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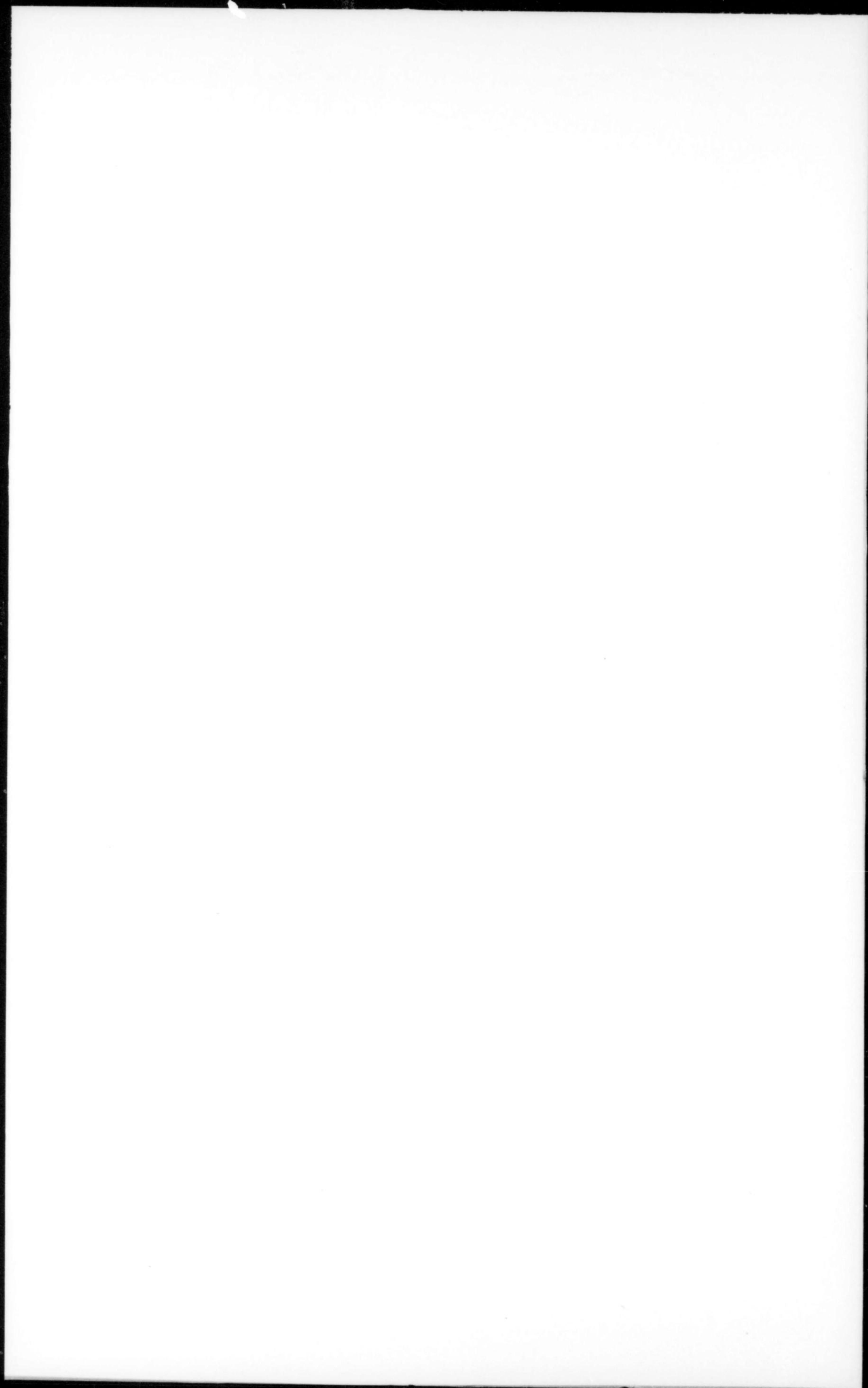
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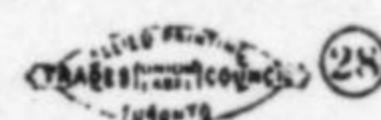
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Détente, disarmament and social progress

Jesus Faria
General Secretary,
CP of Venezuela

The growth of international relations is making its impact on social life and is a characteristic feature of contemporary world development. As humanity progresses toward socialism, it will undoubtedly assume growing importance. Internal policies are being increasingly influenced by the changes at work in the world and by the positive turn from the cold war to détente, to the gradual practical assertion in international life of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The relaxation of international tension has been brought about by the joint efforts of the revolutionary and peace forces and particularly by the consistent foreign policies of the socialist countries. We communists advocate peaceful coexistence not only because it is in the interests of socialism, the working class of the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movements. As exponents of true humanism, the communists are striving to make the objective course of social development, the class struggle in the international sphere, and the inevitable victory of progress as painless as possible for humankind, and one of their chief aims is to prevent a world thermonuclear disaster. To quote Marx, the communists do not want human progress to resemble 'that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain' (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 499). Humanity today has no alternative to establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence if it wishes to avoid nuclear catastrophe.

The grave problems (unemployment, inflation, and so on) that millions of working people in the capitalist countries have to face cannot be solved in the context of a continuing arms race, escalating military budgets and permanent confrontation with the socialist world. Suffice it to say that overall world military expenditure in 1977 came to more than \$350 billion, with the United States (where unemployment runs at 8 million) accounting for 40 per cent of that sum. This explodes the arguments designed to justify war preparations as a

means of restoring the health of the U.S. economy. Growing numbers of working people in the capitalist countries are coming to realize that the arms race is one of the main causes of the decline in their standard of living.

We believe that there are real possibilities of eliminating the danger of world war if the peoples act even more resolutely than they have so far and compel the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, who initiated the new military build-up, at first to gradually reduce arms and the armed forces, and then to agree to general and complete disarmament. This may seem utopian, but if we consider the terrible dangers that the new weapons hold for all nations, if we bear in mind the constant increase in military budgets (which continues even during the *détente*), it is not hard to see that in the immediate future the demands for general and complete disarmament will acquire a most important meaning for the broad masses and an urgency that was not clearly enough perceived in the past. Daily life provides us communists with arguments for convincing the working people that the great 'Utopia' of disarmament, like the other great 'Utopia' that socialism appeared to be for many years and ceased to be 60 years ago when, thanks to the Great October Socialist Revolution, it became a reality, will surely also be translated into real life.

The bourgeois humanists of the past fell into the trap of idealism when they imagined that states would voluntarily cease to arm themselves through merely becoming aware of the disastrous consequences that war could have for humanity. Historical experience seemed rather to confirm the aphorism of the Romans, who believed that if you wish for peace you should prepare for war. But this aphorism should not be divorced from its specific historical context. The important new conclusion to be drawn from the current situation is not that military preparations cannot safeguard peace (that was made amply clear before 1914 and before 1939), but that the arms race is a serious obstacle to social progress and retards economic development.

The working people of both the developed and the developing capitalist countries realize that militarization of the economy and socio-economic progress are two incompatible processes, that increased military spending inevitably reduces expenditure on health, education and housing, and adds to the tax burden. And the most obvious outcome for the working class is that, unlike in former times, the growth of the war industry and of the armed forces today goes hand in hand with a rise in unemployment that has had no precedent over the past 40 years. In this situation of falling living standards the bourgeois governments have only one policy to offer. Under the

hypocritical slogan of austerity they freeze wages and maintain high prices on consumer goods.

The working-class organizations and particularly the communist parties unanimously point to the only correct and effective solution, a solution that is in the interests of the working people and all mankind. The solution is immediate cessation of the arms race, which would make it possible to ease international tension and stimulate world economic relations as the basis for peaceful coexistence.

The positive changes in the world affect not only the sphere of relations between the socialist countries and developed capitalist countries. They also have direct bearing on the developing countries and are entirely in their interests. It is well known that the cold war, its very atmosphere, were used as a pretext for violation of the rights of the developing countries, perpetuating the privileges of the imperialists and masking neo-colonialist plans. It allowed the imperialists to draw countries into aggressive military alliances and enmesh them in a network of military bases, and to erect barriers to their political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries. The turn toward détente helped to make possible the enormous successes recently achieved in liberating formerly dependent peoples and their acquisition of political and, in some cases, economic independence. Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has played a major role in this respect.

It is impossible to ignore the direct connection between the atmosphere of détente and the broad movement for satisfaction of immediate economic demands put forward by the countries of the so-called Third World in recent years. Thanks to the new climate of international relations, thanks to the joint actions of the socialist countries and all democratic forces, the peoples dependent on imperialism now have before them roads of struggle that were practically closed to them before. One of these roads is the active participation of the countries defending their legitimate national interests in the non-aligned movement, whose diplomatic and political influence now stands very high in the world.¹ The 'Group of 77,' which today embraces over a hundred countries, has become an important factor in international life. The imperialist monopolies particularly fear its actions in the economic field.

The fight for fair prices on raw materials and for the right of every people to exercise sovereign control over its natural resources is one of the key slogans of such organizations. The solidarity between these countries opens up new broad opportunities for each of them. As Carlos Andres Perez, the President of Venezuela, stated recently, without alliance with other countries of the Third World and without

their support Venezuela would not have been able to nationalize either her oil or her mining.

The transition from cold war to détente is a complex process demanding a deep analysis of the international situation by the revolutionary parties, and that they should act with due regard for the changes that have taken place. It is a fact that détente has not yet spread across the planet and has not become irreversible. It has not yet had any deep-going effect on many countries, particularly in Latin America.

Although it undoubtedly continues to be the leading trend in world development, détente has not yet taken firm enough root. The policies of imperialism, i.e., neo-colonialism and all other forms of oppression and exploitation, remain the chief threat to peace, independence and equality of the peoples, particularly on our continent. Unquestionably, changes that testify to the beneficial influence of détente have occurred in the relations between individual countries of Latin America. Specifically, one should consider the political pressure that some governments exert on others. Even governments that conduct internal policies which are not fully approved by the democratic forces may play a positive role in demanding an end to the repressive measures practised in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, Brazil, Argentina and elsewhere. As for Venezuela, it may exert an indirect influence on certain Central American and even South American countries such as Bolivia, for example. For a number of historical reasons (the very name of the country derives from that of Simon Bolivar), the Venezuelans cannot refuse to help Bolivia, whether in matters of credit or, far more importantly, in moral and political support for the Bolivian people's just struggle for access to the sea.² In this case it is not a matter of helping the dictator Banzer, but of helping the Bolivian people. The Communist Party of Venezuela cannot fail to approve of such assistance because it believes that Bolivia should have access to the sea for both historical and economic reasons. If Simon Bolivar were alive today, he would also be fighting for Bolivia's legitimate right. The positive solution of this issue, and of some others, specifically the border issue, would considerably reduce tension on our continent.

When people criticize the Venezuelan government for granting Bolivia credits, it seems to us that they forget the fact that these credits carry none of the onerous terms stipulated by the North American bankers, and that Bolivia's financial dependence on the USA is thus to some degree mitigated. For the Latin American countries, being in debt to Venezuela is not the same thing as being in debt to the U.S.

All this, in our view, constitutes an element of the transition from cold war to détente in the complex conditions of Latin American life, when U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchy are building up their attacks on the democratic forces. It should be remembered that when the cold war began, Venezuela enjoyed the democratic government of Romulo Gallegos, against which the dictatorial regimes of Latin America, led by the USA, devised conspiracies aimed at overthrowing it and setting up a tyrannical regime. They achieved their aim. For ten years Venezuela was ruled by the dictator Perez Jimenez, whose position was reinforced by the personal intervention of the then U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. This dictatorship was in the interests of the cold war.

Nor is it inappropriate to consider the process of détente in connection with the imperialist propaganda over the 'lack' of human rights and freedoms in the socialist countries. The facts show that this campaign has boomeranged against the imperialists themselves. I have in mind not only the growing world protest against the hypocritical campaign launched by President Carter, whose government is incapable of guaranteeing even such a basic human right as the right to work in the United States itself.³ There can be very few people who do not know that in this richest and most powerful capitalist country tens of millions of men and women are deprived of many civil rights through racial discrimination, and that the rights of the unemployed and the millionaires, the exploited and the exploiters are equal on paper. We are also aware of the fact that the notorious 'defense of human rights' campaign is not evoking in Latin America anything like the response that the U.S. ruling circles counted on, that is, an explosion of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. Our peoples are demanding from their governments the democratization of the national life and a firmer anti-imperialist line. This is to be seen, for example, in Venezuela, Guyana, Panama, Peru and Mexico, i.e., countries whose foreign policy is on the whole positive.

As for the activity of the government of President Carlos Perez, we communists supported (with certain reservations) only its foreign policy. We resolutely oppose its line on home affairs, particularly in the socio-economic sphere.⁴ Perez's much-publicized statements on freedom and human rights, designed for 'export,' and his 'heretical' speeches at the United Nations and other forums have all been made at a time when in Venezuela itself, as the saying goes, the 'furnace is breathing fire,' when the opposition is growing. Never a day passes without the speculators jacking up prices, while the right to elementary food and shelter, the child's right to a glass of milk, remain unattainable. The health service is far from satisfactory and public transport is in a state of chaos. Consequently, not a single self-

respecting party can support the home policy of the present government.

In the light of what has been said I should like to put the question: what is the relationship between détente, peaceful coexistence and social progress? But as a prelude to this I must explain our attitude to social progress.

In our view, social progress acquires its highest expression in the replacement of the old socio-economic formation by a new, more progressive formation. Such is the onward movement of history. In the present age this means abolishing the obsolete exploitative system and building a just, socialist and communist society. But a certain degree of social progress is possible even in the framework of the society divided into antagonistic classes. The realization of the bourgeois-democratic program, with its important though limited social reforms, which we communists have always advocated, also implies fulfillment of specific measures in the interests of the masses. This is a matter of democratization of social life and particularly working conditions, improvement of the wages system, and a fairer distribution of the national income and of taxation. It is the advance of society as a whole that constitutes the essence of social progress. This is possible in capitalist society if there is growing activity on the part of the progressive forces, if their opposition to all forms of reaction and discrimination has mounting intensity, if there is a drive to spread knowledge and culture among the broad masses, and an ever more dedicated struggle for democracy and world peace. I have touched on some aspects of this many-sided and complex problem in this article. Since a fuller examination demands more detailed research, I shall deal only with the problem of social progress in Venezuela in the conditions of détente.

At present the Venezuelan state makes annual profit (mainly from the sale of oil and iron ore) of \$11,000 million. It has a population of nearly 13 million. These funds are credited to the government. But the huge sums concentrated in the Treasury are not used to raise the standard of living of the Venezuelans. This standard has, on the contrary, been falling because of inflation, the rising cost of living and speculation. Those who do not take part in sharing the profits from the sale of oil are still receiving the same wages they have had for many years and are now ever worse off than they were before the boom in oil prices. Paradoxically, the social, economic and other problems afflicting our society have not only not been solved by the increased oil revenues, but have actually become even more acute.

The nationalization of the oil industry did not fully satisfy the country's democratic forces because it left three urgent problems unsolved: the sale of oil, its transportation, and the technology of oil

extraction. The communists launched the slogan of nationalization of the oil industry back in 1931. At first our enemies ridiculed us. Then they began to hound us, claiming that the communists' slogan ran counter to Venezuela's national interests. This was the period of the cold war. Today the bourgeois politicians have reconciled themselves to our slogan and even adopted it, by nationalizing the oil industry. Naturally we supported this nationalization not only because it was an old demand of ours, but also because nationalization enables us to pursue the struggle for a consistent solution to the problem of use of oil resources in more favorable circumstances.

Today the question on the agenda is not whether the oil belongs to us or not. Now the question is whether Venezuela will sell the oil itself or try to find intermediaries. There is also the question of who is going to transport the oil. Is it to be carried in Venezuelan or foreign tankers? Who is to supply the technology? Are we to buy it from the USA? Or can Venezuela find another source of supply on more favorable terms? From this standpoint it would be absurd to renounce the advantages of a situation that is favorable to the strengthening of national independence, a situation created by the positive influence of détente.

The governments of the United States and other countries are buying oil from Venezuela not to help Venezuela but because they need our oil. Energy resources are gradually being used up, with the result that such countries as the USA want to husband their own oil resources and at the moment prefer to buy oil abroad.

What then, in the communists' view, should be done today, in capitalist conditions, to accelerate social progress and above all to raise the people's standard of living?

I must say at once that it is not easy to achieve social progress in Venezuela under the present government because that government is entirely committed to the service of the oligarchy. The Venezuelan bourgeoisie has achieved considerable success and grown rich, but who apart from the ruling élite would venture to claim that this is social progress? Some splendid modern buildings and bridges, some first-class highways have been built. But even this is not social progress, because technical progress, like the general growth in productivity of labor, represents only a possibility of social progress.⁵ Everything, even corn and beans, is being purchased abroad. But the fact that Venezuela can provide a vast market for exporters of food, cars and luxury goods cannot be regarded as social progress either.

Social progress for Venezuela means above all the coming to power of a truly anti-imperialist democratic government closely linked with the people, the masses, sensitive to their opinions and striving to satisfy their demands. It means everything that could reduce un-

employment. It means the possibility of uniting and channelling all financial resources in the interests of the nation.

It means the rational and planned use of the enormous national wealth that we have in oil, the creation of new jobs, the fight to curb unemployment for the good of the country. In this sense Venezuela is in a happy position because it stands upon a sea of oil.

We believe that to achieve all this the economy must be diversified and made less dependent on oil, which at present is practically our only export item. The huge financial resources at the disposal of the government must be used to industrialize the country, to develop the state sector, so that hundreds of thousands of new jobs can be created within a very short period and unemployment thus drastically reduced; they must also be used to carry through genuine agrarian reform to its logical conclusion. All this would enlarge the internal market for the output of the country's new industries and its own agriculture. The program of industrialization proposed by the Communist Party is based on the great opportunities that exist for developing petrochemicals, the iron-ore industry, ship-building, farm machinery, and so on. It is a fundamental plank in our platform that all the basic industries should be in government hands and we therefore reject the idea of setting up mixed enterprises in these industries. It must be acknowledged that the more recent bourgeois governments have taken some important steps in this direction, but the country still depends almost entirely on its oil exports while importing goods that it could make itself.

Along with a policy of diversifying the economy, our party insists on a radical redistribution of the national income with increased wages for the workers and all wage and salary earners. It also insists on better services for the whole population and a fairer share for all Venezuelans in the use of the huge natural wealth.

The oil extracted in our country belongs to the whole nation. It should not therefore be a source of enrichment for a minority. Present-day realities demand the redistribution of the vast property concentrated in the hands of individuals as a result of the blatantly unjust distribution of the national income. To reduce the number of poor people in Venezuela, and these, we should note, account for three-quarters of the population, the state must take measures to control capital, to prevent the monopolies from making super-profits. This could be laid down in anti-trust laws, as is already done in some developed capitalist countries. Tax reform with the aim of shifting the main burden on to the rich is equally urgent. This would mean that the Venezuelan state would have sufficient financial resources for its current expenditure. Most of the revenue from the sale of oil and the output of the iron-ore industry could be ploughed into a state program

for industrialization and the development of agriculture. Some of the funds could also be used for a special program of large-scale housing construction, child care, the organization of leisure facilities for the masses, and much else.

The aim is to return to our people some of the billions which rightly belong to them thanks to the country's oil wealth, but which have been taken by the local bourgeoisie and its imperialist partners.

In other words, social progress in our country is possible if there is a firm anti-monopoly policy aimed at taming the appetites of both foreign and local capital, decisively undermining the positions of the oligarchic circles, circles that have been 'trained' not to pay taxes to the state and that enjoy all kinds of privileges granted to them by the bourgeois governments no matter of what hue — dictatorial or liberal-democratic.

Although peaceful coexistence is a prerequisite for the peoples' accelerated progress both in the socio-economic and in the political fields, the communists do not forget the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism that peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems cannot in itself be a substitute for the class struggle.

Détente does not undermine the foundations of capitalism, but it does to a certain extent contain the aggressive imperialist circles and create conditions in which many of its internal contradictions reveal themselves with special force and clarity.

Under the system of exploitation of wage labor, that is, under capitalism, there is no substitute for the organized efforts of the working people, their struggle for economic, social and political rights. The exploiting classes and the state that expresses their interests stand in the way of the working people's aspirations. From this point of view peaceful coexistence is not in the long run some magical remedy ensuring social progress. It only creates more favorable conditions for the working people to step up the struggle for their interests. In our day it offers the best possibility for developing the class struggle on a global scale without the risk of a global armed conflict, and for the social advance of all humanity.

1. As was shown by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-aligned Countries in Colombo (August 1976), despite the attempts of pro-imperialist reaction to split its ranks, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, the struggle for peaceful coexistence, economic independence and cooperation continue to form the basis of the movement.

2. Bolivia lost its access to the sea and a considerable part of its territory as a result of the Pacific War (1879-83), into which Chile, Peru and Bolivia were drawn through the maneuvers of British imperialism.

3. The hollowness of this campaign is acknowledged even by some representatives of the ruling Democratic Party, Congressman Donald M. Fraser has stated, for

instance, that 'the problems of hunger and unemployment should be addressed in a far more substantial way than the United States has been addressing them over the last decade' (*Newsweek*, July 11, 1977).

4. In Venezuela the right to strike enshrined in the Consitution and the Labor Code does not exist in practice. So the Communist Party has had to appeal to the Procurator General of the Republic in a special document demanding that the government should respect the working people's right to strike. This right was won in the course of many years' hard struggle. According to data supplied by Pedro Ortega Diaz, a member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPV, and published in the Venezuelan press, out of 179 strikes in 1976 only one was held legally, all the others being declared illegal by the government.

5. There have been many cases when technical progress has served inhuman ends.

The creative revolutionary approach in the struggle for socialism

Rene Urbany

Chairman, CP of Luxembourg

When people say that time now flies faster than ever before, they are also saying — and with good reason — that there is a perceptible acceleration of the socio-economic and political development of the world. This is usually ascribed to the unprecedented advances in science and technology. Of course, it would be wrong to underestimate their role, but let us bear in mind that, when all is said and done, it is not machines but men that make history. That is why one must realize that the rapid changes in the international arena and within the individual countries are rooted mainly in the social sphere and that the activity of the democratic, revolutionary forces is a most important accelerator of change in social life.

Indeed, if the world today is so markedly different from what it was a half-century or even a decade ago, this is essentially the result of the gains and the enhanced influence of socialism, the international working class and the national-liberation and democratic movements.

The world is being changed by the activity of the revolutionary forces. But the converse is also true. The deeper the changes in society, the greater the number of new problems and new tasks in the revolutionary transformation of the world. We consider it to be quite natural, therefore, that the current development of the international revolutionary movement is closely bound up with intense creative

search for effective solutions to the problems which are posed before the working people and other democratic masses by the realities of our day with its wealth of concrete and original features.

This presents some questions, which we feel, require further reflection. What is the creative approach in the revolutionary struggle today? Is it possible to formulate a set of principles for making a fruitful contribution to the theory and the present-day political practice of the working class?

These are, undoubtedly, very broad questions, but they confront the communists, and we must discuss them.

Here I shall try to provide at least some partial answers to these questions, proceeding from the views and experience of our party.

Soon after the 22nd Congress of the CPL, a weekly paper voicing the interests of our country's industrial magnates gave an assessment of the ideological and political stand of the communists of Luxembourg. In the spirit which is characteristic of the bourgeois press, it wrote: 'The local communists have continued to insist on their "unflagging loyalty" to proletarian internationalism, which means that they remain adherents of a system of political power that sets them in flagrant contradiction with all the democratic parties concerned with rights and freedoms.'¹ The article as a whole abounds in charges of 'dogmatism' against our party, while its title, 'Nothing Has Changed,' unambiguously expresses the Luxembourg bourgeoisie's regret that we have not abandoned, and have no intention of abandoning, our 'dogmatic' stand.

At about the same time, a leftist newspaper wrote the following: 'The CPL has once again shown itself to be a reformist party. Its terms for it are "national" and "democratic"... That is the kind of adaptation to bourgeois nationalism and parliamentarism that makes it a reformist party.'²

We find that, in contrast to the big bourgeoisie, which is worried about our 'dogmatism,' the petty-bourgeois arch-revolutionaries are more agitated by an absence of it, and so they undertake the duty of curing us of 'reformism.'

The party's own experience has taught it to see both the true substance and motives for such criticism, which only appears to be contradictory. We know that ultimately there is no fundamental contradiction between those who fear our 'dogmatism' and those who dislike our 'revisionism' (or 'reformism,' or any other 'ism' by which they prefer to designate our urge to escape from the bondage of ossified formulas). Actually, both are at one in their hostility to the communists. Both have no other aim than to blame us for the defects which they ascribe to us. They want us to be dogmatists and doctrinaires out of touch with the living realities of the class struggle.

They realize that this would soon result in our political death and would, in consequence, fully meet the class interests of capital. They are just as avid in wishing us to be revisionists or, more simply, pragmatists and opportunists without principles, without any clear-cut theoretical guidelines in our political activity. That, too, would be in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Today, we communists are already a real force in Luxembourg, with a growing popularity and prestige, without whose participation no national problems can be solved with any success. Of course, our party is still numerically small (like our country itself), but the Marxist-Leninists have never judged the revolutionary efficiency of a proletarian vanguard merely by its size and national-territorial indicators. If we have been acting as a real party, the main thing is undoubtedly our actual role in the country's social and political life.

Here is what the facts show. Since the 22nd Congress the CPL has strengthened its ties with the masses, and its activity has become more vigorous. At the enterprises, in the trade unions, in Parliament and in the municipal councils, wherever the Luxembourg communists work, they are engaged in a day-to-day effort to pursue the line of their party and to fulfill the tasks collectively mapped out by our Congress. The activity of the party branches in production is of the utmost importance. The communists have a growing influence in the trade union movement. The CPL has been intensifying its ideological and political work among the young people, and this was expressed, in particular, in the recent establishment of a national Communist Youth Organization. The CPL, consistently standing up for the interests of the working people and all the other democratic sections, has helped further to promote the laying of a foundation for a genuine alliance of the left-wing forces, the communists and the socialists in the first place. For over 30 years now, the communists have been represented in Parliament and have used it as a rostrum in the struggle for democracy and social progress. Our party maintains solid positions in many communities and municipalities, especially at Esch-sur-Alzette, the country's major metallurgical center. Even those who do not like this are coming to realize that in the recent period the communists' parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity, which has clear class purposes, has established them among the people as a necessary factor of the nation's social life.

But what lurks behind the criticism, which has alternately accused us of 'dogmatism' and 'revisionism'? It is the class fear of the bourgeoisie in face of the working-class movement, which is equipped, first, with the scientific theory of the revolutionary struggle, and second, with the skill to apply it creatively in the concrete social and political situation. These are, after all, the qualities which the com-

munists carry into the political activity of the working class and the other working people. These are the qualities which we in Luxembourg seek to develop to the utmost within our party itself. The communists of Luxembourg regard the creative approach, which takes account of the specific features of the historical situation and local conditions as being obligatory and of exceptional importance.

We leave it to our adversaries to continue confusing themselves in their attempts to decide whether we are 'dogmatists' or 'revisionists,' and we reassert that loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory and the creative attitude to it are indivisible. We are sure that in the present conditions no revolutionary creative approach — whether in theory or practice — is possible unless it is based on the fundamental scientific ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the whole experience of the struggle for socialism in the 20th century has borne this out. Of course, attempts at social, political and spiritual innovation are also possible with other ideological and theoretical premises. Such attempts are not only possible but actually take place in practice. When they serve the interests of social progress, we are prepared to support them, and actually do support them. But whenever it is a matter of revolutionary creativity by the communists and, consequently, whenever the immediate interests of the working class become the touchstone for assessments and judgments, we are deeply convinced that any creativity outside the context of Marxism-Leninism inevitably develops into utopian visions or leads away from revolutionary positions.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg is a revolutionary party of the working class. It seeks to take a creative approach to every problem in theory and practical activity. We strive to look ahead and believe it to be our constant duty to improve our theoretical assessment of the new and changing conditions in our society and the world, seeking to find and implement the most effective solutions of the concrete problems which arise in present-day conditions.

When bourgeois and reformist leaders accuse our party of lacking creative independence, they ascribe to us an urge blindly to imitate what the Bolsheviks did in revolutionary Russia. Let me put this quite bluntly. Had we lived in the Russia of 1917, instead of the Luxembourg of the late 70s, we would undoubtedly have tried to do exactly what Lenin's party did in rousing the people to socialist revolution. However, our struggle is carried on in a different place and time. That is why, as our 22nd Congress declared: 'The Communist Party of Luxembourg . . . loyal to Marxism-Leninism, is advancing to socialism along its *own* way, which accords with the experience and traditions of the Luxembourg people and the social relations which have taken shape in the country.'³ This is, of course, an expression of our

position, which amounts precisely to the CPL's independent and creative approach to the tasks before it. Such an approach is quite naturally determined by the very substance of the Marxist-Leninist science, which requires a concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Our conception of the way which will lead the people of Luxembourg to socialism has been worked out in accordance with this requirement.

However, while being aware of and emphasizing the national specifics of our way to socialism, we are also aware of and emphasize the fact that these specifics can be scientifically comprehended only in the context of the general regularities of the revolutionary struggle to do away with the power of capital and to establish the new social system.

The Marxist-Leninist theory shows these regularities, which are universal. We do not see this in the primitive sense that the theory contains ready-made solutions for all the problems which arise in the living movement of history. On the contrary, it requires constant creative solution of ever new problems in the revolutionary struggle, which are always unique in their concreteness. It also says that there can be no mechanical copying of existing revolutionary models.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism helps to bring out the ultimate class substance of development or change of form in social life in the concrete historical or national situation. Reliance on the Marxist-Leninist theory helps us to avoid mistakes and not to succumb to illusions for which a political movement always provides the soil if it is oriented only upon the uniqueness of the situation at home, without taking into account either its place or perspectives in the context of the universal laws of the class struggle and social development.

That is why we do not regard as scientific any attempts to enshrine as general theory that which is patently of limited local significance. We regard as absurd the premise that every country or region can have its own theory of social development and revolutionary struggle.

Our party has characterized the socialist restructuring of society in Luxembourg as a democratic way, thereby indicating two very essential features of our revolutionary strategy. First, we emphasize the conviction, which is common to all the Marxist-Leninists, that socialism is inconceivable without democracy and cannot be established by 'obviating' it or outside the context of democratic development. Second, in this way we declare our determination to use what we believe to be an existing possibility of relying in the struggle for socialism on the democratic forms of social and political life which have taken shape in Luxembourg.

Our view of this problem is fundamentally different from the bourgeois and reformist conceptions, which frequently propose di-

verse 'democratic ways to socialism.' Here, it is not the words but the content that is important. Our ideological adversaries lay emphasis on the form of political action, a form they tend to absolutize and deliberately to elevate above the ultimate goals of the struggle. Quite often their recipes for 'a democratic way to socialism' are converted into the 'democracy is more important than socialism' slogan. By contrast, the most important thing for us is the class, socialist goal which has to be reached along the way we have defined as democratic. What is more, we believe that any contrasting of socialism and democracy is impermissible, as this would contradict our theory and all the traditions of the communists. It would also clash with our socialist ideal, which in political terms is nothing but the establishment of the power of the people, that is, of democracy in the true sense of the word.

So much for our principles. But there are also the lessons of life, the lessons of history, which cannot be ignored when we consider the role and importance of democracy and its various forms on the way to socialism. What do these lessons teach us? They teach us, we believe, that forms of revolutionary struggle need to be chosen not in accordance with some scheme but with the real conditions in which this struggle develops. That is not to say at all that in one case the socialist revolution can be 'more' and in others 'less' democratic. The socialist revolution is always a maximum of democracy, that is, the maximum of active, conscious and concerned participation of broad masses of people in it. But the forms of their participation — whether it is limited to, say, voting or political marches, or takes the form of political strikes and even armed action — are indeed a question for which, as historical experience testifies, there can be no stereotype answer. To suggest such an answer is to suggest a dogma, and to close one's eyes in advance to the realities of class relations, to any changes in the arrangement of political forces, swings in the enemy's behavior, and so on.

It is quite another thing when the question of the forms of revolutionary struggle is decided with full consideration of living realities. Thus, in the light of the concrete conditions in Luxembourg, our party has drawn the following conclusion: 'By virtue of our people's stable democratic and parliamentary traditions, the democratic parliamentary form of state can become an acceptable basis for the working class to advance to power and build socialism. The premises for this bloodless way to socialism consist of a close alliance of all the sections of the working people under the leadership of the working class, with the use of all the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, and the people's firm resolve to crush any embryonic attempt by reaction to narrow down democracy

or eliminate it, or to resort to force and sabotage in resisting socialist legality. At the same time, the democratic way to socialism does not rule out fierce social and political clashes with the forces of the old, moribund order. The existing democratic institutions, rights and freedoms have to be restructured, improved and enlarged even under the present regime. Parliament must become a truly sovereign legislative and executive organ for the expression of the people's will.⁴

We do not, of course, claim that this is the only or the best way to socialism, whatever the circumstances. We are merely saying that our choice of forms and methods of struggle for Luxembourg's socialist future follows from an analysis of the correlation of class and political forces actually taking shape in the country.

Consequently, we believe that when it comes to choosing the forms of the working-class struggle and the ways of advancing to socialism, there can be no question of any uniform and universally obligatory stereotype. This opens the broadest scope for revolutionary creativity. But even then there is a principle by which we are guided and whose observance, we believe, allows us to take a truly creative revolutionary attitude, instead of being carried away by well-intentioned illusions. This principle is to assess the role of every political institution and the importance of every form of revolutionary action, always putting our assessment in the general context of class relations and the class struggle, for after all the problem is not to make a choice between political democracy and some form of police tyranny. The problem is to defend democracy and to seek to develop and deepen it, without losing sight of the fact that it is a form of class struggle.

In the recent period, as we predicted at the 22nd Congress of the CPL, the contradictions in our country have been sharply aggravated. The crisis recession in our steel industry, the key one in Luxembourg, combined with other manifestations of the general crisis of the capitalist system, has increased social and political tensions. The constant reduction in output and jobs is having especially painful consequences. Mass unemployment has emerged for the first time since the war. The country's economic future has been jeopardized. Ever larger sections of the working people are involved in social conflicts and are coming to realize the need to change the existing socio-economic order.

In these conditions, the CPL has redoubled its efforts to secure broader support from the working class and other democratic sections of the population. We have been working hard to make our party the leading national force in the people's political struggle against monopoly capital, and for democracy and socialism. It is impossible to advance to socialism unless the Communist Party is at the head of

the mass movement. This is our firm conviction, which is backed up by our own and international experience.

Other parties in our country have also proclaimed socialism to be their goal and ideal. Such is the Luxembourg Socialist Party, which has ruled the country since 1974 together with the Democratic Party (Liberals). Until then, the socialists were in opposition for six years, and then they were lavish with promises of far-reaching reforms. Once in power, these promises were forgotten. Today, their state policy does not advance the country one step toward socialism and is, on the contrary, aimed to safeguard the interests of monopoly capital. The consequences were soon at hand: employment has shrunk, and the working people's important social and democratic gains whittled down. In particular, there are grave apprehensions over the present coalition government's urge to deprive parliament of some of its powers and to vest these in 'social partnership' agencies, which are not elected by the people.

This example shows very well that the working people of our country will never find the way to socialism if their social and political movement is led by parties like the Socialist Party of Luxembourg. Is it surprising, therefore, that we have no doubt that it would be irresponsible on the part of the communists to fail to insist on the need for joint action by all the democratic forces and on our party's leading role in this joint struggle?

Our adversaries frequently say that the communists' determination to lead the mass movement gives away our urge to impose our political and ideological will on other parties and on the people as a whole. This is a totally groundless charge. The fact is that our task is not to subordinate the masses to our party's interests, but on the contrary to gear the communists' whole effort and activity to the interests of the people, to the working people's class goals and aspirations.

We have not invented, let alone sought to impose on anyone, demands cutting across the demands expressed by the working people themselves. As I write these words, the CPL is in the process of arranging many public meetings across the country, especially in the industrial cities of the south and the central regions. At these meetings attended by many people (among them by many workers and employees belonging to the Socialist Party) the idea of nationalizing the steel industry is being discussed openly for the first time and is gaining support. Let us recall that only a few years ago it would have been simply inconceivable in Luxembourg to contest the claims of the all-powerful multinational concerns to dominate this industry. Now, the masses have themselves advanced to an understanding of the need to keep big business in check. We communists believe it to be

our duty to produce a clear-cut program making it possible to realize this urgent need.

Another remarkable thing is that as the trade union and political struggle in defense of jobs and for ensuring the economic basis of the people's livelihood is further advanced, broad sections of the population have shown growing interest in and approval of statements by the communists, who insist on immediate provision of full employment, a ban on the massive export of capital, democratic control of investment, and formulation and implementation of an overall economic and social five-year plan, taking into account the available resources and their use for the benefit of the whole nation.

All of this, we believe, has a direct bearing on the problem of revolutionary creativity. Indeed, we feel that it is of fundamental importance to emphasize that the social and political energy of the working masses themselves is the best source of such creativity and its fruitfulness. Any new slogan, new idea or new form of social movement is bound to remain a dead letter in practice, instead of amounting to creativity, if it originates in a purely speculative way, instead of emerging as a theoretically and politically well-considered, scientific summing-up of the forward-looking aspirations and demands which arise in the midst of the people. Through their skill in summing up and giving political expression to these demands, the communists are gaining the leading role in the democratic revolutionary movement of the masses.

In the polemics over Luxembourg's socialist future, we have constantly come up against our adversaries' strident idea that in our country socialism must, at any rate, not be similar to any existing socialist society.

Whatever the arguments being used to back up this demand, they always clearly reveal the bourgeoisie's very definite political hopes. It is, of course, hardly concerned with the specific features that socialism may have in Luxembourg. If it is truly a matter of socialism, and not of a social-democratic counterfeit, it is not acceptable to the capitalists in any case. And if they are still willing to keep talking about a socialism for our country that will be 'different,' 'better' and 'more in line with the national conditions,' that is only because in this way they expect, here and now, to push the working class and the communists of Luxembourg to some distant ideological and political position away from the international revolutionary movement and the other communist parties, above all the ruling parties of the socialist countries.

Quite naturally, we cannot afford to lose sight of this political trick on the part of our class adversary, and for this reason alone we take a very cautious attitude to any attempt to interpret our conception of

Luxembourg's socialist future as some special, national model differing in principle from existing socialism, from its scientific and theoretical image which Marx, Engels and Lenin created.

At the same time, we have no doubt that Luxembourg's national features and traditions will leave an imprint on the structure of socialist society in our country. This standpoint of the CPL has been expressed with sufficient clarity in its programmatic propositions, as formulated by the 22nd Congress. Anyone who takes the trouble to read them will see that we want socialism that is inseparable from the specifics of Luxembourg's national history.

However, it would be absurd to claim that the following fundamental conclusion of the CPL springs solely from Luxembourg's specific features: 'Socialism is not a regime of unification, levelling or anarchy. It will create for the Luxembourg people material conditions for unfolding all the capabilities and endowments of the individual, a higher standard of social morality, which is free from man's exploitation of man, a morality under which labor will cease to be a source of enrichment for the few, but will be a source of well-being and a splendid life for all in true human dignity.'⁵

Quite clearly, this is an expression of the general, law-governed features of socialism.

Consequently, in our conception of Luxembourg's socialist future the general conclusions and ideas of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism are developed and enlarged in the light of our local conditions. We are entitled to regard this conception as a new and original one, if only because no one, except us, has tried to present a real socialist perspective for our country in the light of all the real conditions of its development and traditions.

We are sure that this perspective is a truly realistic one and that what we envisage can be put through. It is quite possible, of course, that practice will bring out any of the omissions and flaws that our conception may have. It may quite possibly have to be modified and expressed more concretely in some details. In short, we still have a long way ahead of us, and many difficulties to overcome, to prove in fact that our program is viable and that we are capable of guiding its implementation.

There may be mistakes and failures along this path. We have no guarantees against them. But we believe that there is a way of reducing these to a minimum, and it is an in-depth scientific analysis of Luxembourg's realities, concern for the revolutionary experience of the fraternal parties, the experience of the victorious socialist revolutions, and also for the lessons which follow from the defeats that have fallen to the lot of fighters for socialism.

We regard this kind of constant additional verification of our con-

clusions and positions, verification carried out through a comparison of our experience with that of the other communist parties and of the international revolutionary working-class movement, as the key principle of our creative approach to tackling the intricate tasks in the struggle for socialism in Luxembourg.

1. *D'Letzeburger Land*, January 7, 1977.
2. *Klassenkampf*, January 10, 1977.
3. 22. Kongress der Kommunistischen Partei Luxemburgs, Luxemburg, 1977, p. 279.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

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Leninism and the revolutionary renewal of the world

Konstantin Zarodov
D.Sc. (Hist.), USSR

Never before has the international revolutionary movement had such important gains behind it or exerted such a powerful influence on world development as it does today. The successes of the revolutionary forces are an embodiment of the fundamental propositions of Marxism, of the ideas of V.I. Lenin, the 108th anniversary of whose birth is now being marked by progressive mankind.

The CPSU regards Leninism as a doctrine which has absorbed everything created by humanity's best minds, and which sums up the worldwide experience in the working people's class struggle and blends it into a single whole.

Ours is a period of profound shifts and sharp changes in the international arena and in the social life of individual countries. Accordingly, ours is a period of especially rigorous verification of the social theories, ideological doctrines and political conceptions expounded and defended by various classes, parties and trends.

What does a comparison of Marxist-Leninist ideas with the actual course of history in the 20th century show? It is important to examine this because the communists have always regarded practical experience as the chief touchstone of the truth or error of various ideas.

The events of our century show that the fundamental line of world development is in accord with Marx's perspective for the revolutionary advance from the bourgeois formation to the communist formation, and with Lenin's proposition that the substance of the present epoch would be worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. That is the first and most important conclusion which follows from a comparison of Marxist-Leninist theory with historical practice.

Life shows that the communists' revolutionary theory has never before exerted such a powerful ideological influence, as it does today, on the ideological, social and political attitudes of individuals, whole classes, sections and groups of the population comprised in the most diverse social structures and constituting a truly multiform pattern of

national cultures and traditions that embraces the whole world. That is the second conclusion which one must necessarily draw in seeking to establish how the ideas of Marxism-Leninism correspond to the realities of our day and to the requirements and moods of our contemporaries.

Finally, the third conclusion is that the communists' revolutionary theory has developed together with the objective development of the world. The fraternal parties' theoretical thought has steadily advanced the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, enriched its content and made productive use of its methodology in analyzing the new problems which arise in the world revolutionary process. The communists' active and creative approach to the solution of these problems has an outstanding role to play in helping the international communist movement solidly maintain its positions as the most influential political force of our day.

We have seen fresh confirmation of Lenin's idea that revolution and counter-revolution should be considered in their interconnection as 'an integral social movement developing in accordance with its own inner logic' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 115). This logic has been clearly expressed in the current spate of theoretical discussion on the problems arising from the inevitable social transformations that are taking place within the historically obsolete system of capitalism. It is also expressed in the fact that together with the development and enrichment of revolutionary thought and practice by the communist parties the bourgeoisie has stepped up its ideological counter-offensive in an effort to divert the creative energies of the working class and of the whole of the left-wing democratic movement into a channel where it would not harm the interests of capital.

The time is past when the bourgeoisie hoped solely to isolate the communists in society. Although the imperialists and reactionaries still resort, wherever they can, to repression and persecution of the communists and try hard to keep them from government, bourgeois ideologists are now forced to admit that the policy of 'quarantine' with respect to the communist parties has failed. Ever more frequently they urge the need to take another tack, and switch the effort from 'quarantine' to 'vaccination.'¹ The advocates of this 'ideologico-political therapy' make no secret of their hope to inject a solid dose of social-democratic ideology into modern Marxism so as to induce 'an immunity to Leninism' among those who take that stand.²

The purpose of this ideological campaign is to get 'Marxism to draw closer to reality.' The bourgeoisie is once again using a method which it first tried out in the early years of this century. At that time, the working-class movement was first faced with the problem of develop-

ing Marxist theory in a historical situation that had undergone a sharp change, in conditions which Marx and Engels could not have known or analyzed. But then, as now, it was not a question of whether Marxism had to be developed or not. The question was *how* to develop it.

This was answered in their own way by the social democrats grouped round the right-wing leaders of the Second International and 'officially' claiming to be the successors to Marxism. For their theoreticians, the novelty of the epoch provided the ground for taking 'a new look' at the future of capitalism and at the tasks and prospects of the working-class movement.

They noted that fact that free-competition capitalism had given way to monopoly capitalism. But they did not see this as the basis for the aggravation of all the contradictions of the capitalist economy but as a possibility of its transformation into an integrated, rationally functioning trust organized on a world scale.

Nor did they fail to notice the swing to political reaction induced by imperialism. They saw that this posed a threat to bourgeois democracy itself. But their defense of this democracy in effect developed into support for the power of capital.

The right-wing social-democratic leaders sensed, even if they did not comprehend, that the historical initiative had passed from the bourgeoisie to the working class. And they did their utmost to confine the activity of the worker masses to a purely trade-unionist, craft-guild movement, to prevent their political role from going beyond election campaigns or beyond efforts to push through parliament modest proposals for reform.

Nor did they ignore the imperialist-induced danger of a world war, issuing warnings about it and signing anti-war manifestos. But when the guns began to roar in 1914, they slid down to social-chauvinism and justification of the imperialist slaughterhouse.

Finally, they were forced to realize that the capitalist world had been brought to the threshold of socialist revolution by the course of history itself, but they recoiled from assuming the role of its organizers and leaders. In effect, they acted as the ideological and political defenders of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

That was the picture of the new epoch presented in the speeches, writings and political practices of the leaders of the Second International. It is quite clear that when in 1913 Lenin said that this epoch had brought fresh triumphs for Marxism, he did not mean this 'official' social-democratic Marxism at all (see Vol. 18, p. 585).

It was Lenin's Marxism that triumphed, for he had carried the development of Marxism along a path that was fundamentally distinct from the errant ways of the ideological and political leaders of the

Second International. The substance of this distinction stands out clearly from a comparison of the views expressed by Lenin and by the social-reformist theoreticians on the issues of the period considered above.

In contrast to the reformist conception of an 'organized capitalism,' Lenin created his scientific theory of imperialism and carried it to the conclusion that monopoly capitalism is the last stage of the bourgeois formation and the eve of socialist revolution.

In contrast to the reformist advocates of bourgeois democracy, Lenin showed that the struggle for democracy is inseparable from the struggle for socialism; he produced a comprehensively substantiated and elaborate theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into socialist revolution.

In contrast to the opportunistic attempts to 'integrate' the working-class movement with the political system of bourgeois society and the state, Lenin showed that the proletariat's hegemony is a factor which determines the triumphant development of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses and of all the progressive and democratic forces against the oppression of the monopolies and capital, and that the working class needs its own, consistently revolutionary party, if it is to exercise its leading role effectively.

In contrast to the conciliators, who yielded to the clamor of militarism and chauvinism, Lenin drew, from the fact of the military exacerbation of the contradictions of imperialism, his conclusion that the international solidarity of the working people was of paramount importance for the maintenance of peace, and put forward, for the contingency of an imperialist war breaking out after all, his revolutionary slogan of converting it into a war against the oppressors and exploiters and those who were the social vehicles of militarism.

Finally, in contrast to the social-reformists, who dreaded the very idea of an early takeover of power by the working class, Lenin produced a coherent theory of socialist revolution, proved that it could and actually had to win initially in one country, tirelessly taught his party and the masses of working people the art of revolutionary struggle and personally led the immediate preparation and consummation of the Great October Revolution of 1917.

Lenin's ideological polemic with the Second International leaders was ultimately not a dispute about the theoretical letter of Marxism, but a clash of opposite class approaches to Marx's doctrine.

Indeed, while using the whole panoply of Marxist terminology, the social-democratic reformists in practice adapted themselves to the interests of capital and safeguarded them by their ideological and political maneuvering.³ Subsequently, on those numerous occasions when they managed to take hold of the levers of state administration,

they invariably confirmed by their own acts, without a single exception, that their interpretation of Marxism led to no more than a change of the political scenery, which was used to cover up the power of the monopolies and capital.

On the contrary, Lenin took the proletariat's class positions as the basis for his approach to the fundamental problems of the day and, accordingly, to the development of Marxism. The criteria for Lenin's thinking were the supreme goals of the working class, the possibility of attaining them and the ways for their most effective realization in the concrete conditions of this or that country. As a result, Marxism-Leninism became the ideological and theoretical guide in the revolutionary struggle, which has brought the international working class its epoch-making victories. The history of the 20th century itself has shown that there is only one correct answer — Lenin's answer — to the question: 'How is Marxism to be developed?'

That is something the bourgeoisie has long since understood. That is why it has not abandoned its attempts to convince the masses of workers that the old social-democratic recipes are the best way to solve the new problems which arise in our day, and has urged them to reject the 'Leninization' of the working people's political movement.

Lenin believed that the most important feature of Marx's doctrine, a feature even Marx's opponents recognized, is the remarkable consistency and integrity of his ideas. We also have Lenin's well-known view that the philosophy of Marxism is 'cast from a single piece of steel,' so much so that 'you cannot eliminate one basic premise, one essential part, without departing from objective truth, without falling a prey to bourgeois-reactionary falsehood' (Vol. 14, p. 326). Lenin's own theoretical thinking was dedicated to maintaining the integrity of the revolutionary science created by Marx and Engels.

The advances in the scientific thinking of Marx and Engels are fully retained in the theoretical accomplishments of Leninism, in the whole system of ideas which are organically linked with Lenin's name. Lenin's own philosophical works, which contained a scientific summing-up of the discoveries in natural science and the changes in the socio-political life of the world, did not invalidate but, in accordance with the new conditions and the new horizons in scientific knowledge, gave more concrete form and depth to the fundamental propositions of dialectical and historical materialism. Lenin's doctrine of imperialism did not invalidate but developed and enriched Marx's political economy of the capitalist society. Lenin's theory of socialist revolution and construction of a socialist society, for all its wealth of new and bold ideas, rested firmly on the foundations of scientific socialism laid by Marx and Engels.

As a result, the integrity and consistency, which are organic to

Marx's doctrine, were fully preserved as distinctive features of Marxism-Leninism, the integral revolutionary science of the international working class.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and reformism are well aware of the tremendous power of this integrity of the theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why they are constantly engaged in seeking out internal contradictions in Marxism-Leninism in an effort to create the impression that some of its component parts are incompatible with others, that the application of its methods all but refutes the achievements of its own theory, and so on. They have tried especially hard to contrast Lenin with Marx and Engels, and Leninism with Marxism.

The claim that Lenin had 'departed from Marxism' was first made by right-wing social democrats over six decades ago. Karl Kautsky (only one among many) wasted reams of paper in writing about the 'revisionism' of Lenin and his party. Today, this invention is being propounded by bourgeois and reformist ideologists with redoubled energy. This miss no opportunity to urge 'exposure of the true meaning of Lenin's revisionism, which substituted something else for Marx's doctrine.'⁴

The usual and main argument used in the attacks on Leninism is the idea that Lenin's doctrine contains nothing except 'revolutionary militancy.'⁵ This is what is supposed to distinguish it from the 'academic' Marxism of the 19th century. They suggest that Marx's theory does not contain the explosive revolutionary force with which the whole system of Lenin's views is permeated.

But is this at all true? Was it not Marx, after all, who declared that it was not enough to explain the world and that it had to be transformed? Was it not Marx who first gave scientific proof of the inevitable revolutionary substitution of socialism for capitalism? Was it not Marx who believed that one of his main achievements was that he had extended the theory of the class struggle to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Only on the assumption of universal ignorance is it possible to depict the founders of Marxism as 'moderate liberals' shunning the revolutionary world outlook.

As we have seen, Lenin took the Marxist approach to the development of Marxism, that is, he was guided by the class interests of the proletariat. Lenin's own theoretical thinking rested on the scientific propositions of Marxism and did not revise but developed them. Similarly, the revolutionary spirit of Leninism springs directly from the revolutionary substance of Marx's doctrine itself.

This does not mean, of course, that there is no difference between the sum of the ideas set forth in the works of Lenin and those in the writings of Marx and Engels. There is a difference, and this is natural

because Marxism is a living theory reflecting the objective world, with all the changes going on in it.

The 20th century turned out to be much more revolutionary than the 19th century, and Lenin appraised the substance of the new epoch in a truly Marxist way, reflecting in his writings its revolutionary tenor, which is its hallmark. It is natural, therefore, that in his works the various aspects of the science and art of revolution are considered and analyzed much more frequently and more concretely than they are in the works of the founders of Marxism. If this is a 'revision' of Marx, it is such, of course, only from the standpoint of those who do not like the revolutionary character of our age itself.

No one was so consistent as Lenin in standing up for the basic principles, ideas and propositions of Marxism. At the same time, no one was more insistent than Lenin in urging the need to correct this or that conclusion in view of the changing situation or displayed such boldness in developing revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics.

It was Lenin who insisted that 'a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of *reality*, and not cling to a theory of yesterday' (Vol. 24, p. 45). This idea, an indispensable principle of his whole theoretical and political work, was formulated by Lenin at a relatively early period of his revolutionary activity as follows: 'We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life' (Vol. 4, pp. 211-212).

Leninism itself has been a doctrine that has advanced Marxist thought in every direction. In doing so it takes its stand firmly on the foundations laid by Marx and Engels.

It is true that the period in which Leninism was in the making falls within the last decade of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. But even now, when this century of ours is drawing to a close, the ideas of Leninism illumine the way for the revolutionary political parties of the working class on every continent of the world. It is also true that Lenin's name is closely connected with Russia, with the movement and struggle of its working masses and with the October Revolution. But the fighters for freedom and socialism, on whatever latitude or longitude they may be, have always regarded Lenin as a leader not only on the Russian scale, but of the greatest international stature.⁶

Today, Marxism-Leninism, as an indivisible whole, continues to provide a reliable scientific foundation for the communists' further development of revolutionary theory in accordance with the requirements of living practice. Our time poses many problems for whose solution it would be futile to seek any ready-made formulas. The

communists do not, in fact, look for any such formulas either in Marx's or Lenin's writings. They take a creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory, constantly enlarging and developing it, believing that it is not only legitimate but also essential to discover the ways and means which in the conditions of their countries could bring the working people to a socialist society. This is, in fact, completely in accord with the substance and spirit of Leninism.

Lenin used to say that since socialism had become a science it had to be pursued as a science (see, Vol. 5, p. 372). It is as a science, and not as a collection of dogmas or a 'political catechism' that Leninism is regarded by the vanguard forces of the present-day revolutionary movement. Conversely, denial of the scientific content of Leninism is now the most prominent element of the ideological offensive being carried on by the bourgeoisie and the reformists against the working class and against socialism.

In their efforts to 'delimit' the significance of Lenin's theory, they try to tie it down not merely to a definite historical period but to certain specific events in the past. This has produced, for instance, the idea that Leninism is 'inconceivable' outside the context of the conditions created by the First World War. Attempts have even been made to present Leninism as a primitive scheme consisting of a few propositions, and even these are presented outside their logical and historical context.⁷

Those who urge such a view of Leninism dodge any discussion of its principal subject-matter and its chief conclusions. Its subject matter is the general laws of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and the construction of a socialist society. Its principal conclusions concerning these laws have been fully confirmed by the whole revolutionary experience of the 20th century. They have been confirmed by the practice of all the victorious socialist revolutions. Conversely, they have in a way been proved by the defeats which revolutionaries have suffered on some occasions in the struggle for socialism.

'The sum total of experience in the development of world socialism,' Leonid Brezhnev has said, 'provides convincing evidence, among other things, of the following:

'Power continues to be the main issue in a revolution. It is either the power of the working class, acting in alliance with all the other working people, or the power of the bourgeoisie. There is no third possibility.

'Transition to socialism is possible only if the working class and its allies, having gained real political power, use it to end the socio-economic domination of the capitalist and other exploiters.

'Socialism can win only if the working class and its vanguard, the

communists, are able to inspire and unite the masses of working people in the struggle to build the new society, and transform the economy and all social relations on socialist lines.

'Socialism can consolidate its positions only if the working people's power is capable of defending the revolution against any attacks by the class enemy (and such attacks, both internal and, most probably, external, are inevitable).⁸

The 'critics' of Lenin's doctrine know full well that while showing the fundamental laws of the revolutionary transformation of society it does not deduce from them any universally obligatory stereotypes. They know that Leninism does not exist without the need 'to seek out, investigate, predict and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task' (Vol. 31, p. 92). But, the bourgeois and reformist ideologists argue, if a revolutionary theory emphasizes the need to reckon with the specifics of the concrete conditions of struggle, it tends, by virtue of that fact, to negate itself, its own universal significance. They claim that the concrete application of Marxist-Leninist theory in different national or regional situations amounts to 'theoretical pluralism,' which is what Marxism must ultimately and inevitably amount to.⁹

What the opponents of Leninism prefer not to notice in this case is Marxism's discovery of the dialectics of the general, the specific and the individual in the struggle for socialism and in socialist construction. The strength of Lenin's doctrine lies in the fact that, on the one hand, it orients revolutionaries upon the most creative use of every opportunity provided for their advance of the struggle by the conditions connected with the specifics of time and place, and on the other, it gives them an understanding of the objectively necessary directions in this struggle, thereby safeguarding them from being carried away by unwarranted hopes for which some grounds can always be discovered in the ad hoc political situation.

This revolutionary dialectics, which is one of the most potent aspects of Leninism, is expressed in the Marxist-Leninist parties' consistent line of independently working out their own strategy and tactics, being guided by the propositions of general theory, while simultaneously conforming to the concrete local conditions.

Lenin emphasized that revolutionary dialectics is the crucial element of Marxism (see, Vol. 33, p. 476). However, it does not follow from this, whatever bourgeois and reformist ideologists may say to the contrary, that the 'rest' of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, that is, its theoretical truths elaborated by means of this method, are 'doctrinal dogmas' which become meaningless with the passage of time, and that the theory of Leninism turns out to be 'much too narrow' to

encompass the real social, revolutionary development of the world in the 20th century.

We have already noted that the organic part of the Leninist theory — its laws of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism — has not in any sense been 'superseded' by historical practice. But let us take a broader look at the matter. Let us consider the key problems in humanity's life today and in the world revolutionary process.

Such is the question of war and peace, the question of détente, of restructuring the whole system of international relations to consolidate the universal security of the nations. Is it not, after all, Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems that provides the progressive, democratic forces with a scientific basis for its solution?

Such is the problem of the interaction of socialism, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation forces in the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. Was it not Lenin who formulated and circumstantially elaborated this problem for the first time in the history of Marxist thought?

Such is the problem of class alliances, of broad anti-monopoly fronts, and of their role in the struggle for socialism. Is it not Leninism that contains a fully elaborated theory based on the need for such alliances for the working class and showing the unfeasibility of socially 'pure' revolutions?

Such is the question of the creative use of concrete historical and national conditions for enriching the forms, ways and means of building a socialist society. Was it not Lenin who first gave an example of successful application of the general principles of Marxist theory to the specific actual practice of building and triumphantly establishing the new social system?

However, the lasting scientific — and consequently, universal — significance of Leninism is not to be determined merely by listing the cardinal problems of our day, for whose solution the Leninist theory has offered the most cogent answers.

It is determined by the fact that Leninism presents the whole inexhaustible wealth of its ideas as an organically coherent doctrine reflecting the equally inexhaustible diversity and intricate conjunction of processes and phenomena of the objective world.

As in the period of struggle for power by the proletariat of Russia, so today in the creative endeavor of the developed socialist society, the Soviet communists confidently follow Lenin's ideas. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, 'On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution,' says: 'Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the only correct science of communism, the unsurpassed art of politically guiding the people's revolutionary creative

effort. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to its powerful life-asserting creative spirit is a cardinal condition and assurance of success in communist construction, in the struggle for the interests of the working class, of all working people.'¹⁰

It goes without saying that the outstanding role of Lenin in developing Marx's doctrine in no way detracts from the positive contribution to the enrichment of Marxist theory by other leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement in the 20th century, for their creative thinking, as that of true revolutionaries, has necessarily run along the same lines as Lenin's own thinking. Lenin always highly valued his associates in the theoretico-ideological and political struggle who continued and developed the doctrine of the founders of Marxism. For their part, prominent leaders of the international revolutionary movement have always paid a tribute to profound respect for Lenin's theoretical genius for his activity and personality. Impressive evidence of this was provided by the Address on the occasion of the Centenary of V.I. Lenin's birth, which was unanimously adopted by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and which issued a call to raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world.¹¹

1. That is the exact meaning and actual terminology of a conception expounded on the pages of a U.S. foreign-policy quarterly which in the capitalist world is regarded as a highly authoritative publication. (See *Foreign Affairs* July 1977, p. 814)

2. This is exemplified, for instance, by the writings of the Italian bourgeois journalist Arrigo Levi, who believes the task is to make the followers of 'Leninist communism' undertake a 'reappraisal of their traditional ideas' (*Survey*, Summer/Autumn 1976, p. 94). Elsewhere he adds that it is desirable to induce a repudiation of 'revolutionary Leninism' in favor of a policy which is essentially social-democratic (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1977, p. 28).

Similarly, Eric Heffer, a prominent member of the British Labour Party, urges the communists to 'return to ... concepts which existed before the Russian October revolution,' that is, the ideological and political positions of the social democrats of the Second International (*The Times*, November 7, 1977).

Socialist International leaders, like Bruno Kreisky, have frankly voiced the hope that if these calls are heard 'nothing of what was specific to communists would be left and they would become social democrats but with slightly more revolutionary talk' (*Socialist Affairs*, September/October 1977, p. 119).

3. As far back as the turn of the century, the bourgeoisie, including its most reactionary circles, learned to promote their own interests by using ideas and conceptions draped in 'Marxist' form. Let us recall that in Russia, for instance, the tsarist government even gave some encouragement to the teaching of 'legal Marxism' at the universities, expecting abstract speculation about the laws of social development (in the spirit of those now being peddled by present-day bourgeois 'Marxologists') to deflect student minds from the mutinous ideas bequeathed by the People's Will (a populist trend).

4. That is precisely what Heinz Abosch has been saying about Lenin's 'revisionism' in the weekly of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (*Vorwärts*, January 27, 1977, p. 29).

One could also refer to Raymond Aron, a well-known spokesman for bourgeois

political thinking, who has alleged that in Lenin's writings Marxism was 'subjected to revision.' (R. Aron, *Plaidoyer pour l'Europe decadente*, Paris, 1977).

5. Aron wants his readers to believe that Lenin made no contribution to Marxism except 'revolutionary idealism' and 'fanaticism' (see *L'Express*, November 7-13, 1977, p. 63). A leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi, claims that 'the Marxism of Lenin' is 'nothing else than ... a concentrate of voluntarism and extremism' (*Socialist Affairs*, July/August 1977, p. 88).

6. Antonio Gramsci expressed this idea as follows: 'Ilyich was profoundly national, and his Europeanism was just as profound' (see his *Prison Notebooks*).

7. Professor Robert Wesson of California University, for instance, says that Leninism is no more than Russian Marxism, a Marxism which was given a new lease of life by the God-sent curse of universal war (see, R. Wesson, *Why Marxism? The Continuing Success of a Failed Theory*. New York, 1976, pp. 49, 59). SDPG Chairman Willy Brandt says that Lenin's analysis of capitalism and its contradictions bears only on 'the completely different kind of background of Russian history' (*Socialist Affairs*, July/August 1977, p. 92).

8. *Information Bulletin*, Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Special Issue, Prague, No. 23-24, 1977, p. 17.

9. Enrique Tierno Galvan, the Chairman of the People's Socialist Party of Spain, welcomes varying interpretations of Marxism and says that this kind of 'pluralism' amounts to progress. He also advocates the idea of 'regional Marxism' (E. Tierno Galvan, *Espana y el socialismo*, Madrid, 1976, pp. 225-227).

We also find Aron discovering a 'trend towards pluralism' in the present state of Marxism-Leninism. He says that this is a natural trend and hopes that it will result in 'socialism losing itself' (*op. cit.*).

10. *Information Bulletin*. No. 3, 1977, p. 21.

11. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Moscow 1969, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, p. 41.

Our interviews

ISOLATION OF ANTI-COMMUNISM — A TARGET FOR ALL COMMUNISTS

WMR correspondents asked leaders of the international communist movement to give their views on:

- the characteristic guidelines and gimmicks of anti-communist propaganda in different countries;
- how to make the drive against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism more effective in present conditions.*

William Kashtan

General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

We have always striven to show that anti-communism is in fact a

*These contributions continue the discussion of the characteristic trends and features of anti-communism in the late 70s begun by Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) (see *WMR*, February 1978).

smokescreen for an anti-people's policy, a weapon of imperialism in its expansionist drive, a weapon to divide the working class and trade union movement and open the door to reaction.

We should avoid any illusion that the current anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign is short-lived. While the cold war has ended, it has not brought in its train an end to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This is understandable from the point of view of imperialism, which sees itself engaged in a long-term struggle with socialism. Indeed the current spate of anti-communism reflects the contradictions between two different social systems. The specific issues may change but the thrust of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism will continue as long as capitalism exists.

This is not to say that anti-communism may not be exposed and isolated, particularly if a united democratic alliance is achieved and the positions of monopoly are narrowed down.

We are fully in agreement that one should avoid placing all opponents of the Communist Party in the camp of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. There is always the need for a skillful differentiation between opponents of the Communist Party and inveterate anti-communists. It is these elements we must strive to isolate and defeat at the same time as we work to overcome prejudice and misconceptions of the Communist Party and of socialism.

One should bear in mind that the bourgeoisie pursues a policy of differentiation vis-à-vis the socialist countries, sometimes picking on the Soviet Union, sometimes on another socialist country. We need to respond to all these attacks and work to expose those behind them from class and democratic positions.

The open manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in Canada are intensified and supplemented by the lack of knowledge and exploitation of the prejudices fostered by the monopoly-owned media. This process is repeated in education and other fields. The trade union movement has discarded anti-communist clauses without discarding, on the part of the right wing, a continuous effort to prevent the left and communists from achieving positions in the trade union movement at all levels.

All this is part of the 'insurance' policy of capitalist states, designed to ensure that an easing of international tensions does not lead to organized support for socialism, the communists, the Soviet Union.

Arne Jørgenson

Secretariat member, Central Board, Communist Party of Norway

In Norway, as in other capitalist countries, the capitalist-controlled mass media keep up a relentless anti-Soviet campaign. The right-wing forces try frantically to present matters as if there were a threat to

peace and the security of Norway emanating 'from the East,' from the USSR, from the country that in 1944 came to the aid of the Norwegian people. After the war a memorial bearing the words 'Norway thanks you' was erected in honor of the Soviet soldier. But these words were forgotten by the government and Parliament in 1949, when Norway, despite the protests of the communists, joined the NATO imperialist military bloc. Since then the arms race has steadily escalated. In 1949 Norway's military budget came to 250 million Norwegian Kroner. Today it is 5,200m. kr. To make their policy of militarization a viable proposition the NATO politicians have to depict the Soviet Union as an 'enemy,' as a 'potential threat.' And this is why the right-wingers whip up anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria.

This campaign also has another aim: to hinder the growth of socialist forces in Norway and to weaken their influence.

To isolate anti-communism we try to explain to people in our country the truth about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and tell them about the great things these countries have achieved in the economic, political, material and cultural spheres. Giving reliable information on these subjects also presupposes, of course, describing the negative phenomena and the unsolved problems. To isolate anti-communism it is also vital for the Communist Party to work for broad unity of the masses against their real enemy: national and foreign monopoly capital, whose urge to maximize profits brings it more and more into conflict with both manual and intellectual workers. Our party is helping to make people understand that monopoly capital cannot escape economic crises which generate mass unemployment and inflation. Monopoly capital cannot provide a solution, even though it has the state apparatus at its disposal. It makes no difference who formally controls this apparatus — the social democrats or the bourgeois parties.

The changed balance of world forces in favor of the revolutionary and progressive movements suggests that the opportunities of isolating anti-communism are better than ever before. Our great advantage, the strength of the communists, lies in the fact that we are united by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, that we represent not only a national force, but also an international movement. In view of this, one must always be wary of the 'divide and rule' policy that various enemies of the working-class movement try to use against us.

The Communist Party of Norway is aware of its historical responsibility in this respect. It fights monopoly capital and those that the monopolies rely on for support. It advocates united action by all left-wing forces in the labor movement and resists attempts to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people. It

demands that the right to work should be made a reality for all. To ensure peace and security for Norway, we demand that it should leave NATO and we believe that proletarian internationalism is the translation into life of the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Karl Hainz Schröder

Board Secretary, German Communist Party

In the FRG recently there has been a stepping up of attempts to galvanize anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in their aggressive, militarist and also their nationalist-tinged forms.

The anti-communist forces actively exploit nationalism, and use it mainly against the GDR. Despite the treaty on the principles of relations between the GDR and FRG, they try to encroach on the national sovereignty of the first socialist state to exist on German soil. It is claimed, for instance, that there is a certain 'special internal German' relationship, a relationship 'within one and the same nation,' between the two German states. Another manifestation of anti-communism in the FRG is the spy mania that is whipped up from time to time and the publication of 'documents' allegedly providing evidence of crimes against the Germans during the Second World War.

The change in the balance of world forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism has deepened the crisis of bourgeois ideology and anti-communism. While the socialist world gets on with solving current problems in the context of the technological and scientific revolution, thus ensuring a steady rise in the material well-being and culture of the working people, the capitalist system displays its total inability to cope with them, as the peoples of the capitalist countries are made painfully aware from day to day. More and more people are beginning to acknowledge that socialism and peace are indivisible, that only socialism can guarantee the basic human rights: the right to work, to education, to professional training, to choice of profession, the right of free admission to government service, equality for women, freedom of opinion, the press and information. This is why the people in our country who are intensifying the offensive against democratic rights, who are using the 'professions ban' (*Berufsverbot*) against communists, left-wing social democrats, liberal democrats and other progressives, and who bear the responsibility for unemployment, are raising a hullabaloo about human rights in the socialist countries. In so doing they imitate the criminal who cries 'stop thief' to save himself from exposure.

It is not in doubt that the crisis of anti-communism will deepen as the socialist countries move ahead and by the force of their example influence the minds of people in the non-socialist world, as the communist and workers' parties and the workers' movement in the

capitalist countries spread understanding of the need to bring in anti-monopoly reforms and ultimately to change the nature of government in favor of the working people, as the alliance with the national-liberation movement and all anti-imperialist forces grows stronger.

The crisis of anti-communism is also revealed in the way its supporters are building up their connections with the Trotskyites and 'left' opportunists and using their arguments.

It was in our country that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism emerged as an ideology of aggression and of clamp-down on democratic rights and freedoms. Guided by past experience, we believe that for the drive against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to be effective there must be: an uncompromising attitude toward bourgeois ideology; keen appreciation of the harm caused by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to the working class and working people, the whole people; unity and joint struggle on the part of the communist and workers' parties, cooperation between them, based on proletarian internationalism and a positive, friendly attitude toward existing socialism.

Because they remember the bitter experience of our people in conditions of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the non-communist democratic forces of our country express their readiness to carry on the policy of détente and mutual understanding, of building peace by means of effective measures to secure disarmament, of opposing the restriction and erosion of democratic rights, and the '*Berufsverbot*.' In the spring of 1977, hundreds of people, including social democrats, liberals, Christians and non-party people, scientists, writers, artists, clergymen, trade union leaders and workers, signed a statement warning against the harmful effect of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and appealing to the public: 'Don't allow yourselves to be intimidated. In the interests of humanity, of democracy in the Federal Republic, in the interests of peace and disarmament, take a firm, irreconcilable stand against the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign.'

In the spirit of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe we shall go on working to isolate and overcome anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, thus furthering the aspirations of the popular forces for progress and democratic development.

Marcelo Santos

Executive Committee member, CC Brazilian Communist Party

Anti-communism is one of the main elements in the ideology of the Brazilian brand of fascism. According to the official doctrine of the 'Redeeming Revolution' of 1964, the chief target of the fascist regime

at home and abroad is to combat a 'communist threat' and defend the 'Western Christian world.' The mass media launch successive campaigns of slander against the socialist countries, against Brazilian communists and other anti-fascist forces in our country.

In our view it is impossible to inflict any serious defeat on anti-communism without a constant struggle against the prevailing bourgeois ideology. In our country, on which fascism was imposed by the reactionary ruling classes, anti-communism can be defeated only by isolating and destroying the fascist dictatorship. The fascist regime has caused a deterioration in conditions of life and work for the vast majority of Brazilians. It has launched brutal reprisals against all democratic forces.

The struggle against anti-communism in Brazil can succeed if all its democratic and patriotic forces join hands; if a broad democratic coalition, with the working class playing a key role, is formed; if the unity of Brazilian democratic forces with the whole international revolutionary and democratic movement grows stronger, and if right and 'left' opportunism, and anti-Sovietism, are resolutely rebuffed.

Jose Meseguer

CC member, Communist Party of Spain

The main aspect of anti-communism in the context of Spain may be described briefly as follows. First, there is the frenzied aggressive anti-communism of the fascist forces. In the years of the dictatorship the out-and-out anti-communists used the most brutal forms of repression as their main weapon. Now they resort to threats, slander and abuse. But with the restoration of democratic freedoms the anti-communist violence is steadily losing ground although the most reactionary circles are still fiercely attacking communism and particularly the Communist Party of Spain. Secondly, there is the sophisticated anti-communism of the bourgeois forces, which see the failure of blind anti-communist violence practised by Francoism. This is a form of anti-communism that seeks to exploit the shortcomings and mistakes committed in the socialist countries and the differences of opinion between the communist parties. Its exponents try to present themselves as champions of civil rights and liberties, while asserting that communists want to abolish these rights and freedoms if they come to power.

The non-Marxist or Marxist forces that do not share our views and oppose us politically but observe democratic standards should not be regarded as anti-communists. In Spain the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Socialists fall mainly into this category.

It is equally wrong to identify our political opponents who, though disagreeing with us, shun anti-communism, with the aggressive and

professional anti-communists. With them we hold dialogues and debates and explain our views and positions to them.

As things are at present, the party sees the chief way to defeat anti-communism in getting rid of the caricature notion of communism that the fascist dictatorship built up over 40 years, using the mass media and the educational system, which were totally at its service for dispensing anti-communist slander. The Communist Party of Spain is rebuilding its image in the eyes of the masses as a democratic party defending the interests of the working people, all sections of the people and the national interests. Our party does not indulge in verbal aggressiveness or resort to crude attacks on its opponents because the ideological and political struggle against anti-communism can be effective only by showing the masses the justice of the communists' aims and the sincerity of their intentions.

We believe that to defeat anti-communism we must fight on all fronts. To combat sophisticated anti-communism we must use flexible methods, admitting our mistakes and shortcomings to the masses and putting them right, while pointing out ways of solving problems and defending the interests and rights of the masses. Anti-communism must be defeated not merely by words but by deeds.

Aggressive fascist anti-communism and sophisticated verbal anti-communism are both in retreat in Spain. This is largely due to the defeat of Francoism, to the political and ideological activity of the Communist Party and to the elimination of the misconceptions about it created by the anti-communists, who accused us of totalitarianism, hegemonism and authoritarianism. Our ideas, the ideas of scientific socialism, of Marxism, are spreading; our policy is winning more and more friends; it is becoming better understood not only by our friends but also by our opponents.

Ib Nørlund

Executive Committee member and CC secretary,
Communist Party of Denmark

It is noteworthy and extremely significant that in most cases the charges brought up by the anti-communists amount to the idea that socialism brings the same evils that people suffer from under capitalism: exploitation, unemployment (even if it is 'latent'), absence of democracy, national oppression, a potential threat of aggression, violation of human rights, and so on. All these concoctions are designed to make people in the capitalist countries accept the evils inherent in capitalist society, since, allegedly, the situation under socialism is 'no better.' Such a line can be taken only because many people are ignorant about life under socialism. So it is clear that the

desire to keep up this ignorance is an important element of anti-communist propaganda.

In a situation where anti-communist prejudices are persistently spread by all mass media, anti-communism naturally exerts a certain influence. But this does not mean that it is invincible. Its main weakness is that it contradicts the reality, the truth. As time goes on, and prejudices are confronted with the truth, they fall to pieces. There is ample evidence of this. But, of course, the truth must be helped to win. And our party holds it necessary to carry on this work, and combine ideological struggle with practical political struggle for peace, with the effort to prevent the regime from shifting the burden of crisis onto the people, and with the fight for democracy and progress.

Rubens Iscaro

Executive Committee and Secretariat member, CC
Communist Party of Argentina

The practical realization of the ideals of justice and progress, liberation and peace is predicated on dialogue and cooperation between the communists and all other democratic and peace-loving forces. This is how we arrive at our criteria for assessing the political positions of parties and individuals. Contrary to allegations made by the monopoly and right-wing press, we do not regard as anti-communists everyone who disagrees with us or adopts a critical attitude toward the Communist Party. The isolation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is one of the essential conditions for building up and extending the dialogue and cooperation between the democratic, popular forces.

Experience shows that the anti-communist campaigns, although targeted on the communist parties, the socialist countries and above all the Soviet Union, are aimed not only against communists, but also against other democrats and democratic freedoms. So the fight against anti-communism is in the interests of all the popular forces that want to see the victory of social progress, democracy and peace. These ideals are increasingly becoming a force for broad unity of the working people, the masses.

Development, reforms, revolution

Luciano Barca

Member of ICP Leadership;
department head, CC ICP

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE WAYS OUT OF THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS IN ITALY

Italy continues to toil in a deep structural crisis, whose gravity has not been eased by the short-term results achieved in 1977. These results are of considerable importance, especially as regards inflation and the balance of payments. They became possible in consequence of the policy of national solidarity and democratic unity pursued by the Italian Communist Party. But these results also testify to the limited nature of the measures, which fail to affect and modify the structures in accordance with an organic plan of reforms, because of the inadequacy of political solutions. After all, the results were secured mainly due to the influence of the overall political climate in the country after the parliamentary elections of June 20, 1976, rather than through implementation of the program accord between Italy's democratic parties, an accord which the Andreotti government largely failed to honor.

The system's inability simultaneously to attain two goals — economic development and monetary stability — is the clearest expression of the continuing grave structural crisis in Italy. Whenever the task is to ensure economic development and increase employment, the system is plunged into a spiral of unbridled inflation; whenever the task is to contain inflation, the country moves into a depression or, at least, stagnation. At the same time, depression no longer automatically creates the conditions for a cyclical upswing, as it did in the earlier phases of capitalist development. Thanks to the gains of the trade unions and the strength of the working-class movement, capitalist efficiency schemes, through the sacking of workers from enterprises, are workable only to a limited extent (the first to be hit by unemployment are the young who have yet to get their first jobs). Most frequently, depression reduces the average labor productivity and increases outlays by industry and the state for various types of aids.

These specific features of the crisis in Italy (bringing out its more general features) show the futility of Keynesian neo-capitalist policy. Keynes's writings do contain a set of instruments that Marxist economists can also use for their research, but the recipes proposed by Keynes and his followers do not provide a way out of the crisis.

Let us recall that these recipes amount to a manipulation of aggregate demand. Nowadays, however, even the most subtle manipulations, whether of total demand or of its various components (consumption, inventories, net investment), merely tend to increase the amplitude of the swings between depression and inflation. In Italy it is increased mainly by the vast balance-of-payments deficit, the measures used to cover it and the austerity in spending on social needs. What is also essential is that government intervention designed to increase investment has a negative effect on imports and the balance of payments (with a multiplier¹ in excess of unity) long before it has any positive effect on development and employment.

How is the country to escape from this blind alley? The ICP has suggested intervention which has an effect not only and not so much on quantitative macro-economic magnitudes characterizing demand as on the *quality* of its various components. Consequently, this is intervention which tends to change the qualitative characteristics both of consumption and of investment.

The practical motives for putting forward this political proposal are self-evident. Selective intervention in consumption and investment makes it possible, first, to avoid the traditional antithesis between the need to reduce consumption (and this always means the working people's consumption) and the need to increase investment. Second, it helps to assess the effect of various types of consumption and investment on the balance of payments. The ICP proposals also take into account the fact that there is much waste of resources in Italy due to the need (or habit) of satisfying requirements through costly individual decisions, which are satisfied in the socialist countries and also in some capitalist countries on a collective basis, whether free or for a charge. This relates to transport, public health, infrastructuring of industrial and residential areas, education and some types of everyday services. The expansion of social and collective consumption could undoubtedly help to economize on resources, without reducing the satisfaction of the people's needs, while creating a new reference point and new guidelines for investment.

The theoretical and practical problems arising in connection with the ICP's political initiative become much more complicated when this initiative is considered in the context of the Italian communists' overall political line and tied in with the basic premises of our strategy of advance toward socialism, with the conception of a secular and

democratic state, recognition of and demand for pluralism of social and political forces, an 'open market' and consequently of market mechanisms (incidentally, acceptance of such mechanisms follows from the pluralism and freedom of choice for the consumer and the producer).

How is one to reconcile the qualitative intervention in consumption and investment which implies maximum programming and, consequently, conscious direction of the economic process, with preservation of the market mechanisms and a pluralistic political and social order which also allows for a multiplicity of decision-making centers? Does not pluralism, by virtue of its very nature, rule out such comprehensive — both quantitative and global — intervention in the functioning of major complexes?

These are the problems and questions that are being put forward *today* for discussion by the ICP proposals. Two reflections will help to clarify their meaning.

The first concerns the differences between quantitative intervention on the macro-economic level² (which any capitalist state effects) and qualitative intervention. It is not true that intervention in macro-economic magnitudes does not lead to conflict with democracy, above all with the historically rooted forms used in practice to put through procedures allowing the adoption of collective decisions through elected representatives (of which the Italian parliamentary democracy is a form). After all, such intervention is almost always effected outside these forms, outside the framework of the elected bodies, and this tends to *invalidate their powers*. Ultimately, however, it is accepted and assessed as something self-evident, because it takes place behind the backs of the consumers and the producers in the guise of technical measures or purely 'technical' decisions (the payments procedure, inter-ministerial ties, management of the treasury, the bank lending rate, etc.). Regardless of the level — from the highest to the lowest — at which intervention is effected in political decisions, any decree solemnly adopted by Parliament is transformed into an absolutely ineffective technico-economic decision. By contrast, qualitative intervention is always explicitly political. So whenever it does not accord with the decisions of sovereign bodies elected by the nation, the contrasts and conflicts are glaring.

The second reflection which can help us to achieve a better definition of a problem that is of crucial importance for a period in which economic development depends on selective, qualitative intervention by the state, bears on the answers which social-democracy has traditionally always proposed.

In the most general and consequently inadequate terms, one could

say that the ICP proposal on selective programming of consumption and investment means a maximum approximation of and simultaneously maximally critical, polemical comparison of its views with those of European social-democracy on the whole range of issues bearing on the relationship between development, reforms and revolution in the dominant mode of production.

The drawing closer to social-democracy, with all the positive elements that it could contribute to a dialogue making for unity of the left forces, is not confined to the premises which the ICP has made the basis of its own strategy with respect to democracy, pluralism and the non-ideological character of the state. The discussion of democratic programming does not mean a mere adoption of some propositions which the social democrats put forward long ago and a refusal to wait for the disaster which is allegedly inevitable as a result of the succession of ever more frequent and ever less manageable crises (and which is supposed to create more favorable conditions for a socialist revolution). Such a discussion also implies a direct and active commitment by the working class to prevent the crisis itself from ending in disaster. But it is in the conception of programming, as in the interpretation of some other general premises and links (like those of the market), that the profound differences are most clearly revealed.

The programming suggested by the social democrats (like the one the center-left government tried to practise in Italy in the 60s) promises a capitalist mechanism of accumulation and its ability to guarantee a sufficient degree of development. It is designed mainly to correct *a posteriori* the discrepancies caused by this type of development. Such programming is not necessarily doomed to immediate and complete failure, as it was in Italy. Whenever the state apparatus and the fiscal system are more efficient and the structural discrepancies less grave, it has yielded some results, such as putting within the reach of families some real services and guaranteeing a definite level of well-being. But even then, the financing of the mechanism of accumulation tends inevitably to run into a crisis, despite the growing share of the profits going to the state. Because of the very large share of surplus-value going into rent and bank interest, Italy slid into a crisis which produced a situation of ungovernability as soon as the system was deprived (as it was from 1971 to 1973) of props like the low cost of raw materials and on the whole relatively low wages.

This brought out the urgency of the demand put forward by the communists in the early 60s in their criticism of the center-left policy, for programming that would assume responsibility for the problem of accumulation itself, and so move on from reforms

redistributing incomes to reforms capable of creating structurally new conditions for accumulation itself.

The austerity policy proposed by ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer stems from the need for such a switch, a need the communists emphasized in the past as well. Indeed, the Italian communists do not regard austerity as abandonment of some quantitative demands in order to allow the capitalists once again to set in motion their mechanism of accumulation and their market, but as assumption of responsibility by the working class for the problems of investment, accumulation and demand.

The difficult process through which Italy is now passing is characterized by the adoption of just such a responsibility, in the face of resistance from the bourgeois classes and also from within the working class, which for long years was in the habit of demanding of others the solution of some problems and which has now undertaken to propose and put through the relevant decisions together with the other forces; with all the difficulties arising from the fact that the transition of the Italian working people from the condition of exploited to the condition of architects has been taking place in historical conditions and circumstances which are totally new and differ from the experience of other countries.

The differences from the traditional social-democratic responses become even more obvious in the course of this transition. Indeed, it is one thing to tackle the problem of the relationship between programming and the market in a situation in which programming has the task only of re-establishing the equilibrium and mediating between the classes within the framework of the capitalist mode of production. It is quite another to tackle this problem in an effort to practise a type of programming which — while the market mechanisms are preserved — calls in question the characteristic and basic distinctive feature of the dominant mode of production, ignoring use-value and regarding the growth of accumulation as the ultimate goal.

There is no doubt that the programming proposed by the Italian communists implies deep-going changes in the system. Any intervention designed for a qualitative regulation of investment affects not some abstract wealth but the concrete social wealth and its various use-values. Whenever the working class, whose strength lies in its independence, and which is sustained both by its historical memory which stores all its experience and by its awareness of taking part in the great process of the transformation of the world, demands of state intervention (which has now become fundamental for development) that the process of accumulation should serve to satisfy priority instead of minor requirements, it exposes the

antagonisms in the dominant mode of production and clashes with it. There is good reason why the Italian communists' struggle for reforms is not only an economic or even only a political struggle, but also a struggle in the sphere of culture. It is designed to rally forces round conceptions of way of life and consumption and establishment of values which differ profoundly from the individualistic and consumer attitudes engendered by the capitalist market. But to what extent can this programming coexist with the market, with its mechanisms, with the remaining autonomy of enterprises and the development of individual freedoms?

The ICP has tried to answer this difficult, and, as I have said, largely new and complicated question by making use of Lenin's idea about the need to develop democracy to the utmost, to find the forms for this development, and to test them by practice (see V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 452). We have been working to introduce into the market — which continues to be a capitalist market — new protagonists and to range alongside the traditional individual consumers *collective consumers* capable of imposing on the market a demand which differs qualitatively from traditional demand. These new consumers are the regions, provinces, communes and voluntary collective associations (cooperatives, for example) capable of expressing the requirements of the masses in transport, culture, housing and energy, and exerting an influence on the market that is collective and social, instead of individual.

One of the most characteristic aspects of social and political life in Italy is that millions of people have been discussing plans for developing railways and energy, and electing school and neighborhood councils. Acting in this way, they establish with each other relations which no longer assume the form of relations between commodities, between exchange-values: these are direct relations between people, who decide on the use of various things. These relations, in which the working class intervenes with the whole strength and prestige of its political and trade union organizations and its capacity for critical analysis, which has been fostered by Marxism, convert individual requirements into the collective demand for building railways (specifying which railways in particular), into the collective demand for the construction of schools, homes for the people, etc., giving priority to collective requirements over individual approaches. This helps to advance the crucial element of socialism, which is the socialization of power, producing deep changes in the structure of the state (its proper functions expand and at the same time its repressive character is limited) and in the nature of the capitalist market.

Of course, this process is not a straightforward one. There is

constant evidence of the twofold character of state capitalism, which is simultaneously a stage in the state's subordination to the monopolies and a stage in the transition to a higher economic and social order. Bureaucratic and centralist tendencies are constantly revealed in the course of clashes, which are frequently acute. Again and again there arises the danger of democracy's degeneration (hence the need for unity and joint responsibility) into a democratism which does not rally the working people round this or that set of priorities and reforms, but divides them on the basis of private group interests and individualism. This is where the Communist Party should, and does, display its urge constantly, at every moment, to be a 'party of struggle and leadership,' a party capable of keeping in touch with the needs and feelings of broad masses of people and with the perspective of the transformation of society; this is where the importance of a policy not only of social and class, but also of political alliances (in accordance with the ideas of Gramsci and Togliatti) is brought out, a policy aimed to unite all the democratic forces, starting with the socialist forces aspiring to ideals, values and way of life which do not coincide with those of the capitalist society.

There is no doubt that now and again such values and conceptions of way of life also include pre-capitalist values (we have in mind chiefly the Christian-Democratic Party), which are unacceptable in their literal sense and even less so in the distorted forms which have produced notions of the state as a kind of 'charity,' clientism and the exaltation of rent. In contrast to these pre-capitalist values and conceptions, the protest by capitalist enterprise appealing for 'thrift' frequently turns out to be justified and cannot be ignored. But even with an eye to such degenerations and unacceptable notions, it remains true for millions of Catholics, as Enrico Berlinguer has emphasized, that the religious conscience 'can stimulate the believer to persevere in seeking a renewal of society along socialist lines.'³

Hence the importance of the dialogue (which goes well beyond the framework of tactics) that the communists have started with the Catholic world and with the Christian-Democratic Party, inasmuch as it is inspired by definite ideals. This dialogue is necessary not only because a rift between the communists and the Catholics, as Togliatti warned in 1963, would do grave harm to the cause of peace and the salvation of civilization, but also because in the secular, non-integralist state which we intend to build there is room for various contending systems of values, including the system of Christian values, which could make an important contribution to the transformation of society and the establishment of a new way of life, production and consumption. The nostalgia for the past which

carries with it the illusion that the past is more just as compared with the inequality and social injustice of the capitalist society, springs from the fact that it is not always easy to induce certainty and faith in a future that is capable of embracing, however critically, all of mankind's achievements, and all the truths of the revolutions which marked new stages in the history of the world. We Italian communists believe it to be our duty to induce this certainty and faith in the future.

1. A term denoting the quantitative relationships between the size of the national income and the volume of investment. — *Ed.*

2. On the macro-economic level economic processes are regulated in the context of the economy as a whole, with an examination of the relations and proportions between aggregate national-economic magnitudes: national income, investment, savings, consumption, etc. — *Ed.*

3. *Rinascita*, October 14, 1977, p. 4.

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Disarmament: a pressing task

Hamid Safari

Executive Bureau member, CC,
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WHY THE PEOPLES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE AGAINST THE ARMS RACE

The approval by the 32nd Session of the UN General Assembly of proposals to further détente and avoid the danger of nuclear war, and the submission of the disarmament question to the special session of the UN General Assembly due to open in May indicate that the political climate of our planet is becoming healthier and that new opportunities are opening up for the peace forces of the world. Millions feel increasingly confident that mankind will succeed in calling a halt to the drive for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, which wastes power and resources so urgently needed for the solution of vitally important problems.

The peoples of the developing countries pin great hopes on the consolidation of détente and on the prospect of an end to the arms race and of disarmament. We mean primarily the peoples of countries with an underdeveloped economy, one-commodity specialization in industry and agriculture, a low level of productive forces, a multi-structural economy, and lastly, a small volume of GNP per capita. Nor is this accidental, for the road of détente and disarmament offers these peoples real and appreciable opportunities to eliminate their inherited backwardness, quicken the pace of their development, and win and build up their independence. The magnitude of this problem and the pressing need to solve it are seen in a recent UN report on the economic and social situation in the developing countries in the 1971-75 period. The report states that the rate of per capita production growth should have been roughly 3.5 per cent a year but that only one in five countries on the average achieved this rate. In the South Asian group of states, which accounts for nearly 44 per cent of the population of the developing countries, the growth rate approximated to one per cent, ranging from 0.1 per cent in Bangladesh and India to 0.9 per cent in Afghanistan and 1.3 per cent in Pakistan. Of the 1,200 million persons living in the most underdeveloped countries, 750 million

subsist in incredibly hard conditions, on incomes never exceeding \$100 a year. Health care is in a deplorable state. In Africa there is one doctor for every 9,000 inhabitants, in Asia for every 3,000 and in Latin America for every 2,000. Mortality in the developing countries is much higher than in the rest of the world. In more than half of them, every year sees 15 in 1,000 inhabitants die, and in more than 40 per cent of these countries the mortality rate stands at 20. The difference in the case of child mortality is appalling; in the first year of life, it is from 10 to 20 times as high as in the more developed countries.

Without trying to delve into the whole range of problems facing the developing countries, I would like to touch on a group of questions revealing the direct connection between the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament and the effort to speed these countries' social, economic and cultural progress.

The feverish arms race now going on is one of the greatest problems mankind has ever come up against. After all, the \$350,000m. spent annually for military purposes (according to the most conservative estimates) is — let it be said plainly — if not a direct cause, then at least one of the most important indirect causes of the suffering, hardships and poverty of hundreds of millions. According to UN statistics, it would take a mere \$8,000m. to feed millions who suffer from malnutrition and starvation. If the world's military spending were cut by at least \$150,000m. this would make it possible, for instance, to lower taxes by from \$30,000m. to \$40,000m. in the countries bearing the brunt of military spending. Besides, over \$100,000m. would be released for the most pressing economic, social and cultural needs. Military expenditures today exceed by 150 per cent what is spent by all countries on public health and by 50 per cent what they spend on public education. Yet roughly one per cent of the funds spent for military purposes would make it possible to offer the developing countries not less than \$2,000m. in additional aid through the UN alone.

Spokesmen of the military-industrial complex often describe the arms race almost as an 'economic incentive.' But even leaving out the developing countries, analysis of the economy of the leading capitalist countries since 1945 shows that countries which spent more on armaments had a lower rate of national income growth, and vice versa. In the 1950-76 period Japan annually spent less than one per cent of its aggregate national income on armaments while the United States spent from 7 to 12 per cent. In those years Japan's national income grew 40-fold while the U.S. registered only a six-fold increase. This also applies to Britain, which after 1945 kept military spending very high and ultimately fell behind many countries in production growth rate. While differences in economic development level between these

countries are due to a variety of causes there is no question that military spending has an adverse effect on the growth rate of the national economic potential and the condition of the population.

The disastrous effects of the arms race are even more marked in the developing countries. In 1976 the military budgets of these countries (not counting the OPEC countries) totalled \$31,000m., or about four per cent of their aggregate GNP. The military spending of the OPEC countries added up to \$23,000m., or 5.9 per cent of the world total. In Iran, for instance, military expenditures in 1976-77 amounted to \$8,100m., or 27 per cent of all budget expenditures and over 12 per cent of the GNP. According to rough estimates, the cost of armaments and military aid to the developing countries, including the OPEC countries, may average an annual \$10,000m. for the next few years. This means still greater inflation, mounting prices and greater hardships for the working people.

By involving developing countries in the arms race, supplying them with arms worth thousands of millions of dollars and setting newly-independent states against one another, the imperialists want to shackle them with new neo-colonial chains and to prevent them from achieving complete independence. The Peking leadership contributes its share to this process. In line with its non-class, anti-Marxist theory of 'three worlds,' it is making itself a direct accomplice of imperialist powers by backing reactionary, militarist alignments and activities in various parts of the globe.

As well as fomenting tensions and conflicts between developing countries, imperialism spares no effort to galvanize existing military-political blocs, such as CENTO or ANZUS, and to set up new military alliances encompassing Asian, African and Latin American countries. U.S. imperialism has lately been increasing its pressure on the ASEAN countries to induce them to form a military bloc, a front of non-communist Asian countries. It is trying hard to turn Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), an organization comprising Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, into a military alliance involving certain other countries. The U.S. imperialists are striving in common with local reactionary regimes to form a closed military-political bloc in the Red Sea area. At the same time the Pentagon is planning a South Atlantic military alliance that would group South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, with the U.S. participating as an unregistered member.¹

In defining the real aims of imperialist policy toward the developing countries, including the arms race and the policy of military blocs which are imposed on these countries and hold back their economic, political and social progress, it must be pointed out that this policy is often carried on behind the smokescreen of slanderous allegations by

reactionary capitalist circles and by Maoists to the effect that the Soviet Union is 'endangering' the security of the developing countries. But while these allegations are still likely to influence this or that nationalist leader or group of politicians, they are increasingly disbelieved by the masses. The peoples of the developing countries see that the Soviet Union is pioneering a qualitatively new type of international relations on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and independence. These relations help numerous newly-free states to uphold their independence in an atmosphere of peace and security, to develop their economy and culture and overcome the age-old backwardness engendered by colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Unlike the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries never attach political strings or practise discrimination in promoting economic relations with the 'third world.' All the projects built under agreements with socialist countries are the national property of the developing countries concerned.²

It is safe to say that without the political, economic, military and moral assistance and support of the socialist community, primarily the Soviet Union, the young developing countries would have been unable to hold out against imperialist violence and many of them would not have attained even their present economic level.

Obviously, the real danger threatening the security of the developing countries lies elsewhere. Indeed, while the pressure of the national-liberation movement has forced international imperialism to retreat here and there, the nature of imperialism is unchanged, which means that it still aspires to aggression and that the danger of imperialist intervention and use of force persists. It is revealing that James Chace, managing editor of the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, called attention in the *New York Times* to numerous signs suggesting that U.S. commitments may well go beyond the forms of diplomatic, economic and other interference in the affairs of other countries used in the past. He believes that interference will not necessarily be motivated by such long-familiar ambitions as the desire to contain 'communist expansion on a global scale.' The theory of 'interdependence,' and the growing dependence of the United States on the raw material resources of developing countries lead Chace to conclude that U.S. military intervention will most probably be prompted by fear of losing raw material resources. He writes that if resources run short, intervention may even be demanded by Congress instead of being only a result of action by the executive.

The top military of the chief imperialist powers frankly identify themselves with this political writer's views. For instance, the annual report submitted to Congress by the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff says that the vast African continent is worthy of

attention in view of both its strategic situation and its growing value as a source of raw materials.

The program of further struggle for peace adopted by the Soviet communists' 25th Congress, as well as calling for the early convocation of a world disarmament conference and the conclusion of a world treaty on non-use of force in international relations, proposes the following:

- consider as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, of preventing any infringement of the equality and independence of peoples, and abolishing all centers of colonialism or racism;

- work for eliminating discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade, and all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations.

These proposals provide the key to solving the developing countries' problems. They form the substance of the developing countries' fight for new international economic relations. The problems of their economic development are closely linked with the need to resist imperialist aggression, that is, with the struggle for peace, which is also borne out by the experience of the past few years. This experience shows that the peoples of a number of developing countries have been able to make certain gains in striving for an end to the domination of multinationals in their economy, for the restitution of natural resources, a fair pricing of raw materials, and so on. These gains include the OPEC countries' steps to nationalize the oil industry and fix oil prices, and the wave of nationalization and expropriation of foreign property that has swept many countries. The peoples of the developing countries remember well that in the past such steps were stubbornly resisted by the imperialists. A case in point was the tragic events in Iran in the early 50s which ended in overthrowing the Mossadegh government and installing a repressive regime.

In the climate of détente resulting directly from a global change in the balance of class forces in favor of peace, progress and socialism, the developing countries have been able with full support from the socialist community to carry out a series of joint actions, including the convocation of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the UN General Assembly (April 1974 and September 1975), which discussed problems of raw materials and economic development. The 29th Session of the UN General Assembly (December 1974) adopted the Charter of the Economic Rights and Obligations of States laying down the principles of equality and democracy which must underlie economic and political relations between states.

The improved political climate has afforded new opportunities for the developing countries to join efforts in fostering inter-regional

cooperation. Joint projects have already been worked out to develop the power industry, agriculture, transport, communications and education and to combat illiteracy. Work is under way on long-term programs for the judicious exploitation and preservation of water resources, the harmonious use of natural riches, the formation of regional alignments to resist foreign monopoly capital, etc. The incipient restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence provides ample opportunities for cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist-community countries. Peoples are offered truly unlimited possibilities of developing and of fostering equitable, mutually beneficial relations in every economic, scientific or cultural field.

The effort to strengthen peace and the security of peoples is in the interests of individual states and the developing countries as a whole. The most pressing task is still to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament. This explains the widespread support given to the Soviet proposal to reduce the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council by 10 per cent and to use part of the funds thus saved for assistance to developing countries.³ If military budgets were cut this would be important in itself and because it would make for greater mutual confidence between nations.

The struggle against the arms race and for disarmament, for the dismantling of military bases, the dissolution of aggressive military-political blocs and the pursuit of an independent foreign policy for peace is a powerful means of curbing imperialist influence. It is precisely the atmosphere of détente that offers all peoples new opportunities to advance along the path of progress, freedom, and economic and social justice.

1. People are also concerned about the program which the United States is carrying out to reinforce its military bases ranging from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. It is a question of bases in Diego Garcia, Guam, Tinian, Japan, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines, the island of Al Masira, Oman and Simonstown (South Africa), and of tens of thousands of U.S. troops stationed, according to President Carter, at roughly 1,200 points of the globe. The attitude of the capitalist countries, primarily NATO members, which refuse to curb the arms race, likewise gives cause for concern. The U.S. military budget for the next fiscal year will run to \$126,000m. It will be the biggest in U.S. history. The stepping up of the arms race by the U.S. and other major countries of the West is contrary to the UN resolutions aimed at removing the war danger and creating a healthy international climate.

2. With help from the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries, 2,480 industrial and other projects have been carried out in developing countries and more than another 1,000 are being planned or are under construction.

3. This is confirmed among other things, by a special study carried out by the UN Secretariat. It has been submitted to the convening committee of the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. The Soviet initiative, the study states, has specifically tied in disarmament with development and proposed a realistic way to reduce military expenditures. A cut in military budgets, which would be a step toward a more durable peace, would also release funds for economic and social purposes.

African panorama

FIRMNESS OF REVOLUTIONARY WILL

We present interviews with statesmen from two countries which have taken a socialist orientation on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. At the time of the interviews socialist Ethiopia was going through a hard period, beating back ceaseless attacks by internal reactionaries and resisting aggression by Somalia and separatist movements. It is all the more significant that one of these interviews, with *Berhanu Bayih* of Ethiopia, deals mainly with the positive problems in putting through the national democratic revolution. Of the same tenor is our interview with *Denis Sassou-Nguesso*, First Deputy Chairman of the Military Committee, Congolese Party of Labor, concerning the problems faced by the People's Republic of Congo, whose leadership had to take extraordinary measures to defend the revolution after the villainous assassination of President Marien Ngouabi in March 1977. We also present an article by the Algerian communist *Ali Malki* on the current stage of the revolutionary process in Algeria.

THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION: A HARD PERIOD

Berhanu Bayih

Member, Standing Committee, Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia

Q. When we met the last time¹ you said that the PMAC had approved a Program of the National Democratic Revolution. What new elements has it brought to the development of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia?

A. The Program of the National Democratic Revolution lays down the guidelines for our revolutionary process. It establishes Ethiopia's entry upon the path of socialist orientation and sets as the goal of the national democratic stage the formation of a people's democratic republic led by the working-class party. This, the Program says, will lay 'a sound foundation for transition to socialism.'

As you see, we accept the theory of the non-capitalist way of development. When we call our country 'socialist Ethiopia' we do not mean that we have already built up a socialist society. We merely want to show what we want, what our goal is. We are now at the stage

of national democratic revolution. And we are aware that it will take much time before we can go over to socialist construction.

The key task today, according to the Program, is to unite all the Marxist-Leninist organizations and groups which are active in Ethiopia. At first, we envisage their cooperation at every level, then formation of a united front on the basis of a common platform, and finally, complete organizational unity on the basis of ideological unity, which will mean the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party, a proletarian party.

Marxist-Leninist party leadership, we believe, is a necessary condition for Ethiopia for full victory by a broad revolutionary front of all the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, and it is our goal to form such a front. It may include mass organizations (trade unions, women's, youth and other organizations) and other progressive democratic parties, even if they are not Marxist-Leninist parties. Adoption of a joint action program for struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism is to be the main criterion. These are the three reactionary class forces which determine the nature of the present Ethiopian society as a semi-feudal and semi-capitalist society, and that is what the Ethiopian revolution seeks to change. The establishment of a broad revolutionary front will make it possible to hold elections to a National Assembly, which is to proclaim a People's Democratic Republic.

Consequently, one of the chief aims of the Ethiopian revolution is to hand power over to the people. This requires the establishment of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, to act as the leading force in a broad national democratic front.

There are now five revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations and groups in Ethiopia, namely, the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement, the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organization, the Revolutionary Seded (Fire), the Labor League and the Revolutionary Struggle of the Oppressed Peoples of Ethiopia. In June 1977, they proclaimed the establishment of the United Front of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations on the basis of their common Action Program. But for the time being they have their independent organizations.

Mass democratic organizations began to take shape from the very start of the revolution. The most important of these is the All-Ethiopian Trade Union which was founded in 1977. Trade unions are being organized at the enterprises, in the industries and on a national level. The new trade unions have earned the greatest hatred of the reactionaries. You may be aware that both the first and the second chairmen of the All-Ethiopian Trade Union were killed by counter-revolutionary terrorists.²

Peasant associations are another important form of mass democratic organization. Grass-roots peasant associations elect delegates to associations formed on the level of districts and provinces. The All-Ethiopian Peasant Association, which was founded in September 1977, is now acquiring organizational form. Peasant associations, which now bring together over seven million farmers, enjoy fairly broad rights. For all practical purposes, they exercise the functions of local self-administration. They have their own executive bodies, judicial bodies and security agencies. Self-defense detachments have been set up everywhere. Their members have been given some military training and are provided with weapons.

Urban dwellers' associations are another form of mass organization. The grass-roots associations — *kebele* — of which more than 1,000 have already been set up, join in higher-level associations and then form urban centers. The members of each center elect their executive organs. The Congress of the Urban Center nominates three persons from its midst, one of whom is appointed mayor by the government. These centers also set up judicial organs, security agencies and self-defense detachments.

Women's and young people's associations are also being set up, but for the time being only on the local and not yet on the national level. Let me add that those who head various types of associations at all levels are also targets of counter-revolutionary terrorist attacks. This provides fresh proof that the imperialists and reactionaries regard the establishment of mass organizations and their adoption of revolutionary ideas as a great threat to themselves.

Q. What are the main achievements and problems of the Ethiopian revolution in the socio-economic sphere?

A. First of all, there is the agrarian reform, which is perhaps the most radical in Africa. Under a decree issued by the PMAC in March 1975, all the land in the rural localities has been nationalized and proclaimed to be the Ethiopian people's collective property. This is a tremendous achievement for a country 90 per cent of whose population is peasant. The same PMAC simultaneously abolished land rent in every form, debt payments, and so on. Land can now no longer be either sold, divided or mortgaged.

Each peasant family has the free use of a plot of land not more than 10 hectares in area. The big farms are not to be broken up but will be and are being converted into state farms. The establishment of cooperatives of peasant associations is being encouraged, including both service cooperatives and producer cooperatives. Peasants are already working simultaneously on their own plots and in the collective fields. They also help to cultivate the fields of families who have lost their bread-winner, where the bread-winner is at the front, or

where the head of the family is old. The state farms will help to boost agricultural production, while setting an example for the peasants and showing them how to use modern methods in agriculture. In addition, the state farms supply peasants with fertilizers and render various types of services, especially those involving farming machinery.

Of course, the agrarian reform ran a different course in the various parts of the country. The point is that in the past there was a substantial difference between the system of landownership in the north and the south of Ethiopia. In the north, only seven per cent of the land belonged to the feudal lords, the rest being officially in communal ownership. Nominally, every peasant had the right to a plot of land, but there was a land shortage because of the very high density of the population in that part of the country.

In the south, feudal and church landownership was the prevalent form. The bulk of the peasants had no land and were tenants who had no rights and who could be driven off their plots at any time. Overall, 60 per cent of the farm land in Ethiopia belonged to less than 1,000 families. The feudal lords took up to 75 per cent of the peasants' crop.

Nationalization, as I have said, was proclaimed everywhere. In the north, it was naturally easier to put it through right away. Incidentally, apart from expropriating the land which belonged to the feudals, the reform also destroyed many feudal customs and institutions which were not directly connected with landownership, like the so-called *gulte*, the right to collect taxes which the emperor gave the feudal lord for services rendered. Other feudal levies were also abolished. The peasants at once realized that their existence, their living standard was improving. Peasant associations and cooperatives, and cooperative shops in the towns are also being successfully established.

In the south, the reform caused much sharper upheavals. There, the feudal lords, who were in possession of virtually all the land, put up armed resistance. However, they were defeated, killed, driven out or disarmed, and strong peasant associations have now been set up in the area. A campaign, known as *Zemetcha* — Development through Cooperation — had a great part to play. In the course of it, 60,000 students, teachers and soldiers went to the rural localities to support and teach the peasants. Let us note that within a year of the proclamation of the agrarian reform, farm output increased by 30 per cent.

In the towns, the land and all the extra houses (in the towns, one family can now own no more than one house) have been proclaimed government property. This reform dispossessed the same feudal lords and aristocrats who had owned tracts of land and many houses in the towns. Rent was reduced by between 15 and 50 per cent. In addition, taxes, which have now been unified and are collected by urban

dwellers' centers, are being used to meet the needs of local development.

In Ethiopia, banks, insurance companies and the major industrial enterprises have been nationalized. Thus, the commanding heights of the economy are in the hands of the state. However, provision has also been made for some participation by local private capital in the country's development. This is in accord with the present stage, the stage of national democratic revolution. A ceiling has been established for private investment.

Mixed enterprises are also to be set up and developed. This implies cooperation between the government and foreign capital in developing industry. But if one takes the capitalist countries, only some of the old firms have by now joined the government in setting up mixed enterprises. Others have preferred to stop production.

The task now is to develop to the utmost mixed enterprises set up jointly with socialist countries. Ethiopia has engaged in coordinating economic plans with them, and has been receiving assistance from them. We believe that planning is the basis of success in economic activity. We now have a Central Planning Commission, but like other agencies it has a shortage of trained personnel. We seek to overcome these difficulties, making use of experts from socialist countries and sending our students to study there.

We also have other numerous difficulties arising from the war, the need to beat back the aggression, or from overt sabotage by counter-revolutionaries. One should bear in mind, after all, that two 'political parties' — the Democratic Union and the People's Revolutionary Party³ — and seven so-called liberation — actually separatist — fronts are now fighting the Ethiopian revolution with support from external reactionaries.

Q. What are the main problems the Ethiopian revolution has to face in its ideological-organizational work?

A. This is an exceptionally important sphere of activity. The revolution cannot advance without a revolutionary workers' party. But Lenin said that there can be no revolutionary party without a revolutionary ideology.

Such a party could not emerge under the monarchy because of the persecution of progressive forces and the weakness of our working class. That is why when the revolution began we invited all the Ethiopians who had studied in other countries and had adopted Marxist-Leninist ideas to return home. We asked them whether they were willing to cooperate with the PMAC on the basis of its program. They agreed. A Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs was set up. When it began to operate, it turned out that these men were members of various groups, the five groups mentioned above,

and that they have different views on a number of substantial matters. That is why we began to encourage them to cooperate and establish ideological unity. The PMAC believes that it would be a mistake to issue a formal decree merging these groups and proclaiming the establishment of a proletarian party 'from the top.' They must attain ideological and then organizational unity by themselves, and in the process win over to their side the industrial workers, the vanguard of the proletariat.

We have entrusted the Provisional Office with the preparations for setting up a Marxist-Leninist party and with carrying on agitation and propaganda work among the masses. It has been given all the necessary facilities, means of transport, etc. It set up its branches everywhere, including districts and villages. An Ideological School has been established in Addis Ababa. We have displayed full trust in these people, supplied them with weapons and provided protection from the EPRP killers. We have recommended them to the people.

However, after a little while one of these groups, namely, the Marxist All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement, or Meison for short, decided that it was the strongest and aspired to subordinate the other groups. In the summer of 1977, the PMAC decided to reorganize the Provisional Office. The idea behind its decision was to give all the groups within it equal rights both in the work of the Office itself and — and this is highly important — in guiding the Ideological School.

When this had been done, some Meison leaders were disappointed. Soon there came the Somali aggression against Ethiopia. In addition, the separatist movement in Eritrea was intensified, and the country's unity was threatened on every side. These were combined with the activities of internal counter-revolutionaries. And just when the battle of Dire Dawa (Ogaden region) was being fought, some of the Meison leaders went into hiding.

It later turned out that it was the right-wing opportunist elements who had taken flight. They issued a statement listing all the dangers threatening the country and declared that the situation was hopeless. They claimed that the PMAC was doing nothing to save the country and the revolution. However, they miscalculated in expecting that the peasants would support them. Actually, the peasants arrested many of them. When the peasants handed them over to the revolutionary authorities, they said: 'These are traitors, they themselves told us that the revolution should be defended to the end, and here is what they have done.' The flight of some of the Meison leaders spelled their political suicide. They were not supported by the people, and the group's left wing condemned them.

But the revolution was hit. Let me say briefly that among those who fled were men like Haile Fida, Chairman of the Office, two

ministers, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Housing and Urban Development, who was also responsible for the urban dwellers' centers, and his brother, a permanent secretary of the Ministry of Culture. This left vacant posts in the Mass Organization Office and several other establishments, and these are not easy to fill. But the unity of the five Marxist-Leninist groups is now stronger and more solid, for the fugitive leaders had only paid lip-service to unity, while secretly working against it.

Q. How does the PMAC intend to start solving the nationalities question in Ethiopia?

A. Our Program of National Democratic Revolution envisages a solution of the nationalities problem through a recognition of the right of each nationality in Ethiopia to self-determination in the form of regional autonomy. Ethiopia has many tribes and nationalities. We believe that recognition of each nationality's right to self-determination and regional autonomy is the correct way to solve the nationalities question in line with socialist principles and Ethiopia's objective conditions. We seek to translate it into practice, notably, in Eritrea, for which we have worked out a special nine-point program.

The PMAC has already proclaimed the equality of all the nationalities in the sphere of religion, language, culture, and so on. It is our intention to give all the nationalities of Ethiopia an opportunity to use their national language, to develop their economy and national culture, to enjoy all rights and to be free from any exploitation. We regard the nationalities question as an organic part of the overall question of class struggle.

Concerning the choice of form in which the self-determination of the country's nationalities is to be realized, namely, regional autonomy, that is Ethiopia's sovereign business. After all, this is not a liberation of colonies but free development of nationalities within revolutionary Ethiopia.

Q. What, in your opinion, has the Ethiopian revolution done for the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle?

A. The Ethiopian revolution can have a very important international role to play. Its successes can largely promote the anti-imperialist struggle, and not only in Africa. They will also be a contribution to the socialist transformation of the world.

Our region is of tremendous strategic importance. If the Ethiopian revolution advances successfully, it will mean that our country will continue to play a big positive role within it, and also in Africa as a whole. Imperialism is aware of this, and that is why it has been using its agents within and outside the country to undermine the development of our revolution.

Socialist Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on principles like peace,

equality of all states, non-interference in their domestic affairs, non-alignment, and so on. These principles are clearly set out in the Program of National Democratic Revolution.

Some ask us whether there is a contradiction between such a policy and our orientation on stronger friendship with the socialist countries. But we are sure that there is no contradiction here. After all, non-alignment means pursuit of an independent foreign policy. Our relations with other countries are our own business, they are a matter of our independent policy. Ethiopia is fighting against imperialism and internal reaction, and this is a struggle that cannot be carried on single-handed. Close relations with the socialist countries are needed also for successful socialist construction.

THE CONGO: KEY TASKS OF THE CURRENT STAGE

Denis Sassou-Nguesso

First Deputy Chairman, Military Committee,
Congolese Party of Labor

Q. What is the relationship between the current stage of the Congolese revolution and the radicalization stage announced by the late President Marien Ngouabi?⁴

A. It is not entirely correct to speak of a 'radicalization stage.' The Congo is at the stage of a national, democratic and people's revolution as defined by the extraordinary congress of our party in December 1972.

The revolution is national since we are continuing the struggle for national liberation, against foreign, chiefly French, capitalist domination.

It is a democratic revolution since in the course of this struggle we are mobilizing the people, the vast majority of the working people of town and country. They were directly hit by colonial oppression and privations, by poverty and cultural backwardness. And so they are the ones who have a priority right to enjoy the fruits of democracy.

The revolution is a people's revolution because we have decided to advance to socialism. To this end we must lay an adequate economic, cultural and psychological groundwork. The party considers that the present stage of the Congolese revolution enables us to lay this groundwork for the people's revolution.

We see the two principal components of the revolutionary process in our country at this stage in forming a vanguard, a working-class party closely linked with the majority of working people, and in laying the economic and cultural groundwork which we need if we are to begin advancing to socialism at the next stage. The radicalization

movement initiated by President Ngouabi makes it possible to speed the progress of the revolution. It fits perfectly into the current stage. You will see the goals of this movement if you read the declaration released by the CC CPL on December 12, 1975. It stressed the need to correct mistakes in the party's activity at all levels, from top to bottom, particularly at the level of the Central Committee. The task was to achieve closer unity of the leadership, thoroughly reshape its working methods, improve the party's ability to organize and lead the masses and proceed on that basis to the solution of other problems. First and foremost, we had to provide a sound basis for the public sector, which is experiencing considerable difficulties and lacks efficiency.

After the tragic death of the founder of our party, Marien Ngouabi, the Party Military Committee (PMC) declared that it would continue his work. We are now taking steps to reorganize the party and mass organizations so as to raise their militancy and efficiency. The PMC is doing all in its power to ensure that the public enterprises we rely on in resisting imperialism operate better and are profitable and to end wasteful management in the public sector.

It is too early to speak of results. However, the PMC is certainly determined to bring about a fundamental change in the situation and carry forward the radicalization movement the way it was begun by the founder of our party.

Q. How would you describe the effort to build up your party at this stage?

A. We are working to increase the party's numerical strength. Its membership has almost doubled in the recent period. But we want the party and its influence to grow both quantitatively and qualitatively. The primary task is, therefore, to reorganize the party education system so that its network may not be limited to Brazzaville but may encompass every branch and every member of the party. We would, of course, like to set up party schools all over the country so as to train and educate members at local level. But this is more than we can do at the moment.

The main problem in the circumstances is to train a leading cadre. The PMC considers it advisable to send members abroad for the purpose. All regional party committee chairmen are taking such a course of training now. This also applies to the majority of the committee chairmen of districts, big enterprises and the ministries.

Subsequently most cadre members ranging from branch secretaries to regional committee chairmen will be trained at the Central Party School, in Brazzaville. They will work along with other leaders in local party schools. Given trained personnel, such schools or courses of study can be organized everywhere: students could get together in

the building of elementary and secondary schools or wherever else there is room for them and when they have time, as in the evening. There we plan to organize systematic and continuous courses of study on a differentiated basis.

The idea is to make the party the people's general staff, so to speak, at national and local level alike, so that it may be present everywhere and that its influence, ideology and policy line may really predominate in every walk of life, from top to bottom.

Party structures have already been created everywhere. We are confident that our cadre members will become steeled in new struggles and the party will transform itself, gain strength, rid itself of extraneous elements and bring into its ranks upright and ideologically staunch people. If the party achieves these aims, as we hope it will, the masses will see in it a defender of their cause, and the party's leading role in our society will become a reality instead of being merely a slogan.

Q. The press of imperialist countries often alleges that inasmuch as the country is led by the Party Military Committee, this means that power in the Congo is in the hands of the armed forces while the party and the people's government bodies play a secondary role. Any comment?

A. The fact that the PMC is the highest authority is a product of objective circumstances. After the assassination of President Ngouabi this decision was fully justified by the need to keep peace in the country and safeguard the party against various pressures.

After all, President Ngouabi was killed virtually on the eve of the party congress that was to examine the progress of radicalization. A mere week before his death he announced that the congress would meet shortly. It follows that he was killed by those who were against the growth and consolidation of the party. Hence the measures adopted by the Central Committee, which also set up the PMC, to preserve the party and the revolution.

The congress envisaged by Marien Ngouabi will meet before long. The party is alive and growing and it's preparing for its congress. In the light of the steps taken to increase the party's role and efficiency, in the light of the facts, it's absurd to imagine that the formation of the Military Committee has shifted the party to a place of secondary importance.

Nor can we accept bourgeois democratic theories calling for a neutral army that would stay out of politics. Needless to say, the imperialist oppressors of our country assigned the colonial army the task of suppressing the people. This explains why, even in an independent Congo, there was a bitter controversy over the issue of politicalizing the army. The winners were the advocates of an army

conceived and formed as a political force whose position is a reflection of the class struggle going on in society. It was a victory for progressives and revolutionaries who held that we need a people's army closely linked with the masses and fighting the same battles as the masses.

The party now has a solid structure in the army. There is a party branch in every troop unit. Besides, we have Socialist Youth organizations operating in the army.

Our army is inseparable from society and it's only natural that when we were setting up people's power structures military men were elected to municipal, regional and district councils and other bodies.

Elections to people's councils were held in line with a decision adopted by the CC CPL in 1973. By working out the structures of people's rule, we enabled the masses to organize, join in political and economic life, grapple with their own problems at local level and solve them on their own.

The decision on people's power structures is envisaged for a three-year testing period. Not so long ago, when Marien Ngouabi was still alive, a first analysis of the experiment was made at a party conference. It revealed that, as with every useful initiative, there were achievements as well as shortcomings and difficulties in organizing people's rule. We decided to take measures for the removal of shortcomings at an extraordinary party congress and we'll do it.

The main drawback in organizing people's rule is that the experiment was begun in 1973, even before we had established party structures everywhere. In the absence of party control there began a widespread infiltration of people's government bodies by agent provocateurs, self-seekers and politically corrupt elements. The masses were frequently led astray. Many peasants took their cue from regionalist or tribalist elements and even elected outright reactionaries just because they were from the same locality or belonged to the same tribe.

These men contrived to entrench themselves in people's government bodies and prevented them from performing their true function, which was to mobilize the masses and organize their effective participation in the solution of their own problems. What happened was the emergence of new administrators of the old type operating in isolation from the masses.

Now that the party is present everywhere, we think it is in a position to carry out serious work to perfect people's rule. This is an objective necessity and the 'hand of the military' has nothing to do with it.

Q. What is your view of the validity of the theory of non-capitalist development as far as your country is concerned?

A. Our country was under imperialist rule for almost a century. The imperialists set up in the Congo an economy based on exporting the country's riches. Our people know this from their own experience; it is a matter of everyday living; the people are aware that they are exploited by imperialism. What we want is to put the fruits of the people's labor and the country's riches at the people's service, to make them available to the workers and peasants and not to imperialists. This is why in those memorable days, August 13 to 15, 1963,⁵ the Congo opted for non-capitalist development.

Marien Ngouabi repeatedly stressed that in Africa, and more particularly in the Congo, the exploiting classes might still be in an embryonic state but were capable of developing with the passage of time. We must therefore not allow a new exploiting class to emerge and mature with independence and to reduce the people to slavery.

Consequently, the theory of non-capitalist development fully applies to the Congo. Our conditions warrant this statement even though the task facing us today is to defeat foreign rather than domestic capitalism.

Q. What are the main lines of your party's ideological work?

A. Most of the ideological problems cropping up in Africa are linked with recognition of the existence of social classes and with the need to elucidate the substance of the theory of scientific socialism.

The imperialists, trying to create confusion in Africa, to mislead its peoples, have invented a whole set of 'new' ideologies. They claim that Africa has unique realities not to be found in any other society. There are people also in Africa who cause confusion by affirming, first, that there are no social classes on the continent, and secondly, that there is a socialism which can be purely African while the problems of socialist construction are absolutely unique in Africa.

The CPL considers that there are real social classes in Africa which are fighting among themselves. This struggle is the basis for the development of African society and other societies. The late President Ngouabi thoroughly worked out theses on various classes in Africa,⁶ and we explain them to the masses.

Our party is convinced that there is no African socialism, nor can there be any. There is one socialism, which is scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. And precisely because it is scientific it applies to African society as to any other. Every reality, including African reality, must be analyzed scientifically. Otherwise we would have to speak of European, Asian or American socialism because it has triumphed in countries situated on these continents. But it is the application of scientific laws and principles that has made it possible to apply general laws in the specific conditions of these countries as well, conditions which vary greatly.

We explain all these things to the masses, we explain that Marxism-Leninism elucidates these problems, makes it possible to analyze them from the scientific point of view. There can be no miracles or miraculous theories for Africa only.

Q. How would you define the place of the Congolese revolution in the world revolutionary process and in the international anti-imperialist struggle? What is, in your view, the significance of proletarian internationalism and of relations with the socialist community in vindicating a socialist orientation?

A. I wish to mention in this connection Lenin's call, 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!' We in the Congo consider it as valid as ever.

The Congolese revolution, like other national-liberation revolutions, is closely linked with the worldwide process of transition from capitalism to socialism. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution I spoke of its tremendous impact on the course of world history, including the national-liberation movement. A highly important factor for the gains of the movement was the weakening of imperialism as a result of World War II, which led to the defeat of fascism, with the Soviet Union making a decisive contribution to that victory. I would now like to note that the Congolese revolution, as well as using the experience of the October Revolution, has been drawing on the experience of peoples fighting against imperialism, in particular the peoples of Indochina and Algeria, who waged liberation wars.

The peoples of the Portuguese colonies, too, used in their liberation fight the gains and experience of progressive forces and movements in other parts of the world. To the extent that the Congolese revolution succeeds in weakening imperialism, other peoples will benefit by its contribution. In other words, the Congolese revolution contributes to the common anti-imperialist struggle by fighting for socialism and weakening the world imperialist system.

As regards the significance of relations with the socialist community, Lenin pointed out that the proletariat's victory in several advanced countries would enable oppressed, colonized and backward peoples to arrive at socialism without passing through the stage of developed capitalism. This forecast has come true. Ever since the proletariat triumphed in a number of European countries, other peoples who were colonized and backward and were living in harsh economic conditions have been able to take the road leading to socialism.

And so the very existence of the socialist community enables such peoples as ours, the peoples of still undeveloped countries, to ad-

the fundamental significance of the relations which we think should be established between countries fighting for liberation and the socialist community. The existence of the socialist community and its support can quicken the pace of the national-liberation movement and the revolution process in countries exploited by imperialism. Their gains, in turn, will be blows at imperialism. We see in this interaction the great significance of the principle of proletarian internationalism, which is accepted more and more widely on African soil.

ALGERIA: THE GROWING FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Ali Malki

Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria

Important events have occurred in Algeria since the discussion of the draft National Charter and its approval (June 27, 1976) in a referendum. Constitutional political institutions have been set up at state level. The Algerians adopted a constitution on November 19, 1976; on December 10 they elected the President of the Republic and on February 25, 1977, the National People's Assembly. Grim political battles were fought. The struggle that was waged before the discussion and approval of the Charter and is going on now for the fulfillment of national development tasks is, *in the final analysis*, a bitter and increasingly open contest over whether the country shall develop on capitalist lines, leading to neo-colonial dependence, or follow a non-capitalist road, leading to independence and socialism.

The National Charter reaffirms in substance and in its own special terms the choice of a non-capitalist road of development with a socialist perspective. Both the Charter as a whole and its various parts formulate and specify the main objectives of national development and the national democratic revolution. The Charter stresses the imperative need to consolidate independence in view of the threat of imperialism, neo-colonialism and international capitalism. It declares in no uncertain terms for a socialist orientation, the abolition of exploitation of man by man, and qualitatively higher national unity. The Charter lists the main forces fighting for the materialization of these aspirations of our people; these forces are the working people of town and countryside, youth, progressive intellectuals and progressive officers and men of the National People's Army. The Charter sets a number of tasks and indicates the steps that must be taken to advance in the chosen direction and to consolidate what has been achieved since 1962. It expresses the aspirations and demands of various anti-imperialist sectors, above all the most impoverished part

of the people. The Charter guarantees all social freedoms, in particular freedom of speech, opinion, thought and movement, 'provided they are not used to prejudice the revolution.' Lastly, it calls for closer solidarity among all the anti-imperialist forces of the world, in particular between the non-aligned states and the socialist countries.

Thus the National Charter contains guidelines and tasks for all those political forces and currents which approve of it fully or in part (for differing reasons), some of them rejecting or making reservations about certain provisions. The adoption of the Charter is a beneficial result of the efforts which were carried on over a long period by progressives strongly committed to the idea of promoting unity of action to ensure the accomplishment of the country's most important and pressing tasks. In this sense the Charter is a solid link between very broad patriotic forces and currents; it provides them with an action platform which the most consistent revolutionaries have sought and called for.⁷ Furthermore, the Charter proclaims more advanced guidelines common to all supporters of socialism. However, these guidelines show a number of weak points and a certain theoretical and political inconsistency. These are due, on the one hand, to transient factors and the strong pressure exerted by rightists in various echelons of the power structure. They are also due to the still inadequate ideological maturity of some currents who consider themselves socialist but tend to set themselves apart from scientific socialism on a number of fundamental problems. Incidentally, the Charter admits its incompleteness and the fact that it is still evolving, which is in keeping with both the substantial progress made by the revolution to date and the equally important tasks still facing it.

For all these reasons, the nationwide discussion of the Charter was highly controversial. It was a sharp political and ideological contest between the working people, revolutionaries, progressives, patriots and anti-imperialists, on the one hand, and reactionaries and conservatives, on the other. The latter used diverse echelons of the official political and administrative apparatus for their anti-democratic ends. They also resorted to ideological subversion, specifically by posing the ideals and standards of Islam against those of socialism. They fomented anti-communist sentiments and gambled on prejudices against women. They did their utmost to intensify the trend toward transforming a system based on the existence of one party into an instrument for the strangulation of democracy and the rejection of the ideas of scientific socialism. This activity was aimed at stripping the Charter of its progressive substance and ultimately making Algeria renounce the non-capitalist road, its socialist choice.

Along with pressure from domestic reaction, there have been continuous pressures and threats on the part of imperialism and regional

Arab reaction, directed against our people's revolutionary gains and Algeria's anti-imperialist policy of national independence. It is anything but accidental that these threats come at a time when, amid intensifying class struggles in our country, favorable changes are taking place, gradually creating objective and subjective conditions for a more deep-going revolutionary process.

The year 1977 saw an unprecedented upturn in the political economic, social and ideological struggle in Algeria. Against the background of social and economic advances, certain problems and difficulties that had made themselves felt in earlier years stood out more sharply than before.

All this was the underlying cause of numerous social conflicts, in particular strikes, some of which assumed nationwide proportions and affected transport and certain other fields. The atmosphere was one of growing prices⁸ and increasing housing and transport problems; besides, new problems had arisen that were due, in particular, to a notable expansion and democratization of education and health care. The working people demanded protection for their standard of living. Their actions were also prompted by disregard, not to say systematic violations, of the democratic principles of functioning of the trade unions and the representative bodies established in conformity with the new system of management in state-owned enterprises. These demands and actions are essentially expressive of the working people's desire for real and more dynamic application of the progressive guidelines of the National Charter.

From this point of view the struggle of the working people, despite the intrigues of reaction, had an anti-imperialist, democratic and socially progressive content. It linked up with other actions in every sphere of national life that were directed against subversion and obstacles to the agrarian revolution, worker participation in control over production, and so on. The working people's struggles made it possible to undermine the position of reactionary forces, which tried overtly or covertly to provoke complications and divide the progressive forces by exploiting social conflicts.

We stressed at the time that that struggle could become — depending on its orientation and the attitude of the progressive circles in the leadership toward it — a most powerful instrument, a strong lever in mobilizing the working people to resist the intrigues of reaction and the conspiracies of international imperialism.

As distinct from the past, when clashes of interests did not always pursue an explicit aim and were restricted to only some echelons of the state apparatus and the NLF, political and social battles over the agrarian revolution⁹ and the National Charter produced a certain degree of ideological and political clarity. In the course of these

battles various currents opposed to Algeria's anti-imperialist and progressive orientation were compelled to specify their attitude and reveal their true intentions and aims. One example was the manifesto published by supporters of 'free enterprise.' These spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, who exploit certain weaknesses of the revolution and some echelons of the state apparatus, disguise with 'liberal democracy' their opposition to progressive social changes and democracy, which are in the people's interest.

All these opposition forces — the 'liberal' bourgeoisie, the big landed proprietors whose interests are affected by the agrarian revolution, the Moslem Brothers, their spokesmen and allies entrenched even in the state apparatus, whatever cloak they use (some of them occasionally resort to 'leftist' talk) — are *objectively*, and sometimes *subjectively*, linked with one another as well as with international imperialism, which is trying to destabilize the situation in Algeria.

In these circumstances the working people's manifold actions in defense of their legitimate rights played a useful role by shedding light on the positions of various forces and benefited the political climate. This was because in carrying on their struggles, they were usually able to coordinate the defense of their material and moral interests with efforts to perfect production in the public sector, participation in control over management, defense of the country and the gains of the revolution, including the agrarian revolution,¹⁰ and so on. A further reason was that the progressive forces in the leadership did not yield to the temptation of authoritarian rule, which affects many owing to an inadequate knowledge of the principles and logic of the working people's struggle. They also succeeded in avoiding a dangerous trap set by the rightists, who called for repression against labor and the communists.

All this produced positive results. The working people's actions led to something more than a pay increase (insufficient in some cases). They brought out the serious danger posed by the suppression of revolutionary democracy, the existence of bureaucratic hurdles to the indispensable mobilization of the working people for the *chief* battle of the present stage, the battle for the unshackling and growth of the productive forces, for social progress, a battle in which growing production — a result and a means of improving the standard of living — is a most important factor.

The vigilance shown by the working people and progressive forces made it possible to thwart the secret designs of reaction, which strove to divide them by taking advantage of differences among them in the evaluation of the working people's movement. In that complicated situation the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria (SVPA) did its

utmost to strengthen the progressive forces' unity of action on the basis of defending and linking together the interests of the working people, national development and the national democratic revolution. Furthermore, it resolutely backed the initiatives and actions of the head of state which made for a frank and constructive dialogue with the working people on the country's social, economic and political problems.

Last October the media started a broad discussion on democracy, the role of the trade unions, the NLF, production, management, education and other current issues.

The discussion confirms the truth of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that there is a close connection between the growth of the conscious activity and role of the working class, and the promotion of revolutionary democracy and the advancement of the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

Achievement of this goal requires a keener sense of responsibility on the part of all revolutionaries; close attention to the problems of those social forces and strata on which the country's progressive future and advance to socialism depend; promotion of revolutionary democracy in every sphere of national life, in official institutions at all levels, primarily in those that are carrying on the decisive battle for production in its economic, social, political and cultural aspects; closer unity of action; raising the ideological and political level of all who are devoted to the progressive provisions of the Charter, to the cause of construction and independence.

To strengthen this unity of action is particularly necessary at a time when imperialist threats are becoming more real, evident and persistent.

In trying to torpedo Algeria's socialist choice and nullify its numerous economic gains, international imperialism is stepping up its efforts for economic, financial, political and ideological penetration into our country. It is doing so with the connivance of domestic, regional and all other Arab reactionaries.

These efforts are not countered by a sufficiently sober assessment of the imperialist threat even though large sectors of the state administrative and economic apparatus have begun to realize the necessity for this assessment and for greater vigilance.

What makes Algeria particularly vulnerable in this respect is that capitalist countries account for 90 per cent of its foreign trade, the plant and technology it imports and the foreign loans granted to it. As for oil and gas deliveries which exceed 95 per cent of our exports, long-term contracts (for up to 20 years) tie Algeria to the United States and European capitalist countries.

The share of the socialist countries and young national states in our

foreign trade is only 10 per cent although they are natural allies of Algeria, friends of our people and our revolution, and there are ample opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation with them.

To be sure, these figures do not in themselves give an exact idea of the dimensions and nature of the threat since these are largely due (by virtue of Algeria's present development strategy) to the place which oil and gas exports naturally hold in our economy. These products go mostly to developed capitalist countries, which respond (on anything but equitable terms) by supplying hard currency, plant and food. The threat today is aggravated by our inadequate ability to safeguard ourselves against the impact of the economic, financial, technological, political, cultural and ideological mechanisms making our economy vulnerable to imperialism, to its manifold and systematic operations, to the activity of its regional and internal agents and allies.

Every passing day provides further proof of the existence of the threat although the latter does not always make itself felt at once. To resist and reduce these dangers, we must apply a development strategy marked by vigilance against imperialism. According to the guidelines of the Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement, this strategy should be based on the most dependable national and international potentialities and should make sure extensive use of the decisive, strategic advantages of multilateral and mutually beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

This need is particularly imperative in view of the fact that in the closing three months of 1977 international imperialism intensified its destabilization policy toward our country. Algeria's western frontier is seriously threatened with armed aggression¹¹ backed in various forms by imperialism, which cannot forgive our country for its support of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination, or its assistance to all anti-imperialist movements in Africa. Yet it is common knowledge that Algeria advocates a peaceful settlement of this problem respecting the principles of the Organization of African Unity and the aspirations of the peoples of the Maghreb.

To appreciate the real dimensions of the threat, one should consider it in the broader context of imperialist plans against African and Arab peoples, as well as against the peoples of Mediterranean countries. One illustration of the nature of these plans was the trip which Sadat made to Israel in November 1977 in an attempt to torpedo the Geneva Conference and achieve a separate peace with Israel behind the back of the Palestinian people, at the price of splitting the common Arab anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front and isolating it from the socialist countries. It became perfectly obvious that one of the main targets of the action was Algeria and its progressive regime,

which supports the cause of freedom and social progress in the region and the world. The prompt approval which the Moroccan monarchy expressed for Sadat's initiative was a further indication of this.

The imperialist danger and the objective needs of national development make it necessary and urgent to reaffirm the revolutionary orientation of the National Charter in everyday life. This applies above all to devising appropriate forms of political organization, that is, to a sphere in which our country's achievements are least convincing. The ruling circles are realizing this more and more; they consider it necessary to take a critical view of many negative factors which in the past hampered the accomplishments of this long-term task. It would be right to say that first, the National Charter, provided its progressive guidelines are followed, can initiate a new and highly fruitful if intricate advance to unity, a process involving broad anti-imperialist progressive social strata and all those who insist (irrespective of the organization they now belong to) on the need to form a socialist vanguard organized as a party and equal to playing the leading role; second, this historic advance to unity cannot go on in unsuitable, primitive, artificial forms imposed by authoritarian methods, forms whose barrenness has been confirmed by the experience of our country and other Arab and African countries over the past 15 years; it cannot be regarded as irreversible, and its outcome will depend both on further gains of the national revolution and on the ability of all progressive forces to give it the requisite orientation; to avoid failure, it must in any case take account of the needs and trends of a changing social, political and ideological reality.

In December 1976 a supplement to *Saut al Sha'b*, the national newspaper of the SVPA, carried an important document of our party. Wherever the most consistent revolutionaries may be today, the document said, they should 'jointly find and apply flexible transitional forms of unification and agreement that should mature in action, in efforts to accomplish the main tasks of the moment in which they play an inspiring and mobilizing role, as they have done throughout these past years.'

In the opinion of the SVPA, the following two vitally important forms of political organization must be implemented step by step:

One, *unification of the broadest patriotic and anti-imperialist forces* around the objectives of liberation, construction, development, democracy and social progress. This unification can express itself best of all in the *activity of a front* which must not necessarily become an alliance of parties as far as its structure is concerned, irrespective of its name and form of organization, to be determined by the realities of our country. The important point is that this front should encom-

pass all who are carrying out major tasks that are in the national interests.

Two, a *strong vanguard party* guided by the theory of scientific socialism. Only a party of this nature would be equal to leading, with the support of the front, the struggle for consolidation of the achievements of the national democratic revolution and for the attainment of the goals of the socialist revolution.

The SVPA considers that to create these structures, which will interact usefully as they are built up, three inseparable conditions (which constitute intermediate aims) must be met:

— *Expanding day after day the movement of the popular and working masses*, of all the active forces of our people, with a view to achieving the goals of national and social progress in accordance with the material and spiritual requirements of the working people of town and countryside. To meet this condition, it is indispensable to mobilize the mass organizations in thoroughly democratic fashion.

— *Renewing and strengthening of the NLF* to make it still more efficient in implementing the revolutionary provisions of the National Charter according to its powers and duties under the Constitution, so that it may really perform the function of a revolutionary democratic party.

— The third condition has to do with the *socialist forces and current* (wherever they may be) that are willing, in spite of differences, to join their efforts on the basis of the National Charter and the gains of the revolution. It means giving priority to their unity of action, strengthening their cohesion, working to agree on positions and exchange views (in a creative spirit and without formal preconditions) on problems of tactics and the everyday struggle, as well as problems of strategy and ideology. This condition, if met, would enable all revolutionaries to make a more substantial and consistent *qualitative* contribution to the formation of a broad united political movement (in the nature of a front) and an increasingly consistent revolutionary movement (in the nature of a socialist vanguard) to lead them. Its realization is aimed at properly consolidating the ideological and organizational gains of socialism and at increasing solidarity in struggle and exchanges of experience between the various centers of the more consistent socialist forces and currents in the interest of *future unity*.

Many of the complicated problems are still there this year. Algeria is threatened by imperialism. In this year of change it is preparing to draft a new four-year plan which will test its capacity for economic development, for the application of a correct development strategy. This year, in which difficult problems must be tackled and hard

vance to socialism with support from the socialist community. Hence battles fought, numerous mass organizations will hold congresses and the NLF party may likewise meet in congress.

In spite of the difficulties, and as a result of the gains made so far, there are increasing opportunities for the continuous advancement of the revolutionary process. For instance, the Tripoli conference of progressive Arab regimes (held December 1977¹² to counter Sadat's defeatist and divisive move) and also President Boumedienne's trips to Arab countries, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Malta, contributed to the unity of the Arab anti-imperialist front. The President of the Republic stressed that the Soviet Union's friendly policy toward the Arabs was a 'factor for equilibrium strengthening our independence and sovereignty.' On January 22, 1978, shortly after the National People's Assembly had passed a law formalizing state monopoly of foreign trade, the Council of Ministers stated that 'the excellent political relations which Algeria maintains with a number of fraternal and friendly Arab, African and socialist countries should be continued by steadily promoting economic cooperation and commercial exchanges.'

Lastly, after extensive actions by the workers in defense of trade union democracy, the new leader of the NLF executive made an important statement on the forthcoming congress of Algeria's trade unions which is expected to encourage democratic methods, put an end to negative methods used in the past, ensure that the working people's true voice is heard and help to mobilize them for the anti-imperialist struggle and the work of building up the country, both of which are closely linked with satisfaction of the people's legitimate needs. We are witnessing progress in the constructive aspects making for unity, progress which finds reflection in growing realization of the fact that all active revolutionaries must play a proper role irrespective of whether or not they belong to the official party.

Convinced that attainment of the progressive goals of the National Charter will necessitate difficult struggles requiring the broadest possible unification of progressive forces, Algeria's communists will continue to be guided by their fundamental policy for unity as they tackle current problems. They will continue to defend the common interests of the working class and socialism, which are inseparable from the nation's interests, to uphold these interests within a strategic (and not a tactical) alliance uniting all who consider that our people only have one enemy, imperialism and its reactionary allies, one goal, the building of an independent and prosperous country, and one means of achieving it, unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces at national and international level.

1. See *WMR*, August 1976, p. 110.
 2. Tewodros Bekele was killed in February, and Temesgen Madebo in September 1977. — *Ed.*
 3. Ethiopian Democratic Union, a counter-revolutionary party set up by feudals and former senior civil servants under the monarchy. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) is a reactionary outfit using a cover of Marxist-Leninist catchwords. It has engaged in acts of terrorism against our political cadres, and virtually every day commits treacherous murders of leaders of trade unions, urban and peasant associations and other mass bodies. Its members are in fact agents of imperialism.
 4. See *WMR*, May 1976.
 5. Days of the people's rising which overthrew the neo-colonial regime under Fulbert Youlou. — *Ed.*
 6. See, for example, Marien Ngouabi, 'Scientific socialism in Africa,' in *WMR*, May 1975, P. 105.
 7. See Sadeq Hadjeres, 'From liberation front to construction front,' in *WMR*, January 1975, p. 127.
 8. The growth of consumer goods prices (19 per cent in 1976 and about 20 per cent in 1977) is due above all else to inflation imported from developed capitalist countries. Some of the reasons for this growth are internal and may be listed as inadequate utilization of production capacities, the excessive cost of the administrative and economic apparatus of the state, a discrepancy between the increasing amount of money and the growing national product, and lastly, speculation and the growing profits made by national private capital in construction, public works, wholesale trade and consumer goods industries.
 9. See Ahmed Benabdelkrim, 'The agrarian revolution in Algeria,' in *WMR*, October 1976, p. 118. The agrarian revolution infused greater class consciousness into the struggle in the countryside and made for a stronger alliance of the working people of town and country. It was a battlefield at every stage of its implementation.
 10. Following strikes and the wage rise announced by the President (September 1977), the working people again furnished proof of their allegiance to the national interest by taking part on a voluntary basis in the immediate unloading of cargoes stockpiled in ports, thus saving a huge amount of imported goods.
 11. The world press has carried statements about the so-called 'right of pursuit,' which might be used against Algeria.
 12. Followed up by the summit conference in Algiers in February 1978. — *Ed.*
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The scientific and technological potential of socialism

To combine the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system is one of the long-range targets pursued by the ruling Communist Parties at the stage of building developed socialism and communism. In pursuing this policy, they increasingly apply common principles and a common approach, in particular, as regards the tendency to steer scientific progress toward the attainment of the main goal of socialism — a steady rise in the working people's living standards and cultural level. At the same time, each of the countries makes its own, distinctive contribution to the ways and methods of accomplishing these tasks, as is shown in the articles below on the practice of scientific research in Rumania and the GDR and the outlook for its development.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN BUILDING A FULLY DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Ioan Ursu

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The 11th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party marked the start of a new historical epoch in the building of a socialist society in our country: expressing the will of the whole people, the highest forum of Rumania's communists announced in the Party Program which it adopted that the nation's goal was to build a fully developed socialist society and to advance Rumania in realizing the high social ideal of building communism. The Congress formulated for the communists and all the other working people a clear-cut strategic conception of Rumania's continued economic and social development and clear guidelines for implementing the strategy during the 1976-80 five-year period and beyond.

The RCP, cherishing and continuing the best traditions in struggle for progress in our country, has once again shown itself to be not only a skilled architect of the economic and political foundations of the new society, but also a skilled tutor of the masses, orienting them upon a conscious choice of their future, and active struggle to implement the goals that have been set.

'The communists,' Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and SRR President, has said: 'differ from the other working people only in that they have a better understanding of the problems in socio-economic development and rely on a scientific knowledge of the general regularities underlying the development of human society. Accordingly, they publicly assume the responsible task of seeking to unite all the forces for the sake of their country's socio-economic progress.'¹

Since the socialist and communist society is to have the highest productivity, the most rational organization of production and social life and the highest level of material and spiritual civilization, and also since science and technology can substantially promote the attainment of these noble goals, our party has consistently pursued a *policy of converting the potential force of our science and technology into a real and genuine force of social progress.*

The socialist revolution and socialist construction in Rumania have opened the floodgates for accelerated progress in science and application of its achievements in social production.

After a 20-year period of reconstruction, at the close of the 60s, when the 10th Congress of the RCP was held, the country had an industrial infrastructure created through the consistent policy of socialist industrialization. Together with the production potential, the party and the state had also worked to create a corresponding basis for the development of science. This was seen in the researchers and designers, well trained and with steadily developing technology at their disposal. The task was to mobilize these forces and orient them in the right direction.

That was not an easy task. The view was expressed in industry and in some research groups that it was not right to put too much emphasis on developing technological research in which laboratory studies went hand in hand with development, the fabrication of functional models, experimental installations and prototypes, together with engineering and actual manufacture of the products for the national economy. The other view was that instead of spending funds on research it was better to use these to import foreign ideas and foreign products. Unfortunately, that was, in fact, the practice. Meanwhile, the research and design personnel were spread out thinly among a large number of establishments and enterprises, some of which lacked planned orientation and the necessary coordination.

The historic achievement of the party's 10th Congress was that it laid the political foundations for re-orienting scientific life. Rumanian science and technical thought were given a *clear-cut assignment* from the party, on behalf of the whole of society; *to put all their efforts into*

economic construction and the nation's material and spiritual progress.

Under the program for the country's socio-economic development, research establishments and technological engineering were urged to make a direct contribution to expanding the raw-materials and energy basis, designing new technology, new machines and new types of plant, developing new species of plants and productive animal breeds, and new consumer goods. At the 10th Congress of the RCP, General Secretary Ceausescu said: 'Those who work in every field of science, primarily in technical research, must understand that they can consider their duty to the people done only to the extent to which their activity promotes society's all-round progress. We cannot be content with importing brains. We must understand that science is an inalienable part of material production and of our country's economic and social progress. . . . A scientific degree in itself means nothing. What matters is work, concrete achievements.'²

The five years between the 10th and the 11th party congresses were a period of profound changes in the style of work and in the mental attitudes of researchers, technicians and engineers, and organizational improvements in the structure and activity of establishments engaged in creative scientific and technical work.

Research and development establishments were reorganized on the basis of unified organizational standards to improve coordination, planning and use of the results of science in the national economy and social life. To make more efficient use of personnel and provide them with incentives an experimental set of rules was formulated for those engaged in research and development. Legislation was framed and experimentally applied to provide a basis for the innovators' and inventors' movement. The National Council for Science and Technology, an agency of the party and the state putting through their policy in research and development, was reorganized.

The establishment of central research institutes in the key sectors of the economy was exceptionally important in the reorganization effort. For the first time in our country research and development was closely aligned with the training of personnel and sectoral production.

The central research institutes must fulfill the most important requirement of the present period, which is to unite the forces of scientific and technical creativity with the country's productive forces. The adoption of this policy is an important advance in implementing the party's policy in science and technology, and in moving from the stage of separate training and activity of various contingents of personnel to *the stage of their unification*, of integration of their efforts all along the line, from fundamental research to the development of industrial technology and manufacture of the end product.

That is how the Central Institute of Chemistry operates, for instance. Its establishment helped to concentrate and better to coordinate the activity of many specialists: researchers and designers working in chemistry, including those in factory laboratories and in the higher schools. The institute has concentrated its efforts on developing new and improving existing Rumanian equipment and technology in the chemical industry which is capable of competing with the best foreign models. The institute coordinates every type of chemical research and development. Here, fundamental theoretical research, in which Rumanian chemistry has scored particular successes, is combined especially with applied research on current and long-term problems. The institute implements its projects by setting up mixed research and design groups involving electronics engineers, mathematicians, economists, specialists working in industry, etc. This involvement at the stage of programming helps considerably to reduce the 'research-technology-production' cycle and to improve the quality of work.

Consistent pursuit of the policy of combining research, education and production has begun to yield results. Researchers now take a different attitude to their work: they are no longer content with the results of laboratory experiments or paper calculations. They realize that research is complete only when the results are applied in production.

The goals for further advance toward a fully developed socialist society and communism were formulated in the party Program and the Guidelines for Rumania's Socio-Economic Development, adopted by the 11th Party Congress. The background to all this is the accelerating scientific and technological revolution. Hence the need to take into account the changes taking place in international life, science and the productive forces all over the world. Nicolae Ceausescu says that 'to successfully fulfill the five-year plan targets and the party program, we must set ourselves the task of transforming all our activity on a new basis much faster. Let us make the forthcoming five-year period one in which scientific and technological revolution is powerfully established in every sphere of activity in Rumania.'³

All researchers and designers and all the other working people in the country remember this idea of the party's General Secretary, which he expressed at a National Conference on Research and Development in October 1974. It has defined the strategy for the 1976-80 five-year period, in which Rumania's socialist society will be moving to a new and higher stage of development.

In this five-year period, all the material and manpower resources in the national economy are to be used to boost the national income and meet existing requirements. This must be a period of high quality,

secured through technical progress, and mainly on the basis of Rumania's own scientific and technical advance.

Having opted for the strategy of technical progress through intensification of the country's own efforts, the Rumanian Communist Party seeks to make the best use of the sizable accumulation fund earmarked for the development, consolidation and perfection of the national economic system. This involves an effort to make maximum use of the country's natural resources and production facilities so as to bridge the gap which still separates us from the industrialized countries and to establish a prosperous socialist Rumania.

Our party regards technical progress both as a political goal of the whole people and as a primary task of national economic planning. Accordingly, scientific and technical progress is a special section of the Integral National Plan for the country's economic and social development, and its realization determines the main lines of investment, and so of fulfillment of the whole plan.

The choice of technology to back up the most important capital investment projects in the 1976-80 period is an essential task before our planning agencies, and this implies emphasis on the use of working technological processes and also new or improved processes developed at home. (For investment projects at the initial stage of realization, the plan lays down clear-cut stages and firm deadlines for fulfillment of the relevant design, building and assembly operations.)

In order to enhance the efficiency of research and development and also of the funds to import foreign achievements and — most importantly — to develop, technical thought at home, the plan envisages measures to increase the degree and reduce the time-scale for integrating products and technological processes which are being developed now or are to be developed in the future. At the same time, there is a need fully to calculate exactly the economic effect for each research topic.

In the light of the requirements of the current five-year period, the assignment written into the plan for research, development and engineering are grouped by areas of activity that are of the greatest economic and social interest. These in the main correspond to a number of *comprehensive programs*, dealing with matters like the full development of our national stock of raw materials and natural resources, provision of energy to develop the national economy, including rational use of existing and development of new energy resources; discovery of technological, economic and organizational approaches for a substantial reduction in the per-unit inputs of raw and other materials, energy and fuel; rational development, amelioration and protection of the land stock, farm land, and forest and water resources; comprehensive development of the resources of the seas and

oceans; new and highly productive technological methods; the use of new materials and substitutes in economic commerce; recycling of every type of waste; development of new types of machines, plant and installations for investment projects, and also of new consumer goods (with corresponding cutbacks in imports); development and use in production of new valuable and high-yield species of plants and productive animal breeds; protection of the environment and improvement of the people's working and everyday conditions.

There is also special emphasis on the economizing and effective use of material resources earmarked for production. Here the task is for specialists and every category of working people to achieve not only better organization of production and labor, but also to discover and use new approaches, methods and technical equipment.

Another important line of work is to make, on the basis of our own production, the largest possible number of machines and other types of equipment required by industry and the national economy as a whole. We regard this not only as a way of making better use of the stocks going into the development and consumption, but also as a means of enhancing Rumania's role in the international division of labor and extending the potentialities of its bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the socialist and other countries of the world.

To illustrate the renewal of the product-mix as a plan target for applying technical achievements, by the end of the five-year period almost 78 per cent of engineering products (in value term) are to consist of new or improved products first manufactured in 1976.

Much is to be done in mastering new materials, especially in the chemical industry, which is soon to start turning out macro-molecular products, catalysts, and the basic organic, intermediate and auxiliary products, oil products, chemicals for agriculture, dyes, lacquers and varnishes, medicines, etc.

For industry as a whole, new and remodelled types of products are to make up nearly 45 per cent of the total.

On the whole, the 1976-80 plans for research and technological development provide for more than 600 topics bearing on industrial growth.

The application of technical achievements in the national economy and enhancement on that basis of the quality of social labor have become a mass movement in Rumania in which the party has the organizing and leading role to play. In 1976, over 150,000 men and women engaged in research and development were involved in tackling these tasks, and this was 80 per cent more than in 1970. Over 50,000 of them had a higher education. More than 90,000 specialists worked in research and design proper and almost 36,000 in designing

capital construction. Efficient coordination of these forces is a substantial condition for fulfilling the tasks that have been set.

The great effort to muster internal resources and make the utmost use of the creative potentialities of our scientists, technicians and engineers has gone hand in hand with extensive use of the outstanding achievements of world science and technology and development of cooperation for that purpose with researchers and scientists in the socialist and other countries of the world.

With the conclusion of numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements, our country has become an active participant in the international division of labor in creative scientific and technical endeavor and a valuable partner in technological exchanges.

Multilateral cooperation with other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is an important aspect of Rumania's international ties in research and development. In view of the advisability of coordinated efforts in tackling problems of common interest, our country has taken an active part in such cooperation under the Comprehensive Program,⁴ in the light of the guidelines laid down by our party and the state. Such cooperation and mutual assistance which extend from fundamental research to joint construction of industrial facilities demonstrate the socialist countries' active readiness to make broad use of the results of the current scientific and technological revolution for the purposes of social development.

In research and technological development we constantly reckon with everything that is new and advanced in other countries, and at the same time seek to make our contribution to world scientific progress. While consistently displaying concern for our nation's well-being, the party never loses sight of our duty to participate to the best of our abilities in tackling the problems now agitating the whole of mankind. These problems, which differ in technical, economic and social importance and relate to various fields of life — energy, food, water resources, and the quality of life and the environment — require the participation of all countries, regardless of their size, and also the most extensive use of scientific and technical achievements. This conviction makes our party's policy of extending cooperation with the socialist, the developing and all the countries of the world, regardless of social system, especially effective and important.

In the next few years our researchers, technicians and engineers will be faced with tasks which are especially important in moral and political terms and to whose solution they have to dedicate all their creative efforts and industry. Scientists, researchers and designers in our country are resolved to spare no efforts in living up to the confidence displayed in them by the party and the people, and to do

their utmost in helping to build a fully developed socialist society in the country, and advancing Rumania toward communism.

1. Nicolae Ceausescu. *Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Vol. 11, p. 92.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 287-288.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, pp. 934-935.

4. The Comprehensive Program for further deepening and improving cooperation and developing socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries adopted in 1971. — *Ed.*

COOPERATION OF SCIENTISTS FOR SOCIALISM AND FOR PEACE

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The most important law in the development of the socialist world today is the gradual and all-round coming together of the socialist states. Every year brings greater cooperation among the CMEA countries and practice has shown that this means not just joining forces, but multiplying them. The same is true of cooperation and coordination in research. Addressing heads of the socialist countries' academies of sciences in February 1977, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke highly of the fruitful ties between scientists of the socialist countries. 'What is particularly important in this respect,' he said, 'is the broadest and closest cooperation, which permits a rational use of the tremendous potentialities of science and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of socialist and communist construction.'

The significance of science grows daily in the life of a socialist society. Its achievements are increasingly used in developing national economies and in dealing with problems posed by social development. The degree to which the national economies of the CMEA countries interact is being continually increased thanks to the fact that they have been joined with the Soviet Union's great economic, scientific and technological potential. The socialist socio-economic system inaugurated by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution has always been and remains the decisive basis for the all-round development of the productive forces and, consequently, of scientific and technical progress. In the past 60 years socialism has been transformed from a theory, from a scientific idea into a powerful reality. The creative forces and talents of each nation have flowed. Scientific development in the socialist countries has become the concern of the whole people. And their task today is to combine the

achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. In such conditions science helps further improve the people's well-being, raise their spiritual level and strengthen their health. There are no contradictions between the interests of society and the interests of scientists. Science in the socialist countries is being developed according to plan and on a long-term basis so that 'its humanistic character, which serves progress, should manifest itself in full,' as the SUPG Program states.

The present level of scientific development in the socialist-community countries affords favorable opportunities for effectively coordinating research work. At the 31st CMEA session in 1977, the member-countries that are today drawing up long-term programs of cooperation, set forth their initial considerations concerning the main problems of this cooperation for the period up to 1990. The communiqué on the session said that the main task in coordinating the national economic plans for the five years (1981-85) is to achieve a coordinated solution of the salient economic problems that emerge during the drawing up of the programs and are of mutual interest. To realize the large-scale scientific and social tasks set by congresses of these closely knit ruling communist and workers' parties, a strategy of scientific and technical progress must be drawn up for several five-year periods in advance. Without pooling their efforts the socialist countries would be unable to carry out such complex plans as meeting their power, fuel and raw materials requirements, expanding industrial production capacities and equipping them with modern machinery, and increasing agricultural capacities to ensure a steady growth of the food industry output.

The Soviet Union is making a decisive contribution to the attainment of these common goals, for not only has it the largest economic, scientific and technological potential, but also the richest experience in the revolutionary transformation of society and in socialist and communist construction. That is why ever since the formation of the GDR we have been studying and successfully applying this experience, and striving for ever closer cooperation with the USSR.

In science this means an increasing combination of the research and designing potentials, greater specialization and cooperation in production and research work. So far more than 70 inter-governmental and inter-departmental agreements have been concluded setting down the tasks of both countries on a contractual basis. Their fulfillment will undoubtedly accelerate scientific and technical progress in key branches of the national economies of our countries.

The academies of sciences of the GDR and the USSR play a prominent role in developing and deepening integration in research. For two decades now they have been cooperating closely on a con-

tractual basis and have gained a wealth of experience. Specialization and cooperation have brought out several tendencies which we believe will be further developed. Among these is the tendency toward fundamental research in those problems of science and technology the solution of which is of interest for both sides. This also applies to increasing the share of research carried out within the framework of the international division of labor. There is likewise a characteristic desire for cooperation based on specific working plans, the results of which can be accurately evaluated, thus enhancing the responsibility of the sides in carrying out their obligations. Yet another tendency is to use the research potentials of higher educational establishments and universities.

The exceptional significance of cooperation in science is shown by the progress made in the joint research on proteins, a highly important problem which should be solved within the next few years.* In order to provide the national economy with protein fodder and other micro-biological substances, institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences initiated cooperation several years ago with coresponding Soviet institutions in order to speed up fundamental technological research in this field. Technically feasible methods are already available for obtaining protein fodder from oil byproducts. By 1980 such proteins could be industrially produced from natural gas, methanol and ethanol. In practice this means that our countries will have to create a new branch of industry involving many other branches and sciences. This new branch of industry will lie at the juncture of agriculture and the chemical industry. It will have to meet not only the immediate demands of the economy, but also serve as the starting point for new research in industrial production based on biological processes.

Yet another example of how joint fundamental research helps speed up scientific and technical progress is cooperation in the Inter-cosmos program. I should like to go into greater detail on this, bearing in mind the particularly high level of cooperation achieved here. There are several reasons for this. First of all, space research, apart from its tremendous scientific and political significance is already producing a direct economic effect which will increase greatly in the immediate future. Second, both the object of this research and the methods used essentially require international cooperation. And third, the manufacture and use of sophisticated space equipment is exceptionally beneficial to the development of production technology in those branches of industry which require maximum precision and reliability.

*See Zu aktuollen Fragen unserer innen-und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker. Berlin, 1976, p. 39.

In 1976 our two countries carried out a joint experiment, code-named 'Rainbow,' in studying the earth from outer space. It was based on a joint research program drawn up by Soviet and GDR scientists, using Soviet experience. These joint efforts produced the designs for the MKF-6 multizonal camera and also the instruments necessary for processing the results of the experiment, all of which was subsequently produced by the Carl Zeiss Jena plant.

Outer space studies of the earth have shown there are great possibilities in this field for solving such important economic problems as prospecting for iron ore, forecasting harvests, determining the degree of crop ripeness, disclosing pest-ridden agricultural and forest areas, gauging industrial pollution of the atmosphere and its harmful effect on agriculture and forests, controlling water purity, mapping transport communications and improving the planning of new towns and settlements.

The success of this joint venture led to important conclusions which, we think, should be considered in future bilateral and multilateral research of key national economic problems. These are:

- the guidelines of joint research programs must be fully geared to the requirements of socialist economic integration, while their result, should be used directly or otherwise in the national economy;

- the efforts of the member countries must be concentrated on solving key scientific problems corresponding to the scientific and economic profile, possibilities and experience of one or another country;

- besides long-term joint planning and coordination of research, there must be annual plans which should provide for concrete bilateral and multilateral obligations and precisely determine and coordinate the volume and schedules of intermediary and concluding work;

- research and designing capacities of all branches of science related to the solution of corresponding problems should be included in this cooperation so that, on the one hand, maximum use can be made of the available potential for on-schedule fulfillment of the joint program and, on the other, the results of research can be introduced in production rapidly and directly;

- efforts should be continued to form stable and workable national collectives, at times organized on the principle of related disciplines, to effectively carry out their tasks;

- success would be ensured by careful definition of the national and international structures of management and the responsibilities of their various units, clearcut delimitation of their functions and the provision of optimal organizational and technical conditions for planned work.

By drawing on the experience we have gained we can, we believe,

count on continued intensification of international socialist cooperation in research. With this in view the GDR Academy of Sciences has signed agreements with the academies of other socialist countries for cooperation in the research of approximately 75 per cent of the problems that its institutions are working on.

The advantages of international socialist cooperation in research can be fully utilized only if our national tasks and the results of our own research are of scientific value to our partners. This conclusion is prompted by the success of joint efforts on many problems (including cooperation with the USSR Academy of Sciences) where partial results are already being applied in the national economies of fraternal countries. This concerns the joint and important conclusions opening up new prospects in such an important field as transmission of electric power over super-powerful transmission lines.

The international cooperation of scientists has a direct bearing on the scientific life of the participating institutions. Between 1971 and 1977 over 100 joint publications, 10 book manuscripts and more than 100 joint reports were prepared on only one such problem as Solid-State Physics and Research of Materials. Many patents have been taken out. The new level of cooperation is based on coordinated programs which are preceded by thorough discussions and exchanges of information on long-term and prospective directions in fundamental research.

As this many-sided cooperation develops and is perfected, there appears qualitatively new forms and methods of cooperation between the scientists of the socialist countries. For instance, problems commissions have been set up for joint work on complex problems. In the natural sciences there are the commissions on the 'Chemistry and biochemistry of nucleic acids,' 'High-molecular-weight compounds,' 'Neurophysiology and higher nervous activity,' 'Planetary geophysical research,' 'Scientific questions and computers,' and others. These commissions base their work on major national institutions acting as research coordinating centers.

Similar methods applied in the humanities, are evidence that there is growing cooperation among social scientists. The commissions set up in this field deal with such problems as 'The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution,' 'Research on modern capitalism,' 'Role of the working class in the world revolutionary process,' 'Economy and policy of the developing countries,' 'Questions of improving planning and management of the national economies of the CMEA countries.' The second conference of vice-presidents on social sciences held in Warsaw in October 1976 was an important event. It discussed and approved the long-term program of multilateral cooperation of research institutions of the socialist countries in social

sciences prepared by the GDR Academy of Sciences. In addition, an International Information System on Social Sciences based in Moscow, has been set up within the framework of multilateral cooperation of the academies.

International scientific and technical organizations are of particular importance for multilateral cooperation in fundamental research. The Joint Institute for Nuclear Research, founded over 20 years ago in Dubna, not far from Moscow, has proved to be an excellent school of cooperation. In 1968 the academies of science of Poland, Bulgaria, the GDR and the USSR founded the International Laboratory of Strong Magnetic Fields and Low Temperatures in Wroclaw, Poland. Later seven academies founded the Stefan Banach International Mathematics Center in Warsaw. The International Center for Raising Qualifications of Scientific Personnel on Problems of Heat and Mass Exchange is functioning in Minsk, USSR, and the International Center for Raising Qualifications of Scientific Personnel in the Field of Electron Microscopy in Halle, GDR. These international collectives of scientific workers are a highly efficient form of scientific cooperation that helps intensify research activities.

Socialist economic integration is an objective process, developing according to the laws of socialism. Relations among our fraternal states are based on the principles of socialist internationalism, and are aimed, as Lenin wrote, at creating a voluntary union of nations, 'a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolute voluntary consent' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293).

The Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany describes socialist economic integration as an important means of planned unification of the economic and scientific potentials of the socialist states, ensuring their proportional development. This is a good foundation for the further development of cooperation and the steady coming together of the socialist nations in all spheres of social activity and it is on this basis that scientific and technological cooperation has made significant progress. More than 1.5 million scientists, a good many of whom participate in international socialist cooperation, work in the research institutions and higher educational establishments of the fraternal countries.

Life in the socialist countries, Leonid Brezhnev said at the meeting with heads of the academies, of sciences, provides a fertile field for scientific thought. 'It is well known,' he said, 'that for all the immense diversity of conditions in which socialist construction is proceeding in a large group of states, there is convincing evidence to corroborate the general regularities of socialist development which were first manifested in the practice of this country. But I would like to stress

that the very idea of general regularities in the construction of socialism and communism is becoming deeper and more varied with the accumulation of experience. New phenomena and new processes constantly appear which need scientific interpretation from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.'

There is a host of questions to be solved and Marxist-Leninist research can do much in helping to provide the answers. There is great political, economic and scientific interest in such a problem, for instance, as equalization of the levels of economic development of the states comprising the socialist community. The study of these problems of the development of world socialism calls for deeper cooperation among the social scientists of the fraternal countries. At their meeting in February 1977, the presidents of the academies of sciences stressed that under the socialist system the humanistic essence of scientific cognition, with its orientation toward peaceful goals and the harmonious development of man and of society, has become particularly pronounced. It was also pointed out at the meeting that in this age, together with the conquests of new heights in penetrating the secrets of the universe, scientific thought has also made it possible to design mass destruction weapons of exceptional danger to the entire planet. It is, therefore, particularly important for scientists occupied in various fields to pool and multiply their efforts in the persistent and purposeful struggle for the consolidation of peace.

The planned national economies of the countries of the socialist community are developing dynamically and their goals fully correspond with the very meaning of socialism: all for the good of man, all to improve his life. If under capitalism profit remains the main incentive for economic development, under socialism it is the happiness of every individual, of all the people. Whereas in capitalist society people are experiencing a growing fear of the future, socialism has given every member of society a certainty in the morrow.

Undoubtedly, science and its results play an important role also in the capitalist countries. But as the philosopher J.D. Bernal put it, the dominating interests there are the capitalist monopolies and not the ordinary people. 'The monopoly control of science is so well covered by the techniques of advertising that the public is made to believe that the sums spent on industrial research are primarily for its benefit, instead of their being channelled, as they are even in the civil section, to produce goods . . . where the margin of profit is greatest. It is the same demand for maximum profit that has given, in recent years, the heavy bias of technology and science toward military uses. Profits there are enormous: the public pays without asking awkward questions, and the resulting goods do not clog the market. They can be

expended in wars or, if that fails, scrapped in a few years as obsolete.'*

Life confirms again and again the truth of this condemnation of imperialism pronounced over 20 years ago. One of the most recent and abominable examples of how it uses science for criminal purposes is the development and planned manufacture by the U.S. government of the neutron bomb, a fact over which people the world over justifiably voice their indignation.

Only socialism ensures the unity of the goals of social progress and the creative ideals of the scientist. He is not encumbered by the conflicts and insoluble contradictions which inevitably overshadow the work of the scientist under capitalism. That is why we, scientists of the socialist countries, believe that we are duty bound to promote by our scientific activities the consolidation of socialism the world over, to emphatically oppose the use of science for criminal purposes, and to use all the means at our disposal to further the struggle for peace and to eliminate the danger of a thermonuclear war.

FRG monopoly capital: expansionist trends

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When analyzing the relations among imperialist states, Lenin remarked that they were simultaneously influenced by two trends: 'One, which makes an alliance of all the imperialists inevitable; the other, which places the imperialists in opposition to each other' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 369). This idea of Lenin's has been borne out by world developments since the start of the 70s, that is, since the United States, Western Europe and Japan emerged as the three main centers of struggle for imperialist domination.¹

The growth of contradictions among the three world centers of imperialist rivalry, which have been especially exacerbated in the

*J.D. Bernal, *Science in History*. Vol. 4: The Social Sciences: Conclusion. pp. 1253-1254.

course of the 1974-75 economic crisis and the subsequent depression, has gone hand in hand with a mounting contest within the West European nucleus, whose economic strength is concentrated in the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) or, as it is frequently called, the Common Market. In the course of this struggle, West German imperialism has emerged as a dominant force.

There is every reason to assume that the gap between the FRG's mighty economic potential and its relatively weak influence on world political and economic processes, which still existed in the 60s, has now been markedly reduced. Some ten years ago, the FRG was frequently presented as an 'economic giant and a political dwarf,' but at a meeting of the heads of government and chiefs of state of the leading imperialist powers in London in May 1977 Bonn already had an important role to play.

A leading article on the results of the London summit, carried by a mouthpiece of West German finance capital, said with ill-concealed satisfaction: 'Bonn has come to the fore in world politics. Foreign policy is now largely economic policy. The FRG government's ambitions in this sphere, which are aimed to turn the country into a leading industrialized state, not only enhance its responsibility but also imposes fresh obligations on it. The idea that the Federal Republic is a major economic power, while remaining a dwarf in political terms, is obsolete, and the London meeting testified to the change.'²

The paper saw the change not only in the FRG's relations with the industrialized capitalist countries but also 'possibly to an even greater extent in relations with the developing countries.' In this context, the paper pointed first of all to the differences between the FRG and the United States over its treaty with Brazil on building up a powerful atomic industry in that country. The United States, it will be recalled, has opposed the treaty, and not so much out of fear over its possible military consequences, but because Washington regards it as evidence of the FRG atomic industry's growing expansionism as a rival to the United States in this field. The paper itself saw the treaty as a sign that the FRG was becoming 'an advocate of the Third World's interests,'³ as it 'delicately' put it. (This formula reveals an urge to use this and other similar agreements for economic penetration into the developing countries.)

The FRG now has Western Europe's largest industrial potential. No other West European country has such economic, financial and political strength. The FRG's share of the capitalist world's industrial production is greater than that of any other Common Market country. It leads the other EEC countries in gold and currency reserves (at the end of 1977, they stood at over DM 87 billion). Finally, the FRG is the

only West European state with a foreign-trade surplus, which is a very large one.

All of this has enabled Bonn ruling quarters to make other capitalist countries reckon with West German economic and political interests and to secure solutions to some important problems to suit themselves. FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt declared: 'We have been exerting a considerable influence on the economic-policy, financial-policy and monetary-policy decisions of other states which have a leading place in world trade, and we have bent every effort to use this influence in the right direction. . . . Within the framework of our inevitable dependence on the world economy, there is still much room for active use of internal economic and external economic instruments to influence the economic development of our own country along lines which differ from the general trends.'⁴

That the FRG has become the nucleus of the EEC and of the whole of Western Europe stands out in even bolder relief if we analyze the positions of West German monopoly in Western Europe and in the capitalist world as a whole. This will be seen, in particular, from the fact that 10 of the 12 biggest West European steel concerns are in the FRG.

West German economic giants have acquired unprecedented power and tremendous influence through the concentration and centralization of monopoly capital. Many of them (Volkswagen, Daimler-Benz, Hoechst, Bayer, Siemens, AEG-Telefunken, Bosch, FEBA and Rheinstahl-Thyssen) are among the biggest international corporations of the world, with only the United States ahead of the FRG in the number of such concerns in one country. Britain, Italy and France are well behind.

Altogether, in the past decade, the leading West German financial and industrial concerns have acquired 'American proportions.' In an annual economic survey, one paper said that in 1975 the turnover of the 100 leading industrial enterprises increased to DM 474 billion, or nearly one-half of the FRG Gross National Product, which then stood at DM 1,043 billion.⁵

The West German Thyssen concern is among the biggest monopolies of the capitalist world: it ranks second in pig-iron and steel output to the Japanese Nippon Steel, and in turnover is the biggest metallurgical concern in Western Europe. In fiscal 1975/76, its enterprises produced 10.8 million tons of pig iron and 12.8 million tons of steel (which was, respectively, more than 11 per cent and nearly 10 per cent of the figures for the EEC as a whole). It produces 30 per cent of the FRG's steel, and employs nearly 140,000 workers. It epitomizes the power wielded by the financial oligarchy within the framework of the West German state-monopoly system.

Thyssen leads in forming international cartels, like the international economic association of the pig-iron and steel industry, which includes the EEC's biggest steel trusts. This is the West European steel cartel, which involves FRG monopolies, and also Belgian, Luxembourg and Dutch companies.

Establishment of the steel cartel was the highest concentration in the industry after the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community, which is sometimes called 'Montanunion,' whose enterprises employ 400,000 workers and employees. It accounts for 40 per cent of the steel smelted in the nine Common Market countries. It has built up the highest degree of concentration in the whole of Western Europe's pig-iron and steel industry and its purpose is to centralize the production and marketing of section steel, secure manpower, provide information on the market outlook and also conclude agreements on investments, notably those relating to blast furnaces and rolling mills.

During the economic crisis, the monopoly fight to dominate the world economy was most forcefully expressed in the activity of German finance capital abroad. At the end of 1976, Deutsche Bank, the leading private financial group, had 69 branches in 35 countries. Dresdner Bank, with 68 branches in 40 countries, is third among the FRG banks. Kommerzbank has branches in 40 countries. These banks conduct the greater part of their business operations abroad. Thus, Dresdner Bank, together with its branch (Dresdner Bank AG Luxembourg), ended the 1976 fiscal year with a positive balance in excess of DM 12 billion. Deutsche Bank, together with its branch in Luxembourg, had a balance of DM 11 billion. With the help of these financial centers, the FRG's biggest concerns have mounted an offensive abroad to win new positions on external markets.

At the same time, the present positions of West German imperialism are contradictory and unstable. A period of extreme uncertainty followed upon the rapid and powerful economic upswing of the 50s and 60s. The FRG's economy and policy were caught in the vice of the sharpening general crisis. Inflation, and the monetary, cyclical and structural crises have in some respects had a much stronger impact than they did in the other imperialist countries.

The world economic crisis and the subsequent depression have had a grave influence on the economic and social situation in the country. In 1974 and 1975, the FRG had the most pronounced drop in the GNP and slump in industrial output within the Common Market. From 1973 to 1976, according to the Federal Association of German Industries, the 'investment gap,' that is, the shortfall in investment, came to roughly DM 140 billion. In 1976 only 15 per cent of all the investments in industry went into new plant, and this markedly slowed down

economic growth and was the chief cause of mass unemployment. A fierce drive on the FRG working people's social rights was started, and this was expressed above all in the reduction of real wages and inhuman intensification of labor.

Bonn's stand on foreign-policy and military issues abounds in contradictions. On the one hand, the Social-Democrat-led government has taken into account the changing balance of forces in the world arena and has made a contribution to the détente by concluding treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and also the Treaty on the Principles of Relations with the GDR. But to counter this, the right-wing forces, led by CSU Chairman Strauss and the influential Christian Democrat Dregger, have stepped up their activity in an effort to put the country back into the cold war trenches. One must admit that now and again, some leaders of the government coalition have succumbed to their pressure, although on the whole the coalition tends to take a more realistic stand.

Revanchist unions, which enjoy official support from the government, and various neo-nazi groups are still active in our country. The number of members and sympathizers of revanchist *Landsmannschaften* is in excess of two million. Their newspapers, magazines and information bulletins have a printing of 1.5 million copies. Through their functionaries (above all those within the CDU/CSU and their group in the Bundestag) these outfits exert an influence on Parliament and also on the mass media, and this enables them to have a broad influence on public opinion in the country. There are also 148 neo-nazi organizations, 14 militarist unions, and 500 other similar groups. Altogether, they have at their disposal over 120 periodicals. Both the revanchists and the neo-nazis have proclaimed as their goal re-establishment of the 'German Reich within the December 31, 1937, borders.' They preach national and racial enmity and glorify the might of the 1,000-year Reich.

The FRG's military positions, including those in NATO, have become even stronger. Bundeswehr combat units make up almost two-thirds of NATO forces in Europe. The FRG is ahead of all the other West European countries in military spending per head of the population (\$264 a year). Bonn has also sought further to build up its military strength, making direct and indirect use of it to achieve its goals. Thus, on NATO's 25th anniversary, the then Defense Minister Georg Leber declared: 'West German troops are the biggest contingent of NATO conventional armed forces in Europe. . . . The FRG has a stake in the existence of the Alliance, with its mutual commitments and unified mechanism.'⁶

The urge to install Bundeswehr generals in command and leading posts in NATO is an important element of the policy being stubbornly

pursued by the military and the arms monopolies in particular. In an appearance on West German TV on May 18, 1977, Leber declared: The FRG has become an important and highly respected partner in the North Atlantic Pact. The FRG, he said, now has also to be represented in its military leadership in accordance with its contribution to the Alliance. In something like a response to this demand, NATO Commander-in-Chief Haig announced on July 12, 1977, that he intended to appoint a Bundeswehr general as one of his two deputies, with the responsibility for 'medium- and long-term planning' to strengthen the North Atlantic bloc. Haig said his decision was based on the fact that with respect to the 'East' the FRG was in the 'front line.'

However, no mistake must be made about these contradictory trends, which exert an influence on the FRG's economic situation and on its domestic and foreign policy (we have listed only some of them). Despite the damage done by the crisis and the sharpening socio-economic ills, the political and economic positions of West German imperialism within the overall system of imperialism have strengthened. Evidence of this comes from the trend which has been emerging over the past decade toward ever more active external expansion and internationalization of FRG monopoly capital. Even in this economic-crisis period, West German investments abroad have increased: the FRG now ranks second among the capitalist countries in the export of goods, and is among the leaders in the export of capital.

Let us note, first of all, that in their export of capital, the FRG monopolies prefer to make direct investments, that is, investments ensuring some control of industrial, commercial and raw-material extraction enterprises. From 1960 to 1970, these direct investments increased by 73 per cent, at a pace that was slower only than that of the Japanese, but their volume was higher. In 1976, they totalled DM 48 billion, or DM 2.5 billion more than the total of direct foreign investments in the FRG itself. This is evidence of the changing balance of strength within the capitalist world in favor of West German monopoly capital.

The West German expansion is led by powerful concerns, among them the successors to IG-Farben and the electro-technical concerns Siemens and AEG-Telefunken, which prefer to invest in the United States, where the successors to IG-Farben, for instance, specialize in building and buying up large-scale industrial plants.

At the same time, a large part of West German capital is exported to the developing countries, preferably those which offer conditions for quick and high returns on investments, that is, where wages are low,

raw materials cheap and marketing outlets extensive, and which have relative 'political stability.'

Southern Africa continues to be a main center for investment by West German monopolies, which actively pursue a neo-colonialist policy and openly side with the racist regimes. They have regularly flouted UN decisions on the eradication of racism and neo-colonialism and sabotaged UN political and economic sanctions.

All the leading West German concerns have industrial facilities in Brazil. Three-quarters of their direct investments go into industry and the rest into the non-production sphere, notably banking. What is highly characteristic is that over 70 per cent of direct West German investments in industry go into industries where the degree of monopolization is already high.

Recent facts show that the FRG monopolies are actively engaged in exploiting other nations, and that is the ultimate objective of their strategy. In conducting their expansionist policy, the West German monopolies have made ever more frequent use of their economic strength to put pressure on other states, including their Common Market partners. They seek to impose on other countries objectives and methods of state-monopoly regulation which are frequently designated as the 'German model.' This is an expression of the Bonn ruling circles' claims to play a leading role within the EEC and elsewhere.

The FRG's powerful financial potential is the chief instrument by means of which it has been enlarging its dominant positions in Western Europe. Thus, in order to exert an influence on the economic and political development of other countries, the FRG has actively manipulated its credits, being unwilling, for instance, to allow credits to countries where elections could put the communists in the government.

In 1976, Federal Chancellor Schmidt justified this as follows: 'As in the past, we are prepared to join other countries in giving aid to anyone wishing to receive it. But this naturally requires two conditions. First, those who receive aid must also try to overcome their difficulties. Second, we must be sure that our aid will help to strengthen democratic forces and structures. We would be directly harming our people's elementary interests, if our financial aid went to help the Communist Parties in the partner countries.'⁷

This is more than more theory. Bonn has, for instance, blatantly interfered in the development of the anti-monopoly, anti-fascist and democratic revolution in Portugal. West German business began to 'correct' its investment plans in Portugal, winding down some sectors of production and so reducing the number of jobs. On a tour of Portugal, SDPG Chairman Brandt was 'noticeably active in his efforts

to induce the Socialist Party of Portugal to abandon the idea of joint action with the communists in any form.'⁸

The establishment in Portugal of production councils, the progressive stand taken by the trade unions, and measures against redundancies, have sharply reduced West German investors' interest in the country as a 'sphere for the extraction of profits.' The Chairman of the German Development Society warned them against offering their services in Portugal. He said that no more investments should be made until 'the political situation is clarified.' West German financial aid, he said, should be used to support the forces oriented upon 'pluralist development.'⁹ The EEC hedged its financial aid with similar conditions. Federal Chancellor Schmidt tried to justify such interference, which clashes with the Helsinki Final Act, also signed by Bonn, on the plea that the FRG 'has no intention of creating a vacuum on (NATO's. — *Ed.*) south-western flank.'¹⁰

Nor is this the only example. In the past few years, we have repeatedly witnessed direct and brazen interference by the West German ruling circles in the affairs of other countries, like the statements by leading Bonn politicians against left-wing movements and alliances in Italy and France. In an interview with *Time* magazine, Chancellor Schmidt declared that he would not like to see the communist parties in the governments of France, Italy or any other country.¹¹

The German Communist Party has resolutely condemned such repeated attempts to blackmail other countries by the government and the monopolies and also by right-wing social-democratic, CDU/CSU and FDP leaders. We have most resolutely attacked the FRG ruling circles' violations of the principle of other nations' sovereignty. Our fundamental attitude to the attempts by some FRG circles to pressure other nations was set forth in a statement issued by the Presidium of the GCP Board on April 22, 1976, which said, in part:

'This presumptuous policy on the part of the leadership of the Bonn parties reflects the urge of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic to dominate Western Europe. It is a reflection of the class interests of big capital. . . . Interference in the internal affairs of other countries runs counter to the Federal government's commitment to promote security and cooperation in Europe and to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. . . . The GCP warns: the nationalism and the urge to domination by our country's ruling circles will do the working people no good. That is why the GCP is fighting against interference by the Bonn parties in the affairs of other countries, against nationalism and against the urge to dominate Western Europe.'¹²

We communists want our country to pursue a policy free of expansionist claims, a policy of peaceful cooperation with all the states of

Western and Eastern Europe. The interests of the peoples require a policy based on mutually advantageous cooperation and joint struggle by the working people of the capitalist countries for their interests. The communists of the Federal Republic are sure that the peoples of the capitalist countries of Europe and their democratic and progressive forces will not allow West German imperialism to dictate their arrangement of social and political life in their countries.

The same approach to the expansionist and aggressive policy was set out in the GCP Board's report to the party congress in Bonn which met in March 1976. It contains a clear formulation of the Federal Republic's national interests with respect to other states and peoples. The report says:

'Our country's national interests and our people's concern for preserving peace require the FRG's active participation in continuing the policy of détente. They require repudiation of all neo-colonialist activity and the FRG's one-sided attachment to the EEC and NATO, and also of any efforts to set up a European Defense Community equipped with atomic weapons. They required above all an extension of good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union, with the GDR and with the whole community of socialist countries, which has ever more effectively determined the main line of international development.'¹³

We communists believe that the FRG, with its highly developed industry and very experienced working class, has the right to claim a substantial role in the world economy and trade. This meets our national interests. But this can be secured only by putting an end to the unscrupulous policy of driving for maximum profits and boundless domination and by repudiating neo-colonialist and militaristic aspirations. The FRG's economic ties with other countries, when they are based on political and economic equality and the principle of complete sovereignty, including the freedom of decision-making by the FRG's partners, as the Helsinki Final Act, in particular, enjoins, could make an important contribution to developing world trade and to enhancing the well-being of the developing countries.

Our experience proves that the policy of peaceful coexistence is of tremendous importance in improving the socio-economic conditions of life for the working class in our country. It is a policy that goes to benefit the working people of the Federal Republic and helps to enhance its prestige. In the years of crisis, it helped to expand trade and economic ties with the socialist countries and thus keep going more than 500,000 jobs, thereby mitigating the effects of the crisis. But the trend toward fruitful cooperation has a positive role to play not only in time of crisis; it is beneficial even today, in the period of protracted depression, which tends to cause massive unemployment and partial employment.

The monopolies' activity is damaging to the working people's social condition in our country. The growing power of the West German monopolies in their expansionist drive goes to increase the power of Big Business, so intensifying the exploitation of the working people and further infringing their democratic rights.

We find a similar process in the other capitalist countries. That is why it is so important for the working class and its organizations and all the other anti-monopoly forces to act together against the expansionist policy of the international monopolies and their efforts to fold up democratic rights and intensify exploitation, and get the working people to shoulder the brunt of the crisis. Many speakers at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin were quite right in stressing that every Communist Party's contribution to the joint struggle depended on the extent to which it was aware of the need to carry on this struggle, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and proletarian internationalism.

Our party wants the Federal Republic to win prestige and respect by pursuing a policy of lasting peace and détente in relations with our Western and Eastern neighbors, genuine democratic development at home and economic support for the Third World. That is the only policy that meets the genuine national interests of the working people and serves the cause of peace and mutual understanding among the nations of Europe and the world. In urging such a policy, our party seeks to fulfill the tasks formulated in the document of the 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which called for the utmost efforts 'to thwart any and every tendency of a reactionary and authoritarian nature, to end the arms race, to bring about disarmament and to curb and overcome the power of the monopolies in the lives of individual countries and on the international scene.'

1. The role of U.S. bank capital in this struggle is shown in Victor Perlo's article, 'U.S. finance capital,' in this issue. — *Ed.*

2. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 10, 1977.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Helmut Schmidt. *Kontinuität und Konzentration*. Bonn — Bad Godesberg, 1975, p. 258.

5. See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 4, 1977.

6. *Vorwärts*, March 28, 1974.

7. *Der Spiegel*, July 26, 1976.

8. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 21, 1974.

9. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1975.

10. *Die Welt*, August 19, 1975.

11. *Unsere Zeit*, May 4, 1976.

12. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1976.

13. *Protokoll des Bonner Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*. Plambeck und Co., Neuss., p. 29.



Fascism in Latin America: origins and features

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There is a mounting struggle by broad masses of people, led by the communist vanguard, against the fascist-type regimes set up in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile in the 60s and early 70s, against the murderous terrorism unleashed by the ruling circles of Paraguay, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Haiti, and against the plans being devised by extreme reaction with active imperialist support to install fascism in Argentina, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. There is also a growing worldwide movement of solidarity with the anti-fascist struggle of the Latin America peoples. This situation requires a clear and scientifically argued definition of the origins and substance of Latin America fascism. And not only a definition. The Latin American communists and Marxist scholars from other countries have also to bring out fascism's weakest and most vulnerable points. They must formulate their strategy and tactics in the anti-fascist struggle with greater precision. They must determine its place within the overall anti-imperialist, revolutionary and democratic movement on the continent and make quite clear what their fundamental stand is on the question of the allies of the working class and the other working masses in this struggle.

This journal has already carried articles on fascism and the anti-fascist struggle in various countries on the continent. Without claiming to have made an exhaustive investigation of these problems, we shall attempt to analyze and sum up the questions bearing on the origins of present-day fascist trends and regimes in Latin America, the most characteristic features of these regimes and what distinguishes them from other forms of bourgeois and bourgeois-landowner rule on the continent.

Many people were surprised by the sudden emergence of fascist regimes in Latin America in the latter half of the 20th century. This 'new edition' of fascism in Latin America seemed paradoxical, coming at a time when the few remaining pockets of fascism in Europe had been swept away under the impact of the mass struggle, international détente and the fundamental change in the balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

There is no doubt that the development of world socialism, the struggle of the working people in the developed capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement and the process of détente largely favor the revolutionary processes all over the world, including Latin America. The evidence for this is overwhelming. However, all these factors have had a much more complicated effect on the situation in Latin American countries than would appear at first sight. It is not mechanical but dialectical.

Time is undoubtedly working against the reactionary forces, which stand on guard of the old order. In particular, the changing balance of forces in favor of socialism reduces to a minimum the means to which counter-revolution can resort. But this itself tends to generate aggressiveness on the part of reaction and to make it even more inclined to embark on various gambles calculated to safeguard its positions and its threatened interests.

That is the context, we believe, in which the current political regress, expressed in the emergence of fascist-type regimes in some Latin American countries, should be seen. It has been caused above all by the aggravation of internal contradictions, and reflects the attempts by reaction to find a way out of the deep crisis of dependent capitalism, now the prevailing socio-economic structure in the region. For its part, the crisis springs from an antagonism based on the domination of U.S.-imperialism and conservation of semi-feudal structures.

The crisis is expressed in a sharpening of socio-economic problems and the inability of the ruling exploiting classes to cope with it by ordinary means; it is expressed in the preservation of dependent, distorted capitalism in Latin American countries and survivals of the pre-capitalist age; it is expressed in the class struggle and the growing opportunities for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, especially after the victory of the Cuban revolution and the development of revolutionary processes in Chile, Peru, Bolivia and other countries; it is expressed in the loss by the landowner and bourgeois-landowner oligarchy of its socio-political hegemony, which tends to disorganize the mechanisms of their power; and finally, it is expressed in the weakness of the bourgeoisie and its disarray in the face of the looming

revolution and the shrinking of the arena for maneuver within the framework of the system of representative democracy.

Lenin said that 'political reaction *all along* the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism' (*Coll. Works* Vol. 23, p. 106). And so Leonid Brezhnev has said, fascism, being a product of imperialism, 'is the most extreme embodiment of reaction, obscurantism and terrorism.'¹

In suppressing representative democracy and establishing fascist regimes in Latin America imperialism seeks to prolong the existence of capitalism, to perpetuate the state of dependence and to prevent the working masses from rising to power, to slow down the international détente in the region and to keep various Latin American countries from travelling the highroad along which humanity's social development is now proceeding.

The danger of fascism tends to be greatest at a certain stage in the economic development of this or that Latin American country. Without claiming absolute judgment on this point, one could say that fascist trends are most speedily implanted in that phase of the mounting crisis of dependent medium-level capitalism at which objective patterns of development induce the painful transition to the stage of monopoly capitalism (which, of course, continues to be dependent on imperialism), thus increasing the possibility of a victory for the social revolution.

Just as in Europe in the 20s and 30s, the establishment of fascist regimes in some Latin American countries in the 60s and 70s is designed to provide a capitalist alternative for moving out of the crisis and to impose a counter-revolutionary policy with fire and sword. Consequently, the mission of these regimes is to 'solve' the problems and contradictions produced by the structural crisis and, by intensifying the exploitation, to create the conditions for transition to semi-dependent or dependent state-monopoly capitalism in the countries where the objective premises for this are to hand.

By resorting to fascism, the big monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to bolster its own positions at the expense of the other sections of the population; to rule out any revolutionary alternative; to create a new mechanism for the bourgeois dictatorship; to depress the level of incomes of the masses; to increase the rate of accumulation; and to promote the development of dependent state-monopoly structures.

Though it has many specific features, depending on the concrete conditions of this or that country, its level of economic development, the degree of political maturity among the working masses, national traditions, and so on, Latin America fascism is still very similar to the European fascism of the 20s and 30s. That is why the definition of fascism given by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern continues to

be meaningful in the present conditions in Latin America. While the development of fascism and fascist dictatorship tend to assume different forms in various countries, this does not alter its class substance as the mailed fist of international counter-revolution.

Actual social development has confirmed the definition of fascism as an overt terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary section of the monopoly bourgeoisie, closely allied with the reactionary militarists, the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and the big landowners. As in Europe 40 or 50 years ago, it is finance capital, some local but most of it foreign, that has the leading role to play in this bloc in present-day Latin America. An important distinctive feature of Latin American fascism is its dependence on foreign monopolies (above all U.S. monopolies) and its pro-U.S. orientation.

Among the most deep-seated 'internal' factors which determine the nature of the fascist trends in the policy of the big bourgeoisie in the dependent capitalist countries of the continent are the extreme political vulnerability of the predominant system in Latin America owing to the successes of the working-class and popular movement, and also the growing difficulties of proceeding toward a system of state-monopoly capitalism. In these conditions, especially after the fiasco of the 'Alliance for Progress,' which was set up by imperialism as an alternative to the Cuban revolution, the ultra-reactionary bourgeois circles in the countries where the popular movements have made significant gains in the struggle for democracy resort to the extreme instruments of fascism.

The fascist trends in Latin America spring primarily from the objective laws and contradictions of internal development, but there is sufficient evidence of the economic and political weakness of the Latin American bourgeoisie and the prevalence of centrifugal trends within it. How, then, one may well ask, has one section of this bourgeoisie — the big bourgeoisie linked with international finance capital — managed to impose its 'new historical project' in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia?

We believe that but for the intervention of factors that could be designated as 'external,' fascism would not have attained even temporary success. These factors are closely bound up with the political and military interests of imperialism and with the changes within the world capitalist system.² These are the factors which help to intensify the fascist trends and lead to a replacement of the old methods of domination by the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy.

Two external factors need to be specifically identified within this whole complex. First, there is the state machine and military-political interests of the United States, as the leading imperialist power. It has always wanted to have regimes that would maintain the relations of

dependence and perpetuate capitalism in neighboring Latin America. In the 60s, following the failure of the Liberal-reformist 'Alliance for Progress' program, the U.S. interest in this sphere developed into an urgent need to promote the growth of a dependent-capitalism 'model' as the alternative to Cuba's revolutionary example. Second, imperialism's shrinking opportunities for overt intervention, in view of the radical change in the balance of world forces and the international détente together with the lessons of the war in Vietnam, have intensified the trend in U.S. policy toward increasing reliance on local gendarmes and 'privileged satellites.'

However, the tremendous moral and political losses suffered by the United States, specifically because of its support for murderous and overtly anti-democratic regimes, could force the U.S. government temporarily to strike an attitude of 'condemning' fascism or promoting the emergence of other, bourgeois-democratic alternatives, provided its basic interests in Latin America remain intact.³

The role of the external factor in the emergence of fascist regimes in this or that part of the capitalist world does not amount to direct export of counter-revolution and operations by the U.S. government, the CIA and the Pentagon. Had that been so, we should have a repetition of the type of fascistization which occurred, for instance, in Spain and Greece. The new feature here is that in Latin America today the process involves not only the politico-ideological and military-strategic motives for imperialism's support of fascist regimes or the urgent need to defend threatened investments, but also the special role which the giant corporations of the capitalist world have to play in setting up such regimes.

The new international situation, the advance of the scientific and technological revolution and the crisis of neo-colonialism have all worked to change the old forms of the political superstructure in Latin American countries. This trend is further enhanced by the persistent struggle of the democratic and popular forces on the continent. Although their struggle has gone forward in different political conditions, they have on the whole favored the development of revolutionary processes. In this situation, the international monopolies' demand for 'political and social stability' becomes blatantly repressive and dictatorial.

To attain their ends, the international monopolies need regimes that could effectively fight both the revolution and any form of social compromise with the 'lower orders.' Such regimes also have to help to maintain the high profits from new investments (above all in the export-oriented industries); to suppress the workers' demands for higher wages and those of the working masses for higher living standards; and to help in monopolizing the economy and the market,

a process which brings ruin to the petty bourgeoisie and even, to some extent, the middle bourgeoisie. The international monopolies need regimes that provide opportunities for the subsequent concentration of incomes in the hands of a small group, for more intense exploitation and a higher level of accumulation, regimes headed by representatives of the most homogeneous and reactionary section of the big bourgeoisie.

Consequently, the conditions in Latin America have also fully borne out what Georgi Dimitrov said at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, namely, that 'the fascist takeover is not an ordinary substitution of one bourgeois government for another, but the replacement of one state form of the bourgeoisie's class rule, bourgeois democracy, by another form, an overt terroristic dictatorship.'

Most Marxist analysts, while emphasizing that the activity of these fascist regimes in Latin America has its own important features, believe that all these regimes have a definite 'unity of content' and that this 'common denominator' is also reflected in the policies of influential ruling groups in other Latin American countries. Let us add that the mechanism of political power, social policy and ideology of the fascist regimes are much more homogeneous than their economic policies, where the distinctions are most obvious.

The most characteristic 'generic' and 'functional' feature of the fascist regimes, which simultaneously distinguishes them from other forms of bourgeois rule on the continent, is the package of measures being put through within their system of political power.

First of all, there is the change or even complete abandonment of its constitutional basis. As a rule, fascism puts an end to representative bourgeois democracy not only in fact but also in form. It abolishes the citizens' rights and freedoms guaranteed by law and invalidates the role and importance of political parties. Democracy gives way to a regime of military or military-civilian dictatorship. In almost every case there is a de facto abolition of the parliamentary system, the independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the press and the autonomy of universities and mass organizations. Independent organs of local self-government and the very principle of the separation of powers are wiped out.

All real political power (decision-making and the use of force) is concentrated in the hands of the upper crust of the exploiting classes⁴ and the armed forces, which set themselves up as the actual ruling authority. The most savage and sanguinary methods are used to suppress the popular movement and this becomes the rule. Torture and murder become the main feature which is organically linked with other features of the regime, an attribute of the political power and of

the socio-economic fascist 'project' imposed by international monopolies.

The second package of measures used by all the fascist regimes relates to the socio-economic sphere, where policy can be defined as protection and preservation of the bourgeois social system. Its basic characteristic feature is a fundamental repudiation of any kind of social compromise with the working people and rejection of any changes in the distribution of the national income in their favor. In its desire at all costs to raise the level of accumulation and accelerate the process of centralization of capital, fascism creates a huge gap between the wealth of the handful of neo-oligarchs and the inescapable poverty of the great majority of the population, thus intensifying all the social problems of the countries where it has succeeded temporarily in gaining the upper hand. The sharp reduction of the working people's share in the national income is manifested particularly in the substantial lowering of real wages and the decline in the masses' standard of living.

Brazil is a striking example of the tragic consequences that the application of the fascist-type 'model' has for the working people. According to official statistics, 20 per cent of the population takes 68.5 per cent of the national income, the middle strata take 28.5 per cent, and the great majority (described in bourgeois statistics as 'the lower fractions') receive only 3 per cent. The grave predicament of the mass of the people grows worse every year. Under the dictatorship, the purchasing power of wages has fallen by more than a third. According to World Health Organization data, more than 50 million Brazilians suffer from chronic under-nourishment.

The fascist regimes in other Latin American countries have brought the same tragedy upon the working masses. In Chile, for example, the per capita income has dropped from \$850 to \$742 and unemployment now affects 20 per cent of the able-bodied. In Bolivia, in 1971 the dictatorship slashed wages by more than 30 per cent and they have remained frozen ever since despite the continuing rise in the cost of living.

The third package of measures that go to make up the economic policy of the fascist model is miscellaneous. There are distinct differences in the way each regime carries them out. Brazil, for instance, took the line of broad economic growth, dependent industrialization, and production of goods for export to the markets of Latin America and other continents as well. In Chile and Uruguay, and also in Bolivia, the prevailing tendency at present is toward partial growth, that is, toward development of separate industries based on the conceptions and immediate interests of the imperialist 'center.'

At the same time the methods by which fascist regimes pursue their

economic policies exhibit certain similar features. For example, every effort is made to sell the propaganda idea of the necessity for high indices of formal economic growth at the expense of the needs of the masses. Such criteria as 'productivity,' 'efficiency' and 'rationalization' are also boosted.

To a considerable degree this economic policy leans on the assistance of foreign capital and is designed to attract a steady inflow thanks to the forced imposition of 'political stability' and the expansion of 'new export items' (chiefly those in which the big corporations are currently interested). Wherever this 'model' has been applied, as in Brazil, for example, from 1969 to 1973,⁵ a sharp, although temporary, rise in the pace of economic growth has been achieved. At the same time several of the most modern and dynamic industries controlled by the international monopolies have been handed over to a section of the local big bourgeoisie in their capacity as junior partners.

Other concomitant features deriving from the economic policy pursued by the fascist regimes include the arms race and the shifting of the balance of forces between the various sections of the bourgeoisie. The groups connected with the 'mass home market' see their economic power dwindling in comparison with the groups geared to the military-industrial complexes, the export-oriented industries, and also in comparison with the handful of magnates who have acquired finance capital and are engaged in speculative operations.

Special attention should be focused on the question of the mass base of the fascist regime. On the one hand, such a regime requires the kind of political stability that will protect it from action by the working people, the middle strata and even some segments of the exploiting class that are not linked with the ruling clique and have a stake in defending their own restricted interests. So the fascist regime tries (a) to secure solid political unity of the ruling clique in order to block any attempts by the factions comprising it to exert their own direct and continuing influence on the course of events, (b) to deprive the middle strata of any legal possibility of influencing government policy, and (c) to eliminate the working people from all political activity by means of the physical or legal destruction of their social, trade union and political organizations.

On the other hand, the fascist regimes have an interest in mass support, in a political movement enjoying the participation of certain sections of the working people and other strata, as was the case in Europe. But in Latin America not one of the fascist dictatorships has been able to secure any solid support of the masses. This fact, which reveals the weakest side of fascism, may be attributed to the failure of its economic policy (particularly with regard to the masses' standard

of living) and to the popular resistance and democratic traditions that have deep roots in the life of the Latin American peoples.

The armed forces have replaced the fascist party as the chief bastion of the dictatorships. The army, however, is prone to a number of contradictions, engendered both by the purely repressive role assigned to the military and also by the character of the state under these conditions. These contradictions manifest themselves in the increasing dissension that is to be observed even among the higher ranks in Brazil, Chile and Bolivia. So the armed forces should never be regarded as a monolithic block fully committed to fascism.

Ideologically, fascism in Latin America is currently reproducing, with certain modifications, the irrational, anti-communist, chauvinistic and racist concepts that were spread by the European fascist movements. These were adopted by the first fascist groups to emerge in the countries of Latin America on the eve of the Second World War. The distinctive feature of these doctrines is their openly anti-democratic and elitist character. The interpretation of social life by the apologists of fascism is in some instances influenced by technocratic views.

The preaching of national superiority, which sometimes assumes racist overtones, is used to divert the attention of the masses from their countries' growing dependence and the domination of the foreign monopolies. This propaganda also reflects the processes at work in the sphere of foreign policy.

The special feature of Brazil's fascist regime with its pronounced geopolitical and expansionist tendencies and eagerness to play the role of a privileged partner of the United States undoubtedly displays itself most strongly in this sphere. The other fascist regimes, of course, lack the potential to pursue this policy to the same extent. All the same, similar tendencies inherent in the growing monopoly sector of the economy are, in effect, already emerging in the expansionist claims of Pinochet's fascist junta.⁶ Thus, in return for Bolivia's gaining access to the sea, it demands 'territorial compensation' for Chile. Simultaneously claims are made for the extension of Chilean sovereignty over waters where the rights of Argentina are indisputable.

However, neither nationalistic deception and expansionist claims, nor the occasional conflicts with one or another foreign monopoly, nor even the quite definite contradictions between the regimes and the imperialist states can hide the main fact that both the internal and external policies of the fascist regimes are at bottom profoundly anti-national because they are based on conscious and unconditional support of imperialism in all strategic matters, on subordination of the

fundamental interests of their countries and on virtual renunciation of national sovereignty.

There are still quite a number of people in Latin America who deny the fascist character of the regimes set up in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile. Many of them see a likeness between these regimes and the right-wing dictatorships that have long dominated the continent. They also suggest that it is impossible for fascism to emerge in countries dependent on imperialism. All that has happened, they claim, is the extreme radicalization of the right-wing authoritarian regimes.

It is a fact that some features of the fascist 'model' can be detected in many exploitative regimes of both the past and present. Such features are the elimination of democratic standards in political and social life, terrorism against the working-class movement and the democratic opposition, an anti-reformist line designed to protect the privileges of the ruling classes, despotic methods of administration, and so on. However, in our view it would be a mistake to identify the traditional right-wing dictatorships with the fascist regimes on this basis. This approach gives precedence to the phenomenon rather than its essence. Such a mistake could have serious political consequences and stand in the way of evolving the correct strategy and tactics of anti-fascist struggle, choice of allies, etc.

The chief distinction between fascism and the right-wing authoritarian regimes of the past lies in the class character and form of existence of the state. Whereas the authoritarianism of the above-mentioned right-wing regimes reflected mainly the interests of the old landowner and bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, the fascist power structure expresses mainly the interests of the ultra-reactionary section of the bourgeoisie connected with international finance capital.⁷

In other words, the present fascist regimes in Latin America are a completely new phenomenon, although they have roots in the past and lean heavily on existing traditions.

The setting up of fascist regimes or fascist groupings in many countries forms an organic part of the strategy of imperialism targeted against the progressive currents in Latin America, which received a powerful impetus from the Cuban revolution and which found their natural and logical continuation during the period of office of the Popular Unity government in Chile, during the development of the revolutionary processes (different in form and content) in Bolivia (1969-71), Peru and Panama, and during the upsurge of the popular movement in Uruguay, Argentina and other countries in the early 70s. The imposition of fascism is an attempt on the part of imperialism and local reaction to launch a counter-offensive, to capture the initiative from the revolutionary forces and turn the balance in their own favor.

As has already been pointed out, this imposition of fascism has been made possible by certain socio-economic premises.

In this sense, the fascist regimes and trends are the result of the uneven, distorted and dependent capitalist development of the Latin American countries brought about by the intensive penetration of finance capital, which leads to the emergence of monopolies. This process is taking place in the framework of the general crisis of capitalism, which is deepening the socio-economic and political contradictions in the Latin American countries. Fascism is thus a consequence of a structural crisis that the ruling classes are powerless to resolve in terms of bourgeois democracy.

The historic function of fascism in Latin America, writes Schafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador, 'consists in saving dependent capitalism, modernizing it and facilitating its transition to the phase of dependent monopoly capitalism and, where the requisite conditions pertain, to the phase of dependent state-monopoly capitalism.'⁸ To fulfill this function, the monopoly circles of the bourgeoisie (local and foreign) set up a terroristic dictatorship spearheaded against the proletariat, the whole popular movement, against democracy and social progress.

It must be stressed, however, that by no means all the bourgeoisie supports the fascist 'project' and that some branches of the international corporations do not reject the idea of working out and possibly applying other 'stand-by' projects. There are good reasons for this. It is no secret that the fascist regimes in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile have run into a blind alley and are now in the throes of deepening crisis. Witness the protracted economic stagnation in Brazil, which has shaken the socio-political stability of the current regime, and also the moribund state of the economy in Chile and Uruguay. Witness also the sharpening of social and political problems in Bolivia and the build-up of mass resistance in El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries. Evidence of crisis is also to be found in the growing international isolation of the fascist regimes and, as a result of all these factors, the intensification of the struggle within the ruling circles and armed forces of these countries.

The crisis gripping fascism today confronts the democratic and revolutionary forces of Latin America and also the international solidarity movement with the need to go on building up the anti-fascist struggle of the masses, broadening the resistance front, and taking maximum advantage of the cracks and centrifugal tendencies in the enemy camp.

Fascism's increasingly obvious lack of historical perspective and the mounting anti-fascist struggle with its increasing mass support are causing alarm among certain circles of the bourgeoisie and im-

perialism, who fear unforeseen socio-political consequences of the failure of the fascist 'model.' This forces them to take certain steps to change the image of the regimes imposed by the international monopolies and to seek a way out of the crisis of fascism while in fact maintaining the status quo.⁹

Imperialism's use of fascism as its main weapon for curbing the democratic and revolutionary movement narrows its own power base to the minimum and widens the circle of its opponents. In this situation the anti-fascist resistance of the democratic forces has great prospects of success. New social forces prepared to make their contribution to the overthrow of fascism and establishment of freedom, democracy and independence are joining in the struggle.

The declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean held in Havana, 1975, states, 'The path of revolutionary reforms in Latin America presupposes coordinated and sustained struggle, in which the battles against fascism, in defense of democracy, against imperialism and oligarchies, and also the active participation of the people in political life comprise a single process.'¹⁰

The popular forces of the Latin American countries are therefore faced with the task not simply of returning to the forms of bourgeois representative democracy, but of creating a progressive democratic system. While not belittling the significance of the bourgeois-democratic gains of the past, all progressive social circles are fighting to replace fascism with a genuinely democratic system holding out the vista and promise of socialism.

1. L.I. Brezhnev. Report at a meeting of the CC CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to mark the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, November 3-4, 1967.

2. Here we refer to the 'new international division of labor' within the framework of the capitalist system and the very much greater role of the international monopolies. The essence of this phenomenon is that the rapid development of the productive forces brought about by the scientific and technological revolution tends to stimulate the growth of investments by international monopolies in economically lagging countries, where maximum profits can be reaped through the super-exploitation of cheap manpower. As a result, these monopolies increasingly operate as a supranational force, openly meddling in these countries' political life.

3. We have in mind the Carter Administration's expedients deriving from its strident human rights campaign, whole hypocritical character has been so glaringly exposed in Latin America, and also from its 'new line' with respect to the Latin American countries.

4. This 'upper crust' consists mainly of the big bourgeoisie, the top bureaucrats and the bourgeois technocrats who are closely connected with foreign monopolies in Brazil; the financial oligarchy in Chile; the big commercial bourgeoisie and the latifundist oligarchy, which has coalesced with the monopolies, in Uruguay; the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie,' the bourgeoisie of the mining industry and the agro-industrial bourgeoisie in Bolivia. (In Argentina, the section of the latifundist oligarchy allied with the monopolies provides the main soil for the fascist trend.)

5. The yes-men of the fascist dictatorship in Brazil and international bourgeois propaganda have tried to present this economic growth as genuine development and even a 'miracle.' But in the past four years the failure of this 'miracle' has become obvious. This is seen in the grave deterioration in the balance of payments. The huge deficit is due not only to the rise in oil prices and the frosts that killed the coffee plantations. Mainly it has been caused by the export of capital and the huge and ever increasing sums required for meeting Brazil's foreign debt and the interest on it. At present this debt stands at \$30,000m. So in addition to aggravating the social problems the 'miracle' has also intensified the economic contradictions.

6. Pinochet was an instructor in geopolitics at a Chilean military school. In his 'textbook' on this subject, in addition to other expansionist and geopolitical theses, he advances the concept of 'mobile frontiers' between states.

7. The differences between the 'old landowner and bourgeois-landowner oligarchy' and the modern 'bourgeoisie connected with international finance capital' do not rule out the fact that the latter, in such countries as Argentina, for example, comprises many elements derived from the 'old oligarchy.'

8. Schafik Jorge Handal. *El fascismo en America Latina*. Revista America Latina, 1976, No. 4, page 132.

9. This is confirmed, for example, by the 'constitutionalization' proclaimed by the dictatorship in Bolivia. At the end of last year it announced that an election would be held in July 1978, but has limited participation in the election to circles closely associated with the government and groups that are prepared to play the role of a dummy political opposition. In this way the dictatorship hopes to deceive public opinion and give its battered image a face-lift.

These plans have been exposed by the efforts of the democratic forces in Bolivia. Faced with massive popular actions, the regime was forced to declare a general amnesty and lift the ban on all political parties, trade union and student organizations. An important role in this was played by trade union and student strikes and demonstrations of working people and students and, above all, by the heroic hunger strike undertaken by four mothers with two children (aged 4 and 12) and later supported by more than 1,300 workers, peasants, students, artisans, and people from other social strata. No hunger strike had ever assumed such proportions.

The working class and popular movement is gaining ground, building up its unity and increasing the resistance to the dictatorship.

10. Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, for National Independence, Democracy, People's Welfare, Peace and Socialism. *Information Bulletin*, No. 12, 1975.



Book reviews

FOLLOWING LENIN'S COURSE TOWARD A COMMUNIST FUTURE

L.I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rechi i statyi* (Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles). Moscow, Politizdat, 1978. 680 pp.

The recently published Volume 6 of *Following Lenin's Course*, the collection of speeches and articles of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, covers the period from April 1976 to December 1977. This period was marked by major historic developments in the life of Soviet society, the most important of them being the nationwide discussion and the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (Berlin, June 1976) was a notable event in the international communist movement.

The works included in the volume are an in-depth and comprehensive survey of the results achieved in the 60 years that have passed since the victory of the Great October, and of the decisive impact of the victorious socialist revolution on the course of world history; they analyze current problems of the home and foreign policy of the CPSU, elaborate the doctrine of developed socialist society and chart the path of its gradual development into a communist society. These works express in concentrated form the party's immense experience of carrying out communist construction plans, demonstrate the loyalty of the CPSU to Lenin's course and take a creative, scientifically based approach to the analysis of social development processes. They are an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

The works in the collection, first of all those concerned with the drafting and adoption of the Constitution, the report 'The Great October Revolution and Human Progress' and the article 'A Historic

Stage on the Road to Communism," substantiate the concept of developed socialism and make a profound and complete analysis of it as a logical stage of evolution of the communist formation. This proposition complements and contributes to the Marxist concept of socialism as the first phase of communism.

Leonid Brezhnev notes that mature socialism is based on highly developed productive forces and that on this basis a turn is being effected in the economy toward meeting people's material and spiritual requirements more fully. 'In other words, the supreme goal of socialist production today is becoming directly central to the party's practical policy. The historical advantages of socialism as a mode of production and way of life, its genuinely humane essence are thus more fully and dramatically revealed' (p. 624).

Developed socialism is characterized, along with qualitative changes in the economy and with the people's rising standard of living and growing education and culture, by major changes in the social structure of society. The working class, collective-farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia have attained solid political and ideological unity, and a new social and international community, the Soviet people, has come into being.

In political life all this is expressed in the fact that at the stage of mature socialism the state of proletarian dictatorship has grown into a socialist state of all the people. This state, this society of developed socialism, Leonid Brezhnev notes, is also a society of developed socialist democracy. Dealing with the current problems of advancing the political system on the basis of Leninist criteria, Leonid Brezhnev underlines that '*at the stage of mature socialism, in the conditions of the state of the whole people the increasingly broad and active participation of the working masses in administering the life of the country has firmly established itself as the central trend of the political development of Soviet society*' (p. 629)

A further important proposition contained in the book concerns the expansion of the economic basis of socialist democracy, the powerful material safeguards of the Soviet citizens' democratic rights, and the significance of socialist democracy for the people's growing creative effort.

On the strength of a comprehensive analysis of objective processes, Leonid Brezhnev draws the important conclusion that developed socialism should be regarded as a period in which the repatterning of all social relations on the collectivist principles intrinsically inherent in socialism is completed. This allows full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and for the manifestation of its advantages in all spheres of social life, of the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, of its political stability and internal unity.

The proposition that *'no matter what the specific conditions in the countries building socialism may be, the stage of its perfection on its own basis, the stage of mature, developed socialism is an essential part of the social transformations, of the relatively long period of development on the road from capitalism to communism'* (p. 627) is highly relevant and sounds a new note. This conclusion, which establishes a most important law-governed aspect of the advance toward communism, is a creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Engels pointed out that the problem of the stages of transition to communist society *'is the most difficult of all existing problems.'* This is why the doctrine of developed socialism is among the major theoretical discoveries of scientific communism. It has enabled the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other countries of the socialist community to specify the ways of achieving their program goals.

The keynote of the book is the idea of the growing leading role of the CPSU in communist construction. This role is defined in the Soviet Constitution, which speaks of the place of the CPSU as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the core of its political system, of its government bodies and mass organizations. The CPSU is now a party of the whole people; it retains its class character and nature by remaining a party of the working class. The party expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and other working people and enjoys their unqualified confidence. It is inseparable from the people and *'therefore every decision of the party, its every step in politics, in organizing work or in ideological education must help to ensure that the unity of the party and the people grows even stronger and that the people's confidence in the party remains unshakable'* (p. 587).

The speeches and articles included in the book present in detail the historic tasks which the CPSU is accomplishing, and analyze the experience gained by the party and its every contingent in organizing and political work in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. There is a particularly profound and detailed examination of steps to raise the efficiency of social production and the quality of all workmanship, perfect socialist social relations, foster communist awareness and promote the socialist way of life.

Brezhnev's works generalize the international experience gained in building socialism and highlight the key issues of international relations.

In this connection he notes the importance of the new Soviet Constitution, stressing that *'in both spirit and letter it serves the cause of peace, the security of the peoples, the strengthening of the anti-imperialist solidarity of all progressive forces'* (pp. 639-640).

The book makes a profound scientific analysis of the paths and

prospects of the advance of human society from capitalism to socialism and convincingly demonstrates the impact of the October Revolution on the destiny of mankind and the course of history. Brezhnev notes that 'what makes the October Revolution a world event of historic significance is that it paved the way ... for the creation of a new type of civilization on earth' (p. 579). The chief result of the October Revolution was the emergence and development of the world socialist system. The practice of world socialism has expanded and become richer in content; considerable collective experience is being gained in solving problems of state building and economic growth and of the fraternal parties' ideological work. Analyzing the collective experience of world socialism, Leonid Brezhnev concludes that while socialist changes come about in distinctive conditions and forms, the common, fundamental, inherent features of the socialist revolution and socialist construction retain their validity.

The works under review reveal the tremendous impact of the communist, working-class and national-liberation movements on the march of history and emphasize the significance of the fundamental principles of communist activity. They note that proletarian internationalism, international comradely solidarity of the working class, 'has been and remains a powerful and tested weapon of the communist parties and the working-class movement generally' (p. 63). At the same time the CPSU, we read, firmly adheres to the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in internal affairs universally accepted in the communist movement.

With regard to creative development of revolutionary theory, Leonid Brezhnev stresses that 'practical experience is the sole criterion of the correctness or incorrectness of a proposition; but even before practice passes final judgment, it is possible and necessary to verify these propositions through comradely discussion, by extensively comparing the various parties' points of view and experience' (pp. 64-65).

Problems of war and peace have an important place in the new book. Making a realistic assessment of the present international situation, Leonid Brezhnev states that 'détente makes it possible to choose the path of peace' (p. 595). The task is to make détente universal and ensure that all peace forces take a still more resolute stand against the arms race started by aggressive imperialist circles, against attempts to foment war hysteria and spread lies about the 'Soviet threat,' and that states should concentrate on achieving a breakthrough in the disarmament effort.

The book amply illustrates the historic significance of the struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet state for a healthy international climate.

Analysis of the present period leads to the following optimistic conclusion: 'We are advancing to an epoch in which socialism in this or that specific, historically conditioned form will become the dominant social system on earth, a system bringing peace, freedom, equality and well-being to the whole of working mankind' (p. 598).

The new book by Leonid Brezhnev, an outstanding figure in the CPSU, the Soviet state and the international communist movement, is a creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. It shows how much the CPSU and Brezhnev personally are doing to promote world peace and establish the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, their work in drafting and implementing plans for communist construction and a higher standard of living in the Soviet Union. It undoubtedly helps one to understand the realities of contemporary society and will be of great use to all who study Marxism-Leninism in practical terms, in its connection with the socialist and communist construction, with the development of international relations and the world revolutionary process.

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LAW IN THE PEOPLE'S SERVICE

Svetova socialistická soustava a statní vystavba v evropských socialistických zemích (The World Socialist System and the Building Up of the State in the European Socialist Countries). Vols. I and II. Prague, Orbis, 1977.

This monograph by Czechoslovak and Soviet scholars of the law faculties of Prague's Charles University and Moscow State University is a comprehensive treatise on a wide range of problems of building up new social relations, establishing forms of power and asserting socialist democracy, a new type of democracy guaranteeing the civil rights and freedoms of every member of society.

Volume I deals with the rise of the world socialist system. The authors point out the general laws of its formation and the differences in building up the state in different countries. 'Socialism,' they write, 'does not arise spontaneously but is a result of people's conscious activity. This is why its construction and the development of socialist social relations have many more common features in comparison with other social systems and an identical basis for social processes in which the new socio-economic formation is shaped' (p. 60). Needless to say, they stress, the progress of the Soviet socialist state over the

past 60 years and its transition to communist construction are an inexhaustible source of experience for other socialist countries.

A country's constitutional system plays an important part in consolidating the formative processes of the new social order. The monograph describes the main stages of development of perfection of the constitutions of the European socialist countries and analyzes some theoretical problems of socialist constitutionalism. The important thing in a socialist constitution, the authors note, is that the new power 'is completely dissociating itself from the bourgeoisie, preventing them from participating in building up the state,' to quote Lenin (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 36). In line with Lenin's ideas, they write that 'the new historical . . . and *higher* type of socialist constitution is the result of a fundamental political change, namely, the establishment and consolidation of working people's rule under the leadership of the working class, with Marxist-Leninist parties at their head, as well as the result of subsequent changes in the economic and social structures of the various countries' (p. 119).

Another key issue examined in the monograph is the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the political system of socialist society. The ability of the working-class vanguard to combine theory with practice and use its own experience as well as that of other fraternal parties, and the ability to collectively analyze social processes are an earnest of success in evolving a scientifically correct policy whose implementation ensures the building of socialism and communism.

A highly relevant feature of the book is its emphatic and uncompromising rejection of bourgeois speculations on human rights, elucidating the essence of civil rights, freedoms and duties, and spelling out with a deep knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory the legal status of members of socialist society, the guarantees of human rights, and the meaning of citizenship as an institution.

Drawing extensively on the vast experience of the Soviet Union, the authors investigate the settlement of the nationalities question in socialist countries.

Volume II is concerned with the nature of socialist democracy as people's rule, and with the mechanism of its application. It illustrates the functioning of government bodies in the socialist countries of Europe and reveals their role in building up the state. Using ample source material, the authors analyze the electoral principles of the European socialist countries: universal suffrage, equality, voting by secret ballot, direct elections, citizens' participation in the organization and holding of elections, control over the activity of deputies, and the latter's accountability to the constituents. All this, they stress, is evidence of the democratic character of the socialist countries' electoral system, and full and consistent application of these

principles enables citizens to take an active part in both establishing organs of people's power and exercising control over their activity (p. 41).

In conclusion the monograph describes the highest representative and other government bodies, the foundations of administrative and territorial divisions, and the local government bodies of the fraternal socialist countries. It also substantiates the constitutional principles of the organization and functioning of the judiciary and procuracy.

There is every reason to say that this new work presents an impressive picture of how, in step with the progress of socialist society, its democracy is perfected as are its legislation and constitutional system, which serve the whole people and provide every citizen with a proper basis for living. This comes out particularly in the new Soviet Constitution, which shows that concepts such as human rights, democracy or social justice have real meaning only under socialism.

The monograph is a valuable contribution to the science of the state and law.

Dr. Jiri Jirasek

BUSINESS AND THE STATE

Pierre Fournier. *The Québec Establishment. The Ruling Class and the State.* Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1976, 236 pp.

Considerable literature has appeared in Canada since the 60s dealing with the various élite groups in Canada in terms of structure, composition, social characteristics and power. In the book under review Pierre Fournier, professor in the Political Science Department of Québec University, focuses mainly 'on the nature and importance of the links between business and government and on business involvement and influence in specific policy areas' (p. 12).

Fournier does not say that the state is the instrument of the ruling class. However, his starting premise is that Québec society is confronted with a capitalist class, at its monopoly stage with great economic power and, as his study shows, with overwhelming influence on the government.

His main instrument for studying the business and government interaction process was the questionnaire sent to 100 of the largest corporations and financial institutions operating in Québec and interviews with leading big business executives. While the research was carried out only in Québec, it undoubtedly gives a good picture of Canada as a whole. Many of the 100 corporations are among the

biggest in Canada.¹ The responses also indicate an obviously minor and ambivalent role of French-Canadian capital.

The unique similarity in carrying out the wishes of big business, irrespective of which party was in government, comes through clearly. The research was carried out between 1960 and 1975 when the Liberal and Union Nationale parties held government power several times each.

Although the book appeared before the Parti Québécois (PQ) came to power in Québec, with its rallying call of separation from Canada,² the author advances much material to show the same could be expected from the PQ on the basis of its program and deeds. If anything, it shows the correctness of the Communist Party of Canada estimate of the PQ as a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement that distorts the real national aspirations of the French-Canadian nation and bodes no good for the interests of the working class in both French and English Canada.

The author examines the political significance of economic power; degree of operational and 'ideological' unity of big business; the mechanism and degree of business access to government decision-making and control over media. He also deals with economic development, labor and social legislation, language and education, and the extent of business influence in each. Fournier arrives at the conclusion that there is no actual basis for the so-called 'pluralist society' concept. It is significant in this context that to the question 'When you deal with the Québec government, with whom do you usually deal?' the replies show big companies deal with the premier, a cabinet minister or deputy in 80 per cent of cases, and only 11.4 per cent with other civil servants. The replies of secondary companies were nearly 60 per cent and 34.4 per cent respectively. As to the members of the National Assembly, party officials, legislative committees, they are mostly ignored (p. 74, table 7).

Studying another side of government and big business relations, and, as if in answer to the PQ government solicitations for more U.S. capital in an 'independent' Québec, the author refers to the Government Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry, which observes that there is no 'coincidence between the interests of the host country and large foreign owned firms' (p. 27). Multinationals by any other name still smell the same, their activities cannot be disciplined by the government. One example is the Iron Ore Company, almost wholly owned by U.S. steel producers. Its assets stand at over \$1 billion. Annual royalties and taxes of up to \$15 million do not cover the cost of roads, bridges, ports and other services supplied by the Québec government.

Continuing his analysis of government and business relations,

Fournier shows how the Liberal government carried through 'nationalization' (p. 181). In 1963 one of the eight private electric companies nationalized was Shawinigan Light and Power Corporation, a subsidiary of Power Corporation. So generous was the compensation that the cash flow enabled Power Corporation to diversify so rapidly it became 'probably the most important Québec-based holding company' (pp. 22-23). Little wonder 80 per cent of major company executives favored the nationalization (see p. 181).

The author shows the unanimity of big business, whether English Canadian, French Canadian or foreign, on the role of government as a provider for and defender of a healthy climate for private investment. Standing out just as sharply is its anti-labor attitude. With monopoly growth and growing class consciousness among big business, there is little chance of dissension among them on main social issues, underlines the author.

On the language issue and on separatism, foreign capital shows much less concern than English Canadian. For instance, David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank, stated: 'Investors do not distinguish between Québec and Canada and are much more preoccupied by the proposals of the (federal) white paper on taxation, such as capital gains tax, than with separatism' (p. 131). Another attitude to separatism and language is demonstrated by English-Canadian businessmen, who oppose separation and language equality. The more favorable attitude of foreign capital to the problem of language and separatism may have a bearing on the PQ urge for separation. But why? Perhaps because of a bigger slice of directorships and other executive positions for the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie?

In conclusion it can be said that *The Québec Establishment* is a serious attempt to show the connections between big business and the government. Although, in the author's opinion, the state appears to be an independent entity standing above society, his study shows clearly that the state is influenced by the ruling class and is in turn inclined to and favors the ruling class. His concept of the state, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, is undoubtedly narrow. However, this shortcoming is compensated by his main conclusion, based on Québec-Canadian reality, i.e., the ruling class is the one that has economic power and without economic power there is no other power. With that we can agree. *The Québec Establishment* contributes to dispelling the still widespread myths about the democratic and above-class character of capitalist states and bourgeois governments.

Peter Boychuck

1. The Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal are among the 15 largest banks in the world. — *Ed.*

2. The Parti Québécois won in the November 1976 election. It calls for Québec's separation from Canada and is the exponent of most nationalistic sentiments of French Canada. The Communist Party believes that equality between the French Canadians of Québec and English Canadians can be achieved by granting the right to self-determination based on equal partnership of English and French Canada under a new, made-in-Canada constitution. — *Ed.*

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U.S. finance capital

Victor Perlo
U.S. Economist

Lenin, in his seminal work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, writes of the banks growing 'from modest middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen ... Thus, the 20th century marks the turning-point from the old capitalism to the new, from the domination of capital in general to the domination of finance capital ... The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry — such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of that concept' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 210, 226). On this basis there arises a 'financial oligarchy' which increasingly dominates the bourgeois state.

These general features of imperialism have become more marked, while new special features have come to the fore, associated with the further decay of capitalism, the deepening of its crisis, and its replacement by socialism in more and more countries.

The process of concentration of capital in U.S. industry and finance has accelerated in recent decades. And the concentration of control over capital has increased even more. The relative and absolute power of the financial oligarchy has grown immensely. The grip of the great financial centers is more decisive than ever, their role in running the state is more distinct, and their global expansion unprecedented.

The big banks

One of the factors making for banking power is the ownership of control blocks of stock by and through the big banks, a factor which has been steadily increasing in importance in recent decades, through a dramatic expansion of the concentration of stockholdings in the hands of financial institutions. As of the end of 1976, the 300 financial institutions with the largest holdings of assets had \$822 billion, mainly of securities, in their jurisdiction — up from \$535 billion two years earlier.¹

The most vital holdings of the financial institutions are in common

stocks, which have voting power in the corporations concerned. According to estimates of the New York Stock Exchange, by the end of 1975 the financial institutions held 44.7 per cent of the value of all shares listed on the Exchange, up from 33.2 per cent five years earlier.² Financial institution holdings of the most powerful, decisive corporate monopolies are even larger, relatively. Thus, financial institutions held 68.6 per cent of the stock of the International Business Machines (IBM), the giant capitalist worldwide computer monopoly, in 1975 — up from 57 per cent in 1965.

The commercial banks concentrate their holdings in common stocks, and they have something like 60 per cent of all the stock held by financial institutions. Furthermore, in the banks are the most influential command posts for the operation of the related insurance companies, investment bankers, and other institutions, the most elaborate net of interlocking directorates, the closest advisory relationship and exchange of personnel with industrial monopolies.³

The largest single block of such assets, \$369 billion, was held by the 126 trust departments of banks among the 300 institutions. The trust department shares are not *owned* by the banks. They are held on behalf of customers, with varying degree of control over the purchase and sale of securities, in corporate affairs. Historically, the trust departments held mainly the shares of wealthy individuals who were the owners of the banks or close associates of the owners. Since World War II this position has been strengthened by the addition of the corporate pension funds, set up generally as concessions to the workers to offset the inadequacies of the governmental social security system. These pension funds are generally turned over to the giant banks for management, usually at the choice of the corporation. Thus the pension funds serve as a powerful new source strengthening the links between industry and finance and, in particular, the leading role of the banks.

New York banks have the six largest trust department holdings. (See Table 1.)

These data show that Chicago has definitely emerged as the second most powerful center, following New York. BankAmerica, the largest commercial bank, while participating in the top line of major international loans and corporate lending transactions, has not attained a really leading position in influence over the key industrial corporations.

The trust departments are followed by the insurance companies with assets of \$200 billion.

In addition to banks and insurance companies, investment bankers and brokerage houses, investment trust and specialized money-

Table 1
Holding of stock and total assets by trust departments.
December 31, 1976

Bank	\$bln Stocks & Convert- ibles	Total Assets
1. Morgan Guaranty Trust, New York	19.3	25.6
2. Bankers Trust, New York	14.0	24.0
3. Citibank, New York	13.7	26.1
4. Chase Manhattan, New York	9.0	12.8
5. U.S. Trust Co., New York	7.7	12.2
6. Manufacturers Hanover Trust, New York	7.1	11.3
7. National Bank of Detroit	6.5	9.6
8. Harris Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago	6.4	9.7
9. Mellon Bank, Pittsburgh	5.9	10.6
10. First National Bank of Chicago	5.9	8.9
11. Wilmington Trust, Wilmington, Delaware	5.0	6.6
12. BankAmerica, San Francisco	4.9	8.4
13. First National Bank of Boston	4.6	6.7
14. Northern Trust, Chicago	4.4	6.6
15. Chemical Bank, New York	4.3	6.2
16. Continental Illinois National Bank, Chicago	4.3	7.9
17. Cleveland Trust, Cleveland	4.2	6.1
18. Bank of New York, New York	4.0	6.5
19. St. Louis Union Trust, St. Louis	3.0	4.9
20. Crocker Nation Bank, San Francisco	2.5	3.9

Source: *Institutional Investor*, August 1977

managing concerns are important in the coalescence of finance and industry.

Financial power centers

Control of the giant corporations is actually concentrated in the hands of giant banks, which, for their part, are controlled by multimillionaires. To establish control of a corporation, a giant bank need only secure a large enough block of stock.

J.P. Morgan & Company — the holding company of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company — through that bank's vast trust holdings, has strengthened its position as the leading bank in doing business with the giant industrial corporations, even though its total deposits are less than half those of Citibank and BankAmerica, which are

swollen with the 'retail' business of individual depositors and smaller businesses.

Besides obtaining sufficient blocks of stock to establish connections with and influence the affairs of many large corporations, each giant bank gathers together very large blocks of particular corporations in whose affairs it acquires a decisive voice. This applies not only to very large corporations, but also to smaller companies connected with the particular bankers and deemed to have major 'growth' possibilities.

The bank with the largest stockholding in a corporation will often also be the 'lead bank' in providing it with loan capital. In the case of many giant corporations, the bank with the largest stockholding does not have exclusive control, but it does have the most influence within a coalition of financial groups that together completely and decisively dominate.

It is important to bear in mind that these giant banks are centers of power that embrace scores of financial and industrial corporations with combined assets of billions of dollars and, in the case of the Morgan and Rockefeller groups, of considerably more than \$100 billion.

Imperialist elite

These giant banks are owned by the bourgeois aristocracy, the social register of American imperialism, a few hundred clans which rule the country. The newly elected chairman of J.P. Morgan & Co., Walter H. Page, is married to the granddaughter of the original J.P. Morgan. A number of other executives of the bank are descended from original Morgan partners. Two Morgans, and other scions of the original Morgan group, are partners in the related investment banking house, Morgan Stanley & Company. The top people in the House are almost invariably graduates of one of the three prestige universities, Princeton, Harvard or Yale.

Applying its great financial resources, its manifold connections with giant industrial corporations — it boasts of being banker to 96 of the 100 largest — and its traditional international links, the Morgan bank has re-established its leading position among the financial centers of U.S. imperialism — although without the domination it had in the heyday of the first two generations of Morgan bankers.

The two Rockefeller clans and their giant banks, Chase Manhattan and Citibank, have significant political and financial weight. But the Rockefeller financial position has been weakened by poor management of the Chase Manhattan Bank by David Rockefeller, and its political position, by the blunders and defeats of Nelson Rockefeller. The Rockefellers continue to hold the leading position in Exxon, the

number one oil company, but their dominance is clearly challenged in some of the other major oil firms. In the 50s, the stockholdings of the Rockefeller banks exceeded those of the Morgan banks.⁴ However, this position has been reversed. This is consistent with the estimates of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow, that by 1974 the assets in the sphere of influence of the Morgan group were 50 per cent greater than those in the Rockefeller sphere of influence.

The Mellons, Fords, McCormicks, Byron Smiths, other key families of the great Chicago banks, families of the Cleveland group, the California group, and others also wield significant influence.

Investment banking houses

The investment banking houses continue to play an important role, although definitely subordinate today to the big commercial banks and their trust departments. Among the leaders are houses connected closely with the big banks, notably Morgan Stanley (with J.P. Morgan) and First Boston (with Chase Manhattan, Mellon and First National Bank of Boston). (See Table 2.)

Table 2

Leading security underwriters and value of issues managed (billions of dollars)

Firm	Value of issues managed (proportionate credit where joint managers), 1975
Morgan Stanley	7.4
Merril Lynch	5.3
First Boston	4.6
Goldman, Sachs	4.0
Salomon Brothers	3.6
Blyth Eastman Dillon	2.5
Lehman Brothers	2.5
Kidder, Peabody	1.9
Smith, Barney	1.7
Kuhn, Loeb	1.6

Source: *Institutional Investor*, Annual Financing Directory, 1976, p. 16.

During most of the post-World War II period, Morgan Stanley and First Boston vied for first place in the investment banking business, more or less evenly dividing the main issues. However, during the past decade the Morgan house has again come to the fore, dominating the most spectacular flotations of new capital. For example, in 1975

Morgan Stanley managed the largest 'private placement' of long-term debt, the \$1.75 billion of notes for the Alaska Pipeline. The largest share, \$250 million, was taken by the Prudential Insurance Company, the number one insurance company in terms of reserves (with \$25 billion in investments). Prudential has long been associated with the Morgan interests. The loan, at 10.625 per cent interest, was certainly generous, being in effect a mutual backscratching operation among the top financial factors in the country.

Nominally, under a law passed in the 30s, investment banking had to be separated from commercial banking. However, as its chairman emphasized, Morgan Stanley, nominally split off from the Commercial Morgan bank, 'came into the world with a handsome franchise, consisting of a good chunk of the underwriting business for the nation's telephone companies, utilities and railroads. The position has hardly been eroded in the ensuing years.'⁵

Morgan Stanley appears as investment banker for 13 of the top 25 industrial corporations, as compared with 6 for First Boston and 4 for Goldman Sachs (in some instances, companies have two investment banking firms).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Morgan banking house played the key role in knocking together the mergers, which created the main industrial monopolies in the United States. There is now underway a new stage in the centralization of capital, a wave of 'takeovers' in which owners of one large corporation buy up enough shares of the stock of another large company to seize control, merging the conquered company with their own corporation. Again, Morgan Stanley has been the aggressor in the largest number of the really large corporate captures. Also prominent in this area is the house of Goldman Sachs, which has sometimes been in the position of defending corporate control groups from Morgan-sponsored takeover attempts.⁶

The Lehman-Goldman-Sachs group hold directorships and positions of influence, in some cases dominance, in the affairs of numerous industrial corporations. But lacking ownership of a giant bank, or control of any of the very largest industrial corporations, their overall power position is still inferior to that of the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, and some other traditional groups of the financial oligarchy.

Political clout

The top financial groups wield tremendous power within the United States government.

Since the end of World War II, the Rockefellers have dominated a major wing of the Republican Party and have been deeply involved in both bourgeois-party sides in presidential election campaigns. A two-

term President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, was largely groomed for the job by the Rockefellers, who also selected the present incumbent, James Carter, for special attention in the years of preparation for his presidential run. And since 1952, the key foreign-policy jobs, Secretary of State and head of the National Security Council, have been almost a Rockefeller monopoly.

The Morgan group, less conspicuous in electoral politics, has exercised much influence in the Pentagon. Thomas Sovereign Gates, a veteran Morgan man, was Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of Defense.

The Lehman-Goldman-Sachs group has been quite effective in Democratic Party politics, an influence which reached a peak when Lyndon Johnson was President. In the 60s and 70s, in recognition of their enhanced power, its representatives have obtained important U.S. government posts, such as president of the Export-Import Bank. William E. Simon, senior partner in Salomon Brothers, was Secretary of the Treasury under President Gerald Ford. Cyrus Vance, the present Secretary of State, has close ties with this group as well as with the Morgan and Rockefeller groups.

The most powerful industrial corporations exercise their political muscle directly, as well as through their financial and legal representatives. Thus the influence of the oil, gas and automotive lobbies on Congress is notorious.

The rise of the computer and related high-technology industries has contributed notably to a realignment of influence among the top financial groups. Just as the faster growth of oil in comparison with steel helped the Rockefeller interests to gain power in comparison with the Morgans, the still faster growth of the computer industry in recent decades has contributed to the reversal of that process because of the strong ties of the Morgan group with IBM.

Computers (IBM) have become second only to oil in scope, and their new influence is fully reflected in the Carter cabinet: three IBM directors are represented, as secretaries of State, Defense and Housing. Such a concentration of representation at the very top has never been equalled by any single corporation, and has been approximated in the recent past only by the Rockefeller interests.

Internationalization of finance capital

The great banks have played a central role in the overseas surge of U.S. monopoly capital, and especially in the internationalization of capital throughout the capitalist world.

The assets of overseas branches of member banks of the Federal Reserve System (some important banks are not members) reached \$116 billion in 1973 and \$194 billion in 1976. The New York banks

played the decisive role in this process. Their commercial activities are now predominantly abroad, to a greater extent than is the case with industry. As of October 12, 1977, the 11 banks of the New York Clearing House had \$99 billion on deposit in foreign branches, as compared with only \$69 billion in their domestic branches.⁷ Their foreign deposits accounted for about two-thirds of the foreign deposits of all U.S. banks. In October 1977, Citibank alone had \$34 billion, followed by Chase Manhattan with \$19 billion and Morgan Guaranty with \$12 billion in foreign deposits. Only the Bank of America, outside of New York, was among the five leading U.S. international banks, placing second to Citibank. In recent years the Chicago banks have also built up important foreign positions, although still well behind the major New York banks.

Between 1970 and 1975, the profits of the nine top international banking firms from domestic operations stagnated, while their profits from foreign operations increased by well over one-third. Says Walter Wriston, Chairman of Citycorp: 'Ten years ago we were a New York bank with some foreign branches. Today we are a worldwide financial institution.' In 1976, 72 per cent of Citycorp profits came from overseas, and in the first half of 1977, fully 82 per cent.⁸

Of particular interest is the fact that the flow of capital into the United States, where previously few monopolies dared to compete, has become very substantial — especially since the cheapening of the exchange value of the U.S. dollar, beginning in 1971. In only five years, from 1970 to 1975, direct foreign investments in the United States more than doubled, from \$13.3 billion to \$26.7 billion.⁹

The overseas expansion of West German and Japanese capital has also been accelerating in the past decade, and the British, Dutch, Swiss and other monopolies have exported large sums of capital as well, some hoping to restore, at least in part, relative positions lost during World War II. While considerably less than in British, Dutch and Swiss direct investments in nominal value, the Japanese position in the United States is of tremendous scope, with a big impact on the American economy. It is still largely oriented on the import of goods from Japan, with limited assembly, warehousing, distribution, and financing activities in the United States.

Particularly impressive is the new scope of activity by foreign banks in the United States. As of mid-1977, in New York City, the main center, there were 128 foreign bank branches or agencies with assets totalling \$44 billion.¹⁰ The largest of the Japanese banks in New York is the Bank of Tokyo Trust Company, with \$2.4 billion of assets, as compared with only \$150 million in New York ten years ago.

While the main activity of the Japanese and most other foreign bank

branches in the United States is to service the business interests of their own national and monopoly group corporations and capitalists, some of them strive to build substantial business with Americans. Such is the case, for example, with the British Barclays Bank and the Israeli Bank Leumi.

Increasing anarchy and instability

In addition to the traditional function of financing the overseas operations of U.S. industrial corporations, the foreign branches of U.S. banks increasingly conduct vast international currency transactions, to a substantial extent of a speculative and manipulative character. These actions are connected with the inflationary monetary instability of the capitalist world, the currency crises and devaluations. The giant banks are in the best position to anticipate, profit from, and sometimes precipitate — for political or economic reasons — attacks on the currencies of one or another country.

More and more these giant banks operate as international financial empires, a law unto themselves, outside the control of any government. Thus, the big banks have almost all established branches in the Bahamas and Cayman Islands where, for a nominal payment to the local governments, they may carry out transactions free of governmental auditing, regulations or taxation. Assets of the U.S.-owned banks in the Bahamas and Cayman Islands jumped from \$24 billion in 1974 to \$55 billion in 1976, thereby closing in on the U.S. assets held in Britain, traditionally the leading area of U.S. foreign banking. This amount in the Caribbean already accounts for 28 per cent of total foreign-branch assets and 58 per cent of the increase in assets in the year 1976. An exceptionally large proportion of the overseas assets are held as Eurodollars or other Eurocurrencies, representing money outside the control of central banking authorities. This vast sum, owned by U.S. banks abroad and banks owned by other capitalist countries — over \$100 billion — is a tremendous destabilizing force.

Like ballast shifting from side to side in the hold of a ship in distress, many billions of this sum shift from country to country in search of the highest interest rate, speculating on changes in currency values.

Thus, despite their tremendous power, the giant banks themselves lack the means of controlling the huge shifts of funds. For example, the billions which the rulers of oil-rich Persian Gulf states have put into Western banks and security holdings may be rapidly shifted from country to country in search of the highest profit — and sometimes as a condition for delivery of armaments or political concessions. However, the 'hot money' of some OPEC countries is only a part, and not the largest part, of the huge sums moved from country to country by

the giant corporations and individual multimillionaires of the major capitalist countries.

International lending to finance investment projects and increasingly, to pay the rising payments deficits of more and more capitalist countries is a major activity of the big commercial and investment banks.

Total new international credit advanced during 1976 was estimated by the Morgan bank at \$78 billion, as compared with \$61 billion in 1975 and smaller sums in earlier years. The bank analyzed \$110 billions of international bank loans, other than loans from one to another of the developed capitalist countries, outstanding in the middle of 1976. (Table 3.)

Table 3

International bank loans outstanding, June 30, 1976 (\$ Bln)

Borrowing countries	Lenders All banks	U.S. banks	Other banks (mainly W. Europe & Japan)	U.S. per- centage of total
Non-OPEC developing countries	67.72	44.05	23.67	65.0
OPEC countries	15.35	8.38	6.97	54.8
Socialist countries	27.10	3.33	23.77	12.3
Total	110.17	55.76	54.41	50.6

Source: *The New York Times*, December 23, 1976

The United States banks had about half of the total international bank loans, but these were concentrated in the extremely vulnerable non-OPEC developing countries. On the other hand, U.S. banks loaned very little to the socialist countries, universally recognized as the most secure borrowers. The West European and Japanese banks, to the contrary, give great emphasis to lending to socialist countries, where their loans are connected with major transactions in investment goods, compensation projects and the like.

The weakness of the U.S. banks in this market reflects the anti-communist policies of U.S. imperialism, its breaking of the 1972 trade and financial agreements with the Soviet Union, and enactment of discriminatory legislation and regulations against the socialist countries. Thus barred from major participation themselves the U.S. financial lords have tried to impose restrictions to limit their rivals in financing trade with socialist countries, but with very little effect.

Today the most important international cartel is that of the top banks of Western Europe and the United States. Syndicates of the top banks of several countries join to issue loans for the global operations of industrial monopolies and governments. As the West German and Swiss banks have gained in power, and their national currencies have emerged as the strongest in the capitalist world, their role in the international banking cartel has expanded relative to that of the U.S. banks. The Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank of West Germany, the Kredietbank of Luxembourg, the Union Bank of Switzerland and the Swiss Bank Corporation lead Morgan Stanley and other U.S. firms in the rapidly rising Eurocurrency bond market.

Private capitalist banks are buttressed by the quasi-governmental international financial institutions — the World Bank group and the International Monetary Fund — as well as regional groups. Their capital and role are increasing as the general crisis of capitalism deepens.

More and more of the capitalist countries — developing and some industrialized — are in imminent danger of defaulting on their debts to the imperialist bankers. The quasi-governmental institutions are called on to bail out the privately owned banks, while imposing stiff austerity programs that attack the living standards of the workers and peasants of the debtor countries. However, there is building up a potential for a series of major international defaults dwarfing the calamities of the Great Crisis of the 1930s. The default of Zaire, the threatened debacles of Brazil, Chile and a number of other countries — these comprise the potential 'falling dominoes' of the financial structure of world capitalism.

The international collaboration of the banks on the financial plane is paralleled by the attempt of the ruling oligarchies of capitalism to coordinate policies and actions through formal and informal personal contacts, as via the Trilateral Commission; through governmental economic organizations, such as GATT, OECD, and COCOM; through political-military collaboration via NATO. This collaboration is complicated by the striving of U.S. imperialism — the most powerful — to dominate and dictate to its allies, by the inter-imperialist rivalries, by the extreme unevenness of development, and above all by the growing struggles of the working class and the national-liberation movements, by the growing absolute and relative might of the socialist community.

Resisting attempts to legislate limits on holdings by a particular bank of stock in an individual company, Morgan Guaranty wrote: 'We shall continue . . . to try to convince the still unconvinced that we have no interest whatsoever in controlling the companies in which we invest. It is not modesty, only candor, in our part to say that we

do not know how to manage companies. We have no desire to manage them, or to manage their managers. We wish only to invest in companies, and we hope we will be allowed to continue doing so on behalf of our clients without unreasonable restrictions.'¹¹

Of course, the purpose of the bankers is to receive, through these investments, the maximum of profits for their clients and themselves. And with that in view, it is obviously part of their responsibility to see to it that the persons employed to realize those profits deliver the goods. When the profits of a large corporation decline without adequate external cause, the top executives are usually replaced, and not because they voluntarily give up their plush jobs with all the perquisites that go with them, but because the banker-dominated board of directors so decides. But this is only a narrow and limited aspect of the union of financial and industrial capital.

Present-day reality provides any number of examples of this personal union of banking industry. When the Morgan holding company, through its Board of Directors, its Directors Advisory Council, its International Council, the partners in its affiliated investment banking firm, and its allied Bankers Trust Co., interlocks at the highest level with the board of directors — usually with the chief executive officer — of the very top corporations in most key industries in the United States, and with leading circles of finance capital in Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Spain, Canada, Australia, Brazil and Venezuela, one is justified in concluding that this grouping represents an extremely high level of development of the personal union of financial and industrial capital. Such an aggregation of power is concerned as a group not only, and not so much, with the affairs of individual corporations in the group as with the promotion of their combined interests on national and international economic and political levels.

Lenin wrote that underlying the interlocking of ownership of industrial and financial corporations, 'its very base, are the changing social relations of production. When a big enterprise assumes gigantic proportions, and, on the basis of an exact computation of mass data, organizes according to plan,' all involving marketing to 'tens and hundreds of millions of consumers' in many countries, 'then it becomes evident that we have socialization of production, and not mere "interlocking"; that private economic and private property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which must inevitably decay if its removal is artificially delayed . . . but which will inevitably be removed' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 302-303).

That decay has proceeded very far indeed. And the shell has been cracked and removed in many places where the socialization of

production has been joined to socialization of ownership and control by the working class, or by groupings representing the national-liberation movement. This process is gathering momentum. The international combine of financial oligarchies strives with every means to stem the tide, relying as before on opportunism in the labor movement and on building up their armed forces incessantly in a vain attempt to turn history back and preserve their class rule with repression and wars. The increasing might and unity of the socialist community, the international solidarity of the working class and its vanguard parties, the surging world struggle against apartheid and racism, the growth of the movement for disarmament and the prevention of nuclear wars guarantee the defeat of imperialism.

1. *Institutional Investor*, August 1977.
2. *The New York Times*, October 9, 1977.
3. Commercial banks specialize in credits to industry and trade mainly with funds made up of deposits.
4. Victor Perlo. *The Empire of High Finance*. International Publishers, New York, p. 71.
5. *The New York Times*, May 25, 1975.
6. *Business Week*, November 14, 1977.
7. *Money Manager*, October 17, 1977.
8. *Business Week*, November 7, 1977.
9. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1976, p. 829.
10. *The New York Times*, September 22, 1977.
11. *Report III of the Trust and Investment Division of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company*, 1974, p. 14.

Your questions answered

SPEAKING CONCRETELY ...

The *World Marxist Review* has received a letter from Neil Williamson in the United States who writes: 'Last year there were two events in the Soviet Union that were highlighted by the world press. Your country adopted a new Constitution and celebrated the 60th anniversary of the 1917 Socialist Revolution. In the United States the press cited many impressive figures on economic development and scientific and technological progress. Other figures however were bewildering. It was claimed, for instance, that the average monthly wage in the Soviet Union is only 151 roubles while a three-room flat for a family of four is still a rarity. It would seem that socialism does not provide very well for the

ordinary man. I may be wrong. Could you provide concrete facts and figures without going into a deep discussion?

In answer to this letter, the *WMR* Reference and Research Department has compiled the following information on Soviet living standards.

It is true that the average monthly wage of industrial and office workers is 151 roubles (for the beginning of 1977, by the end of the year the figure was 155 roubles). But, this figure does not in itself give a complete picture of real incomes. That is why the bourgeois media use it so readily as a yardstick for assessing the living standards in the Soviet Union while conveniently 'forgetting' the following important things.

The low economic level from which the Land of Soviets started its advance is well known: the lot of the overwhelming majority of the population in tsarist Russia was semi-starvation and poverty. From the very first days of Soviet power, substantial efforts were made to improve the people's welfare. However, in the initial stages of building socialism, the Soviet state was forced to give priority to the most urgent problems on which hinged the very existence of the young republic, and for more than 25 years it was forced to exist in a hostile encirclement. Obviously the opportunities to raise living standards were not many. The Second World War did enormous damage to the USSR's economy. Thirty-two thousand plants and factories, 65,000 km of railroad track and a third of the industrial potential were destroyed. Agriculture, too, suffered huge losses. Nearly 100,000 collective and state farms, fertile lands in the Ukraine and the south-east of the European part of the Russian Federation, which produced 52 per cent of the country's grain before the war, were plundered and destroyed by the nazis. The war took a toll of over 20 million human lives. To this should be added the fact that out of the 60 years of the Soviet Union's existence about 20 were years of civil war, of struggle against imperialist intervention, the Second World War and subsequent periods of economic rehabilitation. This is one thing.

Second, under socialism, in contrast to capitalist countries, the relationship between the concepts of 'wages' and 'real incomes' is quite different. To put it briefly, the real income of working people in a capitalist society consists of wages with many subtractions, while in a socialist society it is wages plus many additions.

Besides, the reader in the capitalist West, with only the nominal wages of Soviet factory and office workers to go by, and with no knowledge of how prices of consumer goods are actually formed in the USSR, measures Soviet wages by his own price scale. Consumer prices in the Soviet Union have been stable for decades, and some

products (bread, meat, fish, potatoes and others) are cheaper than in the United States. But, more about that later.

First, a few words on why real incomes in the Soviet Union are tangibly higher than wages. Let us compare workers' wages in the United States and the USSR after taxes are deducted (in the USSR there is only the income tax¹ which, with wages at 150 roubles, comes to about 10 per cent).

Working people in the United States continue deducting large sums after taxes (we shall use the averages quoted in the *U.S. News and World Report*). Social security tax — 6 per cent of wages. Then come: rent and communal services — 21.6 per cent; medical services (not counting medicines) — 9.1 per cent; transport costs — 7.9 per cent, with the result that the take-home pay is reduced by 38.6 per cent.²

In the USSR workers and employees count take-home pay together with the benefits and allowances received from the state's social consumption funds. In 1977, for example, workers and employees gained 57 roubles monthly from these funds, making real income almost 37 per cent higher than nominal wages, i.e., 212 roubles. As a rule, a Soviet family has several wage or salary earners bringing its overall real income close to 400 roubles a month.

Before a baby is born in the USSR, it is already accounted for in social insurance with expectant mothers receiving 112 days maternity leave and 100 per cent of their wages. The child attends a creche and then a kindergarten for which the parents pay only one-fifth of the cost, the rest being subsidized by the state.

The child attends primary, secondary, possibly a specialized secondary school and then a higher educational establishment. Tuition in a specialized secondary school costs the state 640 roubles a year per student and over 1,000 in a higher school, and besides, 77 per cent of the students in higher schools and 72 per cent in specialized secondary schools receive grants. The Soviet Constitution now provides for secondary school students to receive textbooks free.

A large part of our working people enjoy free or cut-rate passes to health resorts or holiday homes. This depends on the degree of medical treatment they require and individual wage level. In 1977 health and holiday resorts and other recreation centers catered to 49 million working people and families.

Children are well provided for in the summer season. Last year 22 million spent the summer in Young Pioneer and school camps or in places with adequate facilities. A large part of the expenses are paid by the state, enterprise or the trade unions.

A few words about medical services. No doubt, Mr. Williamson, you are well aware of the drain on the family budget from a visit to a doctor in the United States, to say nothing of hospital costs.

With all medical service free of charge the Soviet citizen is not concerned with doctor or hospital bills. Treatment in a clinic for one person costs the state 240 roubles a month, an operation with post-operative care — almost 2,000 roubles. Then there is a broad network of free consultation centers, dispensaries and medical aid centers at children's and educational establishments, at factories, plants and collective farms. There are 893,000 doctors in the USSR today.

Rents in the USSR have not changed for 50 years, since 1928 (the majority live in state-owned houses), and electricity, and gas rates have remained the same for over 25 years. Rent and communal services (heating, gas, hot water, electricity and telephone) average approximately 4-5 per cent of a family budget, while the state annually allocates close to 5 billion roubles, or about 20 roubles per person, for communal services and building up-keep.

The Constitution guarantees every Soviet citizen the right to material security in old age. Pensions are available at 55 years for women and 60 for men and they are subsidized by the state. The people contribute nothing from their wages or incomes. The money comes out of social consumption funds formed by enterprises, organizations and collective farms.

The social consumption funds are resources allocated by the socialist society to provide the population with free education and facilities to improve skills, free medical services, benefits, pensions, student grants, paid vacations, free or cut-rate passes to health and health resorts, the maintenance of pre-school children's establishments and many other grants and allowances. State budget allocations for these funds are increased annually. In 1977 the benefits and allowances received by the population from the social consumption funds stood at almost 100 billion roubles. Today, taking account of expenditures for housing and socio-cultural construction, approximately four-fifths of the national income is channeled into raising living standards.

A few words must be said about construction of housing and cultural facilities. The billions invested by the state in housing construction are not directly accounted for in the benefits received by the working people in the Soviet Union from the social consumption funds but they have a direct bearing on living standards. The situation is different in the United States or any other capitalist country where citizens themselves invest to build expensive houses, to purchase or rent an apartment.

You must agree that the new schools for nearly 1.5 million students, the creches and kindergartens for 580,000, the hospitals for 65,000 and the polyclinics to cater to 122,000 patients simultaneously, all built last year, will certainly help to raise living standards although incomes are not directly affected.

There is another side to the question of living standards which is connected with the Soviet policy on price formation. It must be difficult for a person in the capitalist part of the world to imagine that prices in stores have not changed for many years and that a daughter pays the same for a basket of groceries today that the mother paid in her time. Retail prices in the USSR in the past ten years have practically remained unchanged while real incomes have gone up 1.6 times over this period.³ And the Soviet Union's social policy will remain unchanged — prices will be stable and real incomes will continue to rise.

It is even more difficult for readers in a capitalist country to believe that consumer goods are sold at prices lower than the cost price. Only the socialist state, the owner of all the means of production, can, by redistributing budgetary incomes from certain spheres of social production, allocate large sums to subsidize production and retailing, at low and stable prices, of consumer goods that greatly influence living standards.

For example, annually just under 20 billion budget roubles go to cover the difference between purchasing and retail prices of meat and dairy products allowing prices on these products to remain unchanged since the early 60s. And there is no great difference in quantity of food consumption among population groups with varying incomes.

The public transport system is one more example. A person living in the United States would find it difficult to imagine that throughout the Soviet Union city transport — streetcar, trolley bus, bus, subway — fares have been 3-5 copecks (4-7 cents) for over 25 years. In the U.S. the price is 50 cents. The situation is much the same with children's goods, cinema and theatre tickets, and so on. All this is the result of the subsidy policy of the socialist state, whose goal it is to close the gap in vital areas between differing social groups.⁴

So, Mr. Williamson, totalling up all that comprises the Soviet people's living standards makes it quite obvious that the average monthly wage is not the figure to go by. According to your countryman, Professor Hans Apel, who lectured for some time at Bridgeport University and closely examined living standards in the United States and the Soviet Union, the average real income per member of a Soviet family is 67 per cent of the American level.⁵ Today this balance has shifted in favor of the Soviet working man. Growing inflation in the United States and the high rate of unemployment have frozen living standards in recent years while the incomes of Soviet citizens, with prices remaining stable, are rising steadily.

Now, for the housing situation in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the housing problem is still relatively acute for a part of the population —

not every family has a flat to itself. However, the following must be considered.

First, the housing and communal services inherited from tsarist Russia were in a truly sorry state. More than 80 per cent of the country's urban houses were one- or two-story wooden buildings while workers' families lived in something resembling barracks adjacent to the factories where they worked, their living conditions were deplorable, to put it mildly. Few houses had central heating, only 10 per cent had running water and 3 per cent had proper sanitation. Second, the housing shortage is also explained in part by the destruction caused during the Second World War. The nazis destroyed 70,000 villages, 1,710 towns and settlements and more than 6 million houses, which is close to half of the entire housing stock, leaving 25 million homeless.

What has been and is being done to solve this problem? During Soviet years 3.2 billion square metres of housing have been built. Such a housing program has no historical precedent. In the ten years between 1966-76, 1.2 billion square metres of housing or almost 25 million apartments were completed, which means that over 120 million persons have improved their housing.

More than 75 per cent of urban housing, and 100 per cent of newly-built houses have all modern amenities — centralized heating, hot and cold running water, sanitation, etc. So, a great deal has been accomplished, particularly if you bear in mind that the population of the USSR today is 260 million.

Quality is also improving. Since the war the provision of housing has more than doubled, floor space per person having increased from 5.5 square metres in 1945 to 12 square metres today. A family of four usually occupies an apartment of 48 square metres. This may not always be identical with the three-room flat you mention in your letter, but, as you see, that day is not far off.⁶ Floor space per person is already being increased to 14-16 square metres.

That is how the housing problem is being solved in the Soviet Union. The impressive progress that has been made and the steady, high rate of housing construction which is ahead of the population growth rate, suggest that the solution of this problem lies in the not too distant future.

Summing up what has been said, it is necessary to recall the following fundamental distinction between the socialist and the capitalist way of life. Socialism is concerned with the welfare of each and equal opportunities for all. The socialist world does not know such contrasts of a capitalist society, where 'over-consumption' exists side by side with official poverty-line statistics. Under socialism there is no great gap in the material position of, say, a worker and

a minister. A skilled worker can make 300 roubles and more a month while ministers, scientists, directors of certain large industrial enterprises receive 500-700 roubles. A worker and engineer, a nurse and doctor, a school teacher and university professor may live in the same apartment house in similar flats. And one more thing. Consumption cannot serve as the ideal of socialist society, material values in the USSR are viewed as a necessary condition of a truly human existence, of the all-round development of the individual, and not as the be-all and the end-all. Socialism encourages the formation of a well-educated, spiritually enlightened individual and not an indifferent consumer of material values.

We hope that the facts and figures provided here are sufficient to show, 'without going into a deep discussion,' what socialism in the USSR has achieved in providing for the ordinary man, and how real are the Soviet citizens' broad social and economic rights formalized in the new Soviet Constitution.

1. Up to a certain age persons with no children are taxed. These are a minority.

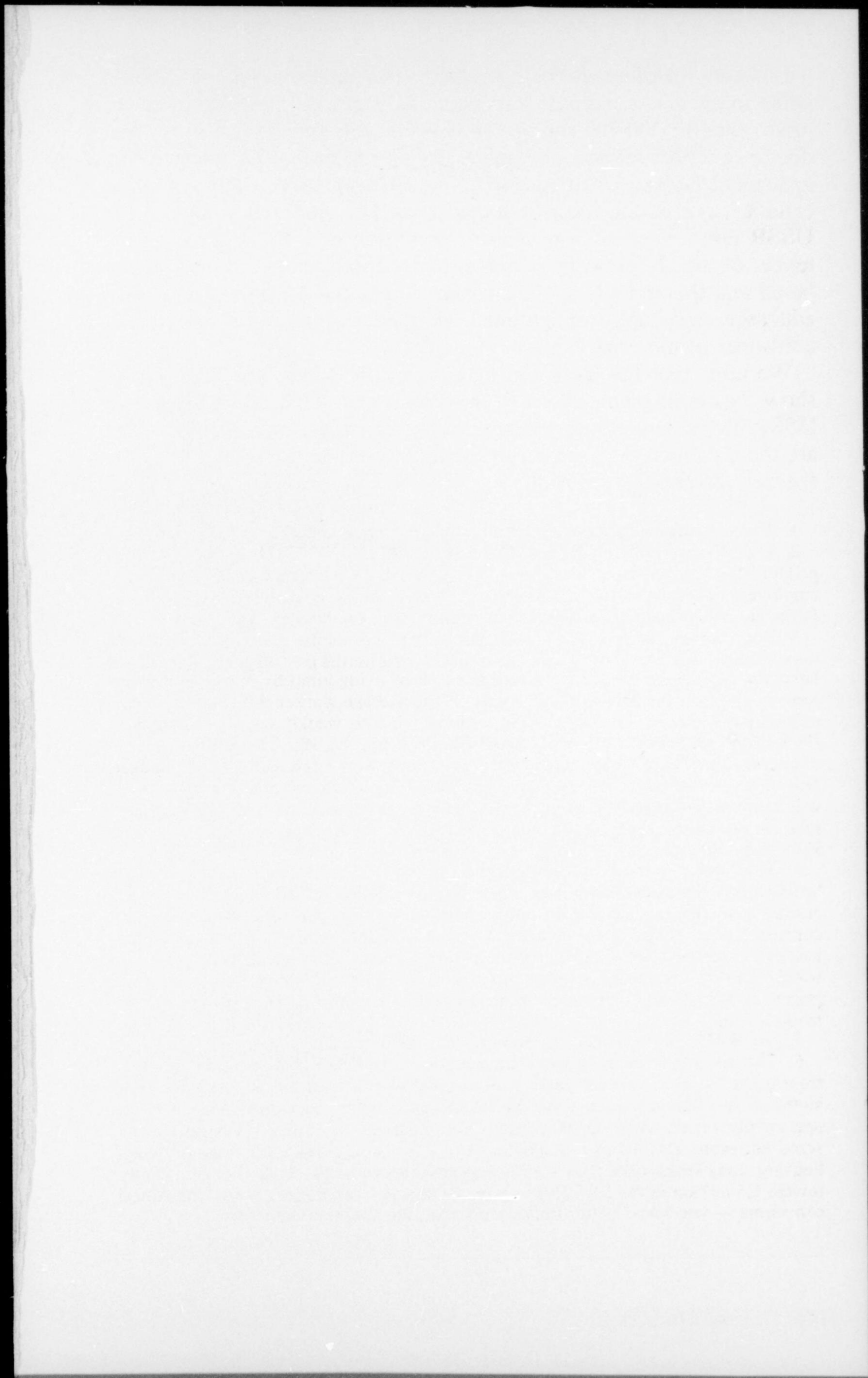
2. *U.S. News and World Report*. October 31, 1977, pp. 76-77; November 14, 1977, p. 110. This breakdown of the 'average' citizen's wages, whether he be a worker or employer, does not reflect the exact structure of working people's expenditures. Rents are often much higher, syphoning more out of the budget.

3. For a comparison with the United States, here is what the *U.S. News and World Report* says: 'The reason for all the pessimism is that for the past 10 years, Americans have stood by helplessly and watched the cost of living jump by more than 80 per cent. . . . Despite the sharp gain in wages . . . the average worker is hardly any better off today than he was a decade ago in terms of what his weekly wage will purchase' (*U.S. News and World Report*, August 22, 1977, pp. 15, 18). The journal sees no improvement in 1978. 'Prices are going up on almost every item in the family budget. Not only will the essentials of life — food, clothing and shelter — climb in price. So will many non-essentials, such as travel and eating out, that add zest to living.' The forecast by economic experts for 1978: 'a 6.1 per cent boost in prices' (*Ibid.*, January 9, 1978, p. 20).

4. This policy is used by the bourgeois press to claim that the socialist states 'artificially' keep prices down thus preventing 'natural' economic development. Such critics, however, cannot and do not wish to understand that in a socialist society consumer price policy is not dictated by capitalist profit motives, but is an integral part of the planned social policy for the people's good. Although state subsidies are widely used by bourgeois governments, the goal is just the opposite — to maintain prices at a high level in order to guarantee a 'normal' rate of profits for the manufacturer.

5. See *WMR*, North American edition, May 1976, p. 127.

6. The housing problem in even the most developed capitalist countries has gone from bad to worse in recent years and, at times, the situation is truly paradoxical, stressing the inhuman nature of capitalism. In London high rents leave 100,000 apartments vacant while 30,000 persons are homeless; in Paris 275,000 apartments stand idle while 250,000 live in squalor. There is also a growing shortage of decent housing. Italy lacks more than 2 million apartments to house those living in shantytowns. 1.5 million in the FRG live in poor, unsanitary conditions. As for the American slums — you know better than we do what the situation is there.



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