follows: 'In view of the situation and strategic significance of Norway, contributing to an armaments reduction, building up confidence, expanding cooperation and guaranteeing security are entirely in harmony with the national interests.'

However, the policy of imperialism and the Norwegian bourgeoisie is a far cry from this. Leading NATO quarters are exerting strong pressure on our country to make it revise its policy toward military bases by authorizing the stationing of foreign troops and nuclear weapons on our soil in peacetime. NATO wants the Loran C navigation system to be extended for use by American Polaris submarines carrying nuclear missiles trained on socialist countries. Norway is urged to spend more on armaments. Along with this, contrary to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria is fomented to revive the cold war atmosphere. To spread fear, suspicion and mistrust, first of all in regard to the Soviet Union, right-wing political alignments are making common cause with ultra-leftists.

We communists certainly cannot agree with those who say this is being done in Norway's national interest. By directing such activities or trends or by abetting them, the policy of the present rulers of Norway runs counter to the nation's genuine interests, to the people's desire for security and a peaceful life in conditions of guaranteed national independence.

In accusing us of a 'lack of patriotism,' reference is usually made to our loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism and to our consistent advocacy of close cooperation and growing friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Yes, these *are* our principles and our policy. We do want Norway's foreign policy orientation to be determined by growing friendship, mutual confidence and mutually beneficial economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and not by effort for defense against a fictitious threat from the East. There are ample grounds for this now and not to take full advantage of them means really ignoring the people's genuine interests. In particular, we call for patient negotiations on fishing and hunting in the Barents Sea and for solutions leading to peace and mutual confidence in this important region. Any other approach to the problem would conflict with our country's vital interests.

We want Norway to contribute actively to greater détente. We want it to join in international measures ending the arms race, limiting

the stockpile of arms and resulting ultimately in general disarmament.

There is not a single fact that anyone could cite to support the charge that we 'lack' patriotism and are willing to 'injure the interests' of the nation in the name of so-called 'special communist objectives.' By contrast, there is more than sufficient proof that those who try to scare the masses by talking about 'communist intrigues' have already sold out Norway's national interests. They have already put our economy under foreign monopoly control and restricted the freedom of our foreign policy by making it conditional on decisions taken by NATO.

In these circumstances, who is proposing and championing a more patriotic foreign policy for Norway, that is, a policy more independent in terms of the national interest? Is it we, the communists, or our bourgeois and reformist opponents? The question can be answered in different ways only because objectively there exist different class conceptions of the national interest. To us communists it is the interest of the working man, of those who form the majority of the nation. As for the political and ideological spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, they see the national interest in only those aspects of national life which do not clash with the interests of capital.

In many contingents of the Norwegian working class, such as the trade union movement, and among the Left Socialists and Social Democrats, more and more people share the CPN view on the best policy meeting the interests of all our people.

Shortly before World War II, Nordahl Grieg, our anti-fascist poet who sang freedom, was asked where his heart lay. 'With the Norwegian working class, which wants peace,' answered the communist patriot. The working class of Norway wants peace as much as ever — it wants peace, progress and power for the people. And this is where our hearts lie.

The collapse of bourgeois reformism and the communist alternative

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ON THE RESULTS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS

One of the chief problems the communists of Honduras discussed at their recent Third Congress was the strategic and tactical directives of the party in the new conditions that have taken shape after the obvious collapse of the bourgeois-reformist line in the social development of our country.

Bourgeois reformism declared itself as a political force in Honduras after the coup d'état on December 4, 1972. The armed forces administration which then came to power with General Lopez Arellano at the head announced a national development plan, a program of social transformations.[1] Implementation of this plan could have undermined the domination of the oligarchy which had ruled the country since the 1870s. The new government met the desires of those sections of the bourgeoisie which seek to modernize the economic and political structure of society through reforms promoting the development of capitalism in the country. Our party described this bourgeoisie as *reformist,* and the armed forces government as *bourgeois-reformist*. The communists welcomed and supported the progressive aspects of the government program, which reflected the immediate needs of the people and the common interests of the revolutionary movement in Honduras. At the same time, the Communist Party warned that the current process was not irreversible, that the danger of reinstatement of the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy was still there, and that the reformist bourgeoisie was inconsistent in its actions, was inclined to seek a compromise with the reactionaries and feared a political drive by the working class.[2]

The past five years have shown that our warnings were well founded. The Arellano government was unable to implement the measures it had proclaimed at the first stage to win over the workers, peasants,

intellectuals, students, a part of the industrial bourgeoisie and the medium-ranking army officers.

This point should be discussed in greater detail.

While pointing out that the class content of the national development plan was above all in the interests of the reformist bourgeoisie, the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our party (held in 1974) said that if the armed forces government consistently implemented the measures it had outlined the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the peasants and the whole of the people would rise to a new level. This could help strengthen the mass organizations, like the trade unions and peasant cooperatives, and overcome the disunity of the masses, whose action until then had been spontaneous. At the same time, this would have enhanced the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic consciousness of the masses, extended bourgeois-democratic freedoms and so further discredited the traditional political parties — the Liberal and National parties — in the eyes of the people. That is why we did our utmost to muster the working people to fight for an early implementation of the agrarian reform, for returning to the country the key economic sectors that were still in the hands of the international monopolies, for establishing more stringent control over the hard currency which was piling up in the safes of the U.S. corporations in the form of profits, interest on capital and commissions. We pressed for the abolition of the economic privileges enjoyed by a handful of capitalist middlemen, for the legalization of the political parties, including the Communist Party, which gave their support to the government's measures and were fighting against the oligarchy and imperialism and for an independent foreign policy.

Our party's purpose was to isolate the traditional oligarchy and to prevent its return to power. We wanted the new social and political forces to exercise an influence on the solution of the country's problems. The Communist Party of Honduras demanded that the Arellano government should take resolute measures against the oligarchy and imperialism. It called on the people to maintain vigilance, because the ultra-rightists had not laid down arms. We worked to build up a broad mass front to include all those who wanted implementation and advancement of the promised social reform. At the same time, the party stepped up the ideological struggle in every sector to neutralize the campaign both of the ultra-rightists and ultra-leftists against the reform program, which they had declared to be a 'pro-Soviet' measure intended to subvert the foundations of private ownership and spread chaos and anarchy.

However, the reformist bourgeoisie, a late-comer in the historical arena of Honduras, did not wield adequate economic power and so lacked political courage. One should bear in mind that at the begin-

ning it did not even have an action program of its own. It had taken the Arellano government more than a year to work out a government plan. Though it finally published its program, the reformist bourgeoisie was unable to implement it and so win over the masses. Besides, it did not have the political machinery to organize action in support of the government plan. As a result, the introduction of social reforms depends on decisions adopted by the military command, above all the so-called Armed Forces Supreme Council, which discussed the government's every concrete measure and voted on it. The reformist bourgeoisie did not dare to encroach upon the economic interests of the landed oligarchy. Nor did it introduce a reform of state administration. For that reason, the execution of its plans was often deliberately delayed or overtly sabotaged by the old state machine.

Pressured by imperialism and scared by the blackmail of the military circles and the oligarchies of the neighboring countries (Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala) which, threatened intervention on the pretext of putting an end to 'anarchy' in Honduras, the Arellano government acted with hesitation, failing to display firmness and increasingly betraying its promises to the nation. The reformist bourgeoisie was frightened by the rapid growth of the popular movement, the demands to revise the property relations in the countryside. It feared that a mature working-class movement with a political vanguard of its own might subsequently raise the question of abolishing private property altogether. As a result, it actually abandoned its own program and started to woo the local latifundists and international monopolies.

On the other hand, it should also be admitted that owing to lack of organization the democratic movement in general, the working class and its party in particular, were unable to resist the onslaught of the rightists. The communists, too, failed to offer the people an alternative, namely to demand the formation of a democratic government which would have effected the badly needed profound structural transformations designed above all to abolish imperialist and oligarchic domination and to facilitate the transition to a more advanced society. Taking advantage of these circumstances, the reactionaries mounted a counter-offensive to prevent the growth of a movement which posed a grave threat to the system, because masses of working people were increasingly involved. The replacement of the power of the 'old' latifundists with the more dynamic power of the 'new' bourgeoisie, which, however, would not have obstructed the U.S. neo-colonialist expansion, proved to be a 'social experiment' that was much too dangerous. Foreign capital began to invade the economy on a massive scale. Patriotic-minded technicians were replaced with

specialists devoted solely to their masters and favoring 'desarrollo'[3] patterns. The rightists provoked strikes, resorted to outright political blackmail, organized paramilitary gangs to assassinate communist and other democratic leaders, and took recourse to bloody repressions against the workers, peasants (as in Talanquera and Lepaguare) and even priests. With the help of strikebreakers they smashed up farm cooperatives and trade union premises under the pretext that they 'fostered subversive activities.' This happened, for instance, in Isletas and Sutrafsco. When the reactionaries ran into stiff opposition from the masses of working people, they launched an anti-communist campaign, a favorite instrument of the cold-war period. Thoroughly prepared and generously backed, it grew into a sort of a 'crusade' against the democratic forces. Any progressive initiative was regarded as subversive activity spearheaded against the 'sacrosanct private property.' Every reformist measure was declared to be a manifestation of 'primitive populism.' Everything that referred to the national development plan the armed forces had proclaimed (especially if it was a sign of approval) was regarded as an infringement of human rights, a threat to private enterprise or a dangerous 'pro-Soviet model.' The efforts of the quarters engaged in the preparation of a fascist coup were facilitated by the fact that the people's forces were in disarray, that there was no mass front to defend the gains of the people and present a powerful barrier in the way of the conspirators.

Having lost the support of the masses (who felt they had been deceived) and weakened by internal contradictions, the Arellano government was overthrown on April 22, 1975. The so-called lieutenant-colonels government headed by Melgar Castro assumed power. This was the first step of the political conspiracy organized by the ultra-rightists and the monopolies to undermine the process of bourgeois reforms. Melgar Castro rejected the idea of structural transformations and pursued the line of advancing so-called economic growth. The agrarian reform, which provided for a new system of land tenure, was gradually reduced to an 'agricultural' reform offering no improvement for the peasants. The plans elaborated by the previous government for the development of the metal industry, constructing of chemical plants, increased output of window glass and extraction of non-metallic minerals were abandoned. The projects for the construction of a hydropower complex in del Cajon, á tourist center in Tornasal, and a pulp and paper factory, were altered to suit foreign companies. The Castro government added to the country's dependence by excessive use of U.S. special-purpose loans. Honduras now has the highest external debt in its history.[4]

These circumstances have enabled the imperialists to force their terms on our country and to re-orient its development plans in the

interests of U.S. monopolies. In addition to a whole range of other demands, the imperialists insist on cutting down state expenditures by mass discharge of factory workers and office employees, increasing direct and indirect taxation, establishing a cash-income ceiling for the state-owned enterprises using foreign credit, etc. The purpose of all these demands is to ensure repayment of debts and interests. This paves the way for the further penetration of the economy of Honduras by U.S. capital.

Yielding to the pressure of the foreign and internal reactionaries, the present government has been resorting to anti-democratic reprisals under the pretext of combating a 'communist threat' and alleged Communist Party efforts to 'infiltrate government bodies and the army.' The recent campaign against 'communist officers' is part and parcel of the reactionary plan to provoke mutual suspicion and intrigues among the members of the Armed Forces Supreme Council, to split them up, to remove the progressive officers and those who are still faithful to the program of reforms, and to strengthen the groupings of reactionary officers who are seeking to restore in the army the spirit of admiration of the oligarchy and the Pentagon.

The Communist Party of Honduras does not rule out the possibility that some of the military personnel will once again side with the people. However, the group of officers supporting the neo-colonialist policy have now gained the upper hand. This policy is being conducted by corrupt politicians from among the old trade-union bureaucrats nursed by the American Institute for the Development of Free Syndicalism.

Thus, the reformist bourgeoisie of Honduras has revealed its limited political potentialities. The process of democratization, which was timidly encouraged by its leaders, has been stopped. There is now a real danger of a fascist-type government coming to power. As with other countries of Central America, such a government may step up repressions to an even greater degree. That was why the Third Congress of the Communist Party held last May decided that it was urgently necessary to revise the communists' political line.

In his report to the Congress, Dionisio Ramos Bejarano, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, spoke of the two contending lines of further development: the line of enemies of our people — imperialism and the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy — who are eager to preserve the existing economic and political structure, and the line of the masses of the people, who demand radical transformations in the economy and progressive socio-political changes. To implement the line of the popular masses it is necessary to carry out an *anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic, democratic and people's revolution*. (The program adopted by the Third Congress sets forth the aims and

concrete tasks of such a revolution.) While pursuing this strategic directive, which is calculated for a more or less prolonged period of time, we maintain that it is already necessary to work out an alternative which would make it possible to resolve the present political crisis and prepare the people for persistent and resolute battles.

At a time when the process of bourgeois reforms has exhausted its potentialities, when the armed forces government has discredited itself, the Third Party Congress has advanced the demand for general democratic elections. The participation of the popular masses in these elections will help curb the reactionary circles who want to set up a fascist regime. Besides, the elections will promote public democratic discussion of social problems and the ways in which the various social classes and their parties, including the Communist Party of Honduras, propose to solve them.

At the same time, we advocate the adoption of a broad electoral law which would allow both registered and non-registered parties and organizations and independent candidates to take part in the elections. We demand the repeal of repressive legislation, and prevention of violence, forgery and rigging during the elections.

The Communist Party of Honduras has also called on all democrats and popular forces, including representatives of the clergy and the army who support transformations, to work for the creation of a united front, convocation of a constituent assembly, and elaboration of a constitution that would formalize the social and democratic transformations that have already been implemented. We favor the creation of a bloc of public and political forces to enable the people to form a democratic government on a broad social basis. This government's main task will be to take urgent measures to solve the difficult problems confronting the country and realize the structural transformations which are historically imperative for our development.

In offering this alternative, we are aware that unforeseen circumstances may make it necessary to change our tactics. In particular, we do not rule out the possibility of the ultra-'leftist' and ultra-rightist adventurist groups' switching over to terrorism. We reject terrorism not only because it plays into the hands of the repressive forces, but above all because it hampers organized mass action and because it creates conditions that are unfavorable for those who are conducting a struggle.

Our bitter experience over a long period of time shows that it takes more than desire to change reality. As the class struggle advances, it is also necessary to build up your forces with the task of establishing the kind of party envisaged by Lenin, a party that would be capable of heading and competently guiding the actions of social protest by transforming the struggle for immediate needs into a struggle for

important political demands, into a great battle for democracy, social progress, national sovereignty and socialism.

The political resolution of our party's Third Congress says that we communists of Honduras have weathered formidable trials and have further cemented our unity. As never before, we are confident that, with the support and solidarity of the international communist movement, our party will sooner or later achieve the great historic aims it has set itself.

1. The agrarian reform was a vital element of the program. Under it 120,000 peasant families were to have received 600,000 hectares of land confiscated from the landlords, in the course of five years. The plan also provided for ways to solve the housing problem, improve the public-health system, develop industry, combat illiteracy and preserve the forest resources. — *Ed.*

2. See R. Padilla. 'Democratization process in Honduras.' *World Marxist Review*, December 1974. (British edition.)

3. 'Desarrollism' (derived from the Spanish term 'desarrollo' — development) denotes U.S. policy in the dependent countries which is intended to perpetuate imperialist control over them. 'Desarrollism' is based on theories advanced by the ideologists of imperialism who favor changes in the economies of underdeveloped countries that would help create better conditions for penetration by monopoly capital.

4. In 1976, the public debt was 53 per cent of the gross national product.

STOP REPRISALS AND PERSECUTION

On the September 8, 1977, Comrade Abdel Mageed El Nur Shakkak, Central Committee member of the Sudanese Communist Party, an outstanding fighter for our country's revolutionary cause, fell victim to the tyrannical regime. Ever since he joined the party 20 years ago he had dedicated all his energies to the party and worked untiringly for its consolidation and unity. While in prison in 1971-73, Comrade Shakkak became ill with chronic inflammation of the kidneys. After a short period out of prison he was again arrested in May 1975 and up to the day of his tragic death he was refused any medical aid.

The present despotic regime in Sudan is fully responsible for the death of this outstanding member of our party. In crying contradiction with international conventions and agreements, brutal treatment of detainees in our camps and prisons has become standard practice. The lives of many other comrades in prison, members of the Sudanese Communist Party and active in the democratic movement, are in danger.

We appeal to the progressive world public to condemn this new crime committed by the regime and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners and an end to illegal arrests and other arbitrary actions in Sudan.

Ahmed Salim,
Representative of the SCP on the *WMR*

viewpoints

Our tasks in the context of the new situation in India

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The political results of the March Lok Sabha (House of the People) elections can be summed up by saying that an entirely new situation has come to India. The three decade-long rule of the Congress Party at the center has come to an end, and the Congress Party has been replaced by the Janata Party as the ruling party. Such is the main political result of the March 1977 elections.

What are the causes of this major shift in the country's political arena? The causes for the loss of the Congress Party's position as ruling party are not far to seek. The Congress Party suffered a stunning defeat as the result of the monstrous misuse of the emergency powers against the common people, the suppression of civil liberties, the large-scale arrests, harassments and persecution of hundreds of innocent people, and the brutal assault and atrocities committed, particularly, against the toiling people, through compulsory sterilization and demolition of their dwelling places. All honest and decent people were utterly revolted by the repulsive methods used to build up an extra-constitutional personal power center with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's second son, Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, as its focus. Along with this came savage attacks on the living standards and trade union rights of the working class, suppression of all normal trade union activities and the heaping of tax burdens on the working peasantry.

The failure to hold the price line during the year 1976 and the nearly 50 per cent rise in the wholesale price index in the course of that year gravely hurt the majority of the people. The increasingly pro-monopolist economic policy, the drift toward acceptance of the World Bank line of 'export-oriented growth' and wooing of the multinationals led to justified apprehensions among the patriotic sections. The government-proclaimed 20-point program which, if implemented, would have undoubtedly brought relief to the rural poor in particular was actually shelved and supplanted by the so-called 5-point program of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, at the center of which was

compulsory sterilization and mass demolition of the dwellings of the poor in the name of 'beautification of cities.'

The intelligentsia, students and other middle class sections in general, apart from being angered by the abuse of emergency powers mentioned earlier, were alienated by the arbitrariness and harassment to which they were increasingly subjected. The blatantly anti-democratic partisanship and censorship of the official mass media brought the government to total disrepute and led to complete loss of credibility. The virtual destruction of the internal democracy and effective functioning of the Congress Party strengthened the trend toward one-person authoritarianism.

Finally, the vicious campaign of slanders and abuse launched against the Communist Party of India by Sanjay Gandhi and his coterie followed by Indira Gandhi herself and sections of sychophant Congress leaders inflicted damage on the Congress Party, disrupted and wrecked the prospect of growing unity of the democratic forces against reaction. The Communist Party itself, in several of its National Council resolutions during the year 1976, had clearly warned that Congress policy during the entire latter period of the emergency led to complete alienation and hostility of every section of democratic opinion in the country. This was what led to the massive defeat of the Congress Party at the Lok Sabha (House of the People) elections.

The National Council of our party which met in Delhi immediately after the Lok Sabha polls analyzed the election results and examined the main causes of the party's setback. According to the assessment of our National Council at its Delhi meeting, it was a very serious mistake of our party not to have called for the lifting of the emergency, at least when negative features had begun to come to the fore. A proper understanding was lacking in the party that vast emergency powers could not be allowed to remain in the hands of a bourgeois state and its bureaucracy for a long time. There was a mistaken understanding that the emergency could be used to bring about progressive shifts in state power in a national democratic direction. The progressive potentiality of the national bourgeoisie and of its representatives in the Congress Party headed by Indira Gandhi was overestimated. It was insufficiently realized that the fight against the increasingly anti-popular, anti-democratic aspects of the internal policies of the Congress government had to be given priority by our party, even while supporting its anti-imperialist foreign policy as well as progressive internal measures. It was not adequately realized that the progressive foreign policy could not be eventually safeguarded and carried forward, except on the basis of a corresponding internal base, i.e., in terms of progressive and democratic home policies.

In fact, it is quite true that our party played a very big role through-

out the period of emergency in exposing its excesses and in trying to mobilize public opinion for struggle against these excesses to the extent the emergency condition permitted us. On the question of compulsory sterilization and on the question of demolition of huts and dwellings of poor people our party led a consistent struggle, but this was insufficient to establish a clear line of demarcation in the minds of the people between our party and the policies of the Congress. The role that we played in exposing the excesses of the emergency could not even be made known to the people at large due to the conditions of the emergency, namely, censorship and rigid restrictions on freedom of assembly. The continuation of the emergency had itself become the most important obstacle to the halting of its excesses. Our party, in fact, underestimated the sense of suffocation and fear that the emergency created among vast sections of the people.

The results of the Lok Sabha elections show a somewhat different pattern in the southern states as compared to what happened generally in the states of the North. In the southern states the Congress Party could win big victories and this was not accidental. This different trend was generally due to the fact that in these states the excesses of the emergency were very much less. A second factor is that generally in the southern states the direct hand of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi and his coterie had much less impact. Thirdly, in the southern states, and particularly in Kerala, the implementation of the 20-point program was to some extent better and more satisfactory. The achievements of the United Front government under the leadership of Chief Minister Comrade A. Menon produced a powerful influence on the minds of the common people of Kerala. This affected the election returns, when the people passed a special verdict in favor of the United Front parties. It is significant that in Kerala the parallel CPM[1] and the opposition front which it had founded to fight the parties of the United Front suffered the most massive defeat they have ever experienced in the history of Kerala. The opposition in Kerala was reduced to the lowest number of seats during the last decade. However, the overall outcome of the elections on an all-India scale was in favor of the forces opposing the Congress Party, which in the main had united in the Janata Party.

The forces which constituted the Janata Party were, in the main, the Jana Sangh, the Bharatia Lok Dal (BLD), the Socialist Party and the Congress Organization (Congo).[2] The Jana Sangh, the Congo and the BLD have been parties which, over a period of many years when they were in the opposition, have been consistently opposing all progressive national policies inaugurated into Indian politics in the middle of the 50s under the leadership of Nehru with the full support of the left forces in the country. The policy of developing the public

sector and making it the dominant factor in Indian economic development, of planned economic development, of development of heavy industries and of industrialization, the policy of radical agrarian reforms, of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-imperialism are all policies which were opposed by these three parties. As for the Socialist Party its policy was of a very mixed character and, as a result of its contradictions and the vagueness of its policies in the 1970s, it was fragmented into several different groups.

It must be specifically emphasized that during the entire election period after the leaders of these parties came out of prison and formed the Janata Party and formulated their election manifesto they considerably modified some of their old policies, prompted both by considerations of tactics and the actual needs of the new situation. The manner in which they came to power at the center as a result of utilizing the ballot box and as a result of the tremendous campaign they ran against the excesses and anti-democratic features of the emergency made such modifications all the more necessary. While formerly they were all small opposition groups which had very little chance of coming to power, the fact that at present all of them have merged to become the ruling party, which is supported by the dominant forces of the Indian bourgeoisie, has affected some of their policies.

During the few months the Janata Party has been in power at the center it has taken a number of steps to remove some of the grotesque distortions in our bourgeois-democratic system made during the emergency period. But under cover of the good will earned by the Janata government through these welcome measures toward democratization, it has tried to accelerate the shift of government policy in a pronounced rightist direction, particularly on the economic front. Wholesale concessions on a massive scale have been given to the local monopolies. The multinational corporations are being invited with redoubled vigor to enter even the strategic sectors of our economy. The public sector is under attack and its growth has been curtailed. Planning priorities are being changed in a reactionary direction. Dependence on imperialist 'aid' is being increased. Reliance is more and more openly being placed on so-called market forces and free market economy, even in such vital matters as procurement and distribution of food grains, to say nothing of other essential commodities. A moratorium has been declared on further nationalization, while even talk about the need to implement land reforms has been stopped and only technical development in agriculture mostly favoring the rich peasant and landlord, is being stressed more and more.

At the same time the objectives of socialism, planning, industriali-

zation, of giving the public sector the commanding heights in the economy and radical agrarian reforms are all being denigrated. Right reactionary forces are skilfully preparing to bring about a wholesale reversal of the nationally-accepted progressive policies of the post-independence period of our history. This is being done by falsely preaching a 'return to Gandhiji,' to what is called emphasis on rural development, so-called decentralization of industry, and so on. Progressive circles in India have pointed out that, while steps are no doubt urgently needed to improve agriculture and village life in India, it would be extremely harmful, however, to counterpose this against the principles of planning, industrialization, heavy industry and the public sector.

In foreign policy the Janata government is, generally and in keeping with the demands of the international situation, continuing the progressive foreign policy of non-alignment, friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of world peace and support to national-liberation movements. This undoubtedly corresponds to the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie itself, and the Janata government now represents the overall interests of the Indian bourgeoisie. But at the same time it is clear that more and more stress is being placed on so-called 'genuine non-alignment' and behind this stress is the attempt to play down anti-imperialism and to tilt foreign and economic policies in a pro-imperialist direction.

In the present world situation where U.S. imperialism is stepping up the aggressive arms race and is taking recourse to such barbarous weapons of mass destruction of human beings as the neutron bomb, when the USA and other imperialist powers are intervening more actively to subvert the national-liberation struggle of the African and the Arab peoples and when international reaction is hatching conspiracies inside Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, endangering peace and the cause of democratic advance on the subcontinent — in such a situation the blunting of anti-imperialism in foreign policy under cover of 'genuine non-alignment' is fraught with dangerous consequences.

As the policies of the Janata Party unfold, contradictions of an internal character have started to develop. Contradictions have become visible during the last few months between the different constituent parties which have combined to form the Janata Party. This is largely connected with the weight of these organizations in the new party. In fact it has been widely observed in India that it is the Jana Sangh and its paramilitary wing — the Rashtria Swayam Sewak (RSS) — together with the Bharatia Lok Dal (BLD) that are dominating the Janata Party today both in terms of personnel, in terms of formation of state ministries and even formulation of policies. Everyone in India

knows that the RSS openly continues its independent existence and is organizing in different states in a powerful way. Similarly the BLD under the leadership of the Home Minister Charan Singh is also reported to be continuing its independent existence and activities.

The contradictions between the constituents of the ruling bloc are not merely contradictions centering around sharing power, they are policy differences. For example, on two such important issues as the importance of the state sector and the state sector having to assume the dominant position in India's economy, as well as on the question of preventing further concentration of economic power in the hands of the monopoly houses, the president of the Najata Party Chandra Shekhar has issued public statements criticizing certain reactionary trends which manifested themselves inside his own party. The Communist Party of India is quite aware of the fact that there are democratic elements inside the Janata Party and that these elements together with the masses which voted for the Janata Party out of discontent and anger against Congress policies must be drawn into the fold of left and democratic unity in the coming period.

Policy differences are thus cropping up between the various constituents of the Janata Party and there are reasons to believe that these policy differences are likely to grow with the deterioration of the economic situation and the growth of mass discontent, and also in periods of large-scale political campaigns, as is evident, for example, from the experience of the recent elections to the legislatures of 10 out of the 22 states and two federal territories of India (June 1977).

The Janata government was in a hurry to hold the state assembly elections, because while it was in a big majority in the Lok Sabha it was in a minority in the Rajya Sabha, and many of the state governments were still controlled by the Congress Party. The Janata Party intended to go in for the August 1977 presidential elections. It could not, however, count on success unless it captured some of the state assemblies. It appears that its leaders were also in a hurry because they feared a change in the sentiments of the electors in the face of deteriorating economic conditions.

The CPI tactics in the state assembly elections was to do its best to prevent the Janata Party from coming to power in the states and getting a better hold there. The CPI realized that while the Congress Party proved its inability to rule, at the same time the Janata Party, also by its record since it came to power at the center, had sufficiently shown the people that its policies were continuing to take the country toward the right and that these policies would not solve the people's problems. The CPI adopted the tactic of general support of left and democratic forces in the various state assembly elections, trying to reach some understanding with the Communist Party (Marxist) and

other left parties in those states where the cooperation of our party would be accepted by the CPM and other left parties. In those states where it was desirable and possible to reach an electoral adjustment with democratic sections inside the Congress the Communist Party adopted the tactics of trying for such adjustments.

The Communist Party's tactics could not be identical in every state because of the different conditions in the different states. In some, like Uttar-Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Tamilnadu, the Communist Party could reach a limited or broad electoral adjustment with the Congress. In other states the Communist Party did not think it desirable to do so with the Congress and therefore fought on its own strength. The party did its best to avoid confrontation with the Communist Party (Marxist) and other parties of the left but unfortunately the CPM did not respond to our efforts and resorted to a policy of confrontating our candidates in most seats in every state except Punjab.

The election results, in our opinion, fully vindicated the electoral tactics adopted by our party in the assembly elections. Even though the party lost seats in the states in terms of what it had already won five years ago, at the same time, compared with the results of the Lok Sabha elections held three months ago, the party achieved creditable results this time in the assembly elections in some states, particularly in Uttar-Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Delhi and Tamilnadu. This is a notable achievement of the party considering the fact that we had to go into these elections under extremely difficult conditions and with very little resources at our command. Also, violence and force were freely used against our party comrades in these assembly elections. Twenty-one party comrades were killed during these elections in the state of Bihar alone, and terror and force were used on a mass scale to prevent harijans and agricultural workers in many states from coming to the polls and voting for our party.

The recent elections again confirmed in practice the viability of our strategic line of rallying the unity of left and democratic forces. Cooperating with the democratic elements of the Congress Party and the masses which followed them in the recent elections, the communists and the Congress Party secured important results in many states. In the present situation the possibilities for cooperation and joint action of these Congress sections with our party and other left and democratic parties and forces have become much more favorable. The processes taking place within the Congress Party have largely contributed to this. A struggle is developing inside the Congress Party. Left and democratic forces inside the party are beginning to demand that their party break away from the Sanjay Gandhi caucus and its reactionary policies, and adopt left of center policies and programs, and work together with other democratic and progressive

parties and forces. Such cooperation and joint action between Congressmen, particularly at the grass-roots level, Congress masses and our party and other left and democratic parties and forces have assumed tremendous importance particularly in the Hindi belt of India, where reaction is very strong and where organized left parties are still comparatively weak.

The Communist Party attaches tremendous importance to building up left and democratic unity in the coming period, to fostering and developing joint action in defense of the interests of the masses with respect to urgent political issues, to anti-imperialist questions, and to defense of progressive nationally-accepted policies. All this calls for the advancement of cooperation both with the vast democratic sections inside the Congress and with the left parties. Such is the command of the times and of the situation.

Taking the Indian situation as a whole, it is becoming increasingly evident that neither a government of the Janata Party nor one that might be formed by the Congress Party could solve the problems of the country. It must be emphasized here that in the new political situation that has emerged, both inside India and outside it, there are powerful quarters advocating a so-called two-party system. Imperialist forces and powerful sections among Indian monopolies are advocating this. They want to bring about a political system in India similar to the system in the United States, where there are two bourgeois parties alternately in power. In a situation where mass discontent boils over against the Janata Party government policies, a Congress government would be brought into power and later on when people get discontented with the Congress government, the Janata Party government could be made to take over. In other words, the people would be forced to choose between two parties both of whom represent the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The strategic goal of this plan being to save the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie, the immediate political purpose is to keep out the Communist Party and the parties of the left and render them politically irrelevant. No progressive minded person or democrat can accept such plans. In the new political situation in India today only a left and democratic alternative can solve these problems of the country as distinct both from the policy of the Congress Party and that of the Janata Party, which are both parties of the bourgeoisie. It is becoming increasingly obvious that there is only one way open to all the left and democratic forces, one which will help repel reaction, save the unity of our country, its democracy and achieve radical socio-economic transformations — this is the way of uniting among ourselves and projecting a third alternative before the people as the only viable alternative.

The experience of the left and democratic government of Kerala is of special importance. In the recent assembly elections the people of West Bengal voted for a left alternative, showing they wanted neither the Congress Party nor the Janata Party. This is the significance of the victory of the Communist Party (Marxist) and its left front in West Bengal, which have formed a government of their own.

These two governments, the United Front government of Kerala and the left government of West Bengal, can do a great deal in the coming period if they choose the proper approach to set and achieve practicable progressive tasks in these states and lead the masses toward left and democratic perspectives on a national plane. This can be done if these two governments seek and secure cooperation of all the left and democratic parties and forces, including those who are not represented in them at present. As far as the Communist Party of India is concerned it offers full cooperation to the government of West Bengal in that spirit and has appealed to the CPM to adopt a similar attitude to the government of Kerala. Our party is convinced that building unity in action between it, the CPM and the Naxalite groups[3] is an essential part of the effort for the unity of all left and democratic parties and forces. The CPI will conduct a dialogue with these circles, for we are convinced that united action between it and the CPM, as well as the mass organizations led by them is both necessary and possible today in spite of various difficulties and obstacles.

We do not shut our eyes to the political and ideological differences between the CPI and the CPM, for they are differences of principle. The CPI during the last 13 years after the split in the communist movement in India has been upholding the best internationalist, Leninist traditions both in terms of national strategy and tactics and in terms of international ideology. The CPI stands for reunification of the communist movement in India on a principled basis and, we think, building up unity in action on people's issues and political issues is the first step in the hard and protracted process which will be needed for bringing about ultimate unification of the Indian communist movement.

Our party is extremely sorry that our appeals to the CPM for such unity in action have till now evoked a totally negative response from the CPM leadership. The CPM leaders have demanded that we should break off all ties with the Congress Party and even resign from the United Front government in Kerala as a precondition to any joint action. As far as our party is concerned, we think that such a precondition, far from helping the cause of left and democratic unity, will only further harm this cause. Such preconditions are essentially unsound, and besides, the CPM in Kerala has recently launched a

campaign of terror and murder against our party cadres, against Congressmen and United Front ministers. The objective of this campaign is to create a so-called 'law and order situation in Kerala' and thus invoke Central intervention from the Janata Party in New Delhi to dismiss the democratically elected government in Kerala. The CPM leadership has adopted the policy of total support of the Janata government and has been playing down the struggle against its reactionary policies. Our party has appealed to the CPM to abandon this policy for it can only harm the masses and their mounting struggle and also the prospect of developing common action between the CPI and the CPM, as well as by all the left and democratic forces in the country.

There are other left parties in the country like the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Socialist Unity Center, Forward Bloc, Peasants' and Workers' Party, etc., with which our party will also strive to establish unity in action at different levels and, above all, on mass issues. Our party is convinced that it is necessary to build joint action by left and democratic forces not only with democratic sections of the Congress and the toiling masses who follow that party, but also with the democratic elements of the Janata Party. This is how our party envisages the development of left and democratic unity in a new way in the new political situation in India and this is how we appraise the importance of left unity and, in particular, communist unity in the context of a wider left and democratic unity.

The session of our National Council held in July 1977 analyzed in detail the present political situation and outlined the tasks before the party. Our party arrived at the conclusion that an explosive situation is rising in India on the home front, particularly in the sphere of economy. Soaring prices have been aggravated by the free-market economic policy of the ruling circles who have given free rein to the traders, wholesalers and profiteers.[4] There are definite indications that, unless radical measures are taken, the economic situation will become worse.

A savage attack has been launched by landlords against harijans and agricultural laborers. Atrocities have been committed against these sections with the collusion of the police. Landlords in some states have also resorted to mass-scale eviction of harijans and agricultural laborers from lands which they have been given under the previous government's land reforms. Agricultural laborers have also been threatened that if they continue to fight for the implementation of the laws on minimum wages, which have been introduced in some states, ruthless reprisals will follow. In fact, landlords in many states such as Uttar-Pradesh and Bihar are openly boasting that now that

'their party,' the Janata Party, has come to power the harijans and agricultural laborers will be taught a severe lesson.

The Janata Party and government are not fulfilling many of their election promises on improvement of the living standards of the broad masses and restoration of democratic and trade union rights. Lock-outs and mass discharges have not stopped. On the contrary, the monopolists have been resorting to them more openly. In many important industries like electricity, banking and insurance where negotiations were to be held on wage increases, no negotiations have as yet been started by the government.

As economic difficulties worsen, discontent mounts among the broad masses. A strike wave has been spreading in many states. In this situation the primary task of the communists is to launch, without delay, a mass movement in defense of the interests of the working class, harijans, agricultural laborers, of the poor and middle peasants, of the youth and students, of all other oppressed sections. In working for its realization we shall be able to change the present situation. Here is a case in point. The workers were inspired by the re-introduction of bonuses — a demand that united very broad sections of the working people both during and after the emergency.

In the working-class strikes, which are breaking out more and more frequently, the communists must be in the forefront, as the unflinching champion of the class. The rural poor, on whom a most vicious and violent offensive has been let loose by the vested interests, must be stoutly defended by the party. The party must take the lead in organizing resistance to such attacks and mobilize expressions of militant solidarity with their victims, it must fight all acts of violence and discrimination against the harijans and other poor sections of society. The poor and middle peasants, who are victims of the price and taxation policies of both the former and present governments, must be organized to fight for their interests. The party and mass organizations should launch a mass movement against rising prices.

Not only on economic questions but on questions of a general democratic nature like civil liberties, democratic rights, the freedom by harijans to exercise their right to vote, the party must come forward as a staunch fighter. We must move forward to mobilize the broadest possible sections of the people in defense of nationally-accepted progressive policies and against the anti-people policies of the Janata government.

The situation today demands independent initiative on the part of our party in defense of the people's interests. The political resolution the National Council adopted at its plenary meeting in July 1977 reads: 'By reacting vigorously and in time to every attack on the

rights and interests of the people, no matter by whom, the party will be able to strike deep roots among them.' It is only by steadfastly standing by the people through thick and thin and boldly leading the struggles for their just demands that independent mass bases of the party are built and strengthened.

In all struggles initiated and launched either by us or by others the party has to seek unity of action with all the left and democratic parties and sections. It is unity forged in such struggle at the factory, village and *basti* level which can lay the proper foundation for future united political action.

Thus, in the matter of building left and democratic unity in the new situation our party places the utmost emphasis on mass actions and mass movements in defense of the interests of the working masses in the coming period. In answer to the question where to begin in the extremely difficult task of reforging left and democratic unity it says that the party and the mass organizations must begin by plunging into the mass movement for the defense of the urgent interests of the masses. The United Front and left and democratic unity can be built up in the coming period by concentrating on their class foundations. It is through concentrating on the class foundations for such a front among the masses that we can effect a breakthrough in the present situation for mobilizing and uniting left and democratic forces, wherever they are positioned, to come forward and unite in order, in time, to forge a joint platform for left and democratic unity on a political plane.

1. Communist Party (Marxist).
2. In addition to the traditionally right-wing parties, the Congress for Democracy joined the Janata Party. On the eve of the elections J. Ram proclaimed his withdrawal from the government of Indira Gandhi. However, in the few weeks before the merger into the Janata Party the Congress for Democracy failed to form its own party organization.
3. Groups that broke away from the Communist Party (Marxist) in 1967.
4. The Indian press is full of reports on a sharp rise in prices of all prime necessities, which in the last three summer months showed an increase of 150 per cent and in some cases 200 per cent.

Paths of struggle for a new democracy

Athos Fava
Member of the Executive and Secretariat, CC, CP Argentina

Argentina is in the throes of political crisis. Reactionaries at home and abroad are plotting to set up a Pinochet-style dictatorship. They are opposed by the political parties and organizations advocating a democratic dialogue with the government. The present government of Argentina came to power on March 24, 1976, through a military coup. On the eve of the coup the country was in a state of chaos. There was nobody at the helm. The runaway inflation that was ruining the economy hit the working people's budget hardest of all. In March alone it had rocketed by 30 per cent. Faced with this situation, the political parties took energetic measures to prevent the collapse of the constitutional system and save the country from imminent disaster. Keeping in constant touch with the leaders of the other political forces, the Communist Party proposed forming a coalition cabinet of democratic, civil and military forces in order to stabilize the situation. It was the most consistent advocate of a multi-party meeting to discuss the question of how to prevent a coup and resolve the political crisis by constitutional means. Unfortunately, the meeting we had been as such pains to organize took place on the very night of the coup and could do nothing to change the course of events.

By this time the armed forces were divided into moderates and Pinochetists, a division that still exists today. Victory went to the moderates led by General Jorge Rafael Videla.[1] They had adopted various positions in the dramatic circumstances that developed in the final days of Isabel de Peron's government.[2] While agreeing that it was up to the politicians to find a way out of the situation, they took no effective measures to achieve consensus between the civilians and the military on how to bring the ship of state under control within a constitutional framework. The Pinochetists, on the other hand, were out for a military coup by any means.

In the end the armed forces decided to take political power on the basis of a compromise providing for equal army, navy and air force participation in the administration. This means that many of the

military who have assumed administrative posts have to report back to the command of their particular service and not to the government, a practice that often causes confusion and even chaos. Sometimes this is intentionally created by the Pinochetists to destabilize the government and clear the way for another coup. At recent meetings of the High Command General Videla was supported by his colleagues on the question of holding a constructive dialogue with the civilian circles and achieving a political solution to the country's problems.

We communists, who have been studying the position in the armed forces for years, have often pointed out that no progress can be made without unity between the progressive civilian forces and army circles, that the process of transformation demands the participation of democratically-minded military people. In defining our tactical line we make a clear distinction between the progressive, patriotic and democratic circles and the reactionary groups within the armed forces. We declare that the main danger threatening our people is Pinochetism, which is being fostered by reaction, imperialism and the CIA. The Pinochetists have not been defeated. They are clinging desperately to their positions and have no intention of being ousted. And it is to fight them that we are trying to unite all democratic forces, civilian and military, even the waverers and the unstable.

Political instability has been a characteristic feature of the country's structural crisis ever since the coup d'état of 1930. With every new military coup the intense contradictions between the various sections of the armed forces have become apparent. This was the case in 1930, 1943, 1955 and 1966. Similar contradictions flared up after the 1976 coup.

Because of their heterogeneity the armed forces today are undergoing a complex, contradictory and zigzag process of development. The military people who formerly advocated democratic, progressive and even anti-imperialist views quite often swing to the opposite pole. On the other hand, some take a relatively progressive stand on economic questions while maintaining a reactionary attitude in the political and ideological spheres. We support those who are fighting for economic independence, and seek to prevent the patriotic but wavering members of the armed forces from taking the side of imperialism.

The Communist Party values the activities of the democratic and patriotic political parties and other forces, including the Church, which give various degrees of support to the circles headed by General Videla. It values their positive actions, particularly those designed to isolate the Pinochetists and win victory for democracy. We have in mind the Peronists, the radicals, the 'intransigents,' the socialists, the democratic Christians, and other trends. Taken together, they represent more than 90 per cent of the country's political

forces, the other pole being occupied by the rightists, the ultra-rightists and the ultra-left.

In the present situation there can be only one alternative to national disaster and the establishment of a Pinochet-style dictatorship: the realization of a national program drawn up jointly by the democratic and patriotic trends. Such a program could be adopted by a constituent assembly and would form the basis for a government consisting of civilians and military people and representing a broad democratic coalition.

Commentators sometimes equate the situation in Argentina today with that of Chile. Considered analytically, there are indeed certain similarities. In Argentina, as in Chile, there has been much bloodshed — as much, if not more, than in Chile. The commentators are right there. But there is more to it than that. The first and most striking fact is the differences between those who engineered the coups in the two countries. Whereas in Chile it was the Pinochet line that won the day, in Argentina, as we have already noted, the victorious trend was not all of the same color. It included liberal and democratic trends that mingled with the reactionary elements. And yet the Pinochetist elements in Argentina's armed forces, though they are doing great harm to our people, have not been able to gain complete political and military power. As the situation developed, they exhausted their reserves and played themselves out. This has caused confusion in their ranks but it would be wrong to underestimate the danger of Pinochetism.

The moderate trend is expressed in the government's declarations. General Videla's supporters maintained from the outset that their goal was to find a democratic solution, and that the republic should be governed on the basis of a federal system, established by a national constitution. They claim that they were forced to seize power by the general chaos. This approach to events arises, of course, from the bourgeois outlook of the military. As early as March 25, 1976, the Communist Party had declared that a coup was not the best means of solving the crisis because there was also a constitutional way of doing this.

With the exception of the ultra-left groups, which have been banned, Argentina's military junta has not dissolved the political parties, although it has temporarily halted their political activities (now punishable by imprisonment). But the parties are still allowed to keep their premises and engage in purely organizational matters. It should be stressed that the Communist Party is in the same position as the others. As regards the working-class movement, the government interferes in the internal affairs of the trade union center, the largest federations and trade unions. The activities of the organizations of

poor and middle peasants are very much restricted. On the other hand, the Argentine Peace Council, the Argentine Women's Union, the Argentine Human Rights League, the Permanent Human Rights Assembly (presided over by the Catholic Bishop De Nevares) and other organizations embracing various political, professional and religious trends are functioning legally. Official circles have stated more than once that they have no intention of destroying the political parties, because, as they themselves acknowledge, parties can neither be created nor abolished by decree. Here they differ essentially from the dictatorship of Pinochet, who declared on March 18, 1977, that his government deems it necessary 'to terminate the existence of the traditional political parties' because they are 'groups endeavoring to seize power for their own mercenary ends.' The fascist essence of the Pinochet dictatorship came out very clearly in its utterly brutal persecution of the Communist and the Socialist Parties and other progressive forces. While in Chile, crime and terror are being used to keep the fascist government in power, in Argentina, where the CIA and the local 'gorillas' play a very big role, these barbaric methods are employed by those who want to set up a fascist regime.

The moderate trend led by General Videla has expressed its readiness to work for an agreement between the civilians and the military and to begin a constructive dialogue. There are, of course, many obstacles in the path of these intentions. Some people, including some moderate-liners, want to hedge the possibility of a dialogue with discriminatory demands, to perpetuate the power of the military and ban political parties, especially the Communist Party. But the opponents of dialogue have not been able to impose their reactionary plans on the majority of the leadership of the armed forces. This is not to say, of course, that there is no reason to be on guard against the reactionary elements, who have the backing of the landowning oligarchy, big capital and the CIA.

On the whole it may be said that political activity is gradually reviving. Party leaders are holding meetings, the representatives of the various democratic trends are talking to each other, statements and documents are being printed, and various publications reflecting the views of the most influential political circles are appearing. Public organizations are in a similar position. Discussion focuses on what the government-proposed dialogue should begin with and how to reach a practical agreement between the civilians and the military that would stimulate political and union activity and thus ensure democracy. Broad and frequent contacts between the civilians and the military tend to dispel the numerous prejudices and preconceptions in their attitudes to one another and to produce coinciding views.

Of course, our conception of what a civilian-military agreement

should be differs from the approach of the military moderate-liners, who maintain bourgeois positions and seek to build up their influence in the political, trade union, production, cultural and other fields. Nevertheless, any measures designed to establish bourgeois-democratic freedoms are a tremendous step forward because, restricted though they may be, they facilitate the struggle for a new, progressive democracy.

In the fight for democracy and against Pinochetism our party has suffered heavy losses. Scores have been murdered. One hundred people have 'disappeared.' Hundreds have been arrested and many of these are being subjected to horrible tortures. The dimensions of the tragedy of those who have 'disappeared' may be judged from the fact that when the whereabouts of one of them does become known, even if it is a prison, his relatives and friends are overjoyed simply by the knowledge that he is still alive. The Pinochetists are using total terror to paralyze and destabilize the government, and then seize power. Nazi methods of taking and using hostages have become an everyday occurrence. Anyone who fights persecution knows that he is endangering his whole family, including the old people and children. In some areas, such as the Cordoba and Buenos Aires provinces, the hounding of communists has been and still is utterly brutal.

But our party is staunchly resisting reaction and maintaining its organizations in all areas. We are proud to say that in Argentina's specific conditions, despite the inhuman conditions in the jails, not a single arrested communist has claimed his legal right to leave the country.[3] All communists and members of the party's youth organization get to know about the stubborn courage of the many who have been tortured and even died under torture and their example breeds fighters in the true Leninist tradition.

Broad political and social circles are offering increasing resistance to repressive policies. In this connection I should like to note the important role that the Church plays in this resistance. The responsible stand taken by the members of the higher judiciary in defending legality and condemning the violation of human rights must also be mentioned.

So, despite the fact that repressive measures are being used in both Chile and Argentina, there are several fundamental factors, particularly those connected with government activity on the political plane, that indicate a difference in the situation in the two countries.

In evolving our tactics we have noted the fact that U.S. imperialism seeks to implant military dictatorships or governments that it can control throughout the Southern Cone. This aim has not yet been fully achieved. Argentina is still a ray of hope that glimmers and sometimes seems to go out, and yet still shines.

To understand all these complex processes one must go beneath the surface of things. One has to see the essence of the problem. The Latin American peoples do not accept fascism. The Cuban revolution is what inspires them to achieve new goals.

Videla's visits to Peru and Venezuela broke the wall of isolation with which imperialism seeks to enclose Argentina. The Argentine Pinochetists had worked hard to prevent Videla's trip to Venezuela. The trip yielded positive results, as the joint statement by the heads of state testifies. Among other things it speaks of support for the Latin American Economic System, the Andean Pact and the Latin American Free Trade Association, Panama's claims to the canal, Argentina's rights to the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, and Bolivia's right of access to the sea.

The Argentine communists have a far from easy task. We have to operate in an unusual and extremely complex situation. By this we mean the profound social and economic crisis, the reactionary plan for economic development, the continuing fall in real wages, the brutal repression, and also the fact that it is sometimes difficult for the masses to grasp the distinction between the different military circles.

In order to solve the country's problems in favor of democracy and progress we Marxist-Leninists consider that the main thing is to develop the militant actions of the broad masses led by the working class. On this we place our hopes and this is where we are directing our main efforts. We attach enormous importance to the struggle of the Argentine proletariat (mainly on the basis of the joint actions of the Peronists and the communists at the factories) for increased wages, trade union democracy and civil freedoms. In this connection we must note the struggle of the trade union associations of the auto workers, electricians, the Buenos Aires and Rosario dockers, the farm workers of Santa Fe, and the working people of nearly all the country's major enterprises. During talks on labor conflicts with representatives of the armed forces, the internal commissions[4] and the majority of the workers showed firmness and dignity and did not respond to the provocations of the leftist elements. In most cases they were successful in obtaining wage rises and satisfaction of other claims, including the demand for the release of some leaders and rank-and-file members of the trade unions that had been arrested.

In recent times imperialist propaganda has mounted a big campaign on the so-called Carter human rights doctrine. We communists are well aware of the anti-Soviet implications of this demagogic campaign. Since blatant anti-communism has failed, this doctrine is intended by its authors, the big international monopolies, to be not anti-communist but 'only' anti-Soviet. It is to be kept within the framework of defense of 'human rights.' The task, however, is an

impossible one. Trying to spot the differences between anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is like distinguishing between Siamese twins. The campaign's main propaganda weapon is the banner of struggle for human rights, a banner that in the United States is stained deep with dirt and blood. These are the positions from which we have analyzed the essence of the Carter doctrine, a doctrine intended primarily to create 'internal problems' for the Soviet Union, which is putting into practice the world's most advanced constitution reflecting the striking changes that have taken place. Carter attacks the Soviet Union, the main offspring of the world revolutionary movement. In doing so he attacks us, the international working-class and communist movement.

As Latin Americans are well aware, U.S. policy is pursued through various channels: the Pentagon, the CIA, the international companies, and the State Department. It is a policy with two faces. The statement of March 8, 1977, signed by the leaders of our party, points out that '... the Carter administration has assumed the posture of supreme judge and claims the right to pass judgment on other countries. It has interfered in the internal affairs of our country, hypocritically accusing it of violating human rights.' 'While acknowledging the indisputable role of international solidarity, we deny the sincerity of U.S. imperialism and reject its moral authority to defend human rights beyond its own borders inasmuch as it is violating these rights in its own country and in various other parts of the world. It will be correct to reject such interference, though it is performed under the pretext of defense of legitimate rights.'

To make a clearer distinction between the democratic wing and the Pinochetists it is worthwhile considering General Videla's statement at a meeting dedicated to the 167th anniversary of the Argentine army: 'As soon as we define the necessary roads, the broad and well-intentioned dialogue will grow deeper. But the corrupt and subversive elements will take no part in it ... We are confident that the dialogue will be the best means for achieving national agreement ... We have no doubt that such a dialogue is the best way of shedding the vices engendered by the isolation of power. The usual outcome of such isolation is the temptation to take up elitist or corporativist positions.'[5]

In its May 1977 statement the Argentine episcopate stressed that no dialogue or democracy are possible without respect for human rights. It deplored the large number of kidnappings, and the fact that they are carried out by groups calling themselves representatives of the armed forces and the police. It expressed its concern over the reports of the torture of many prisoners, the prolonged detention of people who are

not granted the right to a defense, and the inhuman conditions in the prisons.

In its turn the Civilian Radical Union — the country's second political force after the Peronists — passed a statement (June 1977), signed by 48 of its most eminent leaders, which gives a strict critical analysis of the socio-economic situation in the country, sharply condemns the violations of human rights, and voices the demand that all political parties should be granted the right to carry on normal activities. 'We,' the statement says, 'are not working for and do not desire the isolation of the military government because it is not our way to speculate on crises, and certainly not on the present recession.'

In an 'Open Letter to Videla' some well-known and prestigious public men of various countries and continents, representing diverse political and public organizations and trends, have stated: 'We know of your numerous statements expressing determination to begin a constructive and fruitful dialogue with Argentine citizens in order to give an impulse to the country's development and progress in conditions of a pluralist democratic system.'[6] Similar declarations have been made by the Peronist party, the Christian Democrats, the trade unions, the employers, representatives of culture, students, the judiciary, the Chamber of Deputies, the supreme court, and so on.

We communists appeal to all the world's democratic forces to study the drama that is being enacted in Argentina, to try to understand its complex political situation, and to help our country isolate the Pinochetists and thus avoid an onslaught of butchery that could assume far greater dimensions than anything we have known before. A victory of a Pinochetist dictatorship would close the ring of imperialism in the Southern Cone and considerably worsen the situation on the continent.

Our party has never kept silent about the danger threatening Argentina. But while warning of this danger it has always insisted that one should not yield to the temptation to approach all the military with the same yardstick.

We believe our line to be correct, scientific and in accord with the actual state of affairs. Through their own harsh experiences the masses are coming more and more to understand it.

The 60th anniversary of the foundation of our party falls in the early days of January 1978. It is no accident that it follows so closely upon the 60th anniversary of October. The Argentine revolutionaries responded immediately to the events in Russia because of their thinking, which was close to that of the Bolsheviks, because of their knowledge of the goals for which they were fighting, and because of their dedication to internationalism. The October Revolution had a

tremendous impact on the workers' and peasants' movement, and the intellectuals and students of our country.

Subsequent years saw an effort to fight all kinds of opportunism in our party and to master Leninism and apply it creatively to our realities. We have always taken an active part in the world communist movement and invariably shown our solidarity with the Soviet people during the civil war, the food shortages, and the imperialist intervention, during the Second World War and in all the years that followed. We treasure the Soviet Union's experience of building socialism, its tremendous contribution to the cause of saving humanity from fascism. This close relationship took shape on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have always recognized the outstanding role of Lenin's party, our heroic vanguard, which has pushed ahead through incredible difficulties along an unexplored path, thus saving the energies of those who have followed.

The rich many-sided experience of the CPSU is relevant not only for the USSR, but for the whole world. It is not a matter of copying a set scheme, but of discerning the main features and principles in the Soviet experience, which manifest themselves in any socialist revolution; this flows from the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory. We therefore consider it necessary to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the existing conditions. We have maintained this approach in working out our present line. It takes into account the trends in the military government itself and is designed to prevent the isolation of the advocates of a political solution to problems, and to help the forces that will crush Pinochetism and open the road to a new and transformed Argentina.

1. This trend is less homogeneous than the Pinochetists. It comprises representatives of bourgeois-liberal circles, patriots, democrats, populists, progressists and also some rightist elements. The other trend is made up of fascists and extreme reactionaries. It has as yet no generally acknowledged leader.
2. For more details about the activities of this government and the situation at the time see A. Kohen, 'Who gains from the terror,' *WMR* No. 2, 1976; A. Fava, 'The class character of a mass party,' No. 4, 1976, and A. Kohen, 'Argentina: light and shade in the South Atlantic,' No. 12, 1976.
3. Unlike Chile and other countries with fascist and dictatorial regimes Argentina has a constitution, which grants (although with many reservations) the right to leave the country to people arrested by the authorities during a state of emergency.
4. Leading trade union organs at enterprises.
5. *La Prensa,* May 30, 1977.
6. This was followed by an inquiry about the fate of every person who has disappeared and a note indicating the authors' respect for the declaration on the principle of non-interference in the country's affairs (*Elementos,* June 14, 1977).

A victory for democracy

LETTER FROM SPAIN

The outcome of the general election held in Spain on June 15 last, for the first time after 40 years of Francoist dictatorship, was clearly favorable to the democratic and left-wing forces and marked a victory for democracy — Francoism was defeated at the polls. The aggressive neo-Francoists of Fraga Iribarne's so-called Popular Alliance suffered a complete defeat — they won no seat in areas as important as Andalusia.

The left is a reality not to be ignored. The electorate voted for moderate candidates, showing an unmistakable trend toward the left — leftists secured the absolute majority in Catalonia, Madrid and many other provinces. The moderate right represented by the Democratic Center Union, a right-of-center coalition transformed into a government party after the election, benefited from the presence of Adolfo Suarez at its head and from his positive role as head of government in the process of democratization. A considerable section of the electorate voted Socialist, mainly for the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SSWP) and the Catalonian Socialist Party; a small but representative minority supported the Popular Socialist Party. The disappearance of the Christian Democratic Left made for a bigger Socialist vote and was conducive to the fact that for over 18 months now, the SSWP has been able to operate publicly and has enjoyed the support of large sections of public opinion favorable to democracy and socialism, including many who, given greater security and democratic normality, would have voted communist.

The results achieved by the Communist Party of Spain — 21 deputies and senators — do not reflect the party's real strength and influence. The social and territorial positions it holds all over the country, and the deep roots it has among the forces of labor and culture, make the CPS the most important political party. But unlike other parties, the CPS was legalized a mere 40 days before the election. It had 40 days to combat 40 years of anti-communist lies and calumnies poured out by the big information media and the system of public and private education.

The results of the general election in Spain cannot be appreciated without taking account of the political context in which it was held and the conditions in which the transition from dictatorship to democracy was effected — a slow, difficult and complex process. As distinct

from Portugal and other countries, there was no radical break with the institutions of the dictatorship. The presence of these institutions and of the old 'caciques' constituted an element of compulsion and insecurity for millions of voters, especially in the countryside.

Throughout the democratization process, the danger of a Pinochetist coup threatened the country like the sword of Damocles against a background of extremist violence, particularly in the Basque Country, and of provocations by forces interested in disrupting the process so as to justify an eventual coup. It should not be forgotten that when, 40 days earlier, the CPS was legalized, the worst crisis and the gravest threat to democratization developed in the army. Fear resulted in vacillation and swung the vote to parties which seemed moderate, on both the right and the left.

In these circumstances, the votes obtained by the communists were valuable. They were cast by a large vanguard, which is over a million and a half strong and possesses a high capacity for expansion, being made up of dynamic and enthusiastic masses, as the big countrywide rallies held during the election campaign showed. The rallies attended by leading members of our party, especially by General Secretary Santiago Carrillo, were the biggest and most numerous actions of the campaign.

The results varied according to region and nationality. They were modest in Galicia and the Basque Country — for obvious objective and subjective reasons. In the Basque Country a mounting wave of violence on the eve of the voting jeopardized the whole election. Outstanding results were scored in Catalonia, Andalusia and Madrid. Catalonia excelled — the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (communists) won 18 per cent of the votes and eight seats. In both Andalusia and Madrid, the communists scored about 11 per cent and won five and four seats, respectively. In Barcelona 19 per cent was won, in Cordoba 16, and in Tarragona 16 per cent. Although the results of the vote were moderate, there are ample opportunities for the CPS now to step up its activity and increase its strength and leverage in national politics in anticipation of the coming municipal elections; which will take place in a new setting of progress and democracy.

The election campaign was a great political battle which enabled the CPS, for the first time after 40 years of dictatorship, to make itself heard among millions of citizens and to show what it stands for without engaging in electoral demagogy, well remembering that what was at stake was the democratization process. What some have called the CPS's policy of 'moderation' — a policy of national responsibility based on revolutionary realism — helped democratization despite the forces working for the opposite. For millions of voters the CPS was

publicly able to spell out its 'Eurocommunist' road to socialism, that is, a democratic road to socialism in conditions of freedom. Party organizations all over the country came out of that great political battle much stronger than before, with thousands of new organizations and thousands of new members.

The communist parliamentary minority composed of CPS and USPC deputies and senators will defend both the interests of the constituencies which have elected them and the interests of all the regions and ethnic communities making up the Spanish state. Its priorities are as follows: amnesty for civilians and military men and the reinstatement of dismissed workers; a new law on the right of association allowing the legalization of all parties; a plan to put the national economy on a sound basis so as to combat the effects of the crisis; a bill of rights for the working people; constituent powers for the Cortes; various statutes of autonomy for the regions and ethnic communities, and a new law on electoral procedure and constituency boundaries in view of the coming municipal elections.

Through its policy and conduct, the CPS has made a decisive contribution to the peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain. The facts have demonstrated the correctness of its policy of national reconciliation and of an alliance for freedom ranging from the communist and socialist left to democratic-minded rightists.

The paramount task of all democratic forces after the election is to build and consolidate democracy and its institutions, respecting the people's sovereignty and using the broadest democratic freedoms.

Jose Garcia Meseguer,
CC member, Communist Party of Spain
Madrid

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exchange of views

Against the ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system

What do the policy and ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system actually stand for in your country today? What are the guidelines, the typical concepts, and slogans? What kind of impact do they have? What is your party doing to fight them?

The *WMR* put these questions to *Karl-Heinz Schröder,* Board Secretary, German CP, *Erwin Scharf,* Politbureau member, Secretary CC, CP Austria; *James West,* Politbureau member, CP USA; *Gilberto Vieira,* General Secretary, CP Colombia; *Pedro Mayta,* CC Political Commission member, Peruvian CP; *Jean Terfve,* Deputy Chairman, CP Belgium, and *Iradj Eskandari,* First Secretary, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh).

Karl-Heinz Schröder
Board Secretary, German CP

In the FRG the attempts to subjugate the working class and all working people to big business have three characteristic features. First, there is the spate of ideological activity released by big business and the parties defending it in the face of the growing criticism of the existing crisis-ridden system. Big business tries to camouflage the incurable sickness of this bankrupt exploitative system with such labels as the 'industrial society,' the 'social market economy' and the 'humane producer society.' Added to this there is the full-blast propaganda of such illusions as the idea that the state is 'above classes,' that it is 'neutral' and 'independent,' and 'oriented on the general good.' Secondly, today when all spheres of the life of capitalist society are gripped by crisis, the ideology and practice of social partnership plays a big role. The aim is to disguise the fact that capitalist society is divided into classes, to hide the polarity, the irreconcilability of the interests of workers and capitalists. Thirdly, big business, its parties and the mass media are mounting a provocatory campaign against existing socialism in their efforts to prevent the workers and all the working people from realizing that their fundamental interests — freedom from exploitation, from fear of crisis, genuine guarantees of

employment, and so on — can in the final analysis be safeguarded only by overcoming capitalism, only through socialism.

The ideology and policy of chaining the working class to the capitalist system are designed to disarm the workers and weaken their fighting power. Under the influence of bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic reformist demagogy (social-democratic influence is widely prevalent in our country) much credence is given to the idea that the ills of capitalism can be cured by reform alone within the framework of the system. It is even believed that a crisis-free socialist society can be evolved within this framework. The attempt to provide grounds for such illusions has produced the SDPG concepts of 'socialist reform strategy' and 'democratic socialism.' Whether the individual social democrat wants it or not, this ideology and policy serve the purpose of integrating the workers in the capitalist system, defending the power of the monopolies and increasing their profits.

Some time ago, when discussing the problems of ideology on the Board of the GCP, we decided that the main thing is to develop the worker's class consciousness. What does this mean today in the FRG? Basically, it means showing the workers that the class contradictions between them and the capitalists are irreconcilable. It means helping them to understand that the workers' interests can be protected only through concerted action in the class struggle. This in turn means spreading a knowledge of the class character of the capitalist state. It means fostering the conviction that the fundamental interests of the working class can be ensured only by overcoming capitalism, that socialism is necessary and attainable. It means getting a correct, class attitude to working-class power as it exists in the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and (obviously very important for us) in the GDR too. It means building up awareness that for the sake of working-class interests in the FRG there must be a strong German Communist Party. All these things are essential to the development of the proletarian class consciousness.

As we know, a fully developed class consciousness cannot be produced at the drop of a hat. This process can advance only in constant and stubborn struggle against bourgeois ideology. It has to be stressed that the mass of the workers cannot be won over to the struggle for socialist goals without overcoming the ideology and policy of the right-wing social-democratic leadership. Nor can it be done without a determined struggle against leftist adventurism and Trotskyism.

Our basic assumption is that the workers will learn from their experience of fighting for their immediate interests that there must be organized struggle and this will give them an awareness of their strength. Hence the need to be more active in popularizing among the

workers the alternative that our party offers. By dovetailing the struggle for the workers' everyday interests with the struggle for fundamental anti-monopoly changes, we indicate a realistic road to the achievement of socialism. Vitally important in this context are the fight against mass layoffs and for the first of all human rights, the right to work, the fight for education and vocational training and other social and democratic rights. Our party is taking a very active part in this struggle. In consistently defends the policy of unity of action with the Social-Democratic, Christian and non-party workers and takes the initiative in builiding alliances for defense of the working people's interests.

Our party is improving its activities at enterprises and building up the groups in industry. We are also holding, as yet on a small but fairly successful scale, courses for industrial workers in Marxist evening schools, where the basic problems of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin are studied.

Erwin Scharf
Politbureau member, Secretary CC, CP Austria

In Austria, the typical ideology is social partnership. It is cultivated at present by all three parliamentary parties, the Socialist Party, the People's Party and the Freedom Party. It is practised by leading organizations that represent the interests of the two basic classes in the system of state-monopoly capitalism: the Association of Employers and the Business Chamber, on the one hand, and the Workers' Chamber and Association of Austrian Trade Unions, on the other. Primarily, however, this ideology is the doctrine of the present socialist administration. Its function is to break the ideological and hence the practical resistance of the working class to big business, which is guided in everything by the desire to obtain maximum profits at the expense of the working people.

The credo of social partnership boils down to the claim that the working class and the 'economy' (that is, the big capitalist firms) are partners, cooperation between the two will ensure economic stability and prevent the large-scale crises that have hit other West European countries. Both sides, it is alleged, must make sacrifices for the sake of production and economic growth. More specifially, the workers are expected to agree to the employer's making a profit because this is supposed to stimulate production. They are also expected to cooperate in keeping wages low — for the sake of the firm's competitive power.

The growing state expenditure is increasingly paid for by revenue raised through taxing the population. The workers' campaign for tax reform, particularly income tax, is answered by the Austrian Federal

Chancellor with a hail of threats. Any 'premature' reform, he says, would reduce the state's ability to subsidize jobs, and increase unemployment by a quarter of a million. The Socialist Party and the socialist leadership of the trade unions never tire of telling the workers that social partnership ensurses rising living standards, whereas in countries like Italy and France, where labor conflicts and strikes are more frequent, the economic situation is worse and the workers' living standards are rising slower than in Austria.

The prevalent ideology of social partnership and the mounting anti-communist campaign have created a situation in which for decades there have been hardly any serious battles for higher wages, and very few strikes or other forms of resistance to the capitalist profit policy. Broad sections of the working class are ideologically disoriented and politically apathetic.

But not only does the ideology of social partnership justify the restriction of the workers' material interests. It also justifies the unprecedented growth of profits, the enrichment of the big capitalist firms. It has led to a restriction of democracy. Conflicts are usually resolved behind closed doors, in the specially created social partnership bodies. The so-called parity commission, not authorized by the Constitution, takes decisions on wages, prices, taxes, social policy and other questions involved in distribution of the national product. An ever narrower circle of party and other leaders has the last word on problems that demand the attention and participation of the widest strata of the population. The fact that people have got used to this practice over the decades tends to prevent organized resistance to a policy contradicting the working people's intereests and democratic rights.

The Communist Party of Austria is naturally fighting the policy and ideology of social partnership in all kinds of ways. In our periodicals, pamphlets, at meetings and talks, we criticize this policy and its consequences, explain our alternative to government policy and our attitude to the activities of the parliamentary parties. Our position is to support working class interests. We expose the intrinsic falsity of social partnership and arm our party comrades with the theory they need to talk about ideological questions with their workmates and other people.

We have worked out a basis for the movement against the policy and ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system. The movement will broaden as our party and the left-wing bloc in the trade unions (our faction in the Association of Austrian Trade Unions) become more active in opposing the attempts to shift the burden of the crisis on to the working people. For several months now we have been collecting signatures in support of tax reform. By tax

reform we mean reduction of income tax particularly on earnings in the lower wage brackets. The cost to the Treasury should be made up by heavier taxes on big capital. Government circles are worried not only by the fact that this campaign reflects the class demands of the workers, but also because it implies criticism of government policy and its ideological basis — social partnership.

In addition, the regular elections every three years to the production councils at workplaces give us the opportunity of nominating candidates from the left-wing trade union bloc and speaking out against the supporters of social partnership, whether they be candidates from the Socialist Party, or the so-called Christian trade unions, or wherever. But the decisive thing is that exposure of the pernicious ideology of social partnership and development of the workers' class consciousness must always be linked in concrete terms with the fight for material demands at factories and offices.

James West
Politbureau member, CP USA

Together with anti-communism and racism, class collaboration, or class partnership, is the chief ideological tool for subjugating the working class.

Class partnership is promoted by the politicians, and the George Meany reactionary reformists and their right-wing social-democratic helpers in the labor movement. Among the forms and slogans by which this policy is carried out are:

'Equality of sacrifice,' that is, every one must make equal sacrifices to get the country out of its economic and other difficulties. This slogan is used to keep wages down. ('We should not ask for too much wage increase when so many people are unemployed').

'The threat of foreign imports.' Wages must be held down in order to 'be competitive with cheap foreign labor and thereby make it less profitable to import foreign goods.' This slogan is also used to push productivity (speed-up) and to reduce the size of the work force, in order to get more producton from fewer workers and from each worker, in order 'to be more competitive with foreign labor.'

'We must have either inflation or unemployment; under our free enterprise system of free competition if you wish to reduce inflation you must accept unemployment and if you wish to reduce unemployment you must accept inflation.' Of course, they cannot explain why we have both high umemployment and high inflation at the same time in the U.S.!

'Our system is the profit system. Without profits, there is no work, no production. A reasonable profit is O.K.' Many workers, including militant workers with healthy class instincts, accept this idea, with the

proviso that the profits be reasonable. It is one of the last arguments that has to be defeated for a worker to become class conscious. In the immediate sense, it has this relative merit: the idea that profits must be 'reasonable' comes into conflict with the reality of transnational and monopoly super-profits. As this truth dawns on workers this 'profits-are-essential' obstacle to anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist consciousness can be removed, and receptivity to the socialist solution can increase.

These ideological tools of monopoly capital are very serious, for they act as a brake on the development of united class struggle and class consciousness; they act in such a way as to prevent the workers from realizing their strength, from having confidence in themselves and their unity, from becoming aware of the need for an independent class position and an independent anti-monopoly political party led by labor.

Since workers can learn from their own experience in struggle, as well as the experience of other workers, U.S. communists pay a great deal of attention to the spontaneous rank-and-file struggles of the trade union members and the special form of rank-and-file movements which have arisen in many unions to change the trade union policies to class struggle from class partnership. This movement is having a profound effect in beginning to transform and democratize the unions. The rank-and-file supported candidate in the recent steel union election made a strong showing and carried the basic steel section of the union, which is now one-third of the entire steel union membership.

The rank-and-file struggles also influence some top leaders of unions. Winpissinger, the new president of the Machinists Union, for example, has announced that he will fight in the AFL-CIO executive council to change the policies away from hawkish positions in foreign policy to peace positions and, in domestic policy, for a vigorous campaign to organize the unorganized and to fight for progressive social legislation.

The Communist Party USA, follows a policy of concentration on basic industrial workers, the most numerous section of the working class. First attention is given to reaching these workers with the communist press, pamphlets, leaflets and shop papers and to build shop clubs of the party. The CP USA has published many pamphlets addressed to the steel workers, auto workers, coal miners and other workers, exposing right-wing social-democracy, class partnership, and petty-bourgeois adventurism; dealing with such economic questions as the true relationship of wages, prices, profits and inflation, and popularizing the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Gilberto Vieira
General Secretary, CP Colombia

In Colombia the ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system takes the form of pseudo-reformism, paternalism and class collaboration. The most typical slogan used by politicians and ideologues to mislead the working-class movement is that there should be an 'economy of consent' between the owners, workers and the state. This slogan is regularly wheeled out by the government coalition comprising the two traditional parties, Liberal and Conservative. With a situation when the mass movement for higher wages to match inflation is growing rapidly the government goes through the farce of the 'economy of consent' and holds meetings of the National Wages and Incomes Council, a body made up of members of capitalist associations and the two traditional trade union centers (the Union of the Working Peoples of Colombia and the Confederation of the Working People of Colombia), but closed to all members of the independent class organization, the Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia. After a lot of rigmarole a minimal wage increase is recommended which does not cover even half the rise in prices through inflation and actually lowers the real wage. Nevertheless such measures temporarily damp down the workers' demands.

The influence of this ideology and its fairy tales about the 'economy of consent' is still great. Substantial sections of the working class, particularly at state-owned enterprises and in the service sphere, who are deprived of the right to strike and have to do so despite government reprisals, still believe in these fairy tales.

In my view, one of the most effective ways of fighting the policy of subjugating the working class to capitalism is support of all forms of the proletariat's just struggle, and active communist solidarity with the demands of the working people, their economic and political actions. Colombia's communists support the demands of the working people and the struggle that the traditional trade union centers are forced to wage under pressure from the workers, from the shop-floor union organizations. At the same time we are carrying on patient educational work among the workers on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the world working-class movement. This task is being performed in various ways in Colombia and our party is stressing its importance.

Pedro Mayta
CC Political Commission member, Peruvian CP

In our country the substance of the ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system shows itself along two lines.

The first line is to prevent the working class building up its class consciousness, the awareness that would allow it to play an idependent political role in fighting for the prospects that history holds out to it. It is alleged that the proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed qualitatively or quantitatively, that the leading role now and in the future should belong to the employers (the so-called 'vital forces' of society) and also to certain intermediate highly educated and professionally trained sections who run the state administrative machinery. These are false arguments. Peruvian, dependent capitalism is characteristically at an intermediate level of development. There are strong contingents of the working class and it is organized in numerous trade unions (more than 4,000); the country has over 100 national trade union federations and four union centers. These organizations attract part of the peasantry and the middle strata, who support the policy of alliances with the working class. As a result of the activities of our party and also in the course of the changes of 1968-75, anti-imperialist aspirations and socialist ideas have become widespread among the working class. These changes have brought the mass of the working people into the center of economic, social and political activity by making it possible for them to participate in distributing the incomes of enterprises, in managing them and their property. But the contradictory element in this process is that by these measures the revolutionary democrats in Peru are trying to reconcile classes and lay the foundations for 'national unity.'

Secondly, the ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system relies on prevailing customs, way of life, religion and so on, which are counterposed to the higher human values. One of the specific assumptions of this ideology is the 'Western and Christian culture' that we are supposed to be defending. On the political plane nationalism and regionalism ('Indo-Americanism' and 'Third'-Worldism') are used to isolate the country from world development and its influences. This makes it possible to present any given trend as 'alien' or as 'imitation of the foreign,' and so on. The concepts of 'rich and poor,' 'industrial and post-industrial' countries are accented. Obvious attempts are made to ignore the general laws of social development and the real substance of our epoch. This leads to ideological confusion, which is made worse by the ideologists of imperialism.

The ideology of subjugating the working class to the capitalist system has a hold over substantial sections of the population, but in the working-class movement it is on the wane, while the class consciousness of the workers is gradually growing. At present we are campaigning for trade union unity and a firm basis is being laid for an alliance of workers and peasants. The above-mentioned pseudo-

theories are refuted by both arguments and facts. A number of anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and even anti-capitalist changes have been carried through.

The struggle against the ideology of subjugating the working class to capitalism is linked with our party's activity in organizing various sections of the population, particularly the working class. The campaign in the trade union organizations has promoted the rapid spread of socialist ideas and, of course, the fight against leftist tendencies. At the same time the experience of fighting the bosses, the country's present legislation and its foundations, has convinced the workers of the need to break with bourgeois ideology.

The best cadres our party possesses are being put on ideological work. The party is also working in cultural, civic, professional and other organizations. This has allowed it to gain considerable influence among the middle strata, to organize the masses and to promote their struggle. This creates favorable conditions for popularizing the ideas of socialism and overcoming the influence of bourgeois ideology among the working people.

Jean Terfve
Deputy Chairman, CP Belgium

In answering your questions I would like to describe the basic directions in which ideological pressure is exerted by the bourgeoisie in our country.

Their main effort is to distort the nature of the economic crisis that has hit the capitalist world and is directly burdening the mass of the working people. The bourgeois ideologues say that the crisis is not an inherent feature of the capitalist system, but the result of the 'general state of the market,' that it is of a temporary nature, that it cannot be dealt with on the scale of only one country, and so on. They constantly appeal for general harmony, peace between classes, voluntary restraint on the part of the workers, and acceptance of 'strict economy measures.' Another trend in the bourgeoisie's ideological efforts is the desire to shift the responsibility for the delaying of détente and real progress in disarmament on to the socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union. And the third element is the bourgeoisie's ideological campaign on the question of the values of existing socialism. The allegations that socialism does not offer any real alternative either in the field of human rights or improvement of general material conditions, are aimed against socialism as a political, economic and social system.

The strength and influence of this ideological offensive should not be underestimated. It consists of well prepared campaigns skillfully organized and, of course, coordinated on an international scale. The

bourgeoisie has huge resources for this purpose since it is in almost complete control of the mass media — the press, radio and television. Here is an example. During the recent elections in Belgium, despite the grave economic difficulties, the ruling parties were victorious at the polls. This gives the impression that the masses are submissive to their fate, that they hope the position will improve after a time, and that they are therefore anxious not to do anything that might hinder this possible improvement.

In the sphere of international politics the ideological campaign is far less productive. This becomes obvious if one compares, for example, the present campaign with that of 1948-50, with the hullabaloo that was then raised about 'Soviet aggressiveness' and so on, and which led to the cold war. But, in my view, it is worth noting that this systematic campaign over questions of international politics is also having a certain demobilizing effect on the masses. For example, it is generating a certain scepticism over détente and particularly specific measures on disarmament.

In the third area of the bourgeoisie's ideological offensive, usually described as the problem of human rights, the bourgeoisie's campaign is achieving a certain effect. Doubts about the significance and value of socialist democracy, though rather abstract in form, are appearing. In my view, this is an area of the bourgeois ideological offensive where our party should be particularly vigilant. It should also see to it that no weapons are put into the enemy's hands.

Of course, our party is devoting very great attention to all these problems, which form the basis of the country's political life. For many years and particularly of late the party has been evolving the concept that real struggle against the economic crisis is possible. It has tried to tie in the problems of the economic crisis with the problem of the general crisis of capitalism and the basic economic demands with the political slogans, with action against capitalism. There is a real possibility of support from an alliance of progressive forces going well beyond the framework of our party. Such broad-based actions have the backing of a considerable section of the working Christians and socialist trade union organizations. It should be noted that the trade union organizations, both Christian and social-democratic, play an important role in Belgium, where joining the trade unions is voluntary and membership covers an exceptionally wide field.

In the international sphere our party has for a long time and very persistently worked on the questions of deepening détente and consolidating peace. These determined efforts have had some success in our country, inasmuch as real and broad-based alliances have been built up with the Christian and social-democratic circles.

With regard to anti-communism and the so-called problem of human rights, we constantly seek to expose the root causes of the bourgeoisie's campaign. We show that the furor over this question is being stirred up by our adversaries to block the road to détente. And not only détente. It is a means of slowing down development in our country, and particularly the trend toward fundamental changes in the existing system. In this connection we do not consider it right to keep silent about certain shortcomings in the socialist countries, any more than the ruling parties in these countries keep silent about them. Far from hindering us, such a position enables us to protest more effectively against the basic concepts of anti-communism, which totally distort socialist realities.

Iradj Eskandari
First Secretary, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

First of all I must point out that the capitalist system rests mainly on subjugation of the working class to the regime of capitalist exploitation. So this subjugation cannot in itself be an ideology; it is the material basis on which the whole bourgeois ideology is founded. In Iran, as in all capitalist countries, the subjugation of the working class to the capitalist system is characterized by its being exploited in the interests of the national and foreign capitalists.

With regard to the most typical concepts, guidelines and slogans designed to disorient the working-class movement in my country, I must say that they do not essentially differ from those that are used in other capitalist countries. The distinction lies in the primitive nature of the slogans and the naiveté of the argumentation.

The class struggle in Iranian society is denied on the grounds that 'the revolution of the Shah and the people' has put an end to exploitation and the Iranian working people should from now on play their role together with the employers in developing the national economy along the road of universal welfare and social progress. Attempts are made to spread the erroneous concept that national unity rules out the class struggle and demands the opposite — close cooperation between the workers and bosses to improve the work of the factory and develop production.

Beside being subjected to the harshest repressive measures (permanent presence of secret police agents at factories, surveillance, dismissal of workers, arbitrary arrests, reprisals against strikers, etc), the workers are systematically dosed with the propaganda of Islam to counter the ideas of Marxism and communism. Radio, press and television pour out a daily flood of false information about the socialist countries. The priests in government service constantly inveigh against the 'atheistic materialism of the communists' and urge

the working people to show humility and submit to 'the fate assigned to them by Allah in this world and live in expectation of happiness in the next.'

On the other hand, while trying to disorient the working class and counter its revolutionary aspirations the Shah's anti-democratic regime has borrowed from capitalism some of the reformist schemes for worker participation in company profits. In accordance with the 'Charter of the Revolution of the Shah and the People' the workers of every factory have the right to a percentage of the profits depending on the quantity and quality of additional work performed in the course of the year. In addition, by decree of the Shah, a certain portion of the shares of a number of industrial companies must be offered to the workers, who if they so desire may obtain credit from the bank to buy these shares, which are then given up as a security until the debt is paid off. On the basis of this illusory worker participation in profits and equally illusory collective ownership of shares, official propaganda talks about the 'abolition' of capitalism through the 'expansion of property' and continues to attack socialism as 'an imported product unacceptable to Iranian society.'

According to the official line, present-day Iran's socio-economic system is something special that has grown out of 'thousands of years of national traditions'! Official propaganda constantly tries to 'prove' that Marxism is obsolete, that capitalism has changed its spots and its development has refuted Marx's predictions, and so on. The whole stockpile of the bourgeois propaganda of the developed capitalist countries is used to implant reformism among the working class.

The bloodthirsty regime of police terror established in Iran naturally hinders the study of public opinion and consequently it is difficult to measure the actual influence of reformist propaganda among the working class. But the mere fact that the regime devotes such efforts to spreading these concepts in itself suggests the degree of opposition it encounters from the working class. Revolutionary traditions remain strong in the Iranian working class. The low standard of life, the exceptionally high price of the prime necessities, the low wages, the arbitrary sackings, the denials of the working people's elementary right to set up their trade unions (there is a government trade union organization in Iran) and finally the crude police clamp-down on any display of discontent, let alone strikes — all these facts prompt us to think that reformism has no deep-going influence among the working class of our country. The dozens of big-scale strikes organized in the past year confirm this assessment.

However, we should not underestimate the influence that this propaganda and these measures may with time exert on the Iranian working people. The danger is apparent if we consider the fact that a

large part of the two-million strong army of wage-earners come from the rural areas and are as yet hardly aware of their class interests. The dictatorial regime in Iran has succeeded in creating a worker aristocracy obedient and more or less devoted to the regime's policy. This layer is still not numerous and to some extent morally isolated but it can, owing to its support, exert a dangerous influence on the working people.

The People's Party of Iran, despite the conditions of illegality and the extremely harsh repressive measures taken against it, is waging a consistent struggle against the regime's reformist concepts. At the risk of their lives, its activists strive to enlighten the working people and mobilize them for various actions in defense of their interests. Publishing articles in our party press (in the newspaper *Mardom* and the magazine *Donya*), translating and distributing the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, publishing special booklets for the Iranian working people, and broadcasting to them, our party is conducting intensive propaganda against the reformist positions of the dictatorial regime and against the leftist concepts, which also disorganize the Iranian working class and push it in the direction of anarchism and adventure.

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UNDYING MESSAGE OF REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Fifth, enlarged edition. Written by a team of authors headed by Academician B.N. Ponomaryov, Moscow, Politizdat, 1977, 787 pp. (in Russian).

The great feat of the Party of Lenin, the new type of party, which embodied the revolutionary energy of the working class and ensured the victory of the October Revolution, stands out in bold relief today, when the Soviet people and all who cherish the ideals of peace, freedom and social progress are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This new, jubilee edition of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* incorporates some new party documents and takes into account comments and suggestions made when the draft was being discussed. Additions include new chapters bringing the book up to date.

In the Soviet Union this new edition of the *History* is assessed as a landmark in the development of CPSU historiography, as further progress in dealing with the important task of helping the builders of communist society to master Marxist-Leninist theory.

The authors give a concise but sufficiently full, scholarly history of the party, tracing its development from a few Marxist groups into the millions-strong vanguard of the working class, of all workers, of the entire people. They show the CPSU's immense contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and its vigorous organizational activity.

There are two periods in the history of the CPSU: pre-October, embracing the struggle for the overthrow of the autocracy and capitalist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and post-October, when the CPSU became the ruling party and headed the work of establishing, consolidating and developing the first socialist society, and of building communism. Accordingly, the authors trace Lenin's elaboration of the organizational, theoretical and ideological principles of the CPSU, and the formation, on the basis of these

principles, of a party differing radically from reformist and right-opportunist parties. They show how Lenin developed the theory of socialist revolution, including the question of a bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution.

They write in detail of the CPSU's experience as the ruling party, set forth Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR and review many aspects of the party's collective effort to implement this plan. They show the heroism displayed by Soviet communists during the Great Patriotic War and in post-war peaceful work. In showing how the party's tasks, strategy and tactics changed in accordance with the requirements of the different periods of its activity, how the organizational forms of its work were improved, the authors make it clear that at all stages of the struggle the CPSU had more often than not to move along untrodden paths to socialism, evolving the science of socialist transformations, which it tested in practice.

Here note must be made of the chapters characterizing the CPSU's work in recent years. These years, said the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, 'occupy an outstanding place in the heroic record of communist construction by virtue of the abundance of historically important domestic and international events, the magnitude and integral nature of socio-economic development characteristic of mature socialist society.' The new chapters review events that evoked a worldwide response. These were the October 1964 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 23rd, 24th and 25th Party congresses, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of the USSR, and the Lenin centenary. Further, these chapters show the significance of the documents adopted by the party for the work of the CPSU and the Soviet people and for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The historic role of the 25th CPSU Congress, a milestone in Soviet society's progress toward communism, is analyzed in a separate chapter. The congress charted the course toward building the material and technical basis of communism, the continued strengthening of the country's economic and defense potential, improving the people's welfare, developing social relations under socialism and the Soviet way of life, and enhancing the leading role of the party in all areas of social life.

The authors lucidly show the continuity of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policies, as embodied in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the new Constitution of the USSR. An example is the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The congress gave much of its attention to problems of the world revolutionary movement. Leonid Brezhnev and delegates of communist and workers' parties drew an impressive picture of the continuously mounting world revolutionary process, in which the CPSU has invariably taken an active part. Loyal to the ideals of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity, it took an active part in the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Berlin and is now making every effort to attain the goals set by that conference. The CPSU is effectively contributing to the common cause of communists, of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, the cause of peace and international security, democracy and socialism.

The book presents a broad panorama of the CPSU's historic victories, showing how it has been accumulating revolutionary experience and displayed a principled, Leninist approach in rectifying mistakes and eliminating shortcomings. The book portrays people, outstanding leaders trained up by the CPSU, who were active in the events it describes.

It gives the reader a knowledge of the laws of social development, for the history of the party of Lenin is a history of comprehending and creatively applying the laws of the revolutionary process in practice. It is a lesson learned in class battles, in effective creative activity of unprecedented magnitude, and this makes it particularly convincing.

I. Vladimirov

TROUBLED YOUTH, TROUBLING WORLD

Working Class Youth Culture, Edited by Geoff Mungham and Geoff Pearson, Routledge Direct Editions, Henley and Boston, London, 1976, 167 pp.

This interesting book claims to portray the conditions of young workers in Britain, their problems, thoughts and ideas. To some extent it does this, but on the whole it expresses only the outlook of a section of British youth, mainly those who are isolated from the trade union and political movement.

It has seven separate essays with an introduction entitled 'Troubled youth, troubling world.' The authors are all young people who have done a great deal of research work on this problem.

The title of the introduction leads one to expect that some attention would be given to the sharp contrast between the problems of youth in the capitalist world and the virtual absence of these problems in the socialist world — dead-end occupations, large-scale unemployment,

no jobs for school-leavers, racism, 'mugging.' True, the editors make a passing reference to class divisions in capitalist society when they point out that: 'Behind all the talk of "generation" and "generation gap" there is the forgotten question of the class structure of society.' 'But youth,' they write, 'are not a classless tribe, and the essays in this book focus specifically on working class youth and the ways in which class structure alters the experience of learning to place oneself in the social, and divided, world.' (pp. 2-3).

However, though most of the essays deal with some aspect of the problems of working-class youth, none of them bring out clearly the nature of the class divisions in capitalist society, or give any analysis of the class struggle to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism, the struggle in which the younger generation, too, takes a part. So they do not even mention the youth sections of militant trade unions, the Young Communist League (YCL), nor the 800,000-strong National Union of Students (NUS), where young communists and socialists are an important factor in its militant leadership, nor the active youth in the organized labor movement.

The first essay, 'Youth and Class,' by Graham Murdock and Robin McCron, comes nearer to the heart of the problem. It attacks the concept that: ' . . . the division between the generations has increasingly placed class inequalities as the central axis of the social structure,' and that this shift has been 'confirmed by the emergence of a classless culture of youth, separated from, and opposed to, the dominant adult culture.'

These two authors assert that research on youth, as well as activities within the framework of 'youth culture,' has persistently produced evidence which points 'to the continuing centrality of class inequalities in structuring both the life styles and life chances of adolescents' (p. 10).

They go on to point out that the 1944 Education Act system of 'secondary schooling for all' was hailed as a crucial step toward dissolving class inequalities and starting a new era of 'equal opportunity,' but did not work out in practice. The great majority of working class pupils 'remained cumulatively disadvantaged within the school system' (p. 20).

Even the disillusioned John Lennon (one of the famous Beatles singing group) declared that 'the class system is the same except that there is a lot of middle-class kids with long hair walking around in trendy clothes. But apart from that, nothing happened, it's exactly the same.' (p. 23). However it's *not* the same, but even worse than before. For young workers in capitalist Britain are faced with growing unemployment, the majority leaving school at 16 years not being able to find work. Most of them are children of immigrants who were

enticed to leave the West Indies, Africa, India and Pakistan over 20 years ago. And this gives rise to increasing racial tension in Britain.

The longest, and in some respects interesting, essay, is about working-class youth in Accrington, a small town in northeast Lancashire, which for generations has relied mainly on the production of cotton. It is written by Geoff Pearson, one of the authors of the introduction and editors of the book, who lived there in his early days, though his parents came from the nearby city of Manchester, where he was born. Even after living in Accrington for 30 years he claimed his family were still regarded as 'foreigners.'

Now there is a new kind of 'foreigner,' for in the past two decades the main labor force in Accrington's cotton industry comes from the Pakistani immigrants. By the time the author left Accrington in 1961 he admits frankly his 'mistrust' of the Pakistani immigrants. To explain this he refers to a comment made by Marx in a letter about the hostile attitude of British proletarians to Irish workers.*

It is certainly important to recall Marx's clear exposure of the strategy of the ruling class to divide the ranks of the workers. But this was over a century ago, and since that time a great advance has been achieved in destroying the mistrust of the Irish workers, who have long since been organized for united action within the British trade unions. In any case, the situation today is not comparable to a century ago, when Irish cheap labor was a means of reducing wages for the British worker and lowering his living standard. The fact is that the majority of Lancashire cotton workers left their jobs voluntarily in the cotton mills to get higher wages elsewhere, and the capitalist employers seized the opportunity of employing Pakistani workers for whom the low cotton wages was a big advance on the pittances they received in Pakistan.

It is equally true that mistrust is still being expressed in relation to immigrant workers. The capitalist mass media have influenced a *minority* of backward British workers to take violent action against Pakistani immigrants for 'taking their jobs and houses.' More and more racism has become the medium through which British capitalists try, just as a century ago, to divide the British workers (and sometimes succeed) in order to exploit still more both the British and the Pakistani workers. All the same, the majority of British workers

*In a letter, dated 1870, Marx wrote, in particular, that 'the ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker because he sees in him a competitor who lowers his standard of life. Compared with the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling* nation and for this very reason he makes himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists *against Ireland* and thus strengthens their domination *over himself* . . . This antagonism is artificially sustained and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes.' (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected correspondence*, London, 1924, p. 288).

work side by side in unity with Pakistani and other 'colored' immigrants to struggle for their common interests.

The final essay 'Working Class Youth Cultures' reveals the somewhat shallow nature of the 'analysis' of the capitalist system. This essay is jointly written by John Clarke and Tony Jefferson, and attempts to portray the character of postwar British capitalism, which is getting, in their view, 'ever more market-orientated' in an attempt to overcome the recurrent possibility of over-production.

The wish to balance the demand and supply and thereby to retain, and even increase, profit, say the authors, accounts for the wider application of the latest methods of studying the market and broad-scale advertising, the incessant attempts to make the best of the existing markets and simultaneously create new demands, and new markets for new goods (p. 139).

This view is borrowed from the discredited economists Baran and Sweezy (advanced by them in the mid-1960s) and does nothing to clarify the basic problems facing monopoly capitalism in Britain and the capitalist world as a whole, which is hit by a serious crisis. Trying to break out of the crisis, the British ruling class is waging a sharp counter-offensive against the working class, assisted by what is described as a 'Labour Government.' In recent years British working-class living standards have been seriously reduced, prices are rising faster than wages, and mass unemployment is growing. In this situation the sharpest attack is being made against the young workers, whose ranks are growing even faster than those of the adult workers. Nearly 50 per cent of the unemployed in Britain are under the age of 25 years. 'At least 70 per cent of young unemployed . . . are unqualified, untrained, and likely to obtain jobs below craft level — if they obtain them at all,' stated the National Youth Employment Council back in 1974.

This is the situation facing working-class youth in Britain, and only unity with all workers and revolutionary mass action can provide a solution.

Idris Cox

For Guatemala, the revolution and socialism

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS FIGHTS ON

The first issue of the newspaper of the Guatemalan communists appeared in October 1949, a crucial moment in the nation's history.[1] It was called *Octubre* (October), symbolizing the deep respect of the Guatemalan working class for the Great October Revolution in Russia and commemorating the event that launched the progressive democratic process in our country, known as the October Revolution of 1944.

In 1952, by decision of the Second Congress of the Guatemalan Party of Labor the paper began to appear under a new name, *Tribuna popular* (People's Tribune), as the official organ of the party's Central Committee. It had become possible to publish it daily thanks to the enormous material support given by the working people, who saw it as the voice of their deepest aspirations. In a short time the *Tribuna popular* became one of the most influential papers in Guatemala.

The direct intervention of U.S. imperialism, which in 1954 forcibly interrupted the development of the democratic revolution, turned Guatemala into a preserve of fascist reaction. The counter-revolution also dealt summarily with the communist newspaper. Its offices were wrecked and members of the staff viciously persecuted.

These events launched an intensely difficult period in the struggle of the Guatemalan working class and its party. The party press was confronted with entirely new tasks. At the end of 1955 an underground press produced the first issue of the GPL CC Political Commission's monthly *Verdad* (Truth), the successor to *Octubre* and *Tribuna popular*. Today, besides *Verdad,* which is circulated on a nationwide scale, communist underground newspapers are being published all over the country. For example, the *Revolucion popular* (People's Revolution), appears in the Central Region, the *Trinchera* (Trench) in the West Altiplano region, and so on. The party's youth organization has its own underground organ, the newspaper *Juventud* (Youth). And they all owe their existence mainly to the generous support of the working people, which is the best proof of the close ties between the party and the masses, of the great prestige the communist press has earned among the people.

Guatemalan reaction fears the communists' underground press. Reading, keeping or passing on any of the Guatemalan party papers may cost a person his life. But despite all their difficulties, despite the vicious fascist clamp-down and anti-popular terror, the Guatemalan communists carry their militant message to the farthest corners of the land.

Writing in language that the people understand, the underground communist press raises issues that affect the vital interests of the working people — the escalation of prices, reduction of wages, intensified exploitation, the speculation and pressure exerted by the foreign monopolies, the lack of political and social rights — and shows the actual causes of these phenomena. Rejecting the authorities' attempts to blame the country's profound socio-economic and political malaise on 'international conditions' and 'growing pains,' *Verdad,* for example, points out that 'the cause of the national crisis lies in the system of dependence and backwardness, in the subservience to foreign capital, which is hastening our ruin, and in the preservation of production relations based, on the one hand, on the exploitation of hired labor and, on the other, on the pre-capitalist survivals that are still with us.'[2]

In every issue the communists' underground publications expose the futility of the oligarchy's attempts to solve the existing problems by shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people. Articles published in *Verdad, Revolucion popular* and *Trinchera* reveal the true nature of the policy of economic integration in the Central American Common Market that is being pursued under the aegis of U.S. imperialism. They report on the disastrous consequences of the national economy's one-sided orientation on export.

Exposure of the widely publicized 'policy of national reconstruction' figure prominently in the underground communist press. Uncovering the demagogic and hypocritical nature of the 'agrarian reform' and the 'cooperative movement,' *Verdad* writes that the 'policy of national reconstruction,' which according to official propaganda is designed for 'achievement of general well-being' is actually 'a policy of multiplying capitalist profits, of facilitating the domination of American imperialism . . . it is an instrument for squeezing more out of the working people.'[3]

Revealing the falsity and hypocrisy of the government slogan of 'giving to the have-nots without depriving the haves,' the paper *Revolucion popular* calls this a mere 'play on words.'[4] The ruling circles are trying to obtain popular support by means of demagogy and slander. But the mass of the people are learning in practice that the government is incapable of dealing with the country's urgent problems, incapable of giving the working people a better life.

Reaction's lies and demagogy are still backed by repressive measures and terror against the people. In the course of a little over two decades the government policy of repression and terrorism has led to the death or 'disappearance' of 30,000 people — workers, peasants, students, white-collar workers and democratic and progressive intellectuals, men, women and children. In recent years hundreds of communists and revolutionary fighters, including such outstanding leaders of the working class as Bernado Alvarado Monzon and Huberto Alvarado, two successive General Secretaries of the GPL, have been murdered by the government's repressive services.

Understandably, the party press concentrates on the criminal policy of reaction and U.S. imperialism, the blatant violation of elementary human rights. It points out that reaction's main target is 'the party of the working class ... the backbone of the workers' and peasants' movement, its implacable class enemy, the staunchest and most reliable guarantor of victory in the struggle for democracy and socialism.'[5]

The communist underground papers expose the daily ritual of murder, robbery and kidnapping performed by the government's repressive organs and the militarized fascist gangs operating all over the country with government support. As the people know only too well, these gangs of hired assassins, financed and led by the bosses of a party that calls itself the 'Movement for National Liberation' (MLN), are also directed by officials of the government's repressive services.

'U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchies,' writes *Revolucion popular,* 'are, of course, still capable of striking blows at the liberation movements, but they can never destroy them.'[6] What is more, the intensification of the economic, social and political crisis has led, in the words of the newspaper *Trinchera,* 'to the formation of objective conditions for popular circles to become clearly aware that the only remaining alternative is joint and coordinated effort to solve their pressing problems.'[7]

The underground communist press brings the masses the clear and consistent program of revolutionary struggle proposed by the party. This program stresses that the issues dividing the country can be resolved 'only by transforming the existing property relations and by effecting changes in all parts of the legal and political superstructure, by carrying out the popular agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution of which our country has long been in need.'[8] It is essential to intensify 'actions against the high cost of living; for wage increases and improvement of working conditions; for the immediate solution of the problems facing the peasants, and to win land for them; for defense and free exercise of all democratic rights; against government terror;

in defense of the interests of Guatemala against American imperialism and against the treacherous policy of the ruling reactionary classes and the government; in defense of national sovereignty and for our country's genuine independence.'[9]

As regards the means of carrying out the program of struggle for the working people's fundamental rights, our party press emphasizes the great importance of the steps to achieve trade union unity: 'Despite the weaknesses that still make themselves felt, despite the attempts of the employers and the government to undermine this unity, it is one of the most important gains of recent years. Now we are faced with the task of consolidating, deepening and perfecting it.'[10]

The fact is that the communist underground publications are the only organs of the press that penetrate the wall of silence the bourgeois press has built round the actions of the Guatemalan working class. For instance, the *Revolucion popular* carried detailed reports on the six-day strike of the dockers of Santo Tomas de Castilla,[11] the fight that the workers of the FERTICA companies put up to obtain legal recognition of their trade union organization and the management's consent to negotiate on working conditions.[12] It reported the strike of the public health workers.[13] Moreover, the newspaper does not confine itself to informing readers about the working people's struggle. It analyzes each protest action, reveals its weaknesses and writes about what should be done next time.

While explaining the importance of the trade union struggle, the communists also emphasize that trade union work alone cannot solve the crucial problems confronting the working class. 'This requires political organization and political education. We should not confine ourselves to economic demands. The working people must realize that their struggle is a class struggle and that they will achieve freedom only when the exploiting class ceases to be the ruling class.'[14]

Stressing the need for unity of action on the part of all working people, all democratic and progressive forces, the communist underground press takes a very serious interest in the situation in the Guatemalan army. It provides ample illustration of the fact that 'military service is,' as *Juventud* has emphatically state, 'sheer torture for the young people,' and particularly for those from the rural areas, who form the bulk of the conscripts. By drilling, demagogy and brutal discipline the recruits are turned into blind instruments of tyranny and violence, into watchdogs of the property of industrialists, bankers and latifundists.[15]

Questions of ideological struggle, exposure of the ideology and policy of imperialism and reaction, and of the right and 'left' revisionists become particularly important when discussing the problems of the united action campaign. Noting reaction's attempts to frustrate the

cause of peace by misinformation, political trickery and stirring up anti-communism, *Verdad* writes: 'It is the duty of every honest revolutionary, whether he is a communist or not, to be constantly vigilant.'[16]

It is also important, the Guatemalan Party of Labor points out, to be constantly aware that there are forces that disorient and divert the revolutionary movement, and therefore 'the struggle to unite and organize the people presupposes a struggle against conservative positions, against provocatory and petty-bourgeois influences among the masses, and against those who try to gain influence by calling themselves communists, although their organization does not accord with the name.'[17]

The GPL papers play extremely important role today in the work of mobilizing the masses and elucidating the most important problems of the revolution. When its 200th issue appeared in October 1976, *Verdad* had every reason to declare that its 'countrywide distribution has made it the tribune of the patriotic struggle for independence, democracy and progress in our country.' 'Our influence and scope for action,' the paper stresses, 'are constantly increasing. Our strength is growing.'[18]

The communists are well aware that their people's arduous struggle is rousing a global response and winning the support and solidarity of the world's progressive and democratic forces. Every instance of such solidarity is picked up by the communist underground press and conveyed to its readers. International support generates inspiration and new strength in the heroic struggle.

The internationalist sympathies of the Guatemalan people find a ready outlet on the pages of our party press. Positively assessing the new international situation and stressing the victories won on the various fronts of the world revolutionary struggle, *Verdad* writes: 'We welcome the successes of our brothers in other countries, draw on their wealth of experience and follow their example. We also condemn the tyrannical and fascist governments that subject the peoples of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile and Nicaragua to the same brutal atrocities that the Guatemalan people have to bear. We support the Puerto Rican people's struggle for independence and reaffirm our undivided support for the fraternal people of Belize and its right to self-determination.'[19]

And, of course, the Guatemalan communists express their deep respect and admiration for Lenin's Party and Motherland through their party press. 'On November 7, millions of communists and all progressive humanity,' writes *Verdad,* will mark the jubilee of the most significant and momentous event of our time — the 60th anniversary of the victory of the first socialist revolution.'[20] A country that is entirely free of any discrimination, exploitation, unemploy-

ment or hunger, disease, or cultural backwardness, a country untroubled by imperialist interference and brutal reprisals, anxiety and oppression, a country for all people — such is socialism, the beacon that guides us in our struggle.'[21]

Today our people are faced with a great historical task that must be accomplished: '... We communists have the greatest incentive to hammer out a broad unity of action that would make it possible to unite in struggle the broadest sections of the people with the working class and its closest allies, the peasants, as its central core. This would lay the foundations of a broad national front that would rally the majority of the Guatemalan people on the minimum platform of immediate changes ...'[22] 'The specific means of achieving this broad national unity is to counter the new escalation of reprisals and terror launched by the ruling reaction and the paramilitary fascist groups and to oppose the military and adventurist plans of the ruling reactionary military camarilla, to fight them.'[23]

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the underground press, the slogan of the Guatemalan Party of Labor 'For Guatemala, the revolution and socialism,' the ideas of struggle for national and social liberation are reaching the great mass of the people.

Otto Sanchez,
WMR representative,
Guatemalan Party of Labor

1. The Communist Party of Guatemala, founded in 1922, was reconstituted in 1949. After 1952 it became known as the Guatemalan Party of Labor.
2. *Verdad,* August 1976, p. 4.
3. *Verdad,* August 1976, p. 7.
4. *Revolucion popular,* January 1976, p. 2.
5. *Verdad,* December 1975, pp. 1-2.
6. *Revolucion popular,* September 1976, p. 3.
7. *Trinchera,* August 1976, p. 2.
8. *Verdad,* December 1976, p. 1.
9. *Verdad,* December, 1975, p. 4.
10. *Verdad,* December 1976, p. 3.
11. *Revolucion popular,* July 1976, p. 10.
12. *Revolucion popular,* August 1976, p. 2.
13. *Revolucion popular,* August 1976, p. 12.
14. *Revolucion popular,* August 1976, p. 2.
15. *Juventud,* October 1976, p. 7.
16. *Verdad,* November 1976, p. 5.
17. *Verdad,* August 1976, p. 12.
18. *Verdad,* October 1976, p. 12.
19. *Verdad,* May 1977, pp. 2-3.
20. *Verdad,* May 1977, p. 3.
21. *Verdad,* May 1977, p. 4.
22. *Declaration of the Political Commission CC, GPL,* Guatemala, July 1977.
23. *Declaration of the Political Commission CC, GPL,* Guatemala, July 1977.

In brief

CHILE

In August the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile held its first Plenum after the 1973 fascist coup. The CC critically analyzed the period following the 14th Party Congress (1969), assessed the importance of the Chilean revolution and examined the causes of its defeat. It reaffirmed the correctness of the party's political line and developed it, taking due account of the experience gained since the last Party Congress and of the present situation in Chile. The Plenum appealed to all Chileans, civilians and military, Marxists, religious people and atheists, to reunite their forces in order to isolate fascism.

The party again stressed the need for unity between communists and socialists. The Plenum pointed out that the views of the two parties on international issues were very close, particularly on the role of the socialist world system, on the revolutionary stage the country must pass through, on questions of political alliances and the tasks that must be resolved. It was pointed out that the Popular Unity bloc is a historical victory for the people whose importance will not diminish, and that unity of the people must be strengthened.

The key political issue today in promoting unification is an understanding between Popular Unity and the Christian Democratic Party. Popular Unity has already stated its readiness to unite; the Christian Democrats have not yet responded. The two parties acting together would be of decisive importance for the unity and development of the mass movement for a new democracy and against the tyranny.

Although unity of the working class and all the people had always been the foremost issue, the Central Committee stressed, the situation today demands agreement with patriotic and democratic circles in the armed forces.

Differences of views among the anti-fascists, it was pointed out, are not a barrier in the struggle for a new democracy in Chile or to carrying out profound changes in society to destroy the internal oligarchy and imperialist domination — the social base of fascism. It was agreed that the provisional government, on the basis of cooperation among Popular Unity, the Christian Democrats and the democratic sections of the armed forces, must uproot fascism, ensure freedom of expression and convene a constituent assembly, which would start Chile's democratic revival. This unity must be based on a common

program. The Plenum endorsed several basic points of principle to be approved by the anti-fascist forces.

H.F.

COLOMBIA

The Colombian communists are guiding the process of formation of popular unity on the basis of a joint anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy program and nomination of a single candidate from the democratic opposition in the 1978 presidential elections.

A plenum of the Colombian CP Central Committee, at which Secretary Alvaro Vasquez made a report, considered the main aspects of the political situation in connection with the forthcoming elections and approved the line on alliance-making, thus developing the communists' programmatic statements on unity. The question of the political foundations of unity is bound to include a positive attitude toward Socialist Cuba, the Chilean resistance and the Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia, which is a class-oriented, independent and unitary trade union center. The plenum criticized the narrow nationalistic conceptions of unity maintained by the Maoist groups and their allies, which are against dealing with 'alien' international questions and want to concentrate all attention on immediate demands and support a candidate without a program (as the bourgeois parties do).

The plenum nominated for presidency Julio Cesar Pernio, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Popular National Alliance Party (ANAPO). This candidature was approved at the subsequent national Congress of Opposition Forces in Bogota. The official opening of the congress was attended by more than 30,000 people. This is how the alliance between a considerable part of the ANAPO party and the National Opposition Alliance, to which the communists belong, works in practice.

A.M.

COSTA RICA

A mass meeting of Costa Rica's left-wing forces, aligned in the United People election bloc, launched the campaign for the election of the President, the deputies of the Legislative Assembly and the municipal councils.

The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Socialist Party of Costa Rica, the Party of the Working People and the Party of the Popular Vanguard (PPV), all of which belong to the left forces election bloc.

M. Mora Valverde, General Secretary of the PPV Central Committee, stressed in his speech that the rallying of the left forces for the

election campaign could form the basis of a firm democratic and anti-imperialist front in the struggle for democratic freedoms and substantial improvements in the social sphere. 'This election campaign,' he said, 'should grow into a solid alliance of all left forces, and then of all the country's progressive forces. Popular unity is the best weapon for defending the people's interests.'

INDONESIA

The Committee Abroad of the underground Communist Party of Indonesia held a theoretical symposium on the subject of 'The Great October Socialist Revolution and its Influence on the Indonesian National-Liberation Movement.' The report by the Secretary of the Committee Abroad, Tomas Sunaraya, and the contributions by others attending the symposium, analyzed the historical path of the Communist Party and the workers' movement in Indonesia, stressing the tremendous significance of the Soviet Union's solidarity with the struggle of the Indonesian people.

The symposium showed that in the extremely difficult conditions of the struggle against the military-reactionary regime set up at the end of 1965, the Indonesian communists, as never before, must remain true to the ideals of the Great October, consolidate relations with the USSR, its heroic party and people, and with the other socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movements, and work for national independence and development of a free, democratic and peaceful Indonesia. The importance was stressed of an untiring struggle against all forms of anti-Sovietism, a struggle for peace and socialism the world over.

Several documents were approved by the symposium.

S.S-N

ITALY

The Italian Communist Party's annual campaign for exchange of party cards and recruiting new members is making steady progress. Nearly all the present members have received the new party cards. At present the total membership is 1,806,561. During the present campaign 127,560 new members joined the party.

SRI LANKA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has passed a decision to hold the next, 10th Party Congress in March 1978. It also approved the program for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and passed a resolution on the results of the recent parliamentary elections.

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