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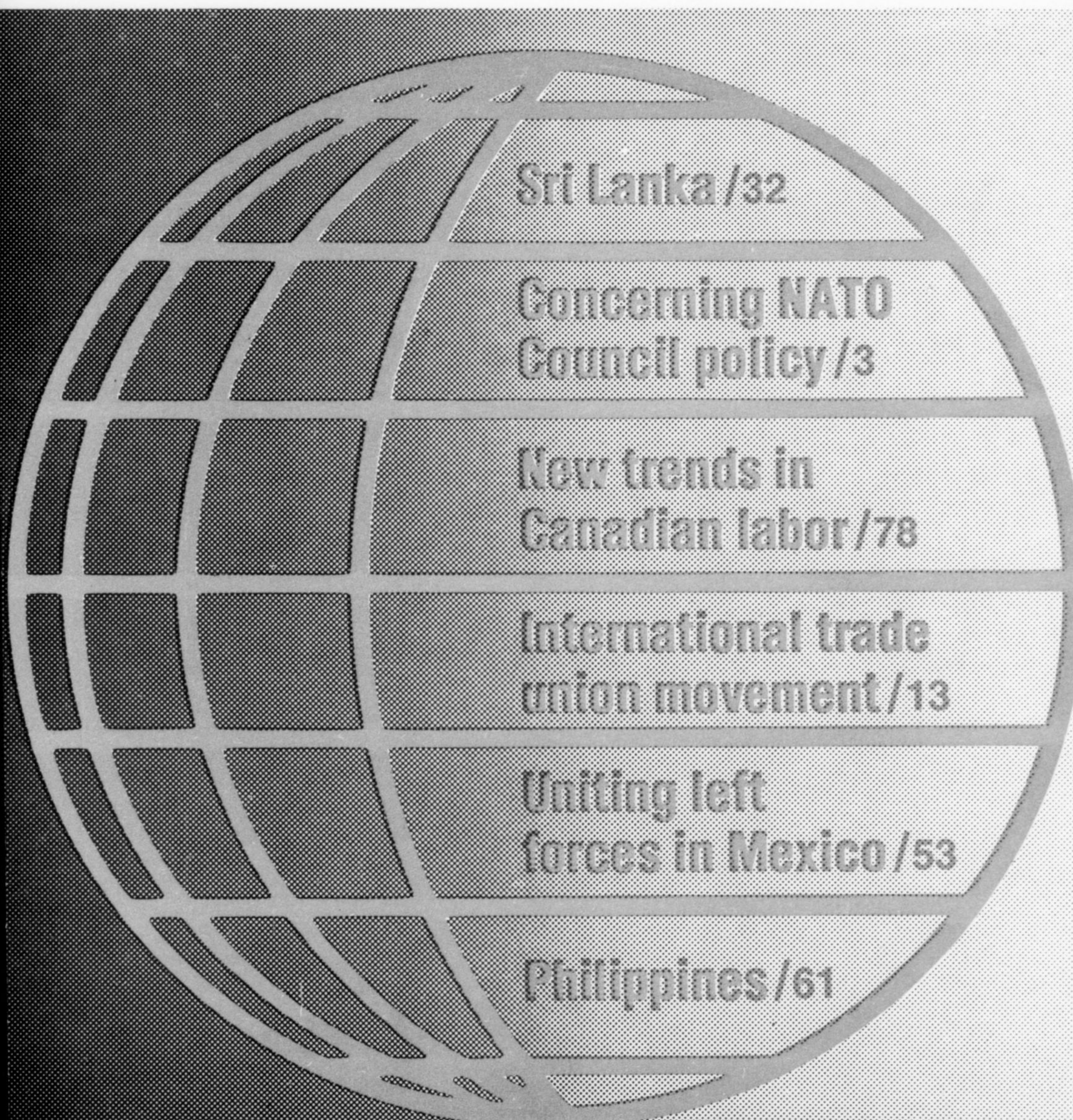
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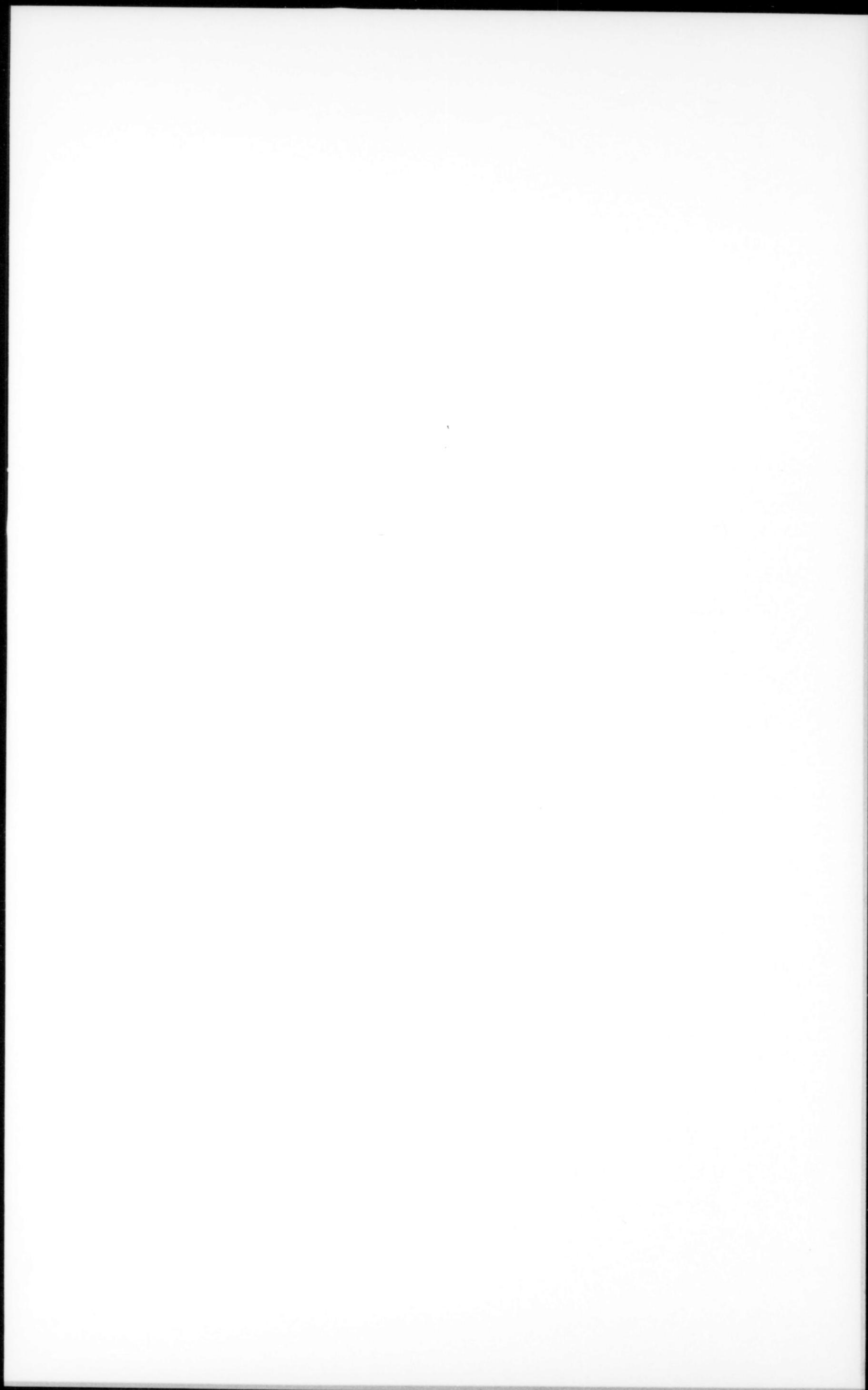
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A dangerous course

Boris Ponomaryov
Alternate PB Member,
Secretary of CPSU CC

CONCERNING THE NATO COUNCIL'S POLICY

The problem of war and peace has recently confronted the peoples of the whole world with a new and sharper edge. This problem has for long been of grave concern to the broad masses of working people. But it has now become especially urgent in connection with two diametrically opposite international events:

In New York, the representatives of 149 countries attended a Special UN General Assembly to discuss the burning issues of disarmament, and their attention centered on the full-scale program of action proposed by the Soviet Union;

In Washington, a NATO Council summit, which met at the same time, adopted an unusually costly 'long-term program' for an arms drive over two or three five-year periods, while the leaders of the U.S. Administration undertook a series of acts cutting across the line of political détente established since the early 70s through the persistent efforts of the peace-loving nations.

The international situation tends to be complicated by the occasional zigzags in U.S. policy under pressure from powerful forces that are hostile to détente and equitable international cooperation, to which they prefer the notorious 'positions of strength' policy.

In view of this feature of the contemporary international situation, the CPSU and the Soviet State, in cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and other peaceable states, and with the wholehearted support of millions of people all over the world, have all these years carried on a persistent struggle for stronger peace, and against the forces of war.

Considerable successes have already been achieved in this struggle. Détente today is no longer a theory, a slogan, or a pious hope. Its many achievements are quite concrete and tangible: the normalization of international relations, the extensive development of mutually advantageous businesslike cooperation among states in the economic field, the extension of scientific and cultural cooperation, and the conclusion of important bilateral and multilateral agreements ensuring

the stability of détente itself. Of especial importance here is the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, signed at summit level in the summer of 1975, which has laid a sound foundation for consolidating peace in Europe.

But it would be wrong to ignore or to underestimate the fact that the arms race is being simultaneously intensified, and that, as speakers at the Special UN General Assembly stressed, it robs mankind of \$400 billion a year — over \$1 billion a day!

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have been working hard to back up the political détente with a military détente. The Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, contain realistic and concrete proposals aimed to strengthen détente. These programmatic proposals have gained the peoples' support, and some of them have been realized as a result of persistent effort.

Still, the arms race has continued. Recalling this, Leonid Brezhnev said in his speech at the 18th Congress of the Young Communist League that 'the most essential, the most urgent thing in our day is to secure a further reduction of the war danger and to put a stop to the growth of armaments.' His speech contained new and important proposals aimed to solve this problem.

The document, 'On the Practical Ways of Ending the Arms Race,' which the Soviet delegation put before the Special UN General Assembly, is centered on these proposals and has won broad support from many delegates. What the NATO Council has undertaken under U.S. influence in countering the USSR's proposed plan of action by its decision for a fresh and unprecedented boosting of the arms drive, on which it has resolved to spend an *additional* \$80 billion, cannot be viewed otherwise than as a cynical challenge to the whole world, to the whole of peaceable humanity.

Delegates from many countries addressing the General Assembly gave an impressive picture of the grievous consequences of the arms race, which has been going on for many decades. Scientists have estimated that from 1947 to 1978, the United States alone has spent over a trillion dollars on armaments. This is three times more than the figure for its participation in the Second World War and 36 times more than in the First World War, so that every American has had to pay more than \$10,000 for the arms drive. Ever newer types of armaments with 'greater killing power,' as the military specialists put it, are being invented and put into service. And they are getting more and more expensive. In the United States they swallow nearly 40 per cent of all research and development appropriations. By the beginning of the

70s, the United States was spending about \$7 billion a year for these purposes, and in 1978 — \$12.04 billion. In 1980, the figure is expected to go up to \$14.2 billion.

Every new missile, every new submarine, every new bomber has a disastrous effect on social programs. Here are a few examples. The purchase by the Pentagon of only eight F-14 aircraft, at a cost of \$130 million each, came to the same amount by which the housing-construction program was cut back in 1972. The purchase by the Pentagon of three nuclear powered submarines at a cost of \$567 million in 1973 entailed a cutback by the same amount of U.S. Federal budget appropriations on health, education and welfare.

In an effort to vindicate this monstrous waste of national resources, the men who run the military-industrial complex claim that the development of the arms industry helps to increase the number of jobs and raise wages. But who doesn't know that in the United States and other capitalist countries the number of jobless has not diminished and now stands at 16 million?

Considering the real effects of the arms race, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, was quite right when he said in 1974: The billions of dollars taken away from us in taxes which the government spends on arms contracts have failed to produce a corresponding increase in jobs because the manufacture of new means of mass destruction does not depend to the same extent as it did in previous wars on materials and processes requiring larger inputs of human labor. The highest level of unemployment will now be found in the cities and states where the arms industry has the leading role to play.

The convocation of the Special UN General Assembly on disarmament and the speeches by the representatives of the USSR and other specialist countries, with their detailed and realistic proposals to halt the arms race, reduce military expenditures and ensure international security have naturally won wide support from peace-loving opinion everywhere, including the United States.

At the same time, speeches at the Assembly by the representatives of the United States and some of its NATO allies showed that they persist in their bellicose approach by rejecting any real steps aimed to reduce armaments. The bilateral Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation were suddenly slowed down although a draft limitation treaty had already been in the main outlined and was ready for signing, with only two or three outstanding matters remaining to be settled. For a long time, the representatives of the United States and its allies have also taken a negative stand at the Vienna talks on arms on troop cuts in Central Europe.

But the most serious thing was that the NATO leaders had all along

planned to counter the UN session with another — NATO — session. This was held in Washington at the end of May, and marked another dangerous zigzag by the United States and the U.S.-led NATO.

What does this new zigzag amount to?

First, the NATO Council, as I have said, adopted a long-term arms program up to 1993 in accordance with which the members of that aggressive bloc have undertaken to increase their military expenditures from year to year, acquiring ever more costly weapons, mainly U.S.-made.

This makes it clear why they, and notably the USA, have so stubbornly resisted the Soviet proposals for ending the manufacture of every type of nuclear weapons, repudiating the fabrication of new types of weapons and enlarging armies: they were working on very different plans. The Western press abounds in reports that the long-term program adopted by the NATO Council provides for almost 100 programs for manufacturing new types of weapons, including the planned manufacture of new missiles, among them the inordinately expensive MX missiles, new warships, planes, tanks, electronic-war devices, etc.

Second, at the NATO Council meeting, U.S. President Carter announced a new doctrine for NATO's global operations, which is an arbitrary extension of that military bloc's 'sphere of responsibility' to vast areas lying well beyond the boundaries designated in the Treaty setting up the North Atlantic bloc, which was signed in April 1949, at the height of the 'cold war.'

Even then, Article Six of the Treaty clearly delineated the Treaty's ambit, covering the territory of the member-countries, the islands in the 'North Atlantic region, North of the Tropic of Cancer,' the Mediterranean, and the area of Europe where the occupation troops of the Treaty powers were then stationed. Now, NATO has arrogated the right of military intervention beyond the boundaries of that zone, notably in Africa, and its intervention has already begun. NATO armed forces have started military operations in Zaire, which they want to convert into a bridgehead on the 'Black Continent.'

Third, one must note that at the NATO session, U.S. official authorities for the first time openly announced a link between their own interests, the interests of NATO, and those of the Chinese leadership, which has openly opposed the policy of détente and urged preparations for war. This was preceded by trips to Peking by Brzezinski, the U.S. President's National-Security Adviser, and other representatives of the NATO countries. In the course of these official visits, the Western leaders frankly discoursed about the 'community of interests' between the bloc and China.

The press of the North Atlantic countries has called China

'NATO's 16th member.' This formula delighted the Peking leaders, and Teng Hsiao-ping was quick to announce his acceptance of it. A noteworthy fact in this connection is that, for all their earlier assurances, the governments of the United States and its allies are beginning to supply China with equipment which could be used for military purposes. At the same time, Chinese armed forces missions are junketing across the NATO countries and negotiating purchases of weapons.

All of this makes it clear enough that the United States seeks to impose on NATO a line which has been elaborated in the so-called Trilateral Commission over the past few years, the line of expanding the aggressive military bloc for fighting détente, the socialist community and the peoples' liberation movement.

This aggressive and — let me put it bluntly — dangerous course has evoked reservations and objections even among the leaders of some NATO countries. According to reports, they come from Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, among others.

British Prime Minister Callaghan, who usually gives loyal support to every aspect of U.S. policy in view of his country's 'special relationship' with the United States, openly voiced his apprehensions over the grave economic consequences of the arms race and his reservations concerning the extension of NATO's sphere of action to Africa.

Serious apprehensions over the increase in arms expenditures have also been voiced in the FRG, where Chancellor Schmidt has repeatedly come out for strengthening the détente and for businesslike cooperation with the socialist countries.

In order to dampen such doubts and hesitations, and simultaneously make its own people shoulder the heavy burden of the fresh step-up of the arms race, the U.S. Administration started a loud campaign over an imaginary 'Soviet threat' to the United States, its allies and just about the whole world.

In the Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'Whenever the imperialists need to cover up their aggressive schemes, they try to revive the "Soviet menace" myth. They seek to find evidence of this threat in the depths of the Indian Ocean and on the peaks of the Cordilleras. And, of course, nothing but Soviet divisions prepared to pounce on the West are to be discovered on the plains of Europe if one looks through NATO field-glasses.' Now NATO propaganda is drumming up a mythical threat to Africa as well!

Heaping one untruth upon another, these gentlemen are so hard at work that they have failed to notice that their various statements do not square with each other. On the one hand, they keep saying that

they fear a threat on the part of the USSR and other socialist countries, and on the other, they declare in their policy-making speeches that the United States is stronger than anybody in the world and that it is even prepared for confrontation. But every sober-minded politician will ask: if you are so strong, gentlemen, what are you afraid of?

The most far-sighted political leaders in the United States have seen through the false argument about the imaginary 'Soviet menace,' which has allegedly forced the United States and its allies to spend another \$80 billion on more armaments. Deputy Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Church, for instance, remarked ironically on June 9 that there is only one game that is now being played in Washington, and it is 'The Russians are Coming.' He added that this was a cold-war symptom and emphasized that this kind of step-up of hysteria was designed to justify continued U.S. involvement in the events in Black Africa. Church deplored this 'game' and said that it would be tragic if the political support required to ratify a second stage SALT agreement were undermined.

That same day, another prominent Senator, McGovern, responding to President Carter's speech at Annapolis, said that he saw no sense in building up anti-Soviet hysteria among the American people, who did not need such an intensive confrontation.

Many other leaders on both sides of the Atlantic have voiced grave alarm over this fresh zigzag in the policy of the United States and its NATO allies.

The plea of national security provides the whole rationale for the new round in the NATO countries' arms drive. But the question arises: what is the most reliable way of solving the problem? Here, two lines stand out.

The present line of the United States and its partners consists in constantly increasing and renewing armaments, in accordance with the old but long since discredited slogan: 'If you want peace, prepare for war.'

The line of the socialist countries consists in mutual arms cuts on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security. We are sure that the national security of states would be more reliably ensured if the armed forces and armaments of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries were gradually reduced, without anyone seeking unilateral advantages. The socialist countries have repeatedly tabled proposals formulated on the basis of this conception.

The facts show that the NATO leaders have turned a deaf ear to this approach. They have stubbornly increased their military budgets. In 1949, the military expenditures of the United States and its allies totalled \$18.7 billion; in 1959, \$61.2 billion; in 1969, \$106.5 billion; and in 1977, \$174.7 billion. In fiscal 1977/78, the military expenditures of

the United States alone will come to \$112.7 billion, and in fiscal 1978/79, the Pentagon wants \$128 billion.

What is the outcome? Is the national security of the United States and its allies now more reliably ensured than it was in 1949, 1959 or 1969? Does this mad build-up of arms spending help to reduce the threat of confrontation and the risk of another war? The U.S. Administration keeps saying that there is a need of more new armaments 'to ensure national security.'

The fact that in the 70s there was an easing of international tensions, that détente was ushered in, and that people in Europe and America had clear skies over their heads did not at all result from mountains of weapons having been piled up as high as Mont Blanc, but from the fact that the socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty Organization, with the support of all the peace-loving forces, were able to stop the 'cold war,' establish workmanlike and mutually advantageous cooperation and conclude a number of international agreements, which helped to cut off some of the arms-race taproots.

Recent events have fully brought out the substance of NATO, on the one hand, and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which the socialist countries were forced to set up in response to the knocking together of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, on the other.

NATO's line throughout its existence has consisted in stepping up tensions, constant aggressiveness, an unceasing arms drive, interference in the domestic affairs of other states, as exemplified by the intervention in Zaire, and threats, threats and more threats.

The line of the Warsaw Treaty Organization has consisted in tireless struggle to strengthen peace, to ensure security in Europe and elsewhere, to bring about and consolidate détente, to convert the political détente into a military détente, and to secure arms cuts. The WTO has carried on this struggle throughout its existence, and in the interests of elementary fairness one should admit that it has scored important successes along some lines.

Let us recall that the WTO has to its credit such successful initiatives as the proposals to conclude treaties establishing the inviolability of the postwar borders in Europe; the convocation of the All-European Conference; the formulation of the basic principles of inter-state relations, which became the cornerstone of the Helsinki Final Act; the holding of the final meeting of the Conference at summit level; the negotiations on arms and troop cuts in Central Europe, and so on.

Many other peace initiatives of the WTO are also awaiting a positive decision. Among them are the call on all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to conclude a treaty not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other;

the proposal on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests; support for the GDR proposal on the renunciation of nuclear weapons by both German states, and the proposal that the armed forces of other states stationed on the territory of the GDR and the FRG should not have such weapons; the repeated proposals on a simultaneous dissolution of NATO and WTO, and for a start, the winding up of their military organizations, and many other peace initiatives.

Meanwhile, what has been the preoccupation of the NATO Council in all these years and decades? It has been interested in only one thing: the framing of more plans for armaments, increasing expenditures and developing subversion. These sinister activities may from time to time be covered up with pious professions of peace, but this is only to distract attention.

One need merely compare these two lines to realize that the WTO seeks to safeguard mankind from war, while the NATO Council session was aimed to aggravate the international situation, whip up the arms race, and increase the danger of war.

All the events of the recent period dealt with above imperatively dictate the need for vigorous action by the broadest masses of people who can and must prevent the imperialists from implementing the sinister schemes framed in Washington by the NATO Council on May 30 and 31, 1978. The need is not only to prevent the planned new round of the arms race, which would further destabilize the international situation, but also to advance in relaxing tensions, along the way to disarmament, where important steps have already been taken in the past period.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our state, like the fraternal parties and states of the socialist community, have worked precisely in this direction. 'The Soviet people,' *Pravda* wrote on June 15 of this year, in an article 'On the U.S. Government's Present Policy,' 'has chosen the path of peace, and will not be deflected from this path. We do not accept the invitations to join in the interment of détente and the hopes of millions of people for a peaceful future, for the possibility of a life in dignity for themselves and their children.' The Soviet Union, the article goes on to emphasize, 'reaffirms its course toward international détente and development of good and mutually advantageous relations with the United States, if the United States would reciprocate.' But past experience also shows that decisive successes in the struggle for peace require joint efforts by all the peaceable, progressive, democratic forces of the globe. The broader and the more active the movement of these forces, the greater the guarantees that NATO's aggressive anti-popular plans will not be realized.

In his speech at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties on June 29, 1976, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the achievement of lasting peace is a difficult matter requiring great energy, perseverance and consistency. He recalled Lenin's warning soon after the October Revolution, when he said: 'It is highly naive to think that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it.' Today, this warning is especially pertinent.

The communists, who voice the aspirations of the broadest masses of working people, have always been in the van of the struggle for peace and social progress. They are a great force, and it is the more efficient, the greater the cohesion and concerted action of the communist and workers' parties, which are loyal to the great principle of fraternal solidarity. That is why the final document of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe, which was unanimously adopted in Berlin, gave so much attention to the interconnection between the struggle for peace and social progress on the European continent, and the struggle for peace and social progress in other parts of the globe.

Emphasizing that the reactionary circles of big capital seek to hamper the policy of détente and revive the atmosphere of tension and confrontation in inter-state relations, the participants in the Berlin Conference undertook actively to work to consolidate détente, for peace and against the arms drive.

'In this spirit,' the final document of the Conference said, 'they will develop their internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, scrupulously adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for progressive social transformations and socialism.'

Now that the United States and the NATO circles moving in its wake have executed another dangerous zigzag toward building up international tension, the arms race and military interventions, especial importance attaches to this militant cooperation of the communists in the struggle against the growing threat to peace.

Working to enlarge the front of this struggle, the communists believe it to be their duty to continue deepening their ties with progressive non-communist — revolutionary-democratic and socialist — parties. It was emphasized at the 25th Congress of the CPSU that there can be no question of ideological rapprochement between scientific communism and the reformism of social democracy, but concern for the security of the nations, the urge to halt the arms race, and to rebuff fascism, racism and colonialism can and do unite us with social

democrats who are aware of their responsibility for the cause of peace, and this applies even more to social-democratic workers. The conference on disarmament recently arranged by the Socialist International confirmed that such cooperation is possible and advisable.

Mass action by the working class, by the other working people, the broad masses is highly important in the struggle against the forces of war and aggression. Accordingly, an even more responsible organizing role now belongs to the international trade unions, women's, youth and student organizations.

In our day, the non-aligned states, which are acutely in need of peace to solve their urgent economic and social problems, have a special part to play in shaping the worldwide front of struggle against the danger of war. The solidarity movement of the Asian, African and Latin American countries has a vital stake in taking a most vigorous part in repulsing NATO's high-handed intervention in the affairs of these continents.

Finally, the world peace movement, which in the past 30 years has grown into a great force mobilizing and leading to struggle for disarmament hundreds of millions of men and women of the most diverse political convictions and religious creeds, also has a special role to play. The 700 million signatures collected by the peace fighters for the new Stockholm Appeal for Disarmament provides convincing evidence of the movement's potentialities and its steadily growing prestige.

Gone are the days when the bourgeoisie could allow itself to ignore this movement, to ban its activities, and to deny its leaders exit and entry visas. When the Special UN General Assembly was in session, the World Peace Council carried out in New York its own measures in support of disarmament, and its President Romesh Chandra officially presented to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim a volume containing the results of the signature-collection drive for the demand to end the arms race.

Within the framework of the Peace Forces Forum, the world peace movement has cooperated with other public trends in enlarging the front of this struggle that meets the vital interests of all mankind.

The forces standing up for the cause of peace are truly immense. If they act in concert and with purpose, there is no doubt that this fresh attempt by the imperialists to mount an offensive will fail just as miserably as all the earlier schemes of the war-mongers did.

Consequently, the situation requires efforts without delay to muster and unite all those who have a vital stake in consolidating détente and peace. Reports coming in from all over the world show that an understanding of this has been spreading ever more widely among the most diverse sections of world opinion.

The communist and workers' parties, the leading forces of the national-liberation struggle, international democratic organizations, and the peace forces' movement have raised their voices ever louder in resolutely demanding that the imperialists should be checked, and NATO's sinister schemes jeopardizing the cause of peace, thwarted.

New stage of the international trade union movement

Enrique Pastorino
General Secretary, World
Federation of Trade Unions

The trade union movement is on the upgrade. The social upheavals mounting in the crisis-ridden industrial capitalist countries are bringing more working people into organized and spontaneous struggle. The trade union movement is growing and gaining experience also in the developing countries. The constructive initiative of the trade unions in the socialist countries, their part in building socialism and communism and securing world peace, and their solidarity with all who are fighting for national liberation and social progress, are becoming an increasingly important factor in the world of today.

The Ninth World Trade Union Congress held in Prague in April this year was a vivid demonstration of the movement's growing strength, and the determination of its main forces to work for still closer unity of working people the world over.

This was the most representative congress in the more than 150-year history of the international trade union movement. It was attended by close to 1,000 delegates representing 303 trade unions in 126 countries. Characteristically, more than 60 per cent of the delegates and observers who took part in the work of the Congress and helped draft its resolutions came from organizations not affiliated to the WFTU — a clear indication of the growing desire for unity irrespective of ideology or international affiliation.

The Congress also showed that the processes taking place within the movement are an organic part of the sweeping changes characteristic of the present stage of the class struggle.

The complexity of these processes mirrors the complexity of trade union activity in countries at varying stages of social development and the socio-economic and political tasks the unions have to cope with.

And these are invariably determined by the concrete class conditions in the given country. But the Congress also stressed that there are major economic, social and political problems of equal concern to all trade unions committed to the working people's interests.

I should like to examine a few of these problems.

*Sharpening of the capitalist economic crisis and
the new level of the socio-economic struggle*

The sharpening capitalist economic crisis, inflation, unemployment, the loss or possible loss by the working people of many of their social gains, and the political instability in a number of countries, have all seriously affected the work of trade unions. By giving voice to the social protest of the masses, the trade unions are making a weighty contribution to the new upsurge of the workers' and democratic movement which, in one way or another, is making itself felt in practically all capitalist and dependent countries. The masses have not resigned themselves to their difficulties, nor have they been humbled by them. They are standing up for their human dignity, fighting for human working and living conditions, for freedom, peace, national liberation and for their rightful place in society.¹ The strike movement, that tried and tested form of class struggle, has taken on new dimensions: in the 20 years 1919 to 1939 an average of 3.6 million took part in strikes annually, in the 20 years 1956 to 1976 the average increased from 7.7 million to 60 million a year. It is doubtful whether these figures give a complete picture, but they do show the rapid growth of the struggle.

And it is growing not only in numbers of workers involved. Its composition has changed, it has spread to countries that until recently were free of major social conflicts. Metal workers in Turkey, for example, won a good deal through their difficult eight-month strike. Despite reprisals, strikes in Iran are increasing. Bolivian miners fought a long strike in the face of formidable obstacles and won important gains: a general political amnesty, reinstatement of victimized workers, repeal of the ban on trade union freedoms. General nationwide strikes, are no longer isolated events. They have been conducted not only in France, Italy and Belgium and certain other countries with long-standing union movements. The strike movement has become more active also in such 'safe' citadels of monopoly capital as the United States and Federal Germany.

Characteristically, such actions are initiated by the working people themselves. They refuse to accept the general worsening of their living standards and know that the only way to win their demands is to fight for them. They strike for higher wages and better working conditions, for greater trade union rights and freedoms, against the

arbitrary rule of the multinationals, for an end to the arms race. This struggle is a good basis for strengthening the unions and achieving unity at work place, branch, national and regional levels.

The thought was also expressed at the Congress that greater trade union cooperation on a national, branch and regional basis, for all its benefits, should not be achieved at the expense of international ties and working-class and trade-union solidarity. Isolating one or another organization or national union center from the world class trade union alliance, the WFTU, contrasting local, national or regional tasks to the world struggle of the labor movement is, without doubt, a step back in the development of trade union unity.

The internationalization of big capital is an objective process. Two hundred international monopolies control the economic and political life of most capitalist countries. They are becoming stronger and more influential, profiting from crises and sharply worsening the working and living conditions of the masses. Their financial resources enable them to use the production, political and propaganda machinery for their international expansion, provoke economic imbalance, undermine whole branches of the economy and disregard the independence and sovereignty of the countries in which they operate. That being so, the trade union movement cannot afford to be less united than its opponents. The coordinated social and economic policy of the bourgeois governments and multinationals must be countered by the working people's united, international solidarity. First and foremost, this means coordinating the struggle for the working people's vital interests, for fair pay and proper working conditions, for a new and just world economic order free of all discrimination, for economic relations based on mutual advantage, respect for national independence and non-interference in internal affairs.

Greater role for the unions

The ruling circles in the developed capitalist countries can no longer ignore the might of the organized working class and the trade union movement, nor can they apply their socio-economic policy without taking account, albeit partially, of trade union positions and demands. Whereas ten or 15 years ago the capitalist policy-makers tried to brush off the trade union movement as something 'historical,' outdated, with no future and fading away, as an 'egotistical' force holding back society's progress, not aware of present-day tasks and society's 'common' interests,² today they are singing a very different tune. It is now popular to speak of the growth of the trade unions, their impact on domestic policy, their ability to strengthen or weaken government positions. But there are also many new (or, to be more exact, revived old) attempts to obscure the role and place of the trade unions in

modern society in order to somehow 'tame' them, place them at the beck and call of the bourgeois state and pit their economic and political demands against each other. Such attempts are seen in the revival of anarcho-syndicalism in the trade unions. Their purpose is to create an image of the trade unions as an independent, self-contained force capable of settling all the socio-economic and political problems facing the working class and society.³

These views are not new. The trade union movement had already experienced their harmful effect in the years preceding the First World War. But they have a definite social base, for the changing composition of the population has brought into the class struggle a sizable group of politically uninitiated people. A certain part of the masses, beginning to realize the need for social change, believes it can be secured through the trade unions alone, by means of tested union methods of struggle. That is at the root of the illusion that the unions are 'capable of everything,' that the working class does not need its own political party, and that the trade unions must shoulder 'the main responsibilities for the transformation of society.'⁴

Throughout its entire history the WFTU has persistently worked for greater trade union independence, for the right of national, regional and international union organizations to adopt and carry out, independently and without any outside pressure, their own programs and to maintain contacts with non-union organizations. Fortifying trade union independence has nothing in common with syndicalism. On the contrary, placing the trade unions in opposition to the political parties of the working class would contradict the latter's interests. For a greater political role for the unions and their closer ties with political organizations are but two aspects of one and the same problem — dovetailing economic and political forms of working-class struggle.

Another tendency, equally dated, followed by bourgeois and right-reformist politicians and theorists, is to 'integrate' the trade union movement into the system of state-monopoly capitalism. Concretely, this means getting the trade unions, and the working people generally, to accept the aims and spirit of state-monopoly socio-economic programming and induce them to 'voluntarily give up the right to advance their own economic demands.' In practice, such 'integration' would mean acceptance of the capitalist way of cutting up of the 'national pie' between the working people and the capitalists. With the present crisis, inflation and rocketing prices, it becomes particularly apparent that such 'pie-sharing' is meant to create the impression of capitalist 'self-restriction,' and in reality means more profits for the monopolies out of the people's pockets. Therefore, notwithstanding certain isolated cases when bourgeois governments and employers are able to

get cooperation from the reformist trade union leaders, who are interested in a 'class peace' and 'class collaboration,' the broad masses are not allowing themselves to be hoodwinked. Union members have noticeably stepped up their opposition to such 'collaboration' with employers and governments: they gain very little, or nothing at all, despite the many obligations the unions have assumed.⁵

And, finally, syndicalist trends played a certain part in the attempts to place the trade unions in the socialist and the capitalist countries in opposition to each other and to question the possibility and expediency of cooperation and contacts between them. This is done on the pretext that the socialist trade unions have, supposedly, forfeited part of their protective functions by becoming involved in the administration of economic and state affairs, have yielded to the ruling parties and have given up part of their democracy and independence.

It is undeniable that the position and role of the trade unions in the socialist countries, where the working people are in power, differ from those of unions in the capitalist countries, where big capital holds sway. There the unions fight exploitation and oppression by the capitalist monopolies and state. Under socialism, the unions are full-fledged partners in the management of economic and social affairs the interests of the working people. The common socio-economic aims of the trade unions and the socialist state call for different forms and methods than those employed by capitalist unions and are faced with different problems. This does not, however, mean that they have 'forfeited' their protective functions. Commenting on the tasks of trade unions, Leonid Brezhnev wrote: 'Thus it is one of the indispensable concerns of the trade unions to protect the interests of labor. They act resolutely and unhesitatingly when any manager of an enterprise forgets the standards laid down in labor legislation or the social needs of the working people. Last year, nearly 10,000 such administrators were removed from their posts at the demand of trade union committees.'⁶

It is wrong to claim that in the socialist countries the parties are 'replacing' the trade unions, depriving them of all independence. The fact is that in the socialist countries the trade unions and other mass organizations recognize and accept the leading role of the ruling communist parties, which exercise that role by democratic methods, through their members in the trade unions, who enjoy the confidence of the union membership. So, it is not a matter of the party replacing the trade unions, nor of their being deprived of their independence, but of the emergence of a logically new type of relationship between the trade unions and the socialist state, a relationship in the interests of building socialism and communism.

The TU World Congress spoke highly of cooperation between the

trade unions in capitalist and in developing countries. It showed how important it is for the international labor movement to hold sincere discussions of key issues concerning trade union work today under differing social systems. It also showed that it is wrong and unreal to take as a model criteria applied under the capitalist system. Such intentions, together with attempts to place the trade unions in opposition to working class parties or to integrate them into the system of state-monopoly capital, can lead only into a blind alley.

For peace and disarmament

The trade unions' struggle for social and economic progress, trade union and democratic rights and freedoms, is inseparable from their peace efforts, which are in the interests of all countries, irrespective of social system.

We have no right to forget that, in these closing decades of the 20th century, millions of men and women are living in appalling conditions. Hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, unemployment and poverty are still with us. The working people have a right to enjoy dignity, freedom, prosperity and peace; they want to see the world changed so there should be no more inequality and calamities that cripple millions physically and morally. They want to see established a world order free of social injustice and exploitation in whatsoever form.

But for this there must be peace. Natural wealth, human and material resources should no longer be used in a reckless arms race, for war preparations. People everywhere realize that their personal lives, rational use of natural resources, a prudent demographic policy, environmental protection, international cooperation, broader scientific research and application of the achievements of the technological revolution, are all dependent on peace.

The masses and their trade unions refuse to accept the fact that every year hundreds of billions of dollars are wasted, while a large part of the world's population is living dangerously near the border of starvation, has no access to education and culture, and scores of countries and whole continents are still in a state of economic backwardness. Millions of men and women, comprising the able-bodied and active part of the population, do not participate in socially useful labor, are wasting their strength and abilities on learning the art of killing or designing and manufacturing lethal weapons.

But there are social forces in the world today capable of putting an end to the arms race and of averting the danger threatening humanity. Thanks to the growing might of the socialist countries, the mounting activity and influence of mass movements working for enduring peace — and this includes the trade unions — the world balance of forces

has shifted toward peace, national emancipation and social progress. The efforts of the peace movement have diminished the danger of a new world war, have improved the international climate and have promoted mutually advantageous cooperation in many spheres of human endeavor between countries with differing social systems.

Nevertheless, the threat of a new war still exists. The U.S. decision to produce the neutron bomb adds to the danger of our planet being turned into a lifeless desert. In their drive for maximum profits the arms manufacturers, the reactionary circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie, and spokesmen of the military-industrial complex, are ready to sacrifice millions of human lives. They are responsible for the accelerating militarization of the capitalist economy, the continuing imperialist exploitation of millions in different parts of the world. They are deceiving the people by slanderously distorting the policy of the socialist countries, attacking the world's progressive forces and spreading the myth of a 'Soviet threat.'

Consolidating peace and stopping the arms race is the concern of all working people and is the object of all trade unions irrespective of their organizational affiliation and ideological outlook.

Every step toward disarmament, no matter how small, means work for an unemployed, bread for a hungry person, medical aid for the sick, learning for a child or illiterate, a pension for an aged citizen, a good and interesting profession for a young person, improved working conditions and a better living standard for all. These are the goals on which the positions of all international and national trade union centers coincide, this is the platform for a dialogue, for cooperation and joint action.

For united action, for international solidarity

It is not possible, in one article, to touch on all the problems of the trade union movement today. There is one, however, that I should like to highlight, a problem that was prominent in the work of the Ninth World Congress and in all of its documents. This is the problem of consolidating the international solidarity of the masses and of trade union unity.

It is no secret that the 'cold war' was responsible for the division of the world trade union movement. But it would be wrong to say that it is possible to settle differences and achieve united action only if the WFTU turns its back on its main principles. That would help only those who would continue the 'cold war' within the union movement. The past can be severed only through a struggle for businesslike, equal and growing cooperation among national union centers of different political and ideological views, their united action in defense of the working people's vital interests, for peace and security. There is

growing progress along this path because of a growing similarity of goals and methods of struggle. We hope that the presence at the Ninth WTU Congress of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), British, African and Arab trade unions, the Standing Congress of Latin American Trade Unity and of other trade union organizations not members of the WFTU, will serve as a good basis for strengthening our cooperation with them. The WFTU deeply regrets that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) did not find it possible to respond to our invitation and send delegates to the Congress.⁷ This does not mean that the WFTU will abandon its steps to develop relations with the ICFTU in the spirit of world trade union unity and the working people's interests.

The Document of Policy and Action approved by the Congress represents the WFTU's solemn pledge to give priority to international obligations in its work, to promote the world solidarity of the working people. Among these tasks are the efforts for peace and détente, against the arms race, imperialism and militarism, against the neutron bomb, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, apartheid, racism, against the multinationals and for the development of economic and political democracy, for the economic and political independence of all nations and for a just economic order. The WFTU, for whom the traditions of solidarity have always been traditions of militancy, will continue working to make labor solidarity more effective, to raise it to a new level and give it deeper meaning.

The Universal Declaration of Trade Union Rights, adopted by the Congress, is a good foundation for united action and world trade union solidarity in the struggle for the political, economic, social and cultural rights of the working people.

The Ninth World Trade Union Congress was the most important event in international trade union affairs in recent years. It is an historical milestone in the development of the trade union movement. It has demonstrated a common desire, through joint efforts, to further improve WFTU activities, formulate the principles and forms of strengthening national, regional and international trade union unity. We call upon the working people and the trade unions to become part of the struggle for a radiant future, a future of peace, prosperity, freedom and economic and social progress.

1. The following figures cited at the Congress show the social consequences of the crisis: 18 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries at the end of last year; 280 million part-time employed and close to 650 million living in poverty on a mere 50-90 U.S. dollars a year.

2. See, M. Shanks. *The Stagnant Society*. London, 1961.

3. See, E. Maire. *Pour un socialisme démocratique: contribution de la C.F.D.T.* Paris, 1971; J. Brecher. *Strike*. San Francisco, 1972; A. Leion. *Den Svenska modellen*. Stockholm, 1974.

4. Experience has shown that syndicalist views are often preached by ultra-leftist leaders and ideologists.

5. A good example is the 1974 'social contract' between the British Labour government and the trade unions. Its key clause, which was the unions' agreement to restrict wage increases, would mean a drop in workers' real incomes. The contract caused wide resentment among union members and in 1977 was not formally renewed.

6. See, *WMR* for December 1977, p. 13.

7. More than 100 representatives of ICFTU national and branch organizations did take part in the Congress.

An important factor in building developed socialism

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The ultimate goal of scientific communism, and the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and other fraternal parties guiding socialist construction in their countries, which is based on it, is construction of a classless society. The winning and consolidation of working-class power was the political premise for the achievement of this goal. Now, at the stage of building developed socialism the obliteration of class and social distinctions increasingly depends on success in blending the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution (STR) with the advantages of socialism. That is why for us STR problems are problems not only economic but also of political importance. They are subjected to Marxist-Leninist theoretical analysis and are an important area of the Communist Party's practical activity.

The Marxist view is that science is a historically dynamic, revolutionary force¹ and this is why the CPCz gives close attention to the all-round development of science and to applying its results as quickly as possible. Having analyzed the concrete historical forms of interaction between the development of science and technology, and the development of society, Marx showed that the cardinal trend here is the gradual transformation of science into a productive force in its own right.

Experience has fully confirmed this prediction by the founder of scientific communism, together with his idea that under capitalism

scientific and technical progress was bound to entail a sharpening of contradictions in the bourgeois society and have a negative effect on the condition of the working people and the development of the individual. The history of this century, especially of its latter half, marked as it has been by the rapid development of science and technology, shows that socialism alone provides the opportunities for fully bringing out the humanistic and revolutionary substance of science for harmonizing scientific, technical and social progress. In the early years of Soviet power, Lenin emphasized that socialism can be built only on the basis of highly developed technology and the latest scientific discoveries (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 339).

What are the features of socialism that put scientific and technical progress work at the service of society and the individual, and make it a powerful factor of social progress?

In contrast to capitalism, socialist society links up science and production in a balanced manner, and this enables it to control the whole cycle of reproduction in the national economy. Scientific and technical progress has an effect on every phase of reproduction and has two aspects: the technological, which consists of changes in the technical level, and the social, which reflects the character of the relations of production established in society. That is why scientific and technical progress cannot be reduced to research and development and their application in production, for with such a narrow, one-sided and purely technical approach one cannot understand the substance of scientific and technical development. Its social basis is equally important, and is, in fact, crucial from the standpoint of the revolutionary transformation of social relations. Ultimately, it is the character of the socio-economic system that determines which class of society is to be served by scientific and technical progress, and in what way.

The STR is the highest form of scientific and technical progress in our day. It has emerged, taken shape and gone forward in an epoch whose main content is transition from capitalism to socialism and communism on a world scale.

In the complicated conditions of a world divided into opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism — and the peoples' mounting liberation struggle, the processes leading to a gradual remoulding of the struggle and dynamics of the productive forces inevitably mesh with social processes and exert a growing influence on every aspect of life in society. The scientific, materialist conception of the dialectics of the productive forces and the relations of production, elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and developed by Marxist scholars and the theoretical activity of the communist and workers' parties, helps to understand the inner connection between the development of society

and the individual, and the advance of science and technology. It is now the starting point for thorough scientific discussion about the substance of the STR and its social, cultural, moral and other consequences. Here, Czechoslovak and Soviet scientists, working together, have done a great deal that has won world recognition.

In the light of the Marxist-Leninist view of the STR, the CPCz's 14th Congress in 1971 said that mastery of this process was one of the decisive conditions for our victory in the worldwide context between socialism and capitalism. The Congress emphasized the growing role of scientific and technical progress in our country's economic and social conditions, which are characterized by the fact that, on the one hand, the extensive sources of economic development are gradually running out, and on the other, growing importance attaches to its new factors, especially the STR and international socialist economic integration. That is why the Congress recognized the full use of the potentialities of scientific and technical progress provides the only possible alternative for the further development of our socialist economy.

The CPCz's 15th Congress in 1976 endorsed and further elaborated this political line. The party's efforts are now concentrated on consistently tackling the concrete tasks connected with its practical realization. Indeed, we have every right to say that we have scored some successes in this area.

Czechoslovakia now has extensive and sophisticated research facilities. Today, 165,000 men and women work in this area, as compared with 147,000 in 1970. In the past few years, the party and the government have put through a number of concrete measures aimed to accelerate scientific and technical progress. These are designed to exert a comprehensive influence on all the main elements in the development of new products in the national economy, ranging from the mechanism of planning, management, financing and price-information, to organizational relations between science and production. As a result, more than 40 per cent of the products in the fifth five-year period (1971-1975) were up to world technical and economic standards.

The building of a developed socialist society calls for a level of scientific and technical progress that paves the way for comprehensive automation and mechanization of the main production processes. The modern, computer-run automaton is, strictly speaking, no longer a tool, but a technical system which is itself made up of a number of machines. The gradual and ever broader installation in production of automated systems, transit and information facilities, and equipment for the service industries is the main line in building up the material and technical basis for developed socialism and communism. After

all, it is automation, the universal industrial form, that promotes revolutionary changes in man's status in production and the character of his labor when it is integrated with socialist social relations.

The nature of the communist formation is in complete accord with the intrinsic trends of the STR. This is an objective regularity which is not minimized or invalidated by the fact that the level of economic development in most of the countries where the socialist revolution has won out lower than that in the industrialized capitalist countries. Even today, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries have yet to catch up with the most advanced capitalist countries in the level of development of some types of hardware and in labor productivity.

However, for a full picture of the scientific and technical potential of socialism and the prospects for its growth, one must bear in mind that the building up of the material and technical basis is now being completed in most CMEA countries and this will usher in a new stage in the contest with the capitalist countries in scientific and technical progress. The CMEA countries' advantage in economic-development rates and their ever closer scientific, technical and economic cooperation provide the premises for existing socialism's gradual but ever more rapid and confident advance to the forefront of scientific and technical progress. General Secretary of the CPCz and President of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak has said: 'The main line of our further economic development is extension and deepening of socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries. This dynamic cooperation promotes ever fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the working people of the socialist countries, the boosting of labor productivity and efficiency of production, and a qualitatively better solution of important general problems.'²

One example is the progress in space exploration under the Inter-cosmos program. Czechoslovakia is a relatively small country with limited economic resources, as compared with those required for space exploration. Had it not been a member of the close-knit family of socialist countries, it could hardly have sent one of its citizens to man a station in orbit.

The socialist countries have yet another advantage in scientific and technical progress. When working out their policy in this area, our party and other fraternal parties always lays emphasis on its social content. What has always been and is crucial for us is who stands to benefit from the results of scientific and technical progress, what it gives the working people, the individual and society as a whole. It is here that the opposite approaches by socialism and capitalism to scientific and technical progress and evaluation of its results are most pronounced. We all remember the hopes which in the 60s were

pinned on the STR in the capitalist countries. These have not been realized because in the 70s the contradictions of capitalist society were further aggravated as it moved into another economic crisis with growing unemployment. As a result, some sections of the population in the capitalist countries are disappointed with scientific and technical progress and even tend to condemn science and technology.

This suggests an obvious conclusion: when profit is the driving force behind scientific and technical advance, society has to pay a high price. Science can be fully developed and put to practical use for the good of society only in definite social conditions, which rule out any form of man's exploitation of man and which make it possible to use scientific and technical achievements in a balanced manner for the benefit of the working people. Capitalism is incapable of providing anything of the sort.

It is now becoming ever more obvious that socialism alone produces the forms for realizing scientific and technical achievements that meet the requirements both of the STR and of social progress. Our own experience and that of other socialist countries shows the truth of the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the establishment of new, communist relations entails, apart from everything else, a restructuring of the whole material and technical foundation of society, of which the STR is now an instrument. That is why the guidance of scientific and technical progress is an important political task. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU: 'We communists proceed from the belief that the scientific and technical revolution acquires a true orientation consistent with the interests of man and society only under socialism. In turn, the ultimate objectives of the social revolution, the building of a communist society, can only be attained on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress.'³

The social content of the STR has now acquired special importance, notably because the level of scientific and technical progress attained has given man possession of vast forces. These can be used to multiply the potentialities of his all-round development many times over, but they can also become a weapon for destroying the whole of humanity. As compared with the 19th century industrial revolution, the current STR not only has a far broader sweep and faster pace of change in technology, but also primarily entails qualitative changes in the structure of the productive forces and the character of material production, and through these in the whole of human life. That is why it must be controlled by society to prevent individuals or groups from jeopardizing the very existence of humanity for reasons of short-term or individual gain. That is why it cannot be allowed to develop haphazardly or automatically, which is what happens through the operation of private-property relations under capitalism. This can

slow down or distort or even have a fatal effect on the advance of civilization.

The insistent need for comprehensive and conscious guidance of social processes has now become so obvious that even some bourgeois leaders have had to realize this. But because of its endemic contradictions, capitalism is incapable of coping with the task. Its fulfillment is inseparable from the socialist transformation of society, which establishes social property in the means of production, so providing the possibility for balanced direction of social processes for the benefit of society as a whole, which creates the relevant political instrument: the power of the working class and the socialist state, its key institution.

However, it would be wrong to assume that these potentialities and advantages of socialism are realized automatically, of themselves. The socialist society does not result from the blind operation of spontaneous forces, but emerges and develops on the basis of ever more profound knowledge and purposeful use of the objective regularities of social development. To make the utmost use of socialism's potentialities and to tie in scientific and technical progress with social progress, there is a need for the conscious, purposeful and essentially political activity carried on by the Communist Party.

Our party is fully aware of its responsibility both to the working class and all the other working people of its country, and to the international working-class and communist movement. It has constantly kept within its field of vision the management of scientific and technical progress and perfection of its political line in this area. Thus, in 1974, our party's Central Committee met in plenary session for a special discussion of these matters.

The CPCz believes that its role in guiding scientific and technical progress consists in mapping out its fundamental lines, which spring from the level of scientific and technical development, and our country's potentialities and requirements, and in tying these in with the goals and lines of socio-economic, political and cultural development.

The use of all the advantages of socialism to speed scientific and technical progress is an important aspect of the CPCz's policy in this field. These include: social property in the means of production; a planned economy; absence of socio-economic barriers to the use of scientific and technical achievements; the possibility of concentrating facilities and resources along the main lines on the scale of the whole country; and a coherent technical policy pursued by the state. When considering the advantages of socialism, one must point to the fact that the broad masses of people have a direct stake in the development of science and technology, for they have learned from their own experience that faster scientific and technical progress and the

development of socialist production help to raise their standard of living and improve working conditions.

Consequently, the CPCz's policy for scientific and technical progress has two main aspects. On the one hand, it is comprehensive and helps to tie in scientific and technical development with all the other factors of socio-economic growth, and on the other, it has a humanistic orientation geared to the benefit of man, and takes account of all the effects the STR has on the individual and society.

In a speech at a Plenary Meeting of the CPCz Central Committee in March 1978, General Secretary Gustav Husak said: 'Far from everyone understands that science helps to change not only the nature of human labor but also the whole material and spiritual way of human life. It was emphasized at the 15th Congress of the CPCz that the struggle for scientific and technical progress is a primary task for the whole party. The communists have the duty to give a lead in the struggle for sustained technical progress, to do their utmost in supporting technical innovation and consistently fighting technical inertness.

'This is also closely connected with the task of securing a higher standard of workmanship, efficiency and economy.'⁴

Acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress, the growing renewal of the technical and technological basis of production, improving the quality of products and efficiency of management now have high priority in the party's economic policy. We have devoted special attention to boosting labor productivity through structural changes in the technico-production basis. That is why we seek to secure the fastest growth of labor productivity above all in sectors which determine the level of technical development of the national economy as a whole. Thus, in the Sixth Five-Year period, we have assigned a special role to engineering, and the implementation within its framework of programs like the manufacture of plant for atomic-power generation and the chemical industry, delivery of complete sets of hydraulic equipment, etc. We intend to have 90 per cent of the industrial-output increment come from higher labor productivity.

We have also been working to perfect planning, management and the organization of development in science and technology, and faster use of their achievements in the national economy. This covers every element of the system, with 'pure science' in the form of basic research at the one pole, and its materialization, application in the form of new hardware and technology, at the other. We attach special importance to the harmonious development of all the elements of the science-engineering-production system, and have sought to orient all the communists involved in applying scientific and technical

achievements upon this task. A decision of the May 1974 Plenary Meeting of the CPcz CC says: 'An effort must be made to have all the executives who are communists regard fulfillment of the tasks of scientific and technical progress as a party task. To forget or neglect these tasks is tantamount of losing one's sense of party responsibility for the sector of which one is in charge, and to committing a breach of the duties enjoined on the communists by the party rules.'

How does the CPCz expect this task to be fulfilled? Our work is being carried on over a broad spectrum, and I shall deal here with only some of its lines which are connected mainly with the activity of the Prague city party organization. First of all, there is the effort to speed scientific and technical progress and perfect the links between science, engineering and production by encouraging the creative initiatives and activity of the working people.

Prague, of course, has a leading position in many sectors of scientific and technical progress. These have resulted above all from the fact that the city has a concentration of a vast production facilities, that a number of Prague plants are enterprises with long-standing progressive traditions, tremendous design and technological experience, and that the working class of Prague has a high level of skills, consciousness and discipline. Our city also has a powerful scientific and technical potential consisting of numerous research and development organizations and higher schools.

Something like 250,000 persons are engaged in production within the city's limits. In research and development (R and D), we have over 58,000 men and women, that is, virtually one-third of the country's specialists in this field. A contribution to scientific and technical progress also comes from 45,000 specialists working outside R and D establishments, and from the scientific personnel of a number of institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the higher schools. All of this creates favorable premises for making scientific and technical development in Prague dynamic, and promoting similar trends in the whole of the national economy, setting an example in establishing an organic connection between scientific and technical progress and the shaping of the socialist way of life so as to make our city's development truly harmonious.

The CPCz Prague City Committee noted these favorable conditions for establishing even closer ties between science and technology, and production, and issued a call for a movement under this slogan: 'Blend science with production to fulfill the tasks of the sixth five-year period.'

This call met with a broad response at the city's industrial enterprises and among a sizable section of the scientific community. The movement has been steadily gaining momentum and acquiring ever

greater scope. It is a great help in combining the creative initiatives and activity of the technical intelligentsia with the initiatives and activity of workers, technicians and executives. This pooling of efforts is reflected in the adoption of socialist commitments which help to concentrate the efforts of the collective upon the solution of important technical problems and the most rapid application of their results in practice. As a rule, such commitments are adopted with the active participation of party branches.

One can now sum up the early results of the movement. It has markedly helped to encourage the creative initiative and activity of engineers and technicians in Prague and has become an important factor of scientific and technical progress. At many enterprises, it has already acted as an instrument in the framing and fulfillment of the plan, i.e., it has become a component part of the management of economic development. Fulfillment of these commitments helps to raise the technical level of production, renew the range of products and technology, modify production programs, perfect organization and management, and improve working and living conditions in the city.

Another important feature of the CPCz's policy in science and technology and their use is that the party has carefully considered and assessed not only the technico-economic effect but also the social and political results of any major decision in their field. That is why we do not accept forms of scientific and technical progress which may be satisfactory in terms of economic rationality and efficiency but which have negative socio-political consequences.

That is why the CPCz's policy here is so structured that scientific and technical progress is subordinated to the tasks of social progress and is geared to the overall state plan for the development of the economy and culture. The party's urge to harmonize economic, scientific, technical and social policy was spelled out in the *Directives of the 15th Congress of the CPCz for Czechoslovakia's Economic and Social Development in 1976-1980*.

The CPCz attaches much importance to the problems which arise from the changing content and character of labor under the STR. The reduction in the share of heavy manual labor, the growing specialization and skills of manpower, the introduction of comprehensive automation and mechanization, all of these are more than production problems, although they are highly important in boosting labor productivity. They are also of great socio-political importance, because they affect the interests of classes and social groups and require a structuring of the whole system of personnel training, workers in particular, a plan for further developing the system of education in Czechoslovakia, worked out on the initiative and under the guidance

of the CPCz Central Committee, provides for the creation of conditions in which most young workers acquire a complete secondary education.

Another aspect of the introduction of new hardware is equally important. It is no secret that under socialism this process does not run smoothly and that it produces various difficulties and contradictions, arising, in particular, from the growing nervous and mental effort by personnel, monotony of operations and other similar factors. We are aware of these problems, which are often referred to as problems of 'humanizing labor,' and we intend to solve them. Thus, we have given much attention to improving safety techniques, shop-floor hygiene and aesthetics, elimination of overstrain, etc.

We know that similar measures are also being taken in the capitalist countries, but there they have limits which are rigidly imposed by the interests of business and the drive for profits, and even within that narrow framework are put through under pressure from the working people themselves. Besides, measures of this kind are about all that can be done in the bourgeois society to 'humanize labor.'

Our party, like other ruling fraternal parties, sets itself a more meaningful goal. It is to make labor creative and to provide conditions for each working person and for society, so that work becomes a source of joy and elevates the individual's stature as a personality. This is a task which entails more than a restructuring of production on a new technical basis, for its solution requires the formation of new social relations at every level: from the enterprise and the production team in the shop to the socio-economic and political organization of society as a whole. Such relations are created by socialism, which ensures the unity of the fundamental interests of all the classes and social groups, prevents the manipulation of people in the process of labor depriving them of individuality, and involves the broad masses in the running of society. Our party has been working persistently to perfect the existing forms of the working people's participation in measures that determine the content and the character of labor, in the planning of social development of the enterprise, etc., forms which have justified themselves in practice. We are also looking for new ones. We believe that the ever broader involvement of the working people in the management of production and social development, and in cultural, scientific and technical creativity is a key condition for gradually converting labor into the cardinal value of life and the big factor of the individual's development.

What are the lines on which this process has run in our country? First, the party and the trade unions have taken steps to enhance the role of production conferences at enterprises. We have been dealing with an ever wider range of questions, and our decisions have been

having an ever greater impact on the work of the organs of management and administration. Second, we have a growing movement for new ideas and inventions. Third, representatives of production collectives are co-opted to government agencies and take an active part in their work. Fourth, there is a gradual review of the style and methods of management for the purpose of giving an even greater impetus to the working people's social activity. With that end in view, we have emulation campaigns for the title of socialist-work teams, the spread of the best methods through exchange of advanced experience, and assistance in the framing and implementation of plans for social development at work places, etc.

Way of life is a criterion of social progress. Our party believes that perfection of the socialist way of life is connected above all with the moulding of the new man. Of course, the task of making everyone a truly well-developed personality will be fulfilled only by the communist society. Still, even today, our party seeks to lay the groundwork for this by pursuing a consistent and effective policy in the field of education, upbringing and culture. Thus, we believe that the importance of the above-mentioned slogan — 'Blend science and production to fulfill the tasks of the sixth five-year period' — lies not only in the fact that it is an effective means of raising the efficiency and quality of our national economy. We hold that this movement is valuable also because it helps to consolidate features of the socialist way of life, like collectivism, friendship and cooperation between the working class and the people's intelligentsia, and to develop labor and political activity and initiative.

Our party feels that the guarantee of success in its activity in guiding technological progress lies in the fact that it is scientifically based and subordinated to the goals of further raising the people's material and cultural standards, which is why it invariably has the people's support. Successful solution of economic, scientific, technical and the key social problems in the socialist-community countries is of tremendous international importance, for it brings home to ever larger numbers of people all over the world that socialism and humanism are indivisible, and that only in the socialist society does scientific and technical progress provide a way of life fit for human beings.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 3, pp. 162-163.

2. *Rude Pravo*, June 1, 1978.

3. *25th Congress of the CPSU. Documents and Resolutions*. Moscow, 1976, pp. 56-57.

4. *Rude pravo*, March 18, 1978.



Unity of the fighting masses

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THE RESULTS OF THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA (CPSL)

The 10th Congress of the CPSL in March 1978 was preceded by three very intensive inner-party discussions organized by the Central Committee. In the course of them, we made a self-critical review of our party's experience over the last ten years. This was a unique experience because there were many things that we had never gone through before.

For the first time in its history, the CPSL had a United Front (UF) with the party of the national bourgeoisie, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). For the first time in our history, we participated in the governments.

There two factors alone would make this period quite unique in our experience. As the Congress documents show, it had both positive and negative features.

The CPSL was able to make quite a big contribution to the positive political and socio-economic changes in the country. Because we entered the United Front with the Socialist Party (LSSP) and the SLFP we were able to defeat the reactionary parties in the 1970 elections. This was a great achievement of the left-wing and democratic forces. In the resultant situation, the masses were able to put effective pressure on the government in order to achieve important measures of socio-economic advance.

The adoption of the new republican constitution (1972) marked the completion of the struggle for political independence. A number of measures helped to carry the struggle for economic independence — I have in mind the big expansion of the public sector in industry, in trade, i.e., particularly in import-export and wholesale trade, and also in the plantation economy. The state very considerably extended its share in the banking system. But perhaps the most important advance in these years was the nationalization of the big plantations, both foreign and Sri Lankan, in 1975.

An agrarian reform, even if a limited one, was carried out. Our

party made a special contribution to the changes in urban relations, particularly the virtual abolition of slum landlordism. Democratic and trade union rights were also extended. All of this called for tireless struggle, but the positive features of the past period are sometimes overlooked and taken for granted.

On the whole, important advances were made. Still the forces through whose efforts this was done met with a big defeat in the July 1977 elections. The reason for this was analyzed in a resolution of the CPSL Central Committee in August 1977, and in especial detail in a document for the inner-party discussion adopted by the CC in November of the same year.

First of all, we had to ask ourselves how is it that the various countries on the South-Asian subcontinent turned out to have similar experiences. One of the reasons for this, at any rate, is that national-bourgeoisie governments on the subcontinent began to receive support from the progressive forces from the early 70s, i.e., at a time when the crisis of the world capitalist system began to assume very sharp forms. These governments were unable to take the necessary firm decisions to help the countries on the subcontinent pull out of the grave situation produced by their dependence on the world capitalist economy.

Thus, only two paths were open to such a government in Sri Lanka. The first — in the foreign-policy sphere — would have consisted in building up relations with the world socialist community and with other developing countries. The second — in the domestic sphere — would have consisted in a radical restructuring of socio-economic relations in a socialist-oriented way.

Unfortunately, this proved to be impossible because the SLFP, the party of the national bourgeoisie, was in command of the situation. It pursued a policy of development along the capitalist road, first from a nationalistic approach and within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and later in collaboration with foreign capital and with ever greater use of authoritarian methods. In later years, the SLFP leadership sought to tie Sri Lanka's economy even closer to the world capitalist system. This was being done through emphasis on so-called export orientation and agro-based industries. At the same time, relations with the socialist countries were maintained more or less on balance, and in some cases even declined.

As a result, the country was fully exposed to the impact of the world capitalist crisis on its economy. Inflation grew rapidly, and unemployment assumed menacing proportions, as one in four able-bodied persons remained jobless, most of them young people. Essential goods were very scarce, prices were high, and as a result, despite all the progressive measures put through, the people's living condi-

tions continued to deteriorate. All of this was used by the right-wing forces to get support from the population.

There were two trends within the UF and the government. One of them, representing the masses, consisted of the left-wing parties and democratic elements of the SLFP. From outside, pressure was brought to bear on the government by the working class, the trade unions and other mass movements demanding more radical changes.

But the chief trend represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It is true that at the early stages of the UF it needed the support of the left-wing forces in order, first, to win political power, and second, to stay in power. For the sake of this, the national bourgeoisie had to make a number of concessions. But its representatives in the government always made sure that the concessions to the left-wing forces and the positive changes did not go beyond the framework of capitalist development. That was one of the reasons for the defeat of the left-wing and democratic forces, for the fact that these changes did not exert the expected political influence on the masses when the elections came in July 1977.

Furthermore, as the changes proceeded, the masses stepped up their actions. Their demands for further nationalization became sharper and more insistent, and the question of capitalist relations in the country itself came into the picture. So the national bourgeoisie decided to put a stop to this. First, the right-wing leadership of the SLFP got rid of the Socialist Party,¹ making use of some of its mistakes. Then it launched an offensive against the working class, students and other democratic sections protesting against the slide to the right.² When our party championed these forces, the resultant situation was one in which we were no longer able to continue in the alliance and we withdrew both from the government and the UF.

After this, our party set up the United Left Front (ULF) with the Socialist Party and a radical section which had broken away from the SLFP. But the ULF did not appear to the people as a viable alternative either to the United National Party (UNP) or the SLFP. The Front came too late; it was formed two weeks before the nominations were called for the general elections. It was only able to publish and distribute its manifesto in the course of the elections. And although the ULF polled 500,000 votes it was unable to win any seats in parliament.

It was the policies of the leadership of the national bourgeoisie and the SLFP that was the main cause of the defeat of the left and democratic forces in the July elections. But it was necessary to establish to what extent our own party was responsible for these negative phenomena. Accordingly we had a most self-critical analysis

in the course of which a number of mistakes of a right-opportunist nature made by the CPSL were brought out.

First, we had not made a proper study of the changes within the national bourgeoisie of Sri Lanka over the past two decades, above all within that section of it that was in the leadership of the SLFP. This section was set up in the 50s by the representatives of what I would call the 'small bourgeoisie.'⁴ At that time, they were in conflict with imperialism, foreign capital and circles of the big bourgeoisie which had already become a part of the colonial establishment and which hindered the growth of the new sections. That is why they felt the need to cooperate with the working-class movement and sought its support.

But by the 70s, the situation had changed: the 'small bourgeoisie' had largely become a big bourgeoisie, and the first signs of monopoly growth were appearing. The internal market became much too small for them and they were anxious to find markets abroad. However, their technological backwardness, shortage of foreign exchange and certain raw materials was an obstacle, and all of this encouraged collaboration with foreign capital. Sporadic at first, it eventually became a permanent line of the leading sections of the national bourgeoisie. And this meant that the capacity of the national bourgeoisie to lead a united front had been eroded, and that it was becoming less and less reliable as an ally in our struggle and increasingly inclined to compromise with imperialism.

Had we taken all of this into proper account, the CPSL would have adopted much more aggressive tactics. However, we still believed that the changes within the national bourgeoisie were not so great. Subjective assessments prevailed over the scientific class analysis. That was one of our big mistakes.

Second, in applying the tactics of the UF toward the national bourgeoisie, the CPSL did not properly use the correct and well-trained tactics of unity and struggle. Believing that the main task was to maintain the UF government, we over-emphasized unity and underestimated struggle. One very bad mistake was that we failed duly to emphasize the independent role of the Communist Party.

We confined much of our struggles to within the government and the UF, and did not sufficiently take them out to the masses. As a result, the masses were not always able clearly to distinguish between our party's policy and that of the national bourgeoisie, and often lumped us together with them. Naturally, we suffered in the process.

Our whole experience, it was emphasized at the Congress, indicated that the communists' work in parliament should always rest on mass struggle, which should have priority. Similarly, if the Communist Party's activity within the UF is to be successful, it must

always be backed up with mass struggles. Our stand must be clear to the masses, because only then will they have a correct understanding of the party, its actions and motives. And whenever the need for a compromise arises, the masses will understand this only if they know that our real position was in the preceding period. Otherwise, they will judge it only from the results of the discussions and agreements. And if massive action, the mass struggle is not developed, the masses never know what the party's independent stand is and what it is trying to do.

The CPSL's errors also resulted from some objective factors. One of these was the tremendous influence of the petty-bourgeois sections on the country's political life. Another is the big change in the composition of the working-class movement over the past 30 years. It no longer has within its ranks a large section of the old generation of the working class, which grew up under the influence of the Communist Party and was involved in the big struggles it led. Some have retired or died. Many immigrant workers of Indian origin have gone home. Meanwhile, because of the expansion of the state sector in industry, a large number of educated rural youths came into the working-class movement, and they have no big experience like our old comrades. They do not know of the role of the Communist Party in organizing the working class, and, naturally, do not remember its past struggles. This has created considerable difficulties in the party's work. Besides, a large section of our party itself consists of 'white collar workers' representing various petty-bourgeois sections.

All of this became the basis both for the growth of right tendencies in our party and even of some ultra-leftist tendencies. But in this particular period, the right tendency prevailed. Our November 1977 document showed how this was reflected in the various spheres of the party's activity, and the need, for instance, to deepen the Marxist-Leninist education of its members, second, to increase the share of the proletariat within the party, and third, to enhance its vigilance with respect to such phenomena. We wanted to correct the mistakes made in the party's work, while maintaining its unity. I believe that we have succeeded in doing this. Although many hostile elements tried hard to fish in troubled waters in the hope of creating a split in the party, the results of the Congress show that this did not happen.

The Congress reached the conclusion that the situation should be righted through the efforts of the whole party, of all of its members, with the mass extra-parliamentary struggle becoming the main form of our activity: such is the requirement of the present political situation.

The present government came to power on the most outright demagoguery. The UNP is a party of the top section of the bourgeoisie and

the big landed interests. However, they tried to conceal this by claiming that the party had acquired a 'new image,' had changed and become more radical, a sort of a democratic socialist party. They promised everything to everybody. Those who had nothing to eat were promised eight pounds of cereals per person a week. The unemployed were promised jobs, and were even given certain cards which they could allegedly produce to get a job right away after the UNP victory. The homeless were promised housing. The national minorities were promised that they would be justly treated, etc. The UNP leaders played on the mistakes of the UF government, principally those of the SLFP leadership. At the same time, the UNP leaders quite naturally promised the capitalists that their interests and property would be safeguarded.

As a result of this campaign, the UNP won an absolute majority in parliament (139 out of 168), while polling only 51 per cent of the vote — 3.3 million. The SLFP won 1.7 million votes, with 8 seats, and the ULF, half a million votes. But the so-called democratic electoral system in our country is so peculiar that the ULF with its half million votes got no seats at all, while the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), which polled 350,000 votes, got 18 seats and become the leader of the opposition.

Once in power, the UNP quickly showed its true colors. Its basic line is trying to salvage, by the most brutal methods, the ruinous policy of development on capitalist lines. They have been making out-and-out concessions to foreign capital. Our country's sovereignty and political independence are endangered and eroded by a system of 'enclaves,' 'industrial productivity zones' or 'free trade zones,' which are now being set up for foreign capital to invest in and to repatriate profits unhampered either by tax laws or labor laws, or any other Sri Lanka laws.

Another main feature of the UNP government's policy is priority for the 'free play' of the market forces. It has done away with all planning even in the defective forms in which it used to be practised, and instituted a 'free market economy.' Many nationalized enterprises are being returned to their former owners behind the facade of their appointment as managers. The cooperative sector in agriculture is being fiercely attacked. In other words, the country's future development has been completely farmed out to the capitalist class.

At the same time, there is a drive against the living standards of the masses. In response to a demand from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the rupee has been devalued by nearly 120 per cent. Consumer subsidies for about half the population have been cut, and they are to be abolished altogether

within three years. This is far from a full list of the government's anti-popular measures.

Bourgeois democracy has prevented the UNP from conducting a policy which has met with growing resistance. The ruling party has to move to ever more authoritarian forms of power, and it has tried to secure them in every way: the constitution has already been amended and a presidential system introduced; an effort is now being made to change the electoral system so as to perpetuate a two-party regime on the British model and to eliminate the left-wing parties from the political scene. Demonstrations have been banned and laws passed to deprive the trade unions of the rights they have won. An effort is being made to suppress the political opposition by means of official and unofficial thuggery and terrorism.

However, the UNP government is not yet stable enough to do all this. There is a rapid growth of contradictions between it and the people, especially those who were deceived by the promises of the UNP leaders during the election campaign. No wonder that the UNP parliamentary majority was forced to pass a special law protecting members of parliament against criticism, assault and threats from their own supporters, whose who had voted for the UNP. Its leadership is now setting up a special paramilitary police force recruited on the principle of loyalty to the UNP. This corps is to be almost as big as the permanent police force. Indeed, this is for all practical purposes an attempt to set up 'storm troopers.'

But in their efforts to set up an authoritarian regime, the UNP rulers have come up against the country's strong democratic tradition resting on the influence of the working-class and trade-union movement. The people will not accept the authoritarian measures the government wants to impose. It is true that the government has sought to use its control of the mass media further to confuse the population. But the UNP leaders have failed to stop the decline of their prestige. Every day brings evidence of this. No Sri Lanka government has ever lost the people's support as fast as this one has. The period of active confrontation between the masses of people and the government is rapidly approaching.

The CPSL's main task in the forthcoming period is to safeguard what the people have achieved in the two decades of struggle in the conditions of independence, and to defend them against the fierce attacks of the UNP government. This means above all defending the democratic rights, living standards and vital interests of the people.

The party's 10th Congress said that we shall act together with any force prepared to carry on such a struggle. We do not discriminate here in any way. We do not care where they stood in the general elections, nor do we care what their attitude to the Communist Party

is. If they are prepared to struggle against one or more of these abuses we, for our part, are ready to act together with them on concrete issues.

Now, there is the struggle carried on by the trade unions of different party affiliation against the offensive on their rights, against the cuts in real wages because of the devaluation of the rupee, and against the anti-trade union laws. In the recent period, the communist-led trade unions took the initiative to form a very broad front of activity, and this struggle is developing quite well. The same holds true of the students' struggle against the policy of the ruling circles in higher education.

In carrying on this work, our party always takes a realistic approach. We take account of the fact that people have different levels of consciousness and readiness for struggle. That is why we are prepared to use various forms of struggle, like collection of signatures, strikes, demonstrations, etc.

Foreign policy is another front in our present struggle. The issue here is defense of the traditional friendship with the socialist-community countries and also the positive anti-imperialist content of the non-alignment movement. The government finds it hard openly to come out against these lines of our foreign policy, which have much popular support. Still, ever more stubborn attempts are being made to water down its positive content.

The CPSL can play a big part by leading the struggle in defense of the progressive content of non-alignment, for détente, disarmament and against the subversive acts of imperialism, which has been increasing its blows against the forces of national liberation and social progress. Up to now, the effort here has been inadequate. We must right the situation and make sure that in this area there is no backsliding from the positions attained.

The communists understand that it is not enough to engage in defensive struggles. While defending our gains, we cannot stop there, we must go forward and work for new measures in social progress. The Communist Party must put forward an alternative to the capitalist-development policy pursued by the UNP and the SLFP. The main content of such an alternative policy should be:

- defense and consolidation of the existing gains;
- accelerated fulfillment of the outstanding tasks of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution through winning economic independence, defense of the vital needs of the masses, complete democratization of social life and advance in the cause of social progress;
- establishment in the sphere of foreign policy of close ties with

the socialist community and other states fighting for peace, and against imperialism and colonialism.

We must also set up a political organization as a real viable alternative to the UNP and SLFP. Here we must start from what we have, and what we have is a United Left Front, which includes the Socialist Party. Of course, this is not fully representative of all left opinion in the country but it does involve the two main left parties, and without them no left front in our country can even be seriously considered.

The ULF must, first, be consolidated, and second, expanded. This requires a joint program formulating a common goal, the perspectives of a socialist-oriented development, formulated in a way that would make it truly applicable to our country's conditions, and understandable to the people. The CPSL has put its proposals on this matter for the consideration of the ULF.

Once such a joint program is adopted, we could work to bring in the other left-wing groups to the ULF as well. In Sri Lanka they are fairly numerous. Some of them are ultra-left, others are not quite sure where they stand. There is a widespread view among many that all one needs to take part in a left-wing front is to describe oneself as a leftist. But that is unacceptable to the communists. We must unite with those who want to work for such a joint program and on its basis.

Of course, the communists are aware that the left forces cannot carry on a successful struggle alone. We want the involvement of broad democratic forces, including the petty and 'small' bourgeois forces which now support the SLFP or which are independent and which oppose the present sell-out to foreign capital and special favoritism to foreign capital and the big bourgeoisie. We want to involve in a broad united front the rural and urban intelligentsia which may not for the time being be ready to join the left forces and which remain within the SLFP. However, so long as that party is dominated by the national bourgeoisie there can be no question of any united front with it on an inter-party basis. The Congress declared this most definitely.

Nor does the CPSL have any doubt that it is the left-wing parties that must form the nucleus, the guiding force of a broad democratic front. This should not be a mere equation of parties or agreement between top leaders; it must be a fighting front of the masses, an action front in which the leading role would belong to the working class and the radical petty-bourgeoisie with an alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the core.

The influence of the front must be extended to the national minorities, within which there is now evidence of new and progressive trends, faster class and political polarization, especially the rise of a radical petty bourgeoisie. The official leadership of the Tamil

United Liberation Front (TULF) is a mixture of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, but we think that at the moment the petty-bourgeois elements are in the ascendant. Some of the TULF leaders have favorably commented on our 10th Congress declaration recognizing the right of self-determination for the Tamil minority on the basis of regional autonomy within the framework of a united Lanka state. In the past, we made certain mistakes on this line, and the 10th Congress has laid the basis for correcting them.

In our inner-party life, the 10th Congress recognized the need, first, to put an end to rightist trends. At the same time, there is a need to combat any attempts to substitute an ultra-leftist deviation for the rightist deviations, which could now be a specific reflection of petty-bourgeois trends. The important thing is scrupulously to implement the Marxist-Leninist line.

Second, we must vigorously recruit workers to the party. There is a need to set up and strengthen party branches at the factories and other enterprises. We now have many branches among the 'white collar workers,' but their number among the industrial workers is insufficient. Up to now, not enough attention has been given to this. There is also a need for the leaders of the working class to carry on political work, and to make sure that our leaders in the trade unions are not only leaders in the economic struggle but also political leaders. This is one of the main tasks of the party's activity in the working-class movement.

Third, the task has been set — for the first time in 35 years — to overcome the neglect of work among the peasantry. In the past we have carried it on from time to time in a few scattered areas while the bulk of the peasantry remained untouched. There is a need to concentrate on this direction. When working in the rural localities we should lay the main emphasis on winning over the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants, seasonal workers and sharecroppers. For each of these sections, the party has put forward concrete demands.

The CPSL sets the task of changing the organization of life in the countryside, which is now dominated by rich peasants and the bureaucracy. The party must seek to change the balance of forces in the agricultural cooperatives and other agricultural agencies, to give the rural working people more weight in them and help them become the governing force in these bodies. The party demands a new agrarian reform.

The Congress also set the task of working more vigorously among youth. Within its ranks there are now numerous radical sections. Because of certain mistakes which our party made in the past they were alienated from us; they saw us as a part of the Establishment. When they came into the political field, we were already in the

government. We were persons upon whom they made demands, and not those who lead their struggle. And the fact that we had failed duly to mobilize them led many of them into various ultra-leftist groups.

Today, the youth are increasingly aware that ultra-leftism leads them nowhere, and that the right reactionary parties want to use their opportunism, by offering, among other things, individual solutions for personal problems (mainly jobs). Some succumb to this, others begin increasingly to turn to the left parties.

On the whole, the Congress was a great success. Of course, we faced many difficulties; the party's numerous enemies predicted a split and claimed that it would be faced with insoluble problems.

Actually, there was a free discussion at the Congress within the framework of party unity. Although the criticism was sharp, it related mainly to the party's style of work in the past and the party's exercise of leadership in concrete situations. The main thing is the result. And the result of the Congress was that all the documents were adopted unanimously. Even on the theses concerning the party's tasks in the new political situation, which aroused the greatest discussion, only five persons voted against and one abstained.

Let us note that many delegates — nearly 40 per cent — attended a Party Congress for the first time, and had their first opportunity to see party democracy at work. Some of them may have been confused by the sharp exchange of opinions, but the party's unity was ultimately demonstrated. This will help them to realize the role of the party, the role of party democracy. It will help them to understand that the party's strength lies in its capacity to unite on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

At the Congress, there was also unanimous emphasis on the importance of abiding by these principles, of unity on their basis, and within the international communist movement. The incontrovertible fact that different countries can reach socialism along different roads cannot be contrasted to the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are of universal validity.

Our party's participation in the great world communist movement is an inexhaustible source of strength and inspiration. The CPSL, reaffirming its solidarity with all the fighters for the noble cause of communism, rejects categorically all attempts to inject the poison of anti-Sovietism into this movement. We shall always be true to friendship with Lenin's party, the CPSU, and with the first country of triumphant socialism.

The party is now faced with the task of fulfilling the Congress decisions. This will not be easy. Ahead of us lies a period of acute confrontation with the authorities, a period of mass struggle. At-

tempts by the government to illegalize our party cannot be ruled out either.

The CPSL must break through the demoralization which has existed in the progressive movement and in sections of the mass movement since the defeat in July 1977, and which is being maintained by the repressive policy pursued by the government and the terroristic acts organized by it.

It is to the credit of our party that we have come out with positive solutions aimed to carry the left and progressive movement out of the present impasse. No other party has been able to do this yet. As we make our solutions generally known there will be more and more acceptance of them. The first signs of this are already there. We are sure that things are developing in the right direction and that our party will be able to make the decisive contribution to this development.

1. LSSP representatives were removed from the government in 1975. — *Ed.*
 2. For details see, K.P. Silva. 'Changes in Sri Lanka,' *WMR*, January 1978 — *Ed.*
 3. In contrast to 'petty bourgeoisie,' the author uses the term 'small bourgeoisie' to designate a section of the middle and small entrepreneurial bourgeoisie employing wage labor. — *Ed.*
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The unity of economic and social progress under socialism

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The experience gained by the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries in building socialism shows that as it rises to ever higher stages of maturity, the social aspects of society's development come increasingly to the fore. This regularity of socialist construction was forcefully expressed, in particular, in the large-scale programs for Poland's socio-economic development put forward by the Sixth (1971) and Seventh (1975) Congresses of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP).

This now quite naturally increases the need for a theoretical Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems and tasks arising in this connection, to consolidate the scientific foundations for the parties' activity in the social sphere. I intend to deal here mainly with methodological questions: the conception of social policy under

socialism and its qualitative distinctions from similar policies pursued by capitalist states; the dialectical interconnection of social and economic development at the stage of construction and perfection of developed socialism; and the principles for guiding social processes. These problems are, quite naturally, considered in the light of the PUWP's experience, which is summarized in its documents, and of research by Polish social scientists.

The first thing to emphasize in characterizing social policy under socialism, I feel, is the much wider range of the social relations it covers. In the capitalist countries, social policy deals with separate spheres of social life, like social security, but under socialism it covers all the basic aspects of the people's life and work.

But the main distinction between social policies under the two systems lies in their social, class tenor. Considered in historical terms, the capitalist state's social policy is a response by the ruling class to the mounting struggle of the proletariat and other sections of the working people for their vital interests. Its purpose, metaphorically speaking, is to serve as a drug to ease the social ills and sedate the sharp conflicts generated by capitalism. Thus, under mass pressure from the working people, taxation and social insurance policies are adjusted to take greater account of their interests in the redistribution of the national income. What needs to be borne in mind here is that, although it does reflect the deep-going contradictions engendered by the antagonistic class relations, the capitalist state's social policy diverges from its economic policy, and this discrepancy between the economic and social aspects of development is ultimately determined by the character of the relations of production based on private property and exploitation, by the social inequality which permeates every pore of the bourgeois social organism. But this is unnatural even from the standpoint of ensuring normal social reproduction. Hence the disharmony, instability and internal tension of the capitalist state's social policy as it tries to reconcile the irreconcilable: on the one hand, to meet the working people's growing demands in the material and cultural sphere, and on the other, to safeguard the interests of the ruling class, which regards economic growth exclusively as an opportunity for making profit; and which for that reason concerns itself with social problems only within the narrow limits required for the normal functioning of the reproduction cycle.

With the establishment of working-class power and the advance to the building of the new society, social policy first becomes an expression of the very substance of production, economic relations. It is no longer aimed merely to cure the social ills (unemployment, poverty, crime, etc.); nor is it confined to a mere protection of the interests of the working class by means of, say, a social-security system. Under

socialism, social policy is wholly aimed to solve the vital social problems and develop social relations. Lenin put both economic and political relations in the 'social category' (See *Coll. Works.*, Vol. 23, p. 41). Like the founders of scientific communism, he emphasized that when one says that economic relations are the basis of social development, one should always bear in mind their organic unity with the whole system of social relations, which make up any formation: political, ideological, cultural, family and other relations.

That is why, under socialism social policy, in the true sense of the word, is designed for the all-round improvement of the life of society as a whole. It rests on the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development and is an organic part of the practical activity of the communist parties and socialist states in guiding social processes. The conception of social policy covers a wide range of questions. Thus, the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, calling for a substantial advance in the sphere of social policy, stressed 'questions bearing on the extension of the working people's social rights, improvement of their conditions for work and leisure, and perfection of the public-health system ... The substance of all these tasks is summed up in the slogan: for the further dynamic development of socialist construction, for higher quality of workmanship and better living conditions for the people.'

Social policy also entails the raising of the working people's well-being, the shaping of the socialist way of life, and transformation of society's social structure, that is, perfection of relations between classes and social groups, and between society as a whole and the individual. The supreme goal of social policy is to realize the programmatic task of socialism and communism, which is maximum development of the individual through complete social equality.

Under the socialist system, a close interconnection is established between economic development and social progress, and, so between economic and social policy. Economic growth under socialism ceases to be an end in itself, and becomes a means for the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements. Economic decisions always have definite social consequences, and social programs must necessarily rest on an economic foundation, because social development is impossible in isolation from economic development. Between the two there is a causal nexus, which springs from the close interconnection between economic factors and social relations as a whole.

Of course, it has always been clear that growing social tasks cannot be tackled without expanding the economy. Less attention has been given to another aspect of this problem, namely, the dependence of economic development on the level of satisfaction of social require-

ments. The scientific and technical revolution has fully borne out the bold forecast by the founders of scientific communism that, with scientific and technical progress, the full development of man becomes not only a humanistic ideal but also an actual economic necessity and a key factor of economic growth: man's universal development becomes 'the condition for the universal development of the productive forces.' Consequently, socialism's supreme ideal — to help the individual develop, to give full scope to his abilities — organically blends with the objective requirements of scientific and technical progress and the development of the productive forces.

Of course, one should bear in mind that this is a trend whose realization is not always a smooth process, for even in a socialist society contradictions may also arise between social and economic factors. Thus, even incomplete automation of production, that is, the use of separate automats, may lead to a lowering of demand on the skill standards of the workers involved, or the number of persons with a higher education tends steadily to grow, while a fairly large number of job openings requiring lower training standards remain unfilled. These contradictions, arising in the development of the socialist society, are not, of course, antagonistic and do not invalidate the proposition concerning the unity of social and economic policies under socialism. But they do indicate that this unity cannot be achieved automatically, and that there is a need to find ways and means of painlessly combining the requirements of economic efficiency with the solution of social problems. Besides, these contradictions are a reminder that the close interconnection between social, economic, scientific, technical and other processes under socialism requires a comprehensive approach to any major problems.

Since, as we have seen, economic progress in a socialist society is, in principle, social progress (or, to be more precise, an organic part of it) the communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries have formulated and pursued a *socio-economic policy*. In his Report to the Seventh Congress of the PUWP, Edward Gierek said: 'The party is fully resolved to continue the socio-economic policy for the country's development adopted at the Sixth Congress. This will be expressed above all in the continued interconnection between social and economic development.'

The integration of economic and social policies follows from the character of socialist relations of production and also from the fact that social policy takes over some functions of economic policy and becomes an ever more important instrument in building socialism and communism.

What does this mean?

First of all, it means the growing importance of social criteria in

judging the efficiency of social production. Thus, reduction in the share of living labor, above all the arduous and unattractive kind, appears at first sight to be a purely economic task, springing from the need to raise labor productivity through mechanization and automation. But this is primarily a social problem, because its solution leads to better working conditions and helps to obliterate social distinctions between participants in socialist production.

The growing importance of social criteria not only expresses the deepening interconnection between social and economic development, and between social and economic policies, but also makes one consider the question of their priority. It is a Marxist tenet that economics is the basis of social life, but the goals and lines of economic development are determined by political decisions. The objective dialectics of the historical process is such that as the economic potential of a socialist society grows and its laws are more fully understood, the subjective, human factor also acquires a growing role because society thus obtains ever broader material and theoretical potentialities for conscious, purposeful guidance of its development, with the benefit of man as its goal. Consequently, in the interaction between economic and social policy, the latter becomes increasingly important.

Take the task of further raising the people's living standards, the ultimate goal of the socialist states' entire economic activity. It is clear, however, that the attainment of this goal is not only a task of economic policy. How men and women in socialist society will work and rest within five or ten years from now, what and how much they will consume, what kind of housing they will have, etc., all these are problems which essentially transcend the framework of purely economic, production matters; in solving them we must and do make use of a broad spectrum of criteria and indicators which in the aggregate should bring us as close as possible to the socialist ideal of the individual. But it is equally incontestable that the concrete ways of solving the related problems are determined above all by society's economic potentialities.

Consequently, social policy determines the goals of social development, and economic policy helps to attain them on the basis of the objective laws of socialism and through the formulation of concrete ways and means of activity. A socialist country's development results from two interdependent processes, the social and the economic. Economic factors serve social progress, and the latter, for its part, operates as a highly efficient motive force of the economy.

The blending of economic and social policies produces a number of theoretical and practical problems and the question of the mechanism

of their interaction, at the stage of construction and perfection of developed socialism, is of prime importance.

One of the specific features of this stage is that it produces conditions helping us to make full use of economic laws regulating attainment of the goals of socialist production. Accordingly the socialist state acquires much greater social functions. It not only tackles the tasks arising from the growth of the people's material and spiritual standards, improvement of working and everyday conditions, extension of the services, provisions of pensions, and so on, but also acts as a propellant of the deep-going social changes which lead to a restructuring of all social relations.

Another important feature of the interaction between social and economic policies at the stage of developed socialism is the impact of the former on the latter. This involves seeking latent sources of development and making important structural changes in the economy. It means shaping the people's new requirements and social values and stimulating their social activity. Thus, the growth of consumption has become a new accelerator of economic progress. Considering its value as an important factor for the individual's all-round development, its beneficial influence on the development of production, the party seeks to secure a steady rise in the level at which the people's requirements are satisfied. In the past two years alone, 1976 and 1977, the share of consumption in the national income increased from 65.4 per cent to 67.2 per cent. The cash incomes of the population have gone up by nearly 26 per cent. Considerable progress has been made in social security, which has increased by more than 36 per cent. Housing construction has been developing at a faster rate than in the preceding five-year period (1970-1975). Over half a million families have moved into new housing, which now comes with more floor space and better furnishings.

But one must also see that the mechanism of the interconnection between consumption and the growth of production in our country does not yet fully meet the much higher demands, which is why its operation is frequently attended with difficulties, contradictions and tensions. It was said at the Seventh Congress of the PUWP that the rapid growth of wages and incomes, with basic foodstuff prices over the past several years has led to an unprecedented growth in the consumption of food, consumer goods and services. Despite the sizable increase in industrial and agricultural production, we are not yet able fully to satisfy the population's demand for some goods and services.

The party is aware of these difficulties and their solution is one of the key tasks of its socio-economic policy. Important steps in this direction were taken at the PUWP's Second National Conference

(1978). In particular, it mapped out the necessary measures designed to reduce the disproportion between minimum and average wages, and also more consistently to tie in the growth of wages with the growth of labor productivity, higher efficiency and better workmanship. It recognized as a prime social problem further improvement in the supply of the market, chiefly by tapping internal reserves for increasing the output of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. This year, with the working people's cash incomes going up on average by 6.6 per cent, supplies of goods for the population are to increase by at least 10 per cent, so as to help stabilize the market.

A study of new stimuli in social development to produce an optimal model is one of the vital tasks facing social scientists in this and other socialist countries. In tackling this problem one must evidently take account of the general principles and indicators on which the socialist economy and the socialist way of life are based (including consumption) and also the conditions and specifics of each socialist country.

Defining the economic substance of socialism, Lenin said that it implied 'organization of production of articles by society as a whole, with the object of ensuring full well-being and free, all-round development for its members' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 28). In a developed socialist society, there is a prevailing urge directly and comprehensively to tackle the key tasks connected with the all-round development of the individual. That is why we feel that the formulation of the basic economic law of socialism — maximum satisfaction of society's material and spiritual requirements — is inadequate, for there must certainly also be the need to ensure the all-round development of the individual.

Of course, contrary to a widely accepted view, at the earlier stages of development, planning, as a function of the socialist state, was never confined to purely economic activity, but always dealt with social problems as well, so that development plans consisted of a package of economic and social tasks. At the present stage of development of socialism, its characteristic regularity is an explicit social orientation of national economic plans, because, as I have stressed, simultaneous fulfillment of the tasks of social and economic policy becomes an objective requirement of the development and perfection of the relations of production, and also because the socialist countries now have immensely greater material potentialities for doing this.

Insofar as the shaping of the full personality is the strategic goal of social development, there arises the need to deepen our knowledge of the content of this process. There is a need, for instance, for a thorough analysis of man's place and role within the system of production resting on the new scientific and technical basis. The problem

of the consumption-economic growth connection also appears in a different light. With the new approach, consumption is not only the result of economic development, that is, a secondary factor, but is also the immediate goal of socio-economic progress and a special means exerting a substantial influence on its pace. It is true that this kind of connection between consumption and economic development was never denied in the past either, but the accent was on the dependence of consumption on the development of the economy, and this left in the background the question of the structure of the living standards and underestimated the function of consumption as a stimulus of the progress of society and the individual.

However, it is also quite obvious that the growth of consumption is not at all equivalent to the all-round development of the individual and does not automatically lead to that goal. Capitalism, too, can provide a relatively high level of consumption (although poverty among some strata of the population continues to be its constant concomitant). But at the stage of developed socialism, people, as never before in the past, refuse to 'live by bread alone.' They regard their rising material well-being above all as a condition for the development of their endowments and capabilities, satisfaction of their spiritual requirements, and more active participation in political and social affairs. A fully developed, spiritually rich individual, for his or her part, becomes a vital factor in further boosting production and tackling the most complicated social problems.

The amount of leisure time is increasingly important in satisfying the individual's requirements, notably the urge for self-improvement. Our party and the state have worked to increase the amount of leisure time. Thus, in the past few years, 18 additional non-working days were introduced in Poland. Pursuing a policy of gradually reducing working time and increasing the time available for rest and leisure, the PUWP has been acting on Marx's idea that in the long-term it is not working but leisure time that will be the true measure of social wealth.

It is clear that the new approach fully accords with the recognition of man's primary role in securing social development. With the build-up of developed socialism, there has been ever fuller practical embodiment of the idea that men and women while being objects of government, are also its subjects, society's chief productive force, and the ultimate objective of socialist production. This has led to cardinal conclusions relating to the integration of social and economic policies. One of these is that the 'investment' in human beings, in the development of the diverse forms of their participation in individual and social consumption cannot be regarded simply as a factor of a policy for economic upswing. Similarly, the effort to enhance the quality of workmanship is aimed not only (and even not primarily) to

enhance man's economic efficiency as the chief productive force. While Marxists regard man as the chief productive force, they also believe that *the development of the individual is in itself the greatest good*. There is no contradiction between these two ideas. Nowadays, as the developed socialist society is built up and perfected, it is especially clear that realization of the humanistic ideals of socialism and communism is not only the goal but also the condition for progress, and that every person's all-round development accords with the requirements of the utmost expansion of the productive forces.

The social policy pursued by the fraternal parties of the socialist-community countries, including the Polish United Workers' Party, affects social relations in the whole of society, in classes and social groups, and in the individual labor collectives. Enhancement of their role in managing material production, deciding social affairs, and shaping the fully developed socialist individual becomes at the stage of developed socialism a task as important as the further improvement of centralized planned direction of the national economy and of society as a whole. The consolidation of the economic initiative and enhancement of the creative activity of labor collectives was expressed in the measures put through in a number of socialist countries to give the enterprises and larger economic units a greater role and responsibility.

In any socio-economic formation, the development of production ultimately comes to the development of man himself. Marxism-Leninism believes that the substance of man is 'the ensemble of the social relations,'* and consequently, it also has the imprint of the dominant property relations, including the character of labor and the attendant complex of man's socio-economic functions as the actual producer. In this context, Marx drew a distinction between the 'detail-worker' of the capitalist enterprise, on the one hand, and the 'fully developed individual' of socialist society, on the other.** In a sense, the 'detail-worker' embodies regress in the individual's historical development (although, of course, the transition to capitalist production meant exceptional progress in terms of labor productivity). Socialism is a qualitatively new stage in the development of the individual, whose functions in the new society are not confined to production activity, but also include active participation in the management of production and society. In other words, the unity of the functions of direct performance and organization is a characteristic feature of the status of the worker in socialist social production. The shaping of the fully developed individual is, for that reason, closely

*See, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 1, p. 14.

**Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, p. 488.

bound up with the real socialization of production and the development of socialist property. Let us note here that although the socialization of property in the means of production instantly and radically changes the status of the producer, it takes a long time for him to become aware that he is the true master of production and to become fully involved in its management.

This process is markedly accelerated under the scientific and technical revolution, which makes fresh demands on the development of the individual, calling for a high level of general occupational training, a broad outlook, etc. It is also stimulated by the rapid overall growth of the social activity of the people, which, as the socialist countries' experience shows, is a characteristic feature of the stage of building developed socialism. Development of this activity, above all extensive involvement of the masses in the governance of social processes, objectively becomes one of the most vital aspects of social policy. In his Report to the PUWP's Second National Conference in 1978, Edward Gierek emphasized: 'Our party's attention is constantly centered on the development and deepening of socialist democracy and perfection of our state. In this field, we are going the right way, trying to extend the working people's participation in political and economic life, and seeking to teach the people to think in terms of state categories, to tighten up discipline and enhance civic responsibility.'

An important corollary of these propositions is that under socialism, democracy in management and administration is not simply operated for the benefit of the working people, but by the working people themselves. 'Democracy' is an empty sound, unless it actually reaches down to where people work. Every man and woman in the socialist society are an object of governance and also the governors, participants in management activity, which is a special type of mental work. This status of the workers helps to broaden their mental horizon, harmoniously to combine personal interests and those of the labor collective and the whole of society, and to enhance the moral incentives for vigorous labor activity.

Consequently, the social aspects of improvement of the system of management consist above all in consciously regulating the changes in the status of workers at the enterprises. This does not bear on the quantitative aspect of the development of democracy, but on its qualitative content, which is connected with the realization by the working class of its historical mission.

But the democratization of economic management is not only of profound political import but also of tremendous economic significance. The more massive the participation in management, the better and fuller the use of reserves for boosting and improving production and the faster the growth of the productive forces. One

could say, therefore, that the mechanism of the socialist economy would be imperfect without the mighty lever of massive participation in management. In this sense, the working people's creative activity, initiative and self-administration constitute a key motive force of the socialist economy. Involvement of masses of working people in the management of production is effected through various organizational forms, like workers' self-administration conferences in Poland, standing production conferences in the USSR, and so on.

Summing up what I have said, I want to stress that the growing unity of social and economic policies reflects the objective conditions proper to the period of building and perfecting the developed socialist society. In this context, it is important to note that the competition between the two opposite social systems must not be reduced to economic indicators alone. The superiority of socialism over capitalism lies above all in the sphere of labor, and also in the guarantees it provides for the spiritual development of the individual. Of basic importance is the people's way of life under the two socio-economic systems, for the development of the individual is the most general expression and chief touchstone of socialism's superiority over capitalism. Realization of the strategy of social development put forward by the ruling parties of the fraternal countries creates ever new conditions for shaping the fully and harmoniously developed individual, the ideal person of the communist future.

The basis for uniting left forces in Mexico

Alejo Mendex Garcia
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For over six months now, our party has been working to implement the decisions of a joint meeting in December 1977¹ of the Central Committees of the Mexican Communist Party (MCP), Mexican People's Party (MPP) and Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP). The meeting was an important event in national politics and is bound to yield useful results. The three parties adopted a Declaration of Unity under which they commit themselves to set up the mechanisms needed to bring about their early merger; to conduct joint mass activities; to develop a common program for a way out of the economic, social and political crisis; to promote united action with

other left-wing forces and campaign for a mass working-class party capable of uniting broad sections of the people as a counterweight to the bourgeois parties, and organize the struggle for much-needed anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and democratic change.

The documents discussed at the joint meeting were drafted collectively by the leaderships of the three parties. The main report was presented by Gilberto Rincon Gallardo, Executive Commission member of the CC MCP. Manuel Stephens Garcia, member of the MPP National Leadership, presented the draft political declaration.

The meeting was preceded by preparatory activities. Even before the 18th National Congress of our party (May 1977), the CC MCP and the CCs of each of the two other parties held joint meetings at which they collectively worked out and approved theses on the struggle for political reform and a way out of the crisis. There was a strong feeling for organizational unity of the three parties. 'This meeting,' said a declaration adopted by the joint meeting of the CCs of the MCP and MPP,² 'is an important step toward integration that would rally together all the Marxist-Leninists and supporters of socialism in Mexico.'³

The 18th MCP Congress set out its attitude toward this significant and new development among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces of the left. Its position found reflection in CC General Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo's report, which the congress approved. The main Congress resolution contains these principles: 'Unification presupposes identical goals and principles and an intensive common experience of struggle . . . Our position in this respect is clear: we advocate a working-class party that would fight against capitalism and for socialism guided by the theory of scientific socialism and, in its internal life, by democratic centralism. We also support the thesis that a revolutionary working-class party must in clear terms formulate the theory of the transition to socialism in Mexico, work out a program defining the objectives and the means of achieving them, and evolve tactics for the everyday defense of the interests of the proletariat and other working people.

'At the same time, a revolutionary working-class party must be based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and of solidarity with the peoples of the world.'⁴

The Declaration of Unity adopted by the three parties at the joint meeting of their Central Committees, and their identical approach to Mexico's main economic and political problems are not accidental developments. They are expressive of their closer ideological relations and firm resolve to work for single Marxist-Leninist working-class party. 'The party needed by the working class,' the Declaration says, 'must be guided by Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to na-

tional reality. It must combat everything that hampers its growth, as well as such harmful trends as sectarianism, opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism. It must always take into account the historical conditions prevailing in our country, as well as the Mexican people's customs and characteristics, never abandoning its internationalist positions. It must base its international life on democratic centralism, free discussion, and strict discipline in carrying out decisions. It must have a democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist program envisaging democratic development for the good of the people, providing for the people's participation in the management of every sphere of economic, political and social activity, and showing the people the way to socialism.

'Having committed itself to discharge its historic responsibility, this party will have to form the broadest possible alliances with all the parties favoring democratic development, with the population groups interested in independence, social progress and freedom.'⁵

The parties that signed the Declaration pledged themselves to promote not only action unity, but also ideological unity, so as to arrive at common views on the main problems agitating the people and the country.

Prompted by these principles and the desire to forge unity in the course of struggle, the MCP, MPP and RSP agreed on the following:

- set up unity committees of the three parties at all organizational levels;

- promote collective research as the basis for cadre training in schools and study groups, through seminars, and conferences, etc.;

- cooperation at all propaganda levels as the prelude for the publication of a common newspaper in the near future;

- set up commissions to analyze key political problems and draft documents according to a common conception; these documents to be circulated, by consent of the party leadership, to the membership as discussion drafts, so that a common policy may subsequently be worked out;

- demand that all political parties be allowed to participate in elections.

A certain amount of collective work on some of these points had been done earlier. Shortly before the three-party meeting, for instance, the first joint classes for mid-level cadres were held, with students and lecturers drawn from all three parties.

It was decided to hold a further joint meeting of the three CCs to study united action in the 1979 general election.

Revolutionary and democratic circles responded favorably to the Declaration of Unity. This is natural, for the left forces had been looking forward to a breakthrough, or at least to agreement on united

action, without which there is no solving the country's difficult social, political and economic problems. These steps toward unity are needed to end the crisis on an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and democratic basis, in contrast to a solution at the working people's expense and in favor of state-monopoly capitalism, which the ruling bourgeoisie is so anxious to impose. They are also needed to stave off the dangerous situation that could arise in an acute internal crisis caused by the present government's inability to cope with the towering problems of declining national income and mounting unemployment.

Speaking of the outlook for a mass working-class party, Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo stressed in his report to the 18th Party Congress that the purpose of the historic efforts made by the party leadership and rank and file over the past 50 years had been to create an organization combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement. This task is carried out in each period according to the given situation.⁶ It is now possible to found a big revolutionary party of the working class. This is a result, not only of direct efforts by the MCP, but also of the contribution of other socialist parties and organizations,⁷ and of the very development of the revolutionary movement. It is the duty of communists and of all who realize this to find proper solutions and 'found a party that would raise the working class to a leading position and would be able to lead it into action to destroy capitalism and build a society without exploiters and exploited.'⁸

The report said that there is a substantial area of coincidence between the views of the communists and those of other fighters for socialism from parties and trends that have not yet taken the road of unification, namely, the Mexican Party of Working People, the Democratic Trend of the Amalgamated Union of Electrical Engineers, whose leaders represent one political current, the Marxist intellectuals who publish the journal *Estrategia* and *Punto Critico*, as well as views of numerous noted public leaders, cultural figures and politicians, who are motivated by socialist ideas and contribute to left unity.

Expressing the same idea, the joint meeting stated: 'Our tasks in achieving unity and our effort for organizational integration do not exclude unity of action with the Mexican Party of Working People or the Democratic Trend. On the contrary, we propose to persevere in this work, and we leave the door open for discussing with them steps toward organizational unity or other forms of unity in which each organization would preserve its structure and independence.

'We must also seek joint action with other left-wing organizations and democratic trends and leaders with whom our cooperation is still

limited. The time has come to forge united action by all supporters of socialism.'⁹

In line with the agreed clauses of the Declaration of Unity, the three parties are now concentrating on the following:

First, the struggle against the economic crisis, for a democratic way out.

The economic situation continues to deteriorate, though the government regards the decline in the trade and payments deficit (a result of reduced import of plant) as a gain. Economic deterioration is exemplified by the growth of full and partial unemployment throughout 1977 (over 1.5 million unemployed and about eight million partly unemployed); the use of only 60 per cent of available capacities, with the result that the national product increased by only 2.9 per cent, less than the year's 3.4 per cent population growth; the fact that between January and August 1977 the standard of living declined by 20 per cent (apart from the consequences of the devaluation of the peso); an increase in the number of ruined small and medium businesses and of a much larger number of handicraftsmen and small proprietors.

The joint meeting pointed out that responsibility for this state of affairs rests entirely with the government. All capitalist countries, it said, were going through economic upheavals, 'but the government alone is responsible for an economic policy that puts the consequences of the crisis on the working people while stimulating the growth of big profits and making the country still more subservient to U.S. imperialism.'¹⁰ The people must not reconcile themselves to the crisis and its consequences, speakers at the meeting said, for these are not a result of the operation of irresistible blind forces. The crisis can be cut short by fighting for economic, social and political change. The three parties stress that 'the task today is to achieve the unity of all groups affected by the crisis and overcome what is still disconnected action; to strive to bring opinions closer together and give them a common expression in anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist national trends.'¹¹

There are now such favorable developments in the mass struggle as demonstrations, rallies and strikes for higher wages and more trade union democracy. They suggest the likelihood of an early upsurge in trade union struggles. Hence, left unity of action in mass organizations is particularly important for fostering class consciousness, raising the movement's organizational standards, and achieving closer unity and effectiveness of the democratic strata. It is becoming increasingly obvious that 'the movement will not benefit by each party maintaining a sphere of influence of its own.'¹² The proposal of the MPP, RSP and MCP to evolve common tactics in the mass organizations and hold joint meetings of trade unionists, peasants, teachers, young people and women is particularly relevant. The projected

national assembly in defense of Mexican workers in the United States (both those who have entry papers and those who have not) will be an important event and will represent all the forces prepared to uphold a common cause.

Second, the three parties call for real and comprehensive political reform.

The unity parties believe a favorable though limited process of constitutional reforms has begun, affecting primarily political organizations, election campaigns, and composition of the Chamber of Deputies.¹³ It is obvious that this was made possible by the progress of the democratic movement, the strengthening of the positions of the left and the upsurge in the mass struggle. However, there is no question that this fact reflects to a degree the government's interest in updating the system of political relations in society.

The political reform has the following positive aspects: it stresses the need to grant all Mexicans the right to organize in political parties and to guarantee all parties access to the mass media; it gives constitutional form to the parties' organized participation in national politics and recognizes them as organizations representing the public interest; it amends parliamentary electoral principles by establishing a definite system of proportional representation. Lastly, the reform introduces a new element — proportional representation in municipal districts with over 300,000 inhabitants, and referendums in Mexico City, where the authorities are not elected but appointed by the President of the Republic.

At the same time, the parties which signed the Declaration of Unity pointed to the shortcomings and limitations of the electoral reform. It perpetuates government control of elections through a Federal electoral commission on which the government has a guaranteed majority. The reform does not remove the possibility of abuses, such as rigging the votes register, re-carving electoral districts, bias in counting the votes or misinforming the public on election returns. It restricts the introduction of proportional representation through a series of reservations directed against the left parties and complicates election registration of new parties.

The electoral reform is only part of the democratic political reform which the MCP and other left forces are fighting for. They consider, therefore, that if the political reform is to be complete and democratic it must contain the following provisions:

— an amnesty for all political prisoners, all who are being held pending trial, and all persecuted or exiled on political grounds. This would help toward a political situation in which dissenters would not be threatened with arrest and social conflicts would no longer be settled by force, through repression;

— trade union democracy, the unhampered right to strike, and the abolition of government inspection as detrimental to this right; guaranteed personal freedom for the working people to choose a political organization; independence of the trade unions from any party;

— reform of all provisions of agrarian legislation that enable the state to interfere in the peasants' affairs;

— a ban on repressive methods, torture and spying, which are used by the unconstitutional Federal Security Directorate and other police bodies; an end to the outrageous activity of the FBI and CIA in our country; amending the second chapter of the Federal Penal Code, which makes political offences punishable; renouncing the use of the army as an instrument of repression and restricting its function to what is stipulated by the Constitution;

— full respect for the constitutional right of public demonstration; the elimination from police and traffic regulations of all curbs on these rights;

— guaranteeing complete freedom of the press and constant use by the political parties on an equal and permanent basis of the mass media as vehicles of information and political education;

— electing (and not appointing, as is the case now) government authorities in the Federal District.

Success in the struggle for a political democratic reform, the three parties stress, wholly depends on joint efforts by Mexico's left forces and democrats. This is a task of the first importance requiring participation of the vast majority of political forces, the joint meeting pointed out. This refers, in particular, to democratic public figures who are members of the government or support it and those who belong to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party or support it. Their cooperation can be secured only if the left forces are united, strong and influential and if they operate as motors of the class struggle, which we are striving to direct along constitutional lines within the framework of the struggle between parties. 'What the democratic movement needs,' the Declaration says, 'is not the formation of divergent blocs, but unity of the whole left on the basis of agreement on key political issues. Working out a common platform of Mexico's left in the broadest sense of the term is objectively of great importance. Its attainment will stimulate the creation of a new, alternative political force in the country.'¹⁴

Unity of Mexico's left benefits from the following objective and subjective factors: increasing contradictions between the monopoly groups of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and other reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the workers, peasants and urban middle strata, as well as some sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the

democratic intellectuals, on the other, a trend which attaches increasing importance to major social problems and challenges Mexico's capitalist road; the growing impact of the example of the socialist countries and Marxism-Leninism on large segments of society, especially the working people; the failure of the ruling bourgeoisie's *desarrollist*¹⁵ plans, which have resulted in a marked structural crisis; the obvious discrediting of the ideology of the 'Mexican revolution,' which was inculcated for years by the ruling bureaucracy and even reached considerable sections of the left forces advocating socialism (these forces believed in the anti-imperialist, nationalist and even revolutionary capacity of the bourgeoisie in power).

Building a mass Marxist-Leninist party of the working class will not of course, be easy. To achieve this, the three parties which have signed the Declaration of Unity must act in common in the struggle for the interests of our working class and our people and gain appropriate experience. First of all, they must reach final agreement on the main strategic and tactical issues and work out fundamental organizational principles for their merger. All indications are that our parties have a genuine desire to achieve their goal and are operating in a spirit of mutual understanding and concord.

1. The MPP was founded over a year ago, following the split in the Socialist People's Party (SPP), and unites most of its regional committees and members. Its General Secretary is Alejandro Gascon Mercado. The RSP, which has likewise broken away from the SPP, was allied with the MCP in the 1976 presidential elections. It was called the Socialist Organization Movement at the time and is now led by Roberto Jaramillo Flores. Both parties are guided by Marxism-Leninism.

2. Called the Socialist People's (Majority) Party at the time.

3. *Oposicion*, May 14, 1977.

4. *El Partido Comunista frente a la crisis actual*. XVIII Congreso Nacional. Mexico City, 1977, p. 69.

5. *El Dia*, December 10, 1977.

6. See *El Partido Comunista frente a la crisis actual*, pp. 54 and 55.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

9. *El Dia*, December 10, 1977.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. At the time of the three-party Declaration, the Chamber of Deputies had begun to discuss a draft law on political organizations and election campaigning. Not so long ago both chambers of Congress made a number of amendments to the Constitution bearing on the electoral reform. President Jose Lopez Portillo sent both drafts to Congress.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Desarrollism* (from Spanish, desarrollo) — the U.S. policy designed to keep dependent countries under imperialist control. *Desarrollism* is based on the theories of imperialist ideologists who call for economic changes in the underdeveloped countries that would provide more favorable conditions for the penetration of monopoly capital. — *Ed.*



U.S. imperialism and Philippine independence

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Last spring, after five years of martial law, the Philippines held a nationwide election for the first time. The purpose of the election was limited but very significant: to elect regional representatives to the Interim *Batasang Pambansa*, a transitory parliamentary body empowered to make laws prior or preparatory to the actual lifting of martial law and the convening of the regular *Batasang Pambansa*, or National Parliament. It was, in the words of the administration, a 'normalization measure' intended to ensure a smooth transition from the present martial-law government to a parliamentary political system in the foreseeable future. It was also designed to consolidate the gains of the present regime during the last five years.

The electoral campaigns for the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* proved to be equally, if not doubly significant as they helped invite the Filipino people's attention to a number of fundamental issues facing them, show the alignment of forces in the country today, and clarify old and new dangers confronting the nation as it traverses the path to political and economic independence. The presence of over a hundred foreign correspondents, mostly American journalists and CIA-paid hacks, was a clear reflection of the importance of the whole electoral exercise.

The issue of American meddling

To the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP), the most significant development in the election was the primary emphasis put by the administration on the issue of foreign, specifically American and Japanese, interference in Philippine politics and economy. In the entire postwar history of the Philippines, this was the first time that a Filipino government had initiated a national discussion on American meddling and exposed foreign machinations designed to subvert the political independence of the country. If only for this, therefore, the PKP considers the last election a major advance for the Philippine

anti-imperialist movement despite the temporary setback the PKP suffered when its bid to participate openly as a political party in the election was denied.

From all indications, the decision of the national martial-law government to denounce American meddling was largely the result of the intensifying contradictions between the United States and the government. Months before the election campaign, the Marcos administration had hinted about 'foreign pressure' coming from the United States through the latter's 'human-rights' crusade to weaken the Philippines in its protracted negotiations with the U.S. on the American military bases and a new Philippine-U.S. economy treaty. Just last January, several significant developments indicating a hardening of the Philippine position vis-à-vis American pressures occurred:

— President Marcos told visiting U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Pat Derian (who was surveying the human rights situation in the country and 'lecturing' on Philippine shortcomings in this respect) that the Philippines 'respect human rights not because somebody else is telling us to do so but because we believe in them.'

— Finance Secretary Cesar Virata disclosed that U.S. officials were asking for the return of 'parity rights,' privileges of Filipino citizens to exploit the country's natural resources and operate business enterprises, that were extended to U.S. businessmen through the Bell Trade Act imposed by the American neo-colonialists after the war. These parity rights expired in 1974.

— Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile reacted vehemently to the pre-departure statement of American Representative Lester Wolff that the Philippines should share in the burden of maintaining American bases in the country. The Americans, Enrile averred, need the bases more than the Philippines does.

— The Western press exposed alleged payoffs in the nuclear deal with Westinghouse which a crony of the First Couple, businessman Herminio Disini, concluded for Malacanang (the Presidential Palace). The government immediately divested certain Disini corporations of equity holdings. The Western press attacks, however, were interpreted as part of a concerted move by foreign multinationals to weaken or destroy competitive Filipino big business.

— President Marcos approved amendments to the Patent Law designed to control abuses of transnational corporations, specifically transfer pricing and excessive profit-making in the drug industry. The amended Patent Law also contains provisions ensuring transfer of technology by foreign investors.

When the election campaign got under way, the *Kilusan ng Bagong Lipunan* (KBL), a government-supported political party, projected

the issue of 'performance' during the last five years of martial law. Midway in the campaign, however, this party put increased emphasis on the issue of foreign interference, accusing the opposition party in Metro (Greater) Manila of receiving and encouraging foreign support. As the campaign reached the homestretch, the President himself revealed that the foreign powers meddling in the elections were the United States and Japan, out to protect their political and economic interests in the country. He particularly singled out the United States on the latter's campaign to soften the Philippine position in the ongoing negotiations on the military bases agreement and the economic treaty. He unveiled several instances in which the United States government had acted in behalf of a leading opposition figure who is being detained by the government for subversion.

The opposition figure is former Senator Benigno Aquino, whom the Western press has turned into a 'martyr' and the most celebrated 'victim' of alleged human rights violations by the government. In the course of the campaign, some interesting bits of information had surfaced regarding the background of this prominent political figure. Aquino admitted that he worked 'with the CIA' in the past; participated in the CIA-sponsored colonels' revolt in Indonesia in 1958; attended CIA seminars and short courses in 'international communism, organization and trade craft'; helped consolidate for the United States a 1,100-hectare land deal which the United States 'needed very badly for the prosecution of the Vietnam war.' The land secured by the Americans is now the site of the all-important American communications center in San Miguel, province of Tarlac, a hub of all Seventh Fleet naval communications in the Pacific and Indian oceans. Also disclosed were the government's voluminous documents proving the link-up of Senator Aquino not only with the CIA but also with the local Maoists and their terrorist armed group calling itself the New People's Army. Based on the information furnished by the military, Aquino, while working closely with the CIA, heavily financed the Maoist movement in the Philippines and was responsible for the growth of its armed group.

Roots of the contradictions

The unprecedented public assertion of Philippine sovereignty by the Philippine government in the first quarter of this year represents a definite, progressive break from the traditions of dependence and mendicancy bequeathed by previous Filipino administrations. This development, given the background of Philippine postwar politics and its complete domination by U.S. imperialism, begs a number of questions. What, for instance, are the reasons for the falling out between Marcos and the United States? Whose interest is Marcos

really trying to serve? Was he not supported by the American imperialists in his earlier administration and even in the beginning of the martial-law period? Why should U.S. interests now abandon him? What were the deeper motives of the U.S. imperialists in the last election?

First of all, it should be pointed out that, like other Filipino presidents before him, President Marcos in his first term of office in 1965-69 had to grudgingly take the American line. His administration was the one which sponsored the infamous Manila Summit of seven countries which was used by U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson as a propaganda plank in the prosecution of the Vietnam war and in whipping up support for U.S. policy from American-supported states in Asia and Australasia.* It was also during his first term that the Foreign Investments Incentives Act of 1967 was passed. This law literally opened Philippine doors for the unlimited entry of foreign transnationals out to exploit the country's rich natural resources and cheap and abundant labor. And as if the tax bonanza offered by the law was not enough, the government devalued the peso in 1969 because of IMF pressure, making it cheaper for foreign transnationals to operate in the country and easier for them to gobble up fledgling Filipino industries.

When martial law was declared in 1972, more favorable conditions for foreign investors were created as the strike ban was imposed and political demonstrations were prohibited.

Through his exercise of the same martial-law powers, however, President Marcos, one of the strongest and most determined Filipino presidents, was able to institute certain political and economic changes that tended to weaken the American neo-colonial hold on the country. There was a radical reorientation of Philippine foreign policy away from the traditional overdependence on the United States to a more realistic posture of friendship with all countries belonging to different social systems. This reorientation of foreign policy was complemented by a reorientation of Philippine foreign trade as new markets were opened in the socialist and Third World countries.

There were also the strengthening of the role of the national government in economic planning, the promotion of industrialization and the launching of a land reform. The government has made some headway in formulating and implementing national economic plans as well as in partially controlling certain important sectors, such as oil, transportation, sugar trading and rice production and marketing.

In public administration there is a discernible effort to depart from

*The meeting (October 1966) was attended by the heads of state of the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand, as well as by the heads of the South Korean and Saigon regimes. — *Ed.*

Western-style political forms. The bogus two-party political system erected by the post-war imperialist-landlord-comprador alliance was dismantled, and in its place were instituted new vehicles for popular participation in the form of *barangays*, or neighborhood associations.*

Overall, therefore, there were signs of government efforts to chart a more independent path of development. It is in the clash of these efforts with the neo-colonial wishes of the United States and, by extension, Japan, that specific points of contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the Marcos administration has emerged.

The position of imperialist forces

It should be pointed out here that Marcos represents essentially the reformist and industrializing sector of the national bourgeoisie. Domestically and internationally, the Marcos administration takes a pragmatic position. This is clearly reflected in the foreign policy of the government, which is basically a policy of 'equidistance' or 'non-alliance.' In actual practice, this policy means taking utmost advantage of whatever benefits may come from whichever side so long as they will strengthen the viability of the government. Because of this pragmatic approach, the Marcos administration tends to make decisions on the basis of specific problems and specific situations. The Muslim problem in the South and the problem of satisfying the country's oil requirements, for example, led to a reorientation of the pro-Israeli Middle East policy to a pro-Arab one.

In the context of Philippine postwar history, however, the pragmatic centrist position of the Marcos administration is a step forward. It is in sharp contrast with the sheer puppetry to imperialism exhibited by past Filipino planners. Historically, it should be noted that the present position of the Philippine government is a shift from the right to the center.

Given the deepening crisis of capitalism and the changing balance of forces, the pragmatic position of the administration is bound to create new areas of contradictions between the government and imperialism: There is, for instance, a trend toward increasing trade with socialist countries because this is highly profitable. Trade with the advanced capitalist countries is becoming a one-way affair as the latter, in their efforts to get out of the present economic rut, try to wrest one-sided advantages. In fact, the Philippines has had traumatic experiences in its trade with Japan and the United States. In 1974-75, Japan unilaterally reduced her imports of copper and bananas, while

*The *barangay* is the basic political administration unit in the Philippine government system today. — Ed.

the United States imposed high tariff walls against traditional Philippine exports like sugar and mahogany.

On the whole, therefore, the imperialist forces find the pragmatism of the Marcos administration unpredictable. Because political powers are now concentrated in the office of the President in the context of martial law, the situation becomes all the more difficult for the imperialists, who cannot do any long-range business planning. One local study on the attitude of Japanese resident managers with respect to the present business climate expressly indicates the deep anxieties Japanese businessmen have over the future: One businessman confessed that they could not predict what would happen in the country even in a one-year period. He said, 'This uncertainty, together with the present global crisis, makes it difficult to formulate any long-range programs in a five-year perspective, such as improvement and perfection of facilities, consolidation of personnel-employer relations, and market forecasts.'

Thus, while the Marcos administration has succeeded in providing a healthy political and economic climate for foreign monopoly capital, imperialist forces are wondering whether these conditions can be stabilized and made permanent. Here is where the complex issue of political succession comes in. Having the greatest economic stakes among foreign investors in the country, the Americans and the Japanese want to know who will succeed the President and what direction the present government will ultimately take. Obviously, they want some definite insurance from any foreseeable political upheaval. If need be and if feasible, they want to actively prevent potential political risks to their economic interests, whose repercussions would cause incalculable damage not only to their economic standing in the country but also in U.S. and Japanese prestige in Southeast Asia and in the rest of the world. Hence, to the imperialists, the issue was not whether to meddle but how to meddle and to what extent.

In this context, it is easy to have a fuller appreciation of the present campaign by the Western press and certain American-supported opposition groups for the early return of the Philippine political system to bourgeois parliamentarism, with the 'human rights' crusade of Carter providing a convenient facade. The apparent goal of the imperialists is to help facilitate the rise of a Filipino president more receptive to American economic and political dictation.

Simply stated, therefore, the overall strategy of imperialism in the Philippines today can be summed up as follows: tightening its economic hold on the country through a tightened neo-colonial hold on state power. On the part of American imperialism, this task has acquired greater urgency in the light not only of the unpredictability of

the Marcos regime but also of the changes in the Southeast Asian region resulting from the liberation of Indochina. Because of the American defeat in Indochina, the Philippines, along with other countries in Southeast Asia and with Japan, has acquired a 'frontline status' in the eyes of American military strategists. The presence of strategic American military bases makes political control of the country even more important.

The issue of the bases is now an area of contradiction between the Marcos administration and U.S. imperialism, as we have said. Due to the Philippine policy of friendship with all countries irrespective of their social systems, and of identification with the Third World and the non-aligned movement, the government has taken a more independent posture regarding the bases. It has initiated the renegotiation of the Philippine-U.S. based agreement, with the limited goal of being able to assert greater control over the use of the bases and to charge rent, instead of 'aid,' for the use of Philippine soil by U.S. military forces. American foot-dragging in the negotiations had irked the administration to the extent that President Marcos, on several occasions, openly castigated the U.S. imperialists for their 'cavalier treatment' of the Philippines as a sovereign and independent nation.

The name of the game is destabilization

Given this general background, it is not surprising that the imperialist forces have been launching plots to destabilize the Marcos regime and hasten the resolution of the succession issue in their favor. There are clear indications that the United States, through its clandestine connections, has been involved in some of the attempts on the life of President Marcos. But even clearer is its participation in the various attempts to bring down his political leadership.

The United States has given sanctuary to all kinds of anti-Marcos politicians and oppositionists ranging from the Maoists on the far left to the conservative bourgeois and land-owning oligarchs whose economic fiefdoms in the country were broken up by the Marcos administration upon the declaration of martial law. The U.S. State Department has openly given protection to prominent and rich detainee-escapees from the Philippines. Through their local embassy, the American government has openly interceded in behalf of some detained enemies of the government, the most publicized of whom is Senator Aquino, potential Presidential timber in case Marcos disappears from the political picture.

Finally, there is the consistent anti-Marcos crusade in the American press, which regularly publishes malicious 'exposures' on the life of the First Couple, alleged human rights violations and other kinds of negative reports on the country under martial law. The last elections

show the massive support extended by the imperialist forces to the anti-Marcos forces in the country. There were even indications that American officials had pressured Marcos to hold the elections in order to have a venue for an anti-Marcos campaign. Western correspondents came in full force and covered all the statements of the opposition.

Lessons of the elections

His patience taxed to the limits, however, President Marcos finally took the offensive by accusing the opposition of being lackeys of foreign interests and exposing American as well as Japanese meddling. This courageous act of asserting the country's independence in the face of concerted attacks from imperialist forces was only the logical culmination of the contradictions that have developed between the Marcos administration and U.S. imperialism — contradictions that have coincidentally opened up new opportunities for the advancement of the anti-imperialist cause. Thus, for the first time in the history of the country, the youth arm of the government in power, escorted by military police, conducted anti-imperialist marches and demonstrations in front of the American Embassy. This is certainly in sharp contrast to the situation before martial law when activists demonstrating against U.S. imperialism were mercilessly suppressed by the police forces of the country.

At the same time, however, the elections exposed the vulnerable points of the present regime, which opposition candidates exploited to the hilt. The deteriorating economic conditions of the masses, corruption at the different levels of the government and the failure of certain reform programs are undoubtedly valid issues. The opposition candidates, however, failed to come out with an alternative program to solve these problems, which all the more put the reason for their running under doubt. Were they just out to create an artificial crisis situation in order to destabilize the regime?

Indeed, the anti-Marcos forces nearly succeeded in jolting the foundations of the regime as they launched on the eve of the elections a violent 'noise-barrage' campaign similar to what happened in Chile before the rightists' takeover. There were reports that the anti-Marcos forces were in fact counting on the possibility that a 'revolutionary situation' would occur as a result of their massive agitational work. The envisioned 'revolutionary situation' did not arise as the administration swiftly and decisively took all the precautionary measures to nip in the bud the conspiracy to take over the government by force. That there was indeed a plan to bring down the government during the last days of the campaign can be gleaned from the fact that certain American newspapers in the United States, the

day after the 'noise-barrage' campaign, carried headlines about a 'revolution' in the Philippines.

The above facts indicate the dangers facing the country as the Marcos administration takes up or is forced by circumstances to take up an increasingly independent position. Obstacles, violent or not, will certainly be thrown in the path of the administration unless it retreats from its position.

The attitude of the PKP

Despite the refusal of the government to allow the open participation of the PKP as a political party in the last elections, the PKP conducted a massive educational campaign on the issue of imperialism and its role in Philippine society. Judging by various reports, the PKP's campaign was well received and helped gain new adherents to the anti-imperialist movement in the country.

The position of the administration against foreign meddling has received the full support of the PKP. Now that the elections are over, the continuing task is to enlighten and activate the Filipino masses against imperialism. The PKP believes that real Philippine independence can only be achieved through mass involvement and struggle. The present trends for national independence in the country can only be strengthened and pushed forward by the collective might of the Filipino people.

For unity of the progressive and patriotic forces in the Middle East

Emile Habibi
CC PB member,
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President Sadat's visit of capitulation to Israel on November 19-21, 1977, and his acceptance of Premier Begin's formula to 'negotiate all problems' of a Middle East settlement, including such key issues as the sovereignty of Arab countries over their national territories, and the fate of the Palestinian Arab people, have shocked Arab public opinion and true peace fighters the world over.

From the very beginning of this so-called 'peace initiative,' Israeli

progressive and anti-imperialist forces saw it as a provocation against the genuine peace struggle, against the national dignity, aspirations and pride of the Arab peoples.

On November 15, just four days before Sadat's arrival in Jerusalem, Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, declared: 'What is most despicable is that Sadat chose for his Israeli visit the very moment when Begin, with the help of his air force, navy and troops, is fiercely attacking peaceful Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps, killing and mutilating hundreds of peaceful citizens, including women and children. . . .'¹ Begin is out to deceive public opinion by pretending to seek peace with Egypt. But he is not seeking peace, he is striving to deepen the split in the Arab world, isolate Egypt from the other Arab countries, thereby perpetuating the occupation of Arab lands and depriving the Palestinian people of their rights. Like any other people the Palestinians have their rights and their national leadership — the PLO which is recognized by the whole world. The Arab people of Palestine have their national pride, rich traditions and culture. 'Certainly the Arab countries will not tolerate Sadat's betrayal of their national cause.'²

Likewise, our party rejected Sadat's policy of capitulating to imperialism, to the ultra-rightists and ultra-expansionist 'Likud' ruling circles in Israel because it helps the forces of aggression to deceive public opinion in Israel, spreads adventuristic illusions among them and encourages their further aggression.

Israeli communists have concluded, and life has confirmed our conclusions, that the separate negotiations between Sadat and Begin under the auspices of American imperialism, Sadat's policy of capitulation to the aggressor, will not achieve the peace cherished by both the Israeli and Arab peoples. On the contrary, this is but a plot to sabotage the peace effort in the Middle East. That this policy is 'built on sand' is seen in Israel's full-scale military intervention in southern Lebanon which has taken the lives of hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinians and has added tens of thousands to the already large army of refugees. The Begin government exploited the split in the Arab world, for which Sadat and his imperialist backers are responsible, to invade Lebanon and commit barbaric crimes against the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples.

It is not by chance that President Sadat's 'breakthrough' to direct and separate talks with Israel came just a few weeks after the Carter Administration signed a joint Soviet-American Declaration on the Middle East, pledging to work with the USSR to convene a peace conference in Geneva in December 1977 with participation of all parties concerned including the Palestinian Arab people, under the co-chairmanship of the USA and the USSR. It was immediately clear

that Sadat's 'breakthrough' was meant to prevent this. It was equally apparent that the U.S. ruling circles were gambling on the direct and separate talks between these two regimes so closely connected with the United States, not in the interests of peace, but in the hope that such theatricals would leave the Soviet Union on the sidelines on the question of a Middle East settlement, and would neutralize the international forces that were opposing the imperialist plans. This was an attempt to ignore the existing correlation of world forces and the role and influence in our region, of the movement for national and social emancipation.

For a time, the Egyptian and Israeli leaders were able to mislead public opinion and play on the genuine desire of the Israeli and Egyptian peoples to put an end to the continuing bloody conflict. In vain, however, the reactionaries tried to label the peaceful, patriotic forces, primarily the communists, as 'enemies of peace,' in a bid to isolate them. In Israel Begin's ultra-expansionist Likud government even organized provocations against the party.³ We not only exposed the true nature of Sadat's and Begin's 'peacemaking,' we declared openly that this so-called 'peaceful dialogue' was a screen for a large-scale imperialist-inspired plot against the people to prevent a just settlement in the Middle East. A CC CPI resolution 'Peace is vital for Israel. The policy of the Begin government prevents peace,' adopted January 5, 1978, says: 'It is now more than ever clear, that the steps which had started with the visit of Sadat to Israel, were intended to foil the international efforts to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and to prevent the convocation of the Geneva Peace Conference ...'⁴

Our party's position on the latest maneuvers of Israeli and Arab reaction rests on the principled assumption that the only way for Israel to achieve peace, security and the recognition of its Arab neighbors, is for Israel itself to recognize and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab states and, above all, of the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination. Throughout the entire 30 years of Israel's existence Israeli communists have firmly believed that Israel could secure its future in the family of Arab neighbors 'not by marching with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but by marching with the Arab peoples against imperialism!' We have unfailingly emphasized that 'there can be no peace unless it is a just peace!'

It is our duty to expose the true essence of imperialist machinations and of the pro-imperialist reactionary Israeli and Egyptian ruling circles. We are encouraged by the fact that all the communist and anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East are unanimous in their evaluation of these questions. The final declaration of the April 1978

Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries, says the following on Sadat's visit to Israel: 'The main result of the visit and the chain of events connected with it, is expressed in the fact that Egypt's political and military weight has been shifted away from the front of struggle against the imperialist and occupation forces and has been in a position of alliance with them against the Arab and African liberation movement. The main and direct result of this is the sabotaging of the possibilities of achieving a just peace in the Middle East, and the growing arrogance and expansionism of the Israeli rulers.'

It is symptomatic that these same conclusions were also reached by the patriotic and progressive forces in Arab countries, particularly in Egypt. A declaration of the General Secretariat of the National Progressive Party of Egypt, underscores that Sadat's visit had many negative consequences, the most dangerous of which is the weakening of Arab positions resulting from the deep rift in the Confrontation Front, undermining of Arab solidarity and sabotaging of the Geneva Peace Conference.⁵

So, from the international viewpoint, the reactionary aspect of Sadat's direct and separate negotiations with Begin are apparent. The same can be said of their effect on the domestic situation in both countries. According to the plans of the imperialist stage-managers and actors, the talks were also intended to bolster the tottering regimes in Egypt and Israel. The U.S. imperialist gamble was not a sign of influence and prestige in the Middle East, but of the weakness of the American-supported reactionary regimes there.

In Israel, Sadat's visit was used to divert the masses from the mounting struggle against the government's drastic economic measures introduced just two weeks prior to Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.⁶ This was followed by general strikes and anti-government demonstrations in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa. In early November more than half a million workers took part in demonstrations and other mass activities under the slogan 'Begin, out!' Instead, Sadat came to Israel. Even the bourgeois press had to acknowledge the great service and moral support which President Sadat rendered the anti-popular government. The newspaper *Haaretz* carried a cartoon of Begin shivering in the cold winds blowing on him from all directions, but finding a burning candle in the image of Sadat, by which he warms himself.

The Begin-Sadat talks have confirmed the undisputed truth that irrespective of differences in national customs, there is not much that divides the reactionaries, for they quickly see eye-to-eye and always behind the backs of their own people.

The historical fact is that directly or indirectly Arab reaction has

rendered services to Zionist expansionist plans in the hope that, if need be, the 'avenging hand' of the Israeli rulers would chastise the oppressed Arab masses and preserve the tottering thrones. The first Arab-Israeli war, officially declared against the newly-established state of Israel by the reactionary Arab regimes (after rejecting the November 29, 1947, UN General Assembly decision on establishing two independent states in Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish), was already being waged by these regimes to clear the way to a division of the territory designated to the Arab-Palestinian state between Israel and Jordan. Even during that war the Zionist and Arab reactionary leaders were secretly conspiring on how to recarve this territory. An officer of the Jordanian army, Abdallah Al-Tall, wrote in his memoirs that on the night of May 11-12, 1948, King Abdallah of Jordan and Golda Meir met in Amman, where they came to an agreement that 'the armies of Jordan and Iraq⁷ would not enter the war against the Jews but would stop at the partition borders defined by the UNO.' The Zionists promised that the 'Jewish agency accepts the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine to the Hashimite crown.'

But the most despicable and most effective service that Arab reaction had ever rendered to the Israeli ruling circles was its highly pronounced rejectionist ultra-nationalistic and chauvinistic slogans.⁸ When David Hachon headed the Parliamentary Committee of Foreign and Security Affairs, he declared that every bombastic speech by an Arab representative in the United Nations against a peaceful solution with Israel helps Israel's 'security' more than a full tank unit of the Israeli army.

The 'rejectionist' slogans of Arab reaction have always rendered a direct service to the expansionist ambitions of the Israeli rulers. Its demagogic non-acceptance of the new realities in Palestine was snapped up by the Zionists as an additional pretext to refuse to recognize any boundaries of a possible state of Israel. On the eve of Israel's becoming a state (May 15, 1948), its future Prime Minister Ben Gurion is quoted as saying: '... I rejected the idea of defining borders ... for if they (i.e., the Arabs) will wage war against us and we will vanquish them, then we will conquer the Western Galilee and the land on the two sides of the road to Jerusalem. All this will become part of the state.' Twenty years later these expansionist aims were clarified by Moshe Dayan. 'Here we are sitting on the Suez and on the Golan ...' he said. 'We are progressing from stage to stage toward our ultimate aims.'

Now, especially after Sadat's visit to Israel and the start of separate Egyptian-Israeli talks, we can rightfully say that Arab reaction has always objectively helped the realization of this expansionist course. It used to cloak its duplicity with ultra-nationalistic slogans, which

only helped imperialism and the Israeli hawks to sabotage the just and realistic solutions proposed internationally and at different stages of the conflict, solutions which, if implemented, would clear the road to a lasting peace in the region and end the continuing tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine.

While these reactionary Arab rulers were shouting for the whole world to hear that they intended to throw the Jews into the sea, the Zionist rulers, making the most of these bombastic threats and misleading Israeli public opinion, were confiscating the land of the Arab national minority in Israel and, in fact, throwing them into the desert.

And, Sadat came to Israel riding high on this rejectionist wave and exploiting it to the utmost. When he declares that 70 per cent of the conflict is psychological, i.e., Israel's fear of being pushed into the sea, he is capitalizing on the history of Arab reactionary rejectionism and accepting misleading Zionist propaganda. It is paradoxical, but also logical, that the reactionary rejectionists of the past were the first to support Sadat's capitulating visit to Israel. Life has again shown the strong ties between capitulation and ultra-nationalism, which are but two sides of one and the same coin. The imperialist-Zionism-Arab reaction triangle had to come out into the open because of its deepening crisis and because of the growing liberation movement.

Certain bourgeois patriotic circles in the Arab countries are troubled because these connections and conspiracies have been exposed. They always knew of their existence, but as they remained secret they tried not to think of the inevitable confrontation with the pro-imperialist and reactionary rulers of some Arab countries.

Today the patriotic forces understand that the open and direct Sadat-Begin conspiracy has demonstrated the hypocrisy of bourgeois ultra-nationalism, chauvinism and reactionary rejectionism. It is important, however, to take the next step, to propose an effective alternative to this policy. The communists and progressive forces in our region are well aware that this alternative stands on the foundation of international brotherhood and solidarity of all who are fighting against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The communists in the Arab countries and in Israel are for a just and lasting peace and offer a realistic way of achieving this. The statement of the April 1978 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries says: 'The national-liberation trend stresses the all-embracing solution of the Middle East Problem on the basis of the full liberation of the occupied territories, securing the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and to establish their independent state on the West bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, and rejection of a partial and separate settlement. This trend concludes that a just and lasting peace can be achieved

only on this basis, through a consistent struggle against imperialism and by strengthening the alliance with the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, and with all the forces of progress and liberation throughout the world.'

We note with satisfaction the ever wider unity, based on a clear and rational program, of the anti-imperialist states and forces in the Arab world, and the strengthening of their relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries who have condemned the imperialist, reactionary maneuvers in the Middle East. We would like to underscore the correctness of the words of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, that 'The excessive praise for the imaginary advantages of the so-called direct talks, i.e., Israel's talks with each of the countries it has attacked, is but an attempt to deprive the Arab people of their strength, which lies in their unity and in the support for their just cause by friendly states.'⁹ It is the Soviet Union that has invariably been a consistent supporter of an all-embracing settlement in our region with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, on an equal basis. Such a settlement, the Soviet government is convinced, should provide for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own state; the right to an independent existence and security for all countries directly involved in the conflict, both the Arab countries bordering on Israel, and Israel itself; ending the state of war between the relevant Arab countries and Israel. Only by carrying out these fundamental provisions can a really lasting peace be achieved in the Middle East.

In the light of the negative effect of the Sadat-Begin separate talks, it becomes apparent that a convocation of the Geneva Peace Conference remains the most suitable way of reaching an agreement on carrying out these fundamental provisions and achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Of particular importance today, is the unity of all progressive and patriotic forces in the Middle East to stop the reactionary and imperialist conspiracies. The CP of Israel has always been an adherent of this. In his book *The Palestinian Problem and the Israeli-Arab Conflict*, published in 1966, Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, concluded the following: 'In the face of this solidarity between the pro-imperialist reactionary circles of Israel and the Arab states, the need is for the formation of a solidarity front between the progressive forces in Israel and in the Arab states in the fight against the common enemy — imperialism and its henchmen in Israel and the Arab states. It will be easier, on this basis, to find a

common language in working out a solution of the Palestinian problem.' The author particularly stressed the need of differentiating between pro-imperialist nationalism, denying the rights of another people, and anti-imperialist nationalism, the nationalism of an oppressed people driven from their homeland. 'We, communists, as well as all progressive forces in Israel, fully comprehend the feeling of the peoples in the Arab countries, and in particular, those of our brother people, the Palestinian Arab people, living in inhuman conditions in refugee camps. Resentment against the ruling circles in Israel is absolutely understandable and fully justified but it must not lead to extreme and pernicious conclusions.'

We note with satisfaction that the conclusions of the PLO, the recognized leader of the Palestinian Arab people, are close to ours. The official meeting held at the beginning of May 1977 between representatives of the PLO and the Communist Party of Israel laid the foundations for correct and principled answers to the pro-imperialist conspiracies of Zionist and Arab reaction. We note with satisfaction that all the Palestinian people in occupied territories were able, through their unity, to foil the attempts to breed 'Quislings' as a substitute for the PLO.

We also note with satisfaction, that all the anti-imperialist Arab regimes, including the PLO, who took part in the Tripoli Arab Summit (December 1977), and the Algiers Arab Summit (February 1978), and formed the Front of Confrontation and Resistance, have confirmed their allegiance to the struggle for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, we do not close our eyes to the dangers stemming from the Begin-Sadat conspiracy. Bankrupt policies are apt to lead their initiators into dangerous, adventuristic acts. The Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon is a good example. This imperialist and reactionary conspiracy extends far beyond the boundaries of our region. The U.S. administration is planning to bring about a temporary normalization between the reactionary rulers of Israel and Egypt in order to use these two countries in its African policy and drive them against the revolutionary upsurge on the continent. In the Middle East also, the United States is organizing a new wave of a very dangerous arms race, as seen in the administration's decision to deliver 4.8 billion dollars worth of military hardware to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. These plots of the U.S.-Egypt-Israel triangle, however, are facing mounting resistance in our and in other regions.

It is fully possible to say today that the Sadat regime is isolated in the Arab world. The Begin-Sadat honeymoon has ended quickly. In Israel the strike wave is gaining momentum and there is growing dissatisfaction with the government's policy. Hundreds of high school

students awaiting conscription into the army are sending letters and petitions to Begin declaring: 'We, as possible victims of the coming war, call upon the Prime Minister to move in the correct direction, the direction of peace, and to declare his willingness to sign a comprehensive peace agreement which would ensure the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories and the national rights of all the people of the region, including the Palestinian people, and recognition of the right of this people to self-determination. If the Prime Minister refuses to move in this direction, then his hands will be drenched with our blood, the blood of the victims of war.' Four hundred reserve officers sent the PM a letter of no confidence in his policy on the question of peace. On April 1, 40,000 people marched in an anti-war demonstration in Tel Aviv demanding that Begin resign, and on May 1, tens of thousands of people again marched in a demonstration condemning the regime's aggressive policy. More and more people in Israel are coming to see that unless the government makes a sharp turn in its policy and moves toward a just peace, the danger of a new war will grow. With this danger clearly in view, the Israeli communists are, nevertheless, certain that the peoples of the world, the peoples of the Middle East, if they join forces, are capable of liquidating this danger and winning the long-awaited just and lasting peace. The Communist Party of Israel, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality that it heads, all progressives in Israel, are contributing their energy to the struggle for a just and lasting peace.

1. On November 9, 1977, the Israeli air force, on official orders of the Begin government, carried out the barbaric bombardment of the Lebanese village Al-Iziah, wiping it off the face of the earth, killing more than a hundred Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees, including women and children. This was done on the pretext of retaliation for a bazooka attack on the Israeli town of Naharya.

2. Interview with M. Vilner in *L'Humanité*, November 15, 1977.

3. In the Knesset, Plato Sharon, a notorious reactionary, tabled a motion to outlaw our party and even collected signatures to back his demand. Broad sections of the population, however, including 43 Knesset members (of whom eight are ex-ministers) and half the membership of the Histadrut Executive Council, signed declarations rejecting this provocation.

4. *Zo-Haderech*, January 11, 1978.

5. *Al-Ahali*. February 1978, No. 1.

6. In one sweep the government's 'new economic policy' devalued the Israeli pound by over 40 per cent and raised prices on prime necessities by 40-50 per cent. This was accompanied by the largest military expenditures in the country's history, eating up 62 per cent of the budget and accounting for almost 40 per cent of the GNP.

7. At that time Iraq was ruled by a reactionary monarchy.

8. This concerns the reactionary 'rejectionist' policy, which not only denies the fact of Israel's existence as a reality emerging in Palestine after 1948, but which directly or otherwise serves the reactionary plans of the Israeli rulers. It seems to us that the origins of this policy and of its slogans go beyond bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. After all, it has always been zealously used by those very same oil sheiks, who invariably took their cue from imperialism.

9. *Pravda*, December 24, 1977.

New trends in Canadian labor

George Harris

A number of facts need be taken into account in order to come to a realistic assessment of the situation in Canada in terms of the working class struggle, and the anti-monopoly content of the struggle over the past few years. There are a number of reasons for the basic changes which took place in the labor movement in Canada in these years. The role of the Communist Party of Canada has been a very powerful factor in influencing the struggle of Canadian workers, both as to the scope and the character of the struggle. The party fought steadfastly on the principal issues facing the working class and the trade union movement, and consistently advanced proposals for action to serve the interests of the people. It was not an accident that even before the cold war had begun to lose its more virulent character that red-baiting, which had become the stock-in-trade of the right-wing labor leaders, all but disappeared as a feature of the proceedings of the conventions of the trade union center, the Canadian Labour Congress. And neither was it an accident, or an act of kindness on the part of the main trade union leadership, that in 1973 the doors of the Congress were opened to bring into affiliation unions which had fought against the cold-war policies of the right wing and had been expelled by the then existing trade union centers in the early cold war years.

What the absence of red-baiting and the affiliation of the expelled unions reflected was strong and countrywide rank and file pressure on their main issues of concern on which the party, and the communists and progressives in the trade union movement, had consistently raised within the labor movement for discussion and action. The work of the left had convinced a substantial section of the working class of the destructiveness of anti-communism and the inevitable disunity of labor which red-baiting spawns. The working class refused to any longer accept anti-communism and red-baiting as an excuse for lack of struggle to solve its problems, and brought heavy pressure to bear on the leadership to achieve all-inclusive trade union unity and launch a united struggle on the main economic and social issues confronting labor.

This article was received after the death of its author. George Harris was a Central Committee member of the CP Canada and Secretary-Treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union of America in Canada.

The affiliation of the expelled unions also indicated that the struggle within the labor movement, and the hard lessons of life, had brought the positions of the various trends closer together, making possible a substantial measure of unity on some of the most vital and crucial questions.

Thus for some years past the general position of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Québec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, representing the overwhelming majority of the organized workers in Canada, on the critical issue of disarmament and peace has been in the main quite advanced and constructive, compared to the backward and reactionary stance of the U.S. American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

An important feature of the growing struggle of Canadian labor against the monopolies in the relationship between Canada and the United States, where in the economic sphere Canada is the most 'owned' and 'controlled' of all industrial countries by foreign capital, and in the labor sphere the trade union movement of Canada is the only one in the world with a very large number of its unions being in fact governed by U.S. unions, under U.S. constitutions and leadership.* Both of these aspects of domination is more and more compelling Canadians generally, and labor in particular, to take up the struggle for their economic interests, against American domination and for Canadian independence.

There is a growing realization that Canadian independence is not just an emotional question, but one that has deep-rooted economic, social and political significance. United States control is becoming ever more harmful to the needs and security of Canadians. This control is extended and made more secure with U.S. economic takeover proceeding apace with the approval and assistance of the Canadian government. Not only is Canada facilitating the takeover of more and more of its industries, resources and real estate, but is in fact accommodating the aim of the American, and even Canadian monopolies, to base Canada's economy more and more on the extractive industries, and less on manufactured goods. It is becoming increasingly clear to more people that the saying 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' is not a cliché as far as the realities of the U.S.-Canadian relationships are concerned.

This prospect is causing great alarm among different sections of the population who are concerned with the independence of Canada, and the economic consequences in terms of jobs and living standards of

*Many of the Canadian unions are branches of 'international' (or 'inter-American') trade unions. These, in fact, are U.S. unions with membership both in the USA and in Canada — *Ed.*

policies which stresses the 'quick dollars' of the exploitation of natural resources for export, and the downgrading of the basic manufacturing sector which should flourish, based on the relative abundance and variety of raw material resources of the country. A significant reaction to Canada's GATT 'policy' came from John Shepherd, executive director of the Science Council of Canada, who sounded a strong warning in testimony before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, saying in part: 'Canadian industry is in serious trouble — and because it is, the country is in trouble as well. This is the situation: compared with other countries Canada is experiencing a very poor rate of industrialization, almost to the point that we might say it is relatively de-industrialized as a country. . . . In light of that chronic situation only a major and coherent industrial policy is likely to have any significant chance of reversing our industrial fortunes.'

A prime example of the problem of U.S. ownership and control in its economic impact on industrial growth and employment is that of the Canadian-U.S. Auto Pact, which was supposed to bring into reasonable balance what we buy from and sell to the United States in automobiles and parts. The automobile industry in Canada is wholly U.S.-owned, and regardless of pacts and agreements, in the final analysis, Detroit dictates the terms on which it conducts business in Canada. Thus for the past four years the Canadian deficit with the U.S. has exceeded \$1,000 million.

It is now very clear from the auto trade deficit figures, that the important parts industry in Canada is well on the road to extinction, with the loss of employment already exceeding many thousands, and which could eventually rise to tens of thousands. This is part of the price we pay for having handed over the ownership and control of massive sectors of the economy to the American monopolies, who make their decisions on Canada in their board rooms in New York, Chicago, Washington and other U.S. centers of capitalist concentration.

For many years only the communists and a handful of progressives in the labor movement sounded the alarm on the direction being taken by government(s) and the major sections of monopoly in not only making possible, but actively encouraging, foreign, largely American, equity capital to take over the commanding heights of the economy. The Communist Party has long advocated the development of a Canadian automobile industry, as necessary to strengthen the economy and the independence of the country, and to provide the maximum possible employment for Canadian workers. The union of the automobile workers, and to a large extent the auto workers themselves, did not respond favorably to this proposition, and when the Canadian-U.S. Auto Pact was devised there was only minimum

criticism of it, and the warning of the left as to its harmful potential was largely ignored.

But life, the hard shape it takes, has brought about very significant changes in attitudes on Canadian-U.S. relations, both within the labor movement and in society generally. The auto workers certainly now recognize the nature of the beast insofar as their industry and jobs are concerned, and to some degree a large majority of Canadians are questioning the wisdom of having permitted the U.S. takeover, and want to restore the full independence of the country.

Of major significance is the expressed determination of Canadian trade unionists to bring about changes in the relationship with the union movement of the U.S. While many unions in Canada maintain affiliation with the U.S. parent union, many other unions have established a new relationship which in effect amounts to fraternal association, while some have declared their independence because the U.S. union insisted on retaining the 'captive' relationship which was their previous status.

The scope of this struggle depends on the extent to which Canadian labor becomes actively involved in the struggle against American domination, and for full Canadian independence, for establishing genuine autonomy in terms of relations with U.S. unions, as the struggle for independence cannot be other than one having a high degree of political content and direction.

It is not suggested that if American ownership and control were eliminated, Canada's economic problems would be solved. Canadian capitalism is not immune to any of the ills which result in economic crises, and the working class would have to fight hard against the effects of capitalist contradictions on their lives.

What can be said, and is being said in many quarters today, is that the double yoke carried by Canada, problems created by the general operation of capitalism, and the extensive ownership by foreign capital in the economy, causes greater difficulties, deeper crises, more unemployment, and obstructs what should be the logical industrialization of the country.

Monopoly in general in Canada is ever more deeply mired in the contradictions which make capitalism totally incapable of overcoming problems and meeting the needs of the people, and as always seek to 'solve' problems through shifting the main burdens of crises onto the shoulders of the wage and salary earners. Today, capitalism is finding its ability to 'solve' the most devastating aspects of the crisis more difficult, and more and more it resorts to extreme measures exploiting its ugly character in the process. The harsh voice of finance capital was recently heard through a pronouncement made by Pitfield, Mackay, Ross and Company, a large investment firm with solid lines to

government: 'An economic setback holds out the fully credible prospects of actually effecting a large and rapid correction in wages, prices and general expectations in the economy. Such shock treatment was used in the United States in 1974-75 and worked.'

What Pitfield, Mackay neglect to say is that Canada is now in the midst of a most severe economic recession, and that the most extreme 'shock treatment' has been applied by government, acting for the monopolies. But rather than working, except to curb legitimate wage expectations, it has miserably failed with commodity prices sharply increasing, and unemployment zooming above 'tolerable' levels, even for the liking of big business.

The Liberal Party, headed by Pierre Elliot Trudeau, had been re-elected in June, 1974, with its main election plank being that of opposition to wage and price controls. The Conservatives had advocated a program of controls and were strongly rejected at the polls, while the New Democratic Party (NDP) lost considerable ground as large numbers of voters, including many working people, supported the Liberals as, they thought, the only alternative to wage and salary controls.

However, not many months had passed before the Trudeau government began its descent from being anti-wage control to accommodating the demands of the main sections of monopoly for measures to curb the wage fight of Canadian labor. Using the high inflation situation, the government made approaches to labor and business to consider a program of voluntary wage and price restraints, putting the main heat on the labor movement in line with the widespread propaganda of business and government that the real villain of inflation was the wages being won by the working people.

It must be said that the trade union leadership generally, including the top leadership of the national and provincial centers, strongly rejected the totally anti-labor propositions of the Trudeau government, and when faced with what amounted to an ultimatum in time from the government, responded with a counter-demand program on what was needed to overcome the crisis in the economy, and provide greater economic security for the Canadian people. These demands are a very strong political response by labor, and constitute a coherent anti-monopoly position.

When it became apparent to government that its chances of snaring the labor movement into acceptance of phony voluntary controls was slim to the point of its being non-existent, it moved speedily and announced legislation to impose mandatory wage and price controls, and established a whole bureaucracy to administer the law through an Anti-Inflation Board (AIB).

The real purpose of the controls is shown in the results, with the

roll-back in union-employer wage settlements already reaching close to \$500 million, and expected to reach one billion dollars before controls run their announced legislative course. Virtually nothing has been done to control prices, and even less to control profits which reflect the price gouge of the monopolies.

When mandatory controls were imposed, the temper and militancy of labor increased dramatically, as the strike statistics for late 1975 and into 1976 show. In 1975 the man-day duration of strikes was 10,908,810; and in 1976, 11,609,000 (as against 2,866,590 in 1971). The bourgeois media bitterly complained that 'Canada has the worst strike record,' going on to say 'Canada has maintained the unenviable reputation of having the worst strike record in the Western world.'

We believe that was by far the best record from the point of view of working people defending their interests. Without a shadow of doubt the working class, both organized and unorganized, and the people generally, were substantially better off despite high unemployment and high prices than they would have been, had there been fewer strikes and less struggle against the monopoly and government offensive, which had the aim of sharply reducing the real living standards of the mass of the people.

By the time the Canadian Labour Congress was convened in Québec City in May, 1976, the temper of the working people was reflected in a demand from the shop floors and local unions throughout the country that a general strike be called to answer the monopoly-dominated attack on wages and living standards. Neither the leadership or the convention delegates could ignore the loud and clear demand for action by the rank and file of labor.

The first business to come before the May 1976 convention was a document entitled 'Labor's Manifesto for Canada,' and an attached 'Program of Action,' both with a recommendation for adoption. Any attempt to describe the 'Manifesto' in detail would be self-defeating, therefore it is necessary to cut right through and say it was a long and rambling mixed bag which in part reflected the anger of labor, and with flashes of class understanding. In part, the document expressed the magnetic pull of social reformism to find an accommodation within the capitalist system without basic confrontation.

Reflecting the effort to find an accommodation was the main thought of the 'Manifesto' which proposed to government that there be a tripartite arrangement for the purpose of national economic planning, with management giving up its unilateral right to determine investment and pricing policies. Implicit in this position was that labor could then consider wage and other controls.

The debate at the convention on the Manifesto disclosed the deep concern of many that the direction being proposed would bring the

movement and the working class to the dead-end of class collaboration. The vote on the Manifesto was carried with a sizable minority opposed.

Immediately following the convention, CLC leaders met with government and presented their proposals, which were rejected, if not out of hand, then swiftly and firmly. Government made it clear to the trade union leaders that controls would not be lifted unless there was a firm commitment from labor to accept effective voluntary restraints, a commitment which would have run completely counter to the mood and militancy of the working class.

This left the CLC leadership no other alternative than to begin to implement the action program of the convention, and in August 1976, the Canadian Labour Congress declared that October 14, 1976, the first anniversary of the control program, would be labor's Day of Protest, and called on working people to remain off the job and join in mass demonstrations. The Day of Protest was to be the culmination of a series of protests held earlier, including a massive demonstration of more than 30,000 workers before the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, the capital city, and tens of thousands demonstrating before the Legislative Assemblies in the provincial capitals across the country.

A general work stoppage, while not uncommon in some European countries, would be a first-ever in Canada and North America, and if successful would represent a tremendous advance for Canadian labor, and an action of the highest possible political importance. The Day of Protest highlighting the general militancy of labor was highly successful, exceeding predictions and expectations with well over a million men and women staying off the job. The Communist Party and communists in the unions had in complete measure supported every action of the trade union movement to oppose the infamous wage control program.

Communists, while being properly critical of the elements of class collaboration in the leadership positions of labor, encouraged and supported the action program, the mass demonstrations and the historic Day of Protest.

Communists in Canada have for long advanced a position of advising the working class to fight for an effective say in matters which the employing class claim as their sole prerogative, such as investment policies, the setting of prices, location of new plants, reduction or expansion of the work force, all changes involving technology and automated processes, and a host of questions beyond the present limited range of collective bargaining which have a direct impact on the lives and welfare of working people.

But communists, of course, reject the concept advanced by some in

Canada that the labor 'Manifesto' is the solution to most if not all the problems of the wage and salary earners. Even a very sketchy knowledge of past history and a minimum of experience in recent struggle will say that this is idealist nonsense, and typical of the class collaboration which is part and parcel of social reformism. To speak of tripartite partnership is to deny the class nature of capitalism.

On the other extreme there are those who say that the total position of the Manifesto, which includes the proper and necessary objective of labor winning an effective voice in determining issues beyond the bounds of wages, pensions, vacations, seniority, safety, etc., should be rejected. This viewpoint would keep the trade union movement in the narrow confines of economic actions mainly having to do with wages and other remuneration. While exposing and fighting against collaboration which sells out working-class interests, labor in this day and age can only really challenge the power of monopoly by fighting for an effective say on all issues which in any way affect the working people.

The legislative imposition of wage controls and the fight-back of labor resulted in an unprecedented situation where the top trade union leadership came into open conflict with the leadership of the New Democratic Party, regularly endorsed by the Canadian Labour Congress as the political arm of labor.

Progressives in the trade unions do not oppose electoral support to the NDP, but have long been highly critical of this support being regarded as the extent to which the trade union movement should engage in political action. Progressives have pressed for independent labor political action involving the masses of the people in struggle on the issues of the day. The lessons of the limitation of social democracy during the wage control struggle has been worth a thousand lectures, even to politically advanced workers. At demonstrations during the Day of Protest, CLC President Joe Morris and others observed that the struggle against wage controls, and the stand taken by the New Democratic Party, had caused the movement to begin a re-evaluation of its political action position with the likely result that the trade unions would not again be content with political action based on waiting for the election of 'friendly' governments.

The anti-monopoly content of labor's struggles over the past number of years can be stepped up and important concessions can be wrested from monopoly and government if the trade union movement makes possible the involvement of the rank and file on an ever-expanding basis. There is the need to explore for new forms of struggle against the monopolies and their governments, including the many and varied forms of action possible within a civil disobedience campaign.

What is patently clear is that basic concessions to labor which takes unilateral power away from the monopolies will only be won through the working class in motion, participating in the most intense economic, social and political struggle in defense of their class interests and for their material needs. There can be no genuine opposition to the monopolies except through and by the working class in struggle.

The struggle for labor having an effective say in matters now reserved as employer rights must be taken down to each enterprise, and the bargaining process must begin to reflect these more basic demands of the labor movement. Pressure and negotiations at the top and pressure and negotiations down below is the combination needed for success. Negotiations or deals on top without hard struggle below will lead the workers to defeat, and the movement into the morass of class collaboration.

In Canadian conditions the struggle against American domination in all its forms is an integral part of the fight against American and Canadian monopoly, and the powerful multinational corporations which rule the country. The deeper involvement of the trade union movement in the fight for Canadian independence is a priority task at this time.

An important part of opposing monopoly aims is the struggle to achieve public ownership under democratic control in key areas of the economy. A sector of the economy which cries out for public ownership is transportation and communication. It is becoming increasingly clear to many Canadians that nationalization of the resource industries is essential if there is to be the kind of growth of secondary manufacturing which the resources make possible. Constantly rising unemployment demands the growth of labor-intensive industry.

As the Canadian working class battle for these and other necessary measures, they will be unreservedly supported by Canadian communists. The Communist Party will seek to build up its ranks and strengthen its roots in the working class. The party will step up its explanation of its policy of winning support among the people generally for the realization of an anti-monopoly alliance, to protect the immediate interests of the majority of Canadians, and help lead Canada in the direction of a socialist future.

Your questions answered

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE ONCE AGAIN

Dear Friends,

I read with great interest the reply to a reader from Jordan in your July, 1977 issue, about the different approaches to human rights and their observance.¹ I, too, have some ideas on this matter. Even since Jimmy Carter's election as U.S. President, it has become a special fad over here, in the capitalist West, to criticize the socialist countries on any pretext and to accuse them of all manner of violations of human rights. However, one need not be a communist at all to see how the most elementary human rights are being violated in our own countries. Over here, every one who is unemployed can say what his 'human rights' amount to in practice.

I am a social democrat, and by writing this letter to you I risk being expelled from the party, but I believe that my conclusion is right: the capitalists have no concern for human rights for all, no matter what Carter, Schmidt or Giscard d'Estaing say to the contrary. Why then make so much noise about how other people run their affairs? It is to divert attention from home? Or is it perhaps to convince us that things are bad everywhere, and so nothing can be done about it? I hope to hear from you soon.

With friendly greetings, yours
Klaus Peter Werner
Wuppertal, FRG

The Editors have asked Andreas Fantis, Deputy General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) to reply.

Dear Comrade Werner,

You are quite right in saying that in 1976 a number of capitalist countries launched an exceptionally noisy and slanderous campaign over the question of human rights in the socialist countries.

President Carter's electoral promises and his inaugural speech, his statements that U.S. policy would henceforth be based on moral principles and values like freedom, democracy and human rights sounded a bugle call for an unprecedented propaganda orgy over

alleged violations of these rights and freedoms in the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union.

Why have they done this? Why have the imperialists and their propagandists — the most inveterate enemies of the people's struggle for freedom and democracy — suddenly remembered human rights and now pretend to champion them?

I think you are right in saying that the 'human rights campaign' is designed to distract people's attention when it comes to the domestic political issues in the capitalist countries. However, its foreign-policy, international aspect also deserves to be considered.

For more than 60 years the two social systems — socialism and capitalism — have been locked in struggle. Depending on the world situation, the struggle becomes especially intense in this or that field. For a number of years after the Second World War the main area of the struggle was military confrontation. This was epitomized by the 'cold war' which the imperialist circles conducted for over 20 years in an effort to 'roll-back communism' and suppress world socialism by force.

In that period, anti-communism, of which McCarthyism in the United States was the blindest and most extreme expression, was the official ideology of the imperialist circles. It was used to sanctify unheard-of and repugnant crimes, like the mass persecutions of progressives for their ideas, the execution of the Rosenbergs, which exemplifies legal murder, aggressive wars and 'peace-keeping' campaigns against the peoples of Korea, Guatemala, Congo (now Zaire), the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and other countries in Indochina, and so on.

The 'cold war' policy collapsed under the impact of the struggle of the peace forces, the break-up of the shameful colonial system, the emergence of dozens of newly-independent states, the formation of the non-aligned movement and above all the clear-cut resolute and principled Leninist policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community designed to consolidate peace, détente and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Socialism's growing defense potential together with the tremendous economic progress in the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and the changing balance of forces in the world, all forced the imperialist ruling circles to admit that their plans to destroy socialism had failed. In the late 60s and early 70s, there was a turn in international relations toward détente, a turn which culminated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in July and August 1975.

Nor was imperialism able to retain any advantage in the economic competition with socialism. The socialist countries have surpassed

the capitalist countries in economic growth: in 1976 their industrial output was roughly 20-fold greater than what was produced in 1937 on the same territory, while industrial output in the capitalist countries in that period went up only 5.5-fold. From 1951 to 1976, industrial output in the socialist countries multiplied 11.5-fold, and in the developed capitalist countries 3.4-fold. Economic growth in the socialist countries is steady, while in the capitalist countries it continues to be cyclical. The mid-70s crisis hurled the capitalist world some six years back in, say, steel output and five years in the manufacture of cars.

Besides, it is not only the rate of production growth but also the rate of consumption growth that is, as a rule, much higher than that of the capitalist countries. I can speak of this as an eye-witness as I have often visited the socialist countries and been able to observe and make comparisons. Statistics confirm my experience. From 1950 to 1975, the CMEA countries' aggregate consumption fund increased roughly 4.9-fold, growing by about one-third over the past five years. Another important thing is that under socialism the sharp stratification of the people in terms of property holdings that is inherent in capitalism has been overcome. There is a relatively small difference in consumption levels between the various sections of society.

There are no unemployed. The housing and transport problems are being solved on a planned basis. Health care, education and social security are provided for all. In a word, all social strata feel the effects of the steady and dynamic growth of the productive forces. The wide gap between appalling poverty and fabulous wealth, so typical of the capitalist system, has been closed.

The imperialist ruling circles, realizing that they cannot carry on their reckless 'cold war' policy or win in the economic competition with socialism, have been switching the emphasis in their fight against socialism toward the ideological front, and are trying to discredit the advantages of socialism. The new aspect in this confrontation is the accent on human rights and freedoms.

All humankind holds sacred the ideas of freedom, democracy and human rights, in the struggle for which millions of men and women have shed their blood or given their lives. One need only recall the peoples' struggle against fascist enslavement. There is good reason why the inalienable human right to enjoy broad political, social and cultural freedoms was formalized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the UN General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1948, and the International Covenants on human rights which flow from it. In 1975, the Helsinki states also declared their readiness to abide by the human rights and freedoms proclaimed in the UN documents.

There is growing awareness among the masses that the free and

all-round development of the individual and society requires the exercise of human rights. The imperialist propagandists do their best to prove that only capitalism can ensure such 'free development.' One of their arguments is that the Constitutions and other legislative acts of virtually all the capitalist countries contain articles proclaiming these rights.

Most Constitutions of the bourgeois countries do indeed proclaim these rights, but that does not mean that they are observed. How can one speak of the right to work, for example, when even officially there are 17 million jobless in the developed capitalist countries? An author in *Monde diplomatique* wrote: 'In a period of crisis capitalism reveals as never before the extent to which it arbitrarily decides the destinies of men and how little concern it has for their conditions of life: the constitutional right to work is questioned as soon as the right to profit appears to be less secure.'² Let us add that the rights to rest and leisure, medical service, education and in general a life fit for human beings are similarly treated by capitalism.

We have not yet dealt with the humiliating restrictions imposed by imperialism on millions of men and women on grounds of sex, race and color, in accordance with its old 'divide and rule' principle. I shall not dwell on these restrictions, which were discussed in sufficient detail in the dialogue mentioned in your letter.

No, it is not enough to write an article on human rights into the constitution. They must be realized in practice. If this is to take place, there is a need for the material preconditions without which the loudest declarations are empty words. And the world whose main law is the unrestricted race for profit does not and cannot create such premises.

The unemployed of whom you write have come to learn the truth of this from their own bitter experience. Analysis of capitalist development shows that the lot of the jobless is not a matter of chance, personal failure, or ill will on the part of this or that employer, but part of the regular pattern of capitalist society.

The imperialists, who trample on human rights in their own countries, have still less regard for human rights, freedoms and even life in other countries. They grossly interfere in their domestic affairs, organize and finance plots and coups to topple legitimate governments, as was the case here in Cyprus in 1974. Their huge armament programs, the neutron bomb and the wars they have waged against many peoples are ample proof of this.

Of course, in the capitalist world there are countries in which freedom of expression, conscience, assembly, legal political activity and other rights are in various degrees respected. However, first, these rights and freedoms are always relative and their scope corres-

ponds above all to the strength and capacity of the organized working-class movement to defend and consolidate them. Second, experience (notably Chile's tragic experience and to some extent that of Cyprus and certain other countries) shows that in the capitalist countries masses of people are free to enjoy their rights up to the point at which that freedom begins to threaten the rule of capital. Whenever the peoples' struggle poses such a threat to the capitalist system, the ruling class will go to any length to maintain its rule.

In an article under the heading 'Capitalism Against Democracy?' the *Monde diplomatique* says succinctly: 'Capitalism has established neither economic nor social democracy. However, does the political democracy it has established do justice to its name? Can one imagine such a key sector as politics functioning on principles that differ from those upon which the entire capitalist system functions? By what miracle would a system stand for a form of political power which would be contrary to its major economic interests?'³ The bitter experience of history and of our own day testifies that capitalism ignores both human rights and democracy.

International imperialist circles and their well-paid agents and propagandists have had much to say about human rights, freedom and democracy. This is just how the imperialist powers acted at the Belgrade Meeting in their efforts to divert the discussion from the fundamental problems of security in Europe and the world. But diplomatic moves are diplomatic moves and facts are facts. No diplomacy can obliterate the fact that the capitalist system, based as it is on exploitation of human beings, is by its very nature a negation of the most elementary human rights. No wonder the leading powers of the capitalist world — the United States and the FRG — were among the 11 countries which voted against a resolution in the UN Committee on Social and Humanitarian Questions last December calling for an end to violations of human rights.

Now let us consider yet another aspect of the matter. You raised a very interesting point, Comrade Werner. One of the purposes of the current capitalist trumpeting over 'violations of human rights' in the socialist countries is, indeed, to convince ordinary folk that 'things are bad everywhere,' so there is no point in fighting for a revolutionary transformation of society and one had better accept the world as one finds it. This is a fairly subtle move, because under the impact of the injustices of our capitalist world people do find it hard to believe that someone somewhere can live without these burdens and anxieties, and fear of the future.⁴ Let us consider, therefore, first of all whether the material preconditions and guarantees for the exercise of human rights and freedoms exist under socialism.

Since this question is far from being clear to all in the capitalist

world let us go into it a little deeper. Socialism does away with exploitation of human beings and with private property in the means of production. In place of the blind and inexorable law of profit-making, socialism sets up as the highest law the utmost possible satisfaction of man's material and spiritual requirements, and this is expressed in the maxim: 'Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man,' which is common to all the socialist countries.

It is socialism that for the first time in history has put the human being with his growing spiritual, intellectual, and moral expectations at the very center of all social life. And it is quite natural that the new Constitution of the USSR — the first country where socialism has been fully developed — has formalized the communists' ideal as follows: 'The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.'

The very character of socialism's social system gives people firm and permanent guarantees of a decent life and development: steady employment; fair wages based on the quantity and quality of the work done; free highly developed health care and education; an advanced system of social security. You will agree, Comrade Werner, that these are the main things. Yes, there are defects in a socialist society in the process of construction. But even capitalist critics of socialism have to admit that socialist society holds out to its citizens in practice the broadest social and cultural rights: the right to work, rest and leisure, education, social security, housing, etc., that it has solved the nationalities question, and has secured equality for women.

Citizens in socialist society are free from the worries which erode human life under capitalism, for they are themselves the architects of the new society, taking an active part in every form of political and social activity. Millions of men and women in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries daily participate in the work of the organs of state power — local, regional, and national. Socialism has engendered a new phenomenon, production democracy, which means direct participation by all those who work in decision-making and managing production.

Capitalist apologists claim that under socialism, there is no criticism, no freedom of expression, the trade unions have no right to strike, etc. As I said, I have visited the socialist countries on many occasions and, on the basis of what I have seen, I can say that this is not true. Examine any newspaper published in the socialist countries, from the *Pravda*, *Trybuna Ludu* and *Nepszabadsag*, to local newspapers and papers put out at big plants, construction projects and farms. I do not think you will find a single issue that does not contain criticism from ordinary workers and peasants, freely and openly

expressing their views on one or another measure taken by state, party or administrative organs and leaders.

At meetings of workers, at trade union and party plenums and congresses you will hear sharp, principled and impartial criticism and free of expression on the most burning issues, which would hardly be possible even in the fullest bourgeois democracy.

I just say that in my country an ordinary worker would think twice before venturing to openly criticize his superior or employer.

As for the right to strike and other trade union rights under socialism, this question was dealt with very well at the recent Ninth World Trade Union Congress by the leaders of the Hungarian Trade unions, Sandor Gaspar. He said that trade unions in the socialist countries must allow for the fact that certain forms of struggle for workers' interests used widely by the trade unions in the capitalist countries, such as boycotts and strikes, not only serve no purpose in a socialist system but may cause harm. Under socialism there is no antagonism between the interests of the state and the interests of the working people. The goals set by the state coincide with those of the trade unions. This does not mean that disagreement and conflicts do not arise, but the method of settling them is different and far more effective from the point of view of the masses than under capitalism. I should also like to cite an example given by Leonid Brezhnev not long ago. 'Last year,' he said, 'nearly 10,000 ... administrators were removed from their posts at the demand of trade union committees' for infringing the standards laid down in labor legislation or disregarding the social needs of the working people.⁵ I think this speaks for itself.

But the communists have made no secret of the fact that while socialism is the justest system yet, it still does not ensure complete equality. Its maxim is: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.' It merely lays the foundations of the future classless communist society, whose maxim, on the basis of a gigantic development of the productive forces and an equally broad development of the individual, will be: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.' But to claim on the strength of this that 'things are bad everywhere,' as the advocates of capitalism do, is to call white black. The point is: bad for whom? Under capitalism, things are bad for millions of working people. Under socialism, the social system, the whole state system exists and functions for the benefit of the working class, for millions of working people, for the working people as a whole.

Of course, every house has its own mice, as a saying goes. Some people under socialism are dissatisfied with the social system for reasons, which may not always be political. Thus, black marketeers

and those who like to make easy money are not happy with distribution according to work. There is also the direct influence of capitalist propaganda, morals, ideology and norms of behavior. This is the soil that breeds the so-called dissidents, whose 'rights' the mass media of the capitalist world defend so readily while slandering the socialist system. But the working class and all other working people never fought for a 'socialism' that would be praised by capitalists. And I think you will agree that such socialism would hardly be worthy of the name.

Let us draw a few conclusions. First, it is quite obvious that the efforts of the imperialist politicians and propagandists, masquerading as champions of human rights, are designed to neutralize in the minds of the working people the attractiveness of the example demonstrated by the new social system. This is being done by launching noisy campaigns around the alleged violations of the political rights of one or another enemy of the socialist system, campaigns designed to divert public opinion from the broad range of political and socio-economic rights and their material back-up and guarantees of realization that the socialist world actually provides.

As the prominent U.S. international-law specialist Samuel Pizar remarked, such campaigns do not look very logical 'at a time when the bulk of mankind has still to win the right to work, housing, education and medical care'⁶ precisely in the non-socialist part of the world.

The ideologists of imperialism cannot and do not even try to explain why the goal of one society is the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of all its members, while the goal of the other is the extraction of maximum profits for the benefit of a small group of exploiters; why the spirit of comradely cooperation, mutual assistance and social optimism reigns in one society, and the dog-eat-dog law of hostility, extreme individualism and constant fear for the future, in the others. Consequently, the whole bourgeois 'defense of human rights' campaign, which has been broadly advertised as an offensive against socialism from 'profoundly moral positions' turns out on closer examination to be merely an operation in defense of capitalism.

The ideological struggle in the international arena is now pivoted on the two opposite ways of life. Victory or defeat in the global struggle of ideas and ideals in the modern world do not ultimately depend on loud demagogic campaigns about 'human rights,' which can only poison relations among states and slow down international détente, but on a social system's capacity to create the most favorable conditions for human life.

I think, Comrade Werner, the road you have taken, the road of

reflection and search for the truth, is now characteristic of many men and women in the capitalist world. I wish you every success in your efforts.

Andreas Fantis
Nicosia, Cyprus

1. See, I. Blishchenko, A. Kohen. 'The Human Rights Issue,' *WMR*, July 1977, p. 95 (British edition).

2. *Le Monde diplomatique*, March, 1977, p. 10.

3. *Le Monde diplomatique*, March 1977, p. 9.

4. A recent opinion poll in West Germany showed, for example, that 46 per cent of FRG citizens are worried about their future. Bourgeois commentators attribute this to the 'cultural pessimism' that is supposed to have been characteristic of the Germans throughout their history. But why, then, have the citizens of the GDR shed this historical 'pessimism,' as I have myself noticed during my many trips to that socialist country? The answer is much simpler: it lies in the conditions of social life.

5. See *WMR* for December 1977.

6. *The New York Times Magazine*, September 25, 1977.

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Global modelling: complex analysis of world development

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Various ideological and political aspects of contemporary global problems are discussed in *WMR*. The articles we have published also consider the modelling of world development, or global modelling, which helps to analyze trends in world development and to bring out its contradictions. What is the gist of this method, its general theoretical and methodological basis? This is dealt with by Djermen Gvishiani, Director of the All-Union Research Institute of Systems Analysis of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Science and Technology, and the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has been working on the problem of modelling global processes.

Global modelling, or the structuring of models of intricate, multi-factor and interrelated processes of world development, is a new scientific field which has taken shape over the past decade. Since the early 70s, some 15 global models have been worked out in various countries and this has evoked considerable interest on the part of world opinion.

With the growing awareness of the global trends in humanity's development and its interaction with nature, there is an ever greater need for scientific means and methods which make it possible to analyze with adequate precision the processes in world development, to evaluate their short- and long-term aspects, and to study probable alternatives. A new scientific instrument — global modelling, a method of complex analysis of humanity's problems — is being elaborated on the basis of philosophical and sociological conceptions, theoretical and applied research into large systems, and methods of formalized and non-formalized modelling.

Global modelling is a special mode of cognition of reality. It is, of course, based on an aggregation of the theoretical concepts worked out by the various natural and social sciences, but like all modelling it differs essentially from qualitative theoretical analysis.

Modelling, as a method of cognition, falls far short of theory in the extent to which its scientific facts and conclusions are complete and ordered. It is used wherever it is impossible, for various reasons, to produce a theory. In such situations, one frequently has to confine oneself to a description of some recurrent features in the development of the given phenomena without offering their theoretical explication.

Modelling becomes one of the most promising methods for analyzing global development which does not yet lend itself to a description by means of a mathematically formalized theory, so that the real dynamics of such development can only be reflected in a model. But, even so this makes it possible to trace the changes in the trends of a global system's functioning and development and to elaborate on that basis a strategy for man's practical attitude to it.

There are various modes and methods of modelling. For instance, in some cases one can apply physical models, as visual analogues of the objects being studied, reduced to a scale which makes it possible to use them in various experiments. However, it is impossible to produce a material, physical analogue for an intricate and multi-factor system like a global system. Here, only a mathematical model, a system of equations describing some of the key processes in the world, can play the part of its analogue in the cognitive process. The relations between these equations must correspond to the relations between processes in the actual global system.

The choice of a mathematical model for global processes also determines the mode of its study: the dynamic of the model is revealed by running it through a computer.

However, no matter how complicated or refined a computerized global model is, it cannot function or yield meaningful results without constant interaction with the researcher. The model must be governable, and its use is based on the principle of dialogue: the researcher poses the questions and observes the changes in the parameters he is studying. Work with a model is carried on by means of scenarios, which are possible alternatives in the development of a global model depending on the changes in its parameters. Changes in parameters are evoked by the 'What happens, if ...' type of question. (For instance: How are living standards likely to change in 20 years' time, if arms spending throughout the world is cut by 5 per cent a year?)

To facilitate contacts with the model (and not only for specialists) several standard versions of scenarios are worked out to characterize the development of what are seen to be the most important processes and the possible changes of the key elements of the system. In the dialogue with the computer it is possible to set different time frames for such scenarios and to modify any of their parameters. When the calculations are completed, the set variant of development is repro-

duced on the computer display. It can also be presented in verbal form, and in the form of tables and charts. For the sake of comparison, the results of earlier calculations can also be displayed.

When considering the attitude of Marxist researchers to global modelling, there is a need to draw a clear distinction between the method itself and the global models produced by means of it by bourgeois scientists.

A critical approach to these models and rejection of their reactionary socio-political premises and conclusions does not contradict the positive assessment of the methods of global modelling itself, but is, on the contrary, one of the conditions for productive elaboration of this method in the light of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

There are several reasons for the interest among Marxist researchers in global modelling.

First, the new method is attractive because it has been developed to study global problems, which are essentially problems facing the whole of humanity.

The problem of the human factors in the historical process and the need for a revolutionary transformation of the world, substantiated from the standpoint of humanity's interests, is of especial significance for the communists' ideological, theoretical and practical political activity. In the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the class analysis of social development and the discovery of the proletariat's worldwide historical mission is bound up with the problems and processes bearing on the whole of humanity, and the elaboration of the idea of consolidating humanity as the communist socio-economic formation develops.

This idea was first expressed in *The German Ideology*, which showed the worldwide importance of building a communist society,² and it was later elaborated by the Marxist-Leninist classics in a number of their works. The problems now being analyzed by means of global modelling provide yet another important argument for the perspective of historical development of mankind advanced by the communists as the grounds for their policy. It was in this context that General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev, said: 'In our day, the world is socially heterogeneous — it is made up of states with different social systems. This is an objective fact. By its inner development and by its approach to international relations the socialist part of the world is setting a good example of the lines along which the major problems arising before mankind can best be solved. But, needless to say, it cannot solve them for the whole of humanity. What is needed here is purposeful efforts by the people of every country, broad and constructive cooperation by all countries, all peoples.'³

Second, global modelling is of interest as a method for examining various parameters of the basic contradiction of the present epoch, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism.

The contest between the two social systems — socialism and capitalism — pervades every structural level of the system of humanity as a global community.

On the level of the individual, there are the alternative trends in man's many-sided alienation under capitalism and the overcoming of the alienation through the harmonious development of the individual under socialism and communism.

On the level of social processes, on the scale of this or that society, there are, on the one hand, the trends leading to ever greater social inequality, haphazard and disproportional growth of the economy on the basis of private property, trends which are endemic to capitalism, and on the other, the opposite trends under socialism: ever fully realization of the ideal of equality and the principle of the proportional and balanced development of the economy, which are determined by social property in the instruments and means of production.

On the level of relations between countries and nations, there is the contest between the trends to maintain tension, the neo-colonialist exploitation of less developed countries (which goes to perpetuate their backwardness) and the trends of détente, and equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation which in international politics reflect the struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Finally, on the level of relations between various societies and nature, there are the trends leading to the plunder of natural resources and destruction of the environment, which are characteristic of the capitalist economy, for it is geared to the drive for maximum profits and, by contrast, the preservation and recultivation of the environment and the rational use of natural resources which are inherent in the socialist economy, whose main goal is the well-being of man, of all members of society.

Third, Marxist researchers are concerned with global modelling also because one of its basic functions is to bring out the alternatives in world development.

It is of the essence of Marxism to seek an anticipatory reflection of reality because on the basis of its scientific cognition of the regularities of historical development it sets out to bring about a revolutionary transformation of the world for the benefit of the working class and all the other working people. Global modelling, a new method for analyzing the problems elaborated by Marxism by other means, fits into the Marxist-Leninist system of science and becomes one of its applied elements.

The systems approach is the most important methodological principle in structuring global models.

Bourgeois scientists claim that it is one of their discoveries and date the elaboration of its fundamentals from the mid-20th century. However, the basic principles of the systems approach, like the systems principle itself, were worked out a century earlier, by Marx and Engels.

In his *Capital*, Marx used the systems principle (in dialectical unity with the principle of development) to analyze the capitalist socio-economic formation, and this was the fundamental advance in elaborating the systems approach. It was subsequently developed through a summing-up of the latest advances in science, which studies specific systems in objective reality, and is a premise for global modelling.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine has also shown its importance for the methods used in structuring global models.

Selection of the initial elements, the parameters of the future system and the conceptualization of their links and dependencies, is the first stage in modelling, which precedes mathematical formalization and computerization. But since the model is an analogue, an image of objective reality, it can contain only a limited number of its characteristics (if their range is markedly increased, the efficiency of the model tends sharply to decline). This poses the important question of the principles on which the parameters reproduced in the model are selected.

The principles for selecting the initial factors of global models depend on the ideological and theoretical views of the researchers concerned, so the models produced by bourgeois researchers bear on a limited number of problems.

This is a big defect because there is the danger of neglecting very essential problems without which the model ceases to be adequate. For all the importance of ecological, resource, foodstuffs and similar problems, their scientific analysis is obviously impossible outside the context of the whole complex of socio-economic and political problems, like the need to avert another world war, to establish equitable international economic relations, to abolish exploitation, which breeds social injustice, and so on. But these factors are not put into the structure of existing models, because the parameters are selected on the principles of the bourgeois world outlook, the bourgeois ideology. Only the Marxist-Leninist doctrine makes it possible to select and conceptualize these factors.

The global models produced by bourgeois scientists reveal similar flaws in global regionalization.

The models of Jay Forrester and Dennis Meadows presented the

world as an undivided whole, without any differentiation by region. This elementary flaw was later righted in other models, like Herrera's Latin American model, which has four regions, the Mesarovic-Pestel model, which has 10, and Leontieff's, which has 15.⁴ But this regionalization was based mainly on geography, resources and some other concrete economic factors (like income per head), although it is quite obvious to Marxists that for the purposes of regionalization it is socio-economic criteria that need to be brought out (type of property in the basic means of production, the social structure of society). All the other essential criteria need to be taken into account as well, but only as additional ones.

Another flaw of regionalization in bourgeois global models is that the regions are presented as fixed and established for good. Actually, the modern world is increasingly dynamic. The Great October Revolution ushered in the epoch of humanity's transition to socialism and communism, and there is no doubt that more and more nations will move in this direction. The dynamism of the modern epoch needs to be taken into account when structuring a model of global development so as to allow for a change both in the number and the make-up of regions.

Equally important additions need to be made to the structure of the individual regions in the model. Of course, the model must represent traditional elements like population, environment, and resources, industrial and agricultural production and some others, but for a model to be adequate to its object, its structure has to take into account social, cultural and political processes. Their reflection in a regional model is a very intricate, creative task facing specialists who are engaged in producing a model of global development from the standpoint of Marxism.

An element, like the 'mechanism of administration' whose content (purposes, methods, structure) also differs fundamentally under capitalism and socialism, is highly important for the regional model.

The selection and conceptualization of the initial parameters of a global modelling system determine its scenario potentialities, that is, the possibilities for studying the alternatives of development which it contains. This aspect of global modelling is also profoundly influenced by the ideological and methodological approach.

Among other things, the limited potentialities of the scenarios of many of the global models produced by bourgeois researchers also reveal their inadequate theoretical grounding. Their structure and content are such that they make it possible to produce scenarios reflecting variants of change in a relatively short list of concrete economic, demographic, natural and some other factors. Such models

are useless for research with scenarios that include socio-political factors.

Let us recall, by way of example, that Forrester and Meadows arrived at the 'zero growth' strategy as the only reasonable one under the existing trends, but their ideological approach did not allow them to consider the possibility of modifying these trends by means of a radical change in the social mechanisms on which the management of the economy is based.

For their part, Soviet specialists carried out a highly convincing experiment with the use of Forrester's World-2 Model. It turned out that if the mechanism of planned distribution of investments was introduced into the model, a global disaster would be avoided.⁵ Quite obviously, this is a mechanism that will be found in the socialist economy and not in the capitalist economy, and that is why it was neglected by the authors of the model.

Marxist researchers emphasize the need to include social and socio-political factors in the modelling system, and here they rely both on the fundamental propositions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and on its more specific statement on the subject.

It is, after all, only at first sight that the scenario approach to the study of social and political processes appears to be a methodological innovation. Actually, its theoretico-methodological premises will be found in the Marxist-Leninist classics, and Lenin gave very much attention to elaborating and applying them in the shaping of the Communist Party's strategy and tactics in the revolutionary struggle.

Let us look at Lenin's activity in the period of the first revolution in Russia, in 1905, when, as the leader of the Bolsheviks, he was engaged in an intense struggle against the Mensheviks over the Social Democrats' participation in a provisional revolutionary government. At the Third Congress of the RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) and then in his book, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, he showed the need for such participation, provided there are favorable conditions for that. He stressed that two lines of development and outcome in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia were possible at the time: either a decisive victory by the revolution over tsarism, or, if the forces for such a victory proved to be inadequate, a deal between tsarism and the most conservative forces of the bourgeoisie. The answer to this question 'is determined by the objective combination of the operation of the various social forces' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 55)

What are these forces? Their nature and make-up were determined by theoretical analysis even before the revolution. But it is important that in June 1905, just before writing his *Two Tactics*, Lenin sketched out (not for publication but to sort things out for himself) the following

picture (in fact, a scenario) of the attitude of the main social forces to the possible establishment of a provisional revolutionary government:

'Setting: Tsarism in St. Petersburg struck down, the autocratic government overthrown — struck down but not utterly destroyed, not killed, *not annihilated*, not extirpated.

'The provisional revolutionary government appeals to the people. Workers and peasants *take the initiative*. Complete freedom ...

'Next — the Constituent Assembly. If the people have risen, they ...⁶ may (even though not immediately) find themselves in the majority (peasants and workers). Ergo, the revolutionary *dictatorship* of the proletariat and the peasantry ...

'If we are to consider the question of revolutionary dictatorship from the standpoint of Marxism, we shall have to reduce it to an analysis of the *struggle of the classes*.

'Ergo, what major social forces should be taken into account? *Ordre de bataille*?

'(α) The bureaucratic, military, and Court elements ... plus the unenlightened elements among the people ...

'(β) The more or less big, moderately-liberal bourgeoisie ...

'(γ) The petty-bourgeois and peasant section ...

'(δ) The proletariat ...

'(Object of struggle — *Republic* (including all democratic liberties, the *minimum program* and far-reaching social reforms).

'α — absolutely against.

'β) — *for* a Constitution, *against* the Republic (1/2 and 1/2). ((Bar-gaining)).

'γ — in a revolutionary moment (not firmly) *for* the Republic ((the unstable elements of the struggle)).

'δ — wholly and entirely *for* the Republic.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 534-536).

Lenin's works contain many such essentially scenario sketches, which are of tremendous methodological importance not only for the parties' concrete political practice, but also for elaborating the scientific approach to the production of scenarios for global and regional socio-political processes and their analysis by means of mathematical models.

Adequate scenarios can be produced for modelling global development only on the basis of the methodology worked out by the Marxist-Leninist classics.

A key conclusion from the study of this aspect of the legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin is that the system of modelling worldwide processes needs to provide for the possibility of structuring scenarios helping to analyze the arrangement and correlation of the basic social forces which influence the direction and pace of social, political and

other processes in various countries and regions. This implies that the relevant parameters should be included not only in non-formalized but also in the formalized sections of the modelling system, the mathematical model itself.

Of course, this is very hard to do, but it can be done, and Marxist researchers are already working on the problem.

In the modern, highly dynamic world abounding in developments, the method of global modelling can become an important additional instrument for operational analysis of major political situations.

This method helps to produce with some degree of authenticity a picture of development of various political events depending on the decisions made and the tactics adopted. As a result, it is possible to analyze and evaluate with greater confidence a broad range of the consequences ensuing from the alternative decisions out of which the most preferable one may be selected.

However, it would be a dangerous illusion to overrate the potential role of modelling. Problems like establishing the social meaning of ongoing and forthcoming changes and their progressive line of development, etc., can be determined only on the basis of the theoretical principles and methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

The growing importance of global problems in humanity's historical development and the consequent need to advance from haphazard and ungovernable development to development under stringent social control geared to goals which are of importance for the whole of humanity, all these make the development of global modelling a vital task facing science today.

The elaboration and use of global modelling methods are not only of theoretical but also of practical political interest both in the light of the communists' long-term tasks and of their day-to-day struggle for peace and socialism. Marxist scientists should therefore gain a profound understanding of this new scientific field and elaborate its theoretical and methodological problems on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The study of these problems in the USSR and other socialist countries marks the start of this important and necessary work.

1. See *WMR* May, 1977 and March, 1978.

2. See K. Marx and F. Engels. *The German Ideology*, pp. 34-38.

3. *Information Bulletin*, Nos. 23-24, 1977, p. 25.

4. See *Latin American World Model*. Buenos Aires, 1974; M. Mesarovic, E. Pestel. *Mankind at the Turning Point*. New York, 1974; W. Leontieff (Ed.). *The Future of the World Economy*. United Nations, 1976.

5. See V.A. Gelovani et al. 'Concerning One Administrative Problem in Forrester's Global Dynamic Model.' *Proceedings of the USSR Academy of Sciences*, 1975, Vol. 220, Part 3 (in Russian).

6. One word illegible.

The problem of fascism as mirrored in the ideological struggle

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The ideological struggle is a reflection and a component part of the sharp confrontation between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. It presents us communists with many new problems on the correct answer to which largely depends the fulfillment of political tasks, including that of uniting all the popular forces opposed to fascism. That being so, I intend to consider various aspects of the ideological struggle against fascism in the light of historical experience. This has to be done not only because the specifics of the ideology of Latin American fascism have, we believe, yet to be adequately analyzed, but also because there are many progressive people on our continent who deny the existence in some countries not just of arch-reactionary dictatorships, but of fascist regimes as such.¹ Their standpoint needs to be taken into account and subjected to a thorough discussion. Such discussions help to attain anti-fascist unity and promote the growth of international solidarity with the struggle of the Latin American peoples for democracy.

Some journalists think that the term 'fascism' is used mainly for agitation purposes. It is, no doubt, frequently used without good reason. However, the differences ultimately center on whether some Latin American regimes can be regarded as fascist, if they do not quite precisely fit into the well-known European models.

In order to define a regime one must bring out its class content. Fascism in Latin America is a terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary circles of the financial oligarchy, which expresses the interests of the foreign monopolies, the corrupt big bourgeoisie and the most conservative circles of the big latifundists. This dictatorship, catering to U.S. imperialism, makes the working people bear the burden of the structural crisis, dissipates the country's resources, neglects national sovereignty and opposes international détente. This means that the definition of fascism formulated by the international communist movement in the 30s in the main still holds good. Of course, the historical conditions have changed and correctives are inevitable. Fascism has emerged in countries with a medium level of capitalist development, countries which are dependent on im-

perialism, where a rising movement for national liberation and social emancipation provided the conditions for solving the aggravated structural crisis. Imperialism is not only an external factor, and relations with it are an intricate knot of contradictions in the various countries where the local oligarchy has its own interests, although it is closely connected with foreign monopolies and is dependent on them, chiefly financially.

The emergence of Latin American fascism is the result of two inter-related processes: (a) the structural crisis and the changes in the composition of the ruling class in some countries; and (b) the counter-offensive launched by U.S. imperialism in face of the upswing in the revolutionary movement in Latin America, especially in its Southern Cone, and under the impact of the qualitative changes in the movement following the victory of the Cuban revolution. Consequently, the definitive features of Latin American fascism are its own material basis and its dependent character.²

There is no coherent doctrine of Latin American fascism. It is a chaotic mix of fascist and generally ultra-reactionary ideas and theories based on the most primitive anti-communism designed to find ideological and socio-psychological justification for the overtly terroristic character of the regimes.

One of these ideas is the need to stand up for 'internal security,' an idea which springs directly from the U.S.-made conception of 'Western Hemisphere security' that reproduces the view of the Munich geopolitical school about pan-regions, and that was used in 1974 as the theoretical back-up for the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, a political and military association of Latin American countries sponsored by the Pentagon. This leading military continental organization was set up in the 'cold war' period under the pretext of a possible 'Soviet communist aggression.' At the same time, the inclusion in the treaty of the concept of 'internal front' veiled the intention of imperialism to suppress our peoples' struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. Starting from this internal-front idea, the Latin American fascists have claimed that the third world war has already broken out in the form of a life-and-death struggle against 'international Marxist subversive activity.'³

As a 'scientific' basis for the doctrine of security in the hemisphere, the Latin American fascists have adopted geopolitics, the Nazi theory which at the end of the Second World War the ideologists of U.S. imperialism borrowed to justify their idea of a 'special mission' for the United States in world leadership. Its Latin American version assigns the main role to Brazil as the subregional gendarme, whose task is to ensure the security of the United States, and the expansionist urges of its military-fascist dictatorship are therefore stimulated.

But geopolitics is not only the gospel of the Brazilian 'gorillas' and the U.S. militarists. It is a component part of the ideology of the fascists throughout the Southern Cone of the continent. It is no accident that Pinochet has written a book about geopolitics, which he regards as the 'free world's chief instrument in the fight against international communism.'⁴

To achieve their aims, the financial oligarchy and the imperialist monopolies seek to change the old forms of government and to set up an authoritarian state. But because open advocacy of bellicose anti-democracy in the Hitlerian spirit now leads to self-exposure, fascist propaganda uses the catchwords of U.S. imperialism with talk about 'democracy.' The Latin American brand of this propaganda consists of attacks on the 'traditional, formal democracy,' on 'demagogic politicking' and proclaims a 'new democracy,' or 'authoritarian democracy,' as Pinochet frankly declared. Most of the social troubles are ascribed to the existence of political parties. The parliamentary system and the organs of bourgeois representative democracy are fiercely attacked. Demagogically referring to their actual or imaginary defects, fascists propaganda seeks to split the social forces, ignores the gains of the working class and the people under representative democracy, and hypocritically declares these gains to be contrary to the interests of society. It declares that the separation of powers under bourgeois democracy is obsolete: everything must be subordinate to the executive power. In Uruguay, the fascists have folded up the judiciary and turned it into an administrative agency of the executive.

The authoritarian state system means interference by the executive power in the most diverse spheres of social life. The use of force is combined with unbridled paternalistic bombast, which is abhorrent to the masses. Let us note that the state's interference in political and socio-economic life is not relaxed but is further intensified with denationalization, with the transfer of the means of production and the service industries into private hands, especially to the multinational imperialist monopolies, whose investments are stimulated in every way. For that purpose a campaign is mounted in favor of 'free enterprise' and some see this as contradicting the main line of the economic policy of fascism. Actually, there is no contradiction there at all, because the state power serves the interests of the monopolies, above all the foreign monopolies. The fascists' ideological ploys cannot conceal the growing coalescence of the financial oligarchy with the state apparatus.

Militarism is a necessary concomitant of the authoritarian state. Like traditional military tyrannies, fascist dictatorships assign to the armed forces the function of putting down their own people, instead

of the traditional function of defending the country. The military are in charge of all social and government activities, including education and legislation.

Fascism has instituted McCarthyism and persecution for ideas not only as every-day practice but as standard official policy. In Uruguay, for instance, persecution is effected on the strength of Institutional Act No. 7 (1977), which enables the executive authority to dismiss government officials without any motivation, merely with reference to the interests of society or the need to improve the apparatus. Besides, government officials are required to sign sworn statements of their 'democratic faith' so as to express their loyalty to the existing system of government.⁵ In education, the witch-hunt has assumed unprecedented proportions: bans are imposed on books, journals, pamphlets, newspapers, records, etc., 'whose content does not accord with the basic principles of national life, and especially publications that have a Marxist tenor.' This applies not only to social but also to the 'exact natural sciences, the study of languages, where harmful concepts may be introduced into classical, or Western thinking.'⁶ A memorandum addressed by the former dictator Bordaberry to the armed forces chiefs concerning the 'Marxist infiltration of the education system' noted with alarm that the prevalence of 'positivist, materialist and rationalistic philosophical thinking ... has ceased to be a mere phase in the struggle of ideas, has resulted in the spread of the Marxist doctrine, and this can ultimately damage national security.'

In its social policy, fascism lays the main emphasis on the propaganda of class collaboration, of the 'corporate spirit.' But its calls for social peace have gone unheeded among the masses, chiefly because of the high level of political awareness of the working class in most of our countries. However, the fascists have not given up their social demagoguery and seek in every way to pit the working class against the petty bourgeoisie and the other social sections.

Aggressive, reactionary nationalism is a component of the ideology of Latin American fascism. Although it is not widespread — for chauvinist propaganda is a lie to the people, and détente helps to spread mutual understanding among nations and brings them closer together — one should not underestimate it either as a factor preventing the relaxation of international tensions or as an instrument of propaganda. Being an ideological weapon, aggressive nationalism falsifies the history of its own people and is incompatible with true patriotism.

By virtue of the specific conditions of historical development, the countries of our continent differ markedly from the states where racism has been the main component of the fascist ideology. But the

Latin American fascists, too, have spread racist theories, and this is directly connected with the military-political goals of the dictatorships: to bolster relations with the regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and implement the plan for setting up a South Atlantic Treaty. A Uruguayan newspaper says that the Vorster government is 'the only bulwark of Western civilization on a convulsed African continent, which has found itself in the grip of Marxism.'⁷ In addition the Uruguayan fascists have conducted anti-Semitic campaigns, although they have established mutual understanding with international Zionism.

All of this shows that the ideology of Latin American fascism is a mixture of the most reactionary ideas, each of which separately serves the concrete political purposes of the dictatorships. At the same time, savage anti-communism, and anti-Sovietism in the first place, the preaching of anti-humanism, violence and obscurantism, show that Latin American fascism is akin to classical fascism, with the decisive influence coming from the politico-military thinking of U.S. imperialist ideologists who have embraced the ideas of Hitlerism.

Now and again, the problem of fascism in Latin America is regarded outside the context of the main trends of our epoch, and this tends to produce a paralyzing pessimism. But an unwarranted optimism is no substitute for the real perspective either. The historical process is contradictory and never runs a smooth path. Our party regards the present problems in the light of the dynamics of the Latin American process over the past few decades, a process of developing revolution, with its inevitable ebbs and flows. The U.S. imperialist counter-offensive on the continent springs precisely from the crisis of its domination in its own 'backyard' and the loss of positions in the area which are of vital importance for its economy and political strategy. The question of the existence of fascist regimes in some Latin American countries and the threat of fascism in others is not, of course, a question of whether one should take a pessimistic or optimistic view of events: it is a question of objectively analyzing the actual reality.

What I have said does not at all mean that the establishment of fascism throughout Latin America is fatally inevitable. The rise of the mass struggle everywhere, including countries with a fascist reign of terror, the action by the working class, the strengthening and growth of socialist Cuba's international prestige, Panama's large stride forward in escaping from imperialist bondage — all of this testifies to the main trend in Latin America. But this trend has to advance in hard struggle, and we should not forget, first, that, as Lenin said, 'Political reaction *all long the line*' (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 106) results

from a tendency toward domination and not toward freedom. Lenin said that under imperialism (and in 1922 it was 'the fascists of Italy' that he had in mind) there is no guarantee against the most reactionary violence. (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 431). Second, the trend toward fascism in Latin America also results from the structural crisis of society and is not an 'episode in history' that is easily overcome. That is why they are wrong who hope that the problem of fascism can be eliminated through the moves of the Carter Administration. Our party has expressed its view of the causes and the limits of the U.S. ruling elements' maneuvering. We must adopt vigorous tactics, instead of contemplating events or moralizing. Rodney Arismendi has emphasized that 'U.S. imperialism will never promote the Latin American countries' political and economic self-determination. It will never help to establish real democracy even in the bourgeois sense of the word. This does not mean that imperialism cannot make certain moves and change its policy so as to prevent the development of our liberation struggle in depth ... The important thing to remember is that what the imperialists want is one thing, and what can happen if the people unite, if all the anti-fascist forces pool their efforts, is quite another, and this, incidentally, is the only possible way for the earliest overthrow of the present dictatorship.'⁸

Very frequently, especially in Europe, the present fascist regimes in Latin America are identified with traditional tyrannies, notably military tyrannies, which were installed in some countries of our continent at various periods. However, there is an essential difference between the two. The present-day fascist dictatorships represent the interests of a narrow circle of the financial oligarchy connected with the imperialist monopolies. Although this social group also includes a part of the big latifundists, it has a different class character and is no longer typically semi-feudal. This monopoly capitalism in dependent countries where the imperialist presence affects the relations of production, while retaining feudal and semi-feudal survivals. On the other hand, the effects of the general crisis of capitalism and the internal structural crisis also have an impact on the economy of Latin American countries.

Petty-bourgeois ideologists, waxing nostalgic for the movements of the 30s and 40s, headed by Getulio Vargas in Brazil, Juan Peron in Argentina, Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia and Luis Herrera in Uruguay, have overtly or covertly denied the fascist phenomenon in Latin America. When describing these movements as 'popular-nationalistic' they warn against a repetition of leftist mistakes and refuse to recognize the fascist character of some of the present dictatorships.

In a recent work, 'Latin American Political Typology,' the Brazi-

lian sociologist Darcy Ribeiro said it was time 'to pull out of the dense fog of political epithets,' which included 'fascism.'⁹ He classified past and present regimes and political trends in Latin America by categories without giving them a class description. For him there is neither imperialism, nor structural changes within the Latin American ruling classes, which 'being incapable of exercising bourgeois power and sensing the impending threat, turn to the armed forces as the only means of maintaining their hegemony.'¹⁰ Actually, these classes which are dependent on imperialism and have made a deal with it — or rather a part of these classes in the form of the oligarchic élite — are no longer capable of exercising *democratic* bourgeois power and resort to *fascist* bourgeois power.

Very often, anti-communist preconceptions prevent the left forces from understanding the fascist phenomenon and the establishment of the democratic forces' unity. This is exemplified by the views of the Peruvian writer Carlos Delgado, who believes that by virtue of the multiplicity of definitions of the word 'fascism' and its derivatives, they have ceased to be terms that can be relevantly used in the social sciences, notably 'political science.' He is unable to sift the wheat from the chaff and so takes a nihilistic approach which at best shows him to be incapable of producing any assessments that would not spring from academic speculation but from the need to act. Delgado says that 'fascism in Latin America is usually a tactical invention which is absolutely necessary for the strategy of the Communist Parties.'¹¹ But he himself does not consider it 'absolutely necessary' to produce even a single fact or argument in support of his assertions. He ends up by launching crude anti-communist attacks — a typical case of an author, instead of branding fascism, falling into anti-communist hysteria. Not to share communist ideas is one thing, and to engage in anti-communism is something else again.

Resolute rebuffs to anti-communist moves should not signify abandonment of polemics with the widespread petty-bourgeois views being circulated in connection with the important social changes in Latin America. These works by Ribeiro and Delgado, together with other writings, have been included in a book, *Fascism in America*, published in Mexico, and this shows that prominent intellectuals are becoming aware of the danger of fascism.

Failure to understand the specific features of fascism in Latin America, and so of the strategy and tactics necessary to defeat it, largely stems from petty-bourgeois revolutionism. Our party's policy in this sector of the ideological struggle is determined by the following: (a) the need to characterize 'leftism' in class terms and to determine its place in the revolutionary process; (b) elaboration of a tactical line relying on the immediate experience of the mass struggle;

(c) ideological struggle as an important means for attaining political goals, primarily invigorating the struggle and achieving anti-fascist unity, and not as a tribute to the doctrinaire approach.

Such a methodological approach has helped us duly to assess the participation of broad middle urban sections, especially students and intellectuals generally, in the revolutionary movement. Of course, 'revolutionary' catchwords, especially adventurism, which tends to substitute terroristic acts that damage the revolutionary process for the mass struggle, are an impediment to popular and working-class unity. They are used by the reactionaries as a pretext for starting reprisals. But this should not obscure the social roots of these phenomena or prevent the evaluation of the highly positive importance in strategic terms of the involvement of broad middle sections for Latin America's national liberation and social emancipation. Working in the midst of the masses, the communists are winning the right to be the vanguard.

The complicated armed forces problem hampers clarification of the causes behind the emergence of fascism in Latin America and the elaboration of relevant tactics for struggle. The Chilean sociologist Hugo Zemelman considering the processes of fascization in Latin America, and his own country in particular, writes about the need 'to study the emergence of a new authoritarian political military class.'¹² Actually, there is, of course, no 'military class,' for even where the army enjoys relative autonomy or has exceptional powers it must ultimately take up positions on one side of the barricades of the class struggle and cannot avoid differentiation in its ranks.

Let us note in this connection that it is not right to identify militarism with the function of the army as an institution. If the armed forces are to perform their patriotic duty — defense of the country — militarism must end. And it can be ended through the overthrow of the fascist dictatorships. But this will be unfeasible unless resolute mass action and definite political factors are used to speed up the differentiation within the armed forces, and to win at least a part of them over for the people, which would make for the re-establishment of democracy. This does not mean, of course, that one should follow in the wake of the army, a course earlier suggested by some petty-bourgeois nationalistic circles which favored military messianism. It is necessary to continue resolutely to expose the crimes committed by some members of the armed forces, which as a whole must be responsible for allowing themselves to be used as a repressive instrument of fascism, and in practice play the role of a political party. Our party's attitude to the armed forces is expressed in these words: *neither vulgar anti-militarism, nor military paternalism.*

Yet another error very frequently occurs. It is a sectarian or over-

hasty and over-simplified assessment of the forces ranged against fascism, and a mechanical approach to the phases of the struggle. What I have in mind are the erroneous views expressed within a system of ideas that are on the whole correct. Thus, the Chilean sociologist Armando Cassigoli, 'while expressing concern over the right and 'left' deviations in the revolutionary movement, says that it is wrong 'to speak about a fully independent national bourgeoisie or independent national capitalists with whom the proletariat could conclude an anti-imperialist or anti-fascist alliance.'¹³

How are we to view this?

The struggle against fascism inevitably expands the spectrum of the potential allies of the working class and creates possibilities for identifying standpoints and taking joint action against the chief enemy, even together with representatives of the ruling class. This is not an overestimation of some section of the bourgeoisie but the use of objective internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie, above all the sharpening of class and national contradictions with imperialism, especially with its most reactionary circles.

Correct tactics must promote the formation of the broadest possible unity of the anti-fascist forces and breadth does not rule out depth of struggle. How broad and effective an anti-fascist front largely depends on what has already been done to unite the chief motive forces of the revolution, notably to enable the working class in alliance with the peasants and the forward-looking intelligentsia to act as the vanguard.

Any struggle against fascism in effect means struggle against imperialism. Togliatti said that 'one cannot know what fascism is without knowing what imperialism is.'¹⁴ The communists strive to have this view adopted by most anti-fascists but they do not present it as a necessary condition for establishing an anti-fascist front. Joint action is the main thing, and in practice it helps to clarify many controversial issues.

The Communist Party of Uruguay believes that in the historical perspective, before socialist revolution, there is a need to go through the phase of anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution. But life tends to produce new phenomena, which require modification of our tactics. Our primary task today is to rout fascism. The immediate alternative is not *capitalism vs socialism*, but *fascism vs democracy*. Great historical goals must not be confused with the concrete forms in which they are realized in each country and in each period. Nor should one forget, for the sake of these ultimate goals, that the implementation of radical changes involves long-term processes which are dialectically contradictory and run through many stages.

1. For an analysis of the political and economic substance and activity of fascist regimes in Latin America, see J. Barrios, Luis Padilla, Kiva Maidanik. 'Fascism in Latin America: origins and features,' *WMR*, April 1978. — *Ed.*

For details see *Solidaridad con el pueblo del Uruguay*, Editorial Zeit im Bild, Dresden, pp. 16, 17.

3. In view of the mounting campaign in the country and all over the world in protest against the use of torture and the trampling of human dignity in Uruguay, Commander-in-chief of the Uruguayan Army, J. Vadora, who intends to run for president, declared: 'At this juncture, human rights cannot prevail over the interests of the country's security.'

4. *El Pais*, a paper catering to the interests of imperialism, has been carrying on a campaign for its geopolitical urges, publishing interviews with fascist dictators and other reactionaries, including General Golbery do Couto e Silva, head of Brazil's geopolitical school.

5. *El Pais*, July 11, 1977.

6. *Fascismo y lucha patriótica*. Boletín del Partido Comunista del Uruguay, October, 1975, p. 19.

8. *Solidaridad con el pueblo del Uruguay*, Editorial Zeit im Bild, Dresden, pp. 34-35.

9. *Nueva política*, No. 1, January-March, 1976, p. 85.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 94

11. *Ibid.*, p. 66

12. *Nueva Política*, No. 1, January-March 1976, p. 195.

13. *Nueva Política*, *ibid.*, p. 179.

14. Palmiro Togliatti, *Lezioni sul fascismo*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1970, p. 7.

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

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Culture, system of values, way of life

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Hungarian scholars are deeply interested in the interaction of culture and way of life, the formation of systems of values and requirements in socialist society, and the role of general education and mass culture. Their work on these problems is closely connected with the task of building a developed socialist society in our country. This article deals with some results of their recent researches.

There are numerous definitions of culture. Marxists also interpret this concept differently depending on context, and there are some who identify culture only with spiritual values while others restrict it to the arts and letters. I do not think such narrow interpretations are acceptable. They discount many essential interconnections and limit the humanist and social functions of culture. I think of culture as encompassing both spiritual and material values as a whole, its object under socialism being to foster the development of the individual. In other words, culture largely influences not only the level of knowledge or aesthetic tastes of members of society but also their world outlook, behavior and way of life.

The concept of way of life is controversial. But whatever its interpretation, the important thing is admitted to be its connection with culture. After much discussion, Hungarian sociologists are agreed that people shape their way of life more or less consciously as a system of vital activity and behavior, whereby they organize their lives and satisfy their manifold requirements. To be sure, the formation of the way of life is also influenced by objective economic, political, social and natural factors. But it would be wrong to underrate the significance of culture as a factor playing a notable part in this process.

Ascertaining the connection between culture and way of life was the theme of an international conference held in Hungary last autumn. The conference pointed out that while this connection is essential, we are not always in a position to say to what extent, or by what methods and through what system of institutions culture can influence the way of life most effectively.

Research done in our country has shown that the pattern of consumption, the nature of labor and the manner of spending one's free time depend to a considerable extent on one's education.

The general education standard of our population has risen substantially over the past 30 years. The student body grew from 44,600 in 1960/61 to 80,500 in 1970/71 and 111,000 in 1976/77. In the same years, attendance at secondary specialized schools rose to 101,000, 179,000 and 227,000 respectively.¹ At present about 60 per cent of Hungary's inhabitants aged 15 or over have finished an eight-year school, about 18 per cent have had a complete secondary education and another 5.1 per cent, a higher education.

Differences in standard of education have their effect on the 'quality' or style of life. Consider the data on personal consumption released by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Hungary (see Table 1).

Table 1

Average per capita consumption in Hungary, 1976

Item	Wage-earners		Cooperative peasants		Professional and office workers	
	forints	per cent	forints	per cent	forints	per cent
All personal expenditures	21,402	100.0	21,141	100.00	29,256	100.0
Food	9,038	42.3	9,445	44.7	10,051	34.4
Manufactured goods	7,625	35.6	7,242	34.2	11,336	38.8
including:						
clothing	2,789	13.0	2,598	12.3	3,515	12.0
durables	1,950	9.1	1,993	9.4	3,039	10.4
Housing construction, immovables	2,110	9.8	2,792	13.2	2,531	8.6
Expenditures for cultural and other everyday services	2,629	12.3	1,662	7.9	5,338	18.2
including:						
cultural pursuits, recreation, amusements	1,259	5.9	921	4.4	2,644	9.0

Source: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (KSH). Kaztartasstatistika 1976. p. 28.

The table reveals noticeable differences between various social groups in spending for cultural purposes. Whereas wage-earners spend 5.9 per cent of their total expenditure for personal needs on culture, peasants spend 4.4 per cent and professional and office workers, 9 per cent. As for spending on food or durables, the difference between these groups is not great.

Of course, the social and professional groupings of the population does not depend entirely on the standard of education. There is no doubt, however, that the educational level of peasants is the lowest while that of professional and office workers is the highest. The data I have cited confirm that spending for cultural purposes runs according to these differences.

Cultural statistics also reveal notable distinctions between the cultural requirements of diverse population groups.

Late in 1974, the CSO polled 8,600 families to establish their cultural interests and compared the results with those of a similar poll carried out ten years earlier. The share of television had increased considerably while interest in radio broadcasts was unchanged. The number of readers of fiction and the press showed a relative decline. As for the proportion of theatre and cinema-goers, it had diminished still more. For almost half of those polled, the mass media were the only source of culture. The poll showed that 24 per cent read fiction on a regular basis, 7 per cent went to the theatre and to concerts, and 3 per cent, most elderly people, never used the services of cultural institutions.²

Looking into the activity of various strata in the cultural field, we discover that most manual workers engaged in agriculture satisfy their cultural requirements by means of TV and radio. The cultural requirements of manual workers employed outside agriculture, especially those of skilled workers, are much greater. The interests of professional workers with diplomas range over all forms of culture and their indices are the highest (see Table 2).

Schools play a decisive role in the formation of the individual's cultural interests, as the results of research into free time suggest.

The mass media research center of Hungarian Radio and Television conducted a poll to ascertain the degree to which the amount of time spent on watching TV depends on the standard of education. We have seen that television is popular with everyone, but the poll revealed that those who had finished an eight-year school spent 60 per cent, secondary school leavers 90 per cent and higher school graduates 100 per cent more time watching TV than those who had finished less than eight grades of school.

According to a poll held in 1974, 87 per cent of professional and office workers, 56 per cent of skilled workers and 25 per cent of

Table 2
Cultural interests of some population groups in Hungary

Category	Persons who								
	watch TV	lis- ten to radio	read		go to				
			the press	fic- tion	the cin- ema	the the- atre	con- certs	muse- ums	houses of culture
(per cent)									
Manual work- ers agri- culture	68	82	55	15	14	6	10	0	3
Manual work- ers (outside agriculture)	86	89	76	41	36	14	12	3	7
Skilled work- ers	91	91	84	49	42	18	13	5	9
Non-diploma'd professional and office workers (in- cluding pro- duction managers)	93	94	88	71	48	32	18	10	7
Leading personnel and diploma'd pro- fessional workers	90	95	95	85	51	42	31	22	12
Small private producers	71	84	64	25	27	13	15	2	4
Students	93	89	48	74	76	27	21	13	14
Other depend- ents	72	82	56	22	15	8	10	1	2
All population	84	88	70	46	38	18	14	6	7

Source: (see footnote 2)

people engaged in farming read in their leisure hours. I cite these particular data because they are striking proof of the differentiation of cultural aspirations.

More detailed research indicates that various categories of working people show considerable qualitative differences from the cultural point of view, even though there are no quantitative differences between them, such as in pattern of consumption or the manner of spending their free time. These differences, too, are due primarily to different educational standards.

A poll on the population's standard of knowledge³ has revealed that general education is a factor of the first importance in determining

a person's knowledge of history, politics, economics, geography and the natural sciences, although the amount of this knowledge also depends to some extent on sex, occupation and place of residence.

This also applies to self-education. We estimate the index of perception as low among 34.5 per cent of eight-year school leavers, medium among 57.0 per cent and good among 8.5 per cent. For those who have received a complete secondary education, the indices are 13.5, 61.0 and 25.5 per cent respectively. Through systematic reading, persons who have developed sound perceptive abilities can achieve a high standard of knowledge provided they have acquired the necessary habits of independent work on an educational institution.⁴

The appreciable role of schools in shaping the way of life is also evident in data on the various deviations from universally accepted standards of behavior. Recently the CSO and the CC of the Hungarian Young Communist League jointly carried out research into how young people become socially adapted. One of their objectives was to establish the connection between deviations in the behavior of young people from norms accepted in our society and the standard of general education. They found that departures from these norms are twice as common among those who have had less than eight years' education compared with those who have finished an eight-year school. As a rule, the more serious the infringement, the lower the standard of education turned out to be. Only four per cent of the young men and two per cent of the young women who were guilty of such infringement had completed eight years' schooling.

Culture may therefore be said to influence the way of life primarily through schools. Hence the importance of raising the population's standard of general education and steadily enriching the content of culture imparted through schools.

In 1972 the CC HSWP adopted a decision specifying measures to promote public education and emphasizing that the curriculum must meet present-day requirements. It set the task of drafting proposals for a reform of education and of carrying out experiments in teaching to prepare a decision on steps to perfect public education. New curricula and textbooks have since been compiled. These are only some of the innovations to be introduced under the curricula drafted by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Commission for Public Education. The drafts, which are in keeping with contemporary cultural and educational requirements, propose instruction within the framework of large integrated bodies of knowledge: languages and communication, mathematics, the natural, historical and social sciences, aesthetics and physical culture. This approach should give the rising generation a better insight into the natural and social sciences and the interconnection of school disciplines. It should mould a more har-

monious world-outlook and, in general, enhance the function of culture in moulding young people's behavior and way of life. The next task facing educationalists is to develop teaching methods in line with the syllabuses.

Speaking of cultural advancement, there is no disregarding the problem of so-called mass culture, which is also relevant in socialist countries. The role of mass culture in capitalist society today is well known. By reducing mass culture to the level of consumerism, capitalism has made it an important means of its ideological defense. Just how effectively mass culture performs this function is seen in the fact that it has succeeded in integrating the protests of the 'New Left' and using them in its own interests.

Is it right to speak of a mass culture in the socialist countries? I think so, provided we do not identify it with 'consumer culture,' which we reject primarily because it has no ideological or aesthetic value and helps to maintain capitalism. Besides, there is no 'élite culture' in socialist society as the opposite of mass culture. Of course, we recognize that both the perception people have of various cultural benefits and the preference they give to this or that cultural value are differentiated and largely individual and depend on numerous factors. However, this differentiation does not mean that the highest cultural values are not within reach of all.

It is a major achievement of the socialist system that it has not only declared its intention to democratize culture but has also provided the material and organizational prerequisites for every member of society to have access to cultural sources. This is what really gives culture a mass character. That the opportunities socialism offers are not used by everyone is a different matter. In socialist society, culture really is a truly mass culture also in the sense that there are certain features common to the culture of every section of the people.

A recent poll showed that in Hungary 10 per cent of eight-year school leavers were studying hard to independently raise their educational and cultural standards, 30 per cent were doing so at a medium rate and 60 per cent, at a low rate. These data suggest that we must strive to improve the working people's knowledge according to the new life-demands on their education and professional competence. It is in this context that we speak of mass culture — in the context of fostering the cultural development of the largest segments of the population. This certainly implies, not only a rising standard of education, but the development of an appropriate world-outlook, behavior and way of life.

Some people take a different view of mass culture in socialist society, a view that, as I see it, considerably narrows the meaning of the concept. A. Kloskowska, a Polish sociologist, defines mass cul-

ture as a set of very widespread models and standards of behavior.⁵ She is actually referring to two spheres. One of them includes 'the phenomenon of imparting identical information, which comes simultaneously from a few sources to large numbers of consumers,' that is, in effect, information supplied by the media. The other sphere includes 'the common forms of mass entertainment and games.'

It is true that, apart from school, the media play a decisive role in raising the cultural standard of the population. This is also confirmed by evidence at our disposal. But just because school education does exert a decisive influence in this sphere, it is wrong to reduce mass culture to it. Nor do I think it is correct to limit mass culture to 'common forms of entertainment and games,' even though this sphere holds a notable place in the pattern of mass culture. Mass culture under socialism is characterized by a close interconnection of the diverse forms, elements and phenomena of culture, as well as of social consciousness, and this means that they must be considered in unity. In saying this, however, I do not underestimate the special significance of the media or so-called entertainment culture, spread chiefly through the media.

In our society, the entertaining aspect of the peasants' or workers' earlier culture is and can be used only in part, although folk songs are very popular again in Hungary. Still, the masses are increasingly attracted to such forms of 'urban' entertainment as operetta or, say, contemporary Western music. I do not think cultural phenomena should be judged according to rigid political and ideological criteria merely because they have become widespread among the population of countries with different social systems. The crux of the problem is whether this or that form of entertainment meets the interests of socialist society. However, not until socialist culture has evolved on its own basis new forms of entertainment, which of course must also take into account the cultural values created by earlier societies, can we say that we have achieved the goals of the socialist cultural revolution. A new culture cannot be said to have fully flowered until it covers every public sphere, including the sphere of entertainment.

This is the approach which the party takes to the problem of mass culture, as the CC HSWP decision on cultural education tasks (1974) indicates. The Party wants to provide every opportunity for the rise of new cultural values and their dissemination among the masses.

Cultural problems are linked with the system of values accepted throughout society, by its various strata and groups; in turn, the system of values is linked with the system of requirements and interests. Marx wrote that 'requirements are produced in the same way as products and various habits of work.' Requirements are conditioned by society's technological and economic level and by the

inherited or new demands and aspirations of its members. Every society develops a dominant system of requirements and values.

A serious problem in building socialist society is that it cannot inherit or obtain in ready-made form an appropriate system of requirements and values encompassing all vital activities. However, building socialism in the most diverse fields and the cultural revolution have encouraged the formation of a new system of requirements and values and today this new phenomenon manifests itself in the working people's growing political awareness and finds reflection in the arts and letters.

Much research is being done in Hungary into systems of values typical of diverse population groups. It shows that many basic requirements of the population are now being satisfied, and that the emphasis is shifting to quality. The problem of quantitative increases persists mainly in the infrastructure, particularly in housing. The sphere of consumption poses problems of its own, such as excessive drinking, which leads to alcoholism. Deformations of this kind, cases of consumption being treated as a status symbol, and an irresponsible attitude to labor and free time draw our attention to subjective factors. It was not until recently that we began to work on indices for establishing the role of these factors.⁶

We are now researching ways of modelling the subjective estimation of material, social, political and cultural benefits by various social groups and strata, their evaluation of the environment, and the motivations, grounds and sources of these estimations. We have obtained data indicating that the Marxist world-outlook has had a definite impact on the formation of the system of values even though this is not always realized. A poll among students produced the following scale of values:

- (1) study and work;
- (2) socialist patriotism;
- (3) a developed sense of collectivism;
- (4) a sense of duty and responsibility.

These general concepts comprise many elements. In fact, their very hierarchy is evidence of a favorable trend in the evolution of our society's system of values. It should be noted, however, that many of the polled had no clear idea of socialist humanism and the Marxist world-outlook and had yet to take a definite stand on self-education, physical development and the manner of spending their free time, all of which means that these values must still be spelled out to them.⁷

Results of research warrant the statement that today Hungarian society as a whole is characterized by such values as security, a desire for equality and social justice, a deeply felt need to be involved in work and public activity, and conscious self-development of the

individual. Of course, different social strata and groups interpret these values differently, and these, too, manifest themselves in different ways. The greatest distinctions concern the values of one's private life: the attitude to family life, relations between man and woman, between friends and colleagues, everyday behavior.

Today's discussions in our country on the impact of a gentry-like, petty-bourgeois ideas, and the spread of ideals of a consumer culture are indicative of a certain discrepancy between real achievements and their assessment by various social strata and groups, as well as of contradictions in life-style. This brings us back to our starting point. The way of life is conditioned by a definite system of values, based on a conscious world-outlook which, in turn, influences everyday consciousness.

Consequently, the problem of advancing and perfecting the socialist way of life — a problem we are now engaged in solving — calls for further creative development of Marxism, primarily on the basis of the experience of building socialism in various public spheres and the latest achievements in science, literature and art. It also necessitates a higher standard of educational work and the utilization to this end of the whole range of economic, political, legal and cultural factors. We are still far from such a general comprehensive approach to shaping the way of life. But when we have achieved this, the impact of culture on our way of life will undoubtedly be much greater.

1. *Statisticheskii yezhegodnik stran-chlenov SEV*. Moscow, 1976, pp. 429 and 431.
2. KSH, *Adatok es velemenyek 8600 esalad lakas-, egeszsegügyi es kulturalis helyzeterol*, 1976, p. 26.
3. Bekes Ferenc, 'A lakosság különböző ismereteinek összehasonlíthatósága és az ismeretek strukturája,' in: *Statisztikai Szemle*, 2/1978, pp. 162-180.
4. Durko Mátyás. *Olvasás, megértés*, Budapest, 1976.
5. A. Kloskowska, *Tömegkultúra (Kritika és védelem)*. Budapest, 1971.
6. Hankiss Elemer, *Eletminőségmodellek. Szempontok a társadalmi tervezés információs bázisának kiépítéséhez*. Budapest, 1977.
7. Daroczy Sándor, Szvetek Sándor, 'A szocialista eszmeny és erkölcsiség személyiségfejlesztő szerepéről,' in: *Pedagógiai Szemle*, 1/1978, p. 11.



Book reviews

A MAJOR EVENT IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY

Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. Abriss, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, 677 pp.

The publication of *A History of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. An Essay*, has been described at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the SUPG Central Committee as a major event in the life of the party. This one-volume edition is the first detailed account of the SUPG's struggle and achievements. It was prepared by a team of authors and vetted by a Political Bureau Commission headed by General Secretary Erich Honecker. The *History* is based on the party program adopted by the Ninth SUPG Congress in May 1976 and resolutions and documents of the SUPG and international meetings of communist and workers' parties. It draws on a vast fund of historical material, its conclusions are theoretically substantiated, and it is written in a clear, lucid style.

In his address to party district secretaries in February, Erich Honecker said that the party now had a 'valuable aid in its ideological and theoretical activities. The *History* will be read with interest by our comrades and friends abroad.

'Our party has continued the struggle and work of generations of proletarian revolutionaries, of communists' (p. 5). The first chapter reviews the vanguard period, from the Communist League and the revolutionary German Social Democrats to the Communist Party of Germany. The victory over fascism, to which the Soviet Union made the greatest contribution, freed our country and opened a new phase in the world revolutionary process. The second chapter describes the background to the merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — the fight to establish anti-fascist democratic relations in society and the historic importance of the April 1946 unity congress.

The next ten chapters trace the development of the SUPG up to the Ninth Congress and outline the prospects of its struggle as they are set out in the Party Program. The reader is given a vivid picture of the party's struggle for worker-peasant power during the years of anti-fascist and democratic reforms and its campaign against the imperialist policy of partitioning Germany.

The following chapters show the SUPG as the leading and organizing force of the working class and other working people in building socialism. The foundation of the German Democratic Republic is described as 'the result of the SUPG's Marxist-Leninist policy, an event of historic, international importance . . . The establishment of the worker-peasant power marked the beginning of the socialist stage in the general revolutionary process in our country' (pp. 222, 221).

The *History* gives a detailed account of the SUPG's activities after the establishment of socialist production relations in the GDR. What it accomplished in the 60s and early 70s prepared the ground for the tasks facing it today. With the establishment of socialist production relations, socialism can develop on its own basis by utilizing its unlimited potentialities. Accordingly, the party's strategy and tactics were oriented on large-scale socialist construction. The SUPG contributed also to the strategy and tactics of building a developed socialist society, which was first undertaken by the CPSU and other fraternal parties at the close of the 60s. The results of their joint theoretical effort were reflected most fully in the documents of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Eighth SUPG Congress (June 1971) opened a new chapter in its history. The main characteristic of that period was 'the growth of the leading role of the working class and the SUPG, and of the GDR's role in the socialist community; its closer fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.' In this period, too, 'the aim of socialism, a fuller and better life for all working people and the triumph of the socialist personality, found wide appreciation and practical realization; the party's ties with the working class and other working people grew stronger' (p. 564).

With due account of the experience in implementing the decisions of the Eighth Congress, the Ninth SUPG Congress (May 1976) adopted a long-range social development program. It called for continued effort to build a developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thereby providing the basic preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.'

Throughout the book, the SUPG's history is closely related to the development of the world revolutionary process. A working-class party is the vanguard of a class that is internationalist by its very nature, the book says, a class destined to play a great part in world

history. This internationalism, which was clearly manifest in the Communist League, was upheld by the revolutionary German Social Democrats and guided the activities of the Communist Party of Germany. In all its actions, the SUPG has remained true to internationalism.

The major successes of the international revolutionary movement and the socialist world system are changing the balance of world forces. This, in turn, is changing the objective conditions of our Party's struggle; it gives a powerful impetus to the revolutionary movement in our country and serves as a source of historical experience. It is only logical, therefore, that the SUPG's struggle should be influenced by the worldwide impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that the liberating mission of the Soviet Union and its disinterested aid to the German people should be viewed as essential conditions of this struggle, and that the rise of the German Democratic Republic under the guidance of the SUPG should be bound up with the emergence and strengthening of the world socialist system. The *History* shows how the Party and the Republic adhere to the principles of international solidarity, from which they have themselves so richly benefited.

The history of the SUPG provides convincing proof of the great vital force of communist ideas and the correctness of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has shown how, even in unique and complex conditions of class struggle, the basic regularities of socialist revolution and development have retained their validity and universal significance. And this in an industrial country with such a turbulent history, a country, moreover, in the heart of Europe on the borderline between the two worlds. The book also shows that the SUPG has been successfully using the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. It shows how the united party of the working class has cultivated a feeling of internationalism among its members and of trust for the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The history of the SUPG may well be described as Marxism-Leninism in action. The party's activity is invariably marked by a creative approach to theory and its practical application. Its experience is part of the collective experience of the fraternal parties. This applies to the SUPG's revolutionary struggle for the unity of the working class, the charting of the road to power; establishment of the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil; socialist industrialization; use of Lenin's cooperative plan; socialist cultural revolution in an industrialized country; the party's class approach to the nationalities question and the process of shaping a socialist nation in the GDR.

The SUPG has gone through many a trial. There was the hard

struggle against the rule of capital, which cost it much sacrifice, and the period when the new social system was emerging. In 1948-1949, having learned from their defeat in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, the imperialists made Germany the main target of their cold-war policy of 'rolling back' communism. In 1953, the GDR was under massive, primarily West-German imperialist pressure; the imperialists used economic and political blockade and ideological sabotage, and provoked disturbances among the population in a bid to overthrow the worker-peasant power.

It was at that time that the complex problems and exacting demands of the transition period from capitalism to socialism confronted the GDR in their most concentrated form. The SUPG made some wrong decisions, which weakened its ties with the masses, but, with the help of the Soviet Union the attempt at a counter-revolutionary putsch was nipped in the bud. The years 1956 and 1968, when the class struggle grew more intense throughout the world, and the enemy tried to prise some of the fraternal countries away from the socialist community, were a hard test of the internal strength and international positions of the SUPG and the GDR. The review of those events will, no doubt, help the rising generation of communists to gain a better understanding, of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, to cast aside all illusions about imperialism and display party staunchness in all situations.

The history of the SUPG reaffirms that politics, economics, ideology and organization are interdependent in the party's struggle. With the building of socialism increasingly becoming a purposeful, planned process, a comprehensive approach to social-development problems becomes more and more imperative. The book shows how our Marxist-Leninist party, the leading force of society, has been applying this approach. The party's work in the economy, science, technology, education and culture, its policy of alliances, its policy in regard to the youth and women, its foreign policy of peace, the strengthening of the defense potential — all this is reflected in the book, bringing out the various aspects of the party's struggle as elements of its general strategy.

Today, the SUPG has more than two million members. Workers and other working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, are the true makers of history. The authors pay tribute to the pioneers of the German revolutionary working-class movement, to the veteran fighters of the CPG, the heroes of the anti-fascist Resistance, to class-conscious social democrats working for the revolutionary unity of the working class, to front-rankers in production and in democratic and socialist development, to progressives in the field of culture fighting on the side of the party. The *History* describes the elective

bodies of the party and their composition, and the merits of such outstanding revolutionary-party leaders as August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thälmann, John Schehr, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht and Erich Honecker.

During the brief period since its publication, the *History* has won a wide readership. It has proved instrumental in spreading historical knowledge among the working people, who will soon celebrate the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic. The people's confidence in the correctness of the chosen path multiplies their revolutionary energies.

Günter Heyden

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British violence in Northern Ireland

Madge Davison

Member of National Executive,
of Ireland, Organizer of
the Northern Ireland
Civil Rights Association

The tragic situation in my country has been a standing topic of the world press for nearly ten years. I do not intend to delve into the historical, economic or social background of the policy of terror and provocation, outbreaks of religious fanaticism, Britain's virtual occupation of Northern Ireland and, as a consequence, the steadily increasing number of victims of violence. All this should be discussed in a special article on London's colonial policy in Ireland. I wish to acquaint *WMR* readers with only one result of this policy, which is almost throwing Northern Ireland back to the Middle Ages. What I mean is violations of civil rights, specifically torture — a daily practice of the British expeditionary corps — and the brutalities of the Northern Ireland police.

The present period of the long-suffering Irish people's history dates from the day when, in August 1969, London took advantage of provocations by ultras from among fanatical Protestants to move the first British troop units into Northern Ireland. The past decade has brought London no laurels. It has seen British policy in Northern Ireland escalate from a 2,000-strong force to an expeditionary force that is at times over 20,000-strong, from plastic bullets to tanks, from patrolling to concentration camps. The overall result is not the promised 'law and order' but growing internecine strife.

The British troops and their Irish underlings stop at nothing in an attempt to crush the movement for civil rights, for social and economic equality, against monopoly power, for reunification with the Irish Republic, and to split the united front of democratic national forces. The facts I am going to relate should give an idea of the crimes

Continuing the publication of materials supplementing the 'Indictment of Imperialism' drawn up in 1969 for the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

being perpetrated in my country. Part of the documentary evidence I cite concerns the ordeal of those who have been detained by the British in Northern Ireland. I need hardly add that this is only a fraction of the misdeeds of the British expeditionary troops and their Northern Ireland flunkies, of the routine crimes of present-day imperialism.

London's unabating policy of terror in Northern Ireland occasionally assumes monstrous forms and dimensions. In the past two years there has been a sharp increase in press reports on brutality against hundreds of civil rights fighters. Charges of ill-treatment come from all sections of the community, Protestant and Catholic alike.

Some of these charges have been substantiated in the courts, which for this area is significant considering that all the judges are political appointees who sit in the absence of juries and alone decide in cases where offences relating to violence are concerned. The following instance of this somewhat new approach by certain judges was reported by *The Irish Times*:

'Judge Garrett McGrath found a young man not guilty on three charges of attempted murder after he had claimed that he had been burned with cigarettes and threatened during interviews with police. The Judge refused to allow three alleged statements of admission to be given in evidence, ruling that the prosecution had not proved beyond a reasonable doubt that torture had not been used.'*

This fact was far from typical, however, and could at best be regarded as an incipient tendency. As for the vast majority of charges of torture, they have been attacked by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) as 'lying propaganda' from people who 'inflict injuries on themselves' to discredit the police.

The British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Roy Mason, is desperately trying to convince the world that he is winning the war against the Provisional IRA, gradually 'restoring order' in the area. To do this, he regularly produces figures on a weekly basis showing how successful he has been in bringing the gunmen before the courts. This may be, at least partly, one of the reasons why London is so reluctant to abandon methods unfit for a civilized nation. Mr. Mason's figures seem very convincing but how does he achieve such a 'success rate?' Quite simple — torture is the answer.

Under the Emergency Provisions Act (1973), judges in the courts here can, contrary to universally recognized legal standards, accept confessions made by an accused person as evidence against him. The *Sunday Times* recently reported that a remarkable 94 per cent of all

**The Irish Times*, June 9, 1977.

cases in the 'anti-terrorist' courts in Belfast result in conviction. This compares with a UK average in all criminal cases of about 70 per cent. And figures published by the Law Department of Queen's University (Belfast) reveal that between 70 and 90 per cent of convictions were based wholly or mainly on 'confessions' of guilt made during police interrogation. How very hard police try to secure the evidence they need is seen, among other things, in the number of complaints from both Protestants and Catholics: last year 1,834 complaints were made, 648 alleging assault during arrest or interview.

Add to this that in spite of these complaints, not one policeman was found guilty of cruelty — not surprisingly when one considers that it is the police themselves who investigated these complaints.

But there is no escaping the facts. Many solicitors have threatened to withdraw from all court proceedings involving people charged with 'terrorist-type' offences, unless there is an immediate end to ill-treatment of detainees. The leaders of the four main Churches — the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Church of Ireland — have issued a strong worded statement saying: 'We have been disturbed that serious allegations are being made of ill-treatment of suspects and prisoners . . . It is a basic responsibility of the forces of law and order to seek to protect not only the general public as they go about their lawful business but also persons who may be in custody.' All this could hardly be described as coming from disreputable sources only concerned with discrediting the police.

While for some it may be easy enough to dismiss the charges as Provisional IRA propaganda, their sheer weight and consistency show a persistent policy of brutality and harassment toward the arrested that would be unthinkable in the rest of the United Kingdom. And they have placed Britain in the embarrassing position of having the greatest number of cases outstanding at the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg.*

The scene of much of the torture and ill-treatment is the notorious Castlereagh RUC Station in Belfast. This is the interrogation block where RUC Special Branch and Army Intelligence take it in turns to grill suspects. The cells are on the upper floor, the interrogation rooms below. When the beatings become really bad, the other suspects can hear it: it's good psychology.

*The function of the Commission (established in 1954) is to examine in collaboration with the European Court for Human Rights (established in 1959) complaints from governments or individuals against violations of the European Convention of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms by member countries. The Commission and Court countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the FRG, Great Britain, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. — *Ed.*

THE FACTS ACCUSE

Leaving no visible marks

From a number of complaints against police it is possible to identify some of the favorite methods employed at Castlereagh. All of them are extremely painful and few of them leave visible marks. They include: leaning the full body weight against the wall with the legs pulled well back and the weight supported on one or two fingers of each hand; making the suspect sit on an imaginary chair with a straight back; punching selected areas of the body, such as the kidneys and stomach, where bruises don't show; slapping the back of the head, over the ears, where marks will not show; pulling the hair, not only on the head, but also on the chest; working on certain joints that don't mark too badly; like the wrist; emptying a tin waste-paper basket over the suspect's head and then banging the outside with a stick so that he is temporarily deafened and his ears ring; throwing the suspect from officer to officer around the room.

These methods are often accompanied by psychological tortures, such as implied threats to the suspect's family; threatening Catholics to drive them into a Protestant area, and vice versa; turning cell heating up and down, leaving lights on all night, and waking inmates after 15 minutes' sleep.

On their own, each of these things sounds nasty but bearable. Together they can break the hardest man and have him grovelling to sign a statement confessing to crimes he had never committed. A leading Belfast solicitor, Patrick Marrinan, said in court in the autumn of 1977 that there would some day be another Nuremberg for the 'sadistic tortures at Castlereagh RUC Station.'*

By the existence of emergency laws and by their use to torture suspects, the British government is violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights. They also make a mockery of Point 7 of the Helsinki Final Act, which states: 'The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.' Elsewhere the Final Act says that 'States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.' (Article 5 of the Declaration outlaws the use of torture, inhuman, cruel or degrading treatment of political suspects.)

But the British government dismiss all charges of torture, saying contrary to the facts that this kind of treatment stopped five or more

**The Irish Times*, September 19, 1977.

years ago. Allegedly the last cases occurred after internment without trial was introduced in 1971 and torture was used on those arrested. (These cases were the basis for the Irish government's recent charges against the UK government at the European Court for Human Rights in Strasbourg.)

In 1977 the European Commission of Human Rights found the British government guilty of torture in Northern Ireland and the British government's Attorney-General, Sam Silkin, did not contest the finding. In January 1978, however, the European Court for Human Rights resorted to an amazing feat of acrobatics: in spite of the virtual acceptance of the charges by an official spokesman of Britain, the Court ruled that Britain was not guilty of torture but rather was guilty of 'cruel and degrading treatment' of innocent people.

According to the Strasbourg dispensers of justice, it is possible to hood a man already deprived of food and sleep, subject him to a high-frequency noise machine and keep him at baton point, leaning on his fingertips against a wall for up to 14 hours without causing him sufficient pain to qualify as torture.

This hypocritical decision has made many people in Northern Ireland have second thoughts about justice ever being done, even in international courts. It seems that every bourgeois court has its price.

No sooner had the ink dried on the Strasbourg Court's decision than the British government acted to show that they regarded the decision as the 'green light' for the continuation of torture. In the same week a young man who had alleged ill-treatment over a year previously and had lodged a complaint against the police was charged with 'maliciously accusing the police of wounding him' and with 'maliciously wasting police time in make these complaints.'

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association is emphatically against this attitude. But if the British government succeed in their charges against the young man then any person who has been tortured and makes a complaint will risk ending up in court and facing a prison sentence. That is one way in which Roy Mason can try to silence voices raised in protest.

The British government would have the world believe they want 'peace' in Northern Ireland. The escalation of violence is more than ample evidence that their policies are causing a violent reaction rather than solving the problem. Since their arrival in Northern Ireland the British troops under the political direction of the British government have been seeking a military victory, not peace.

But when will grim experience bring it home to the makers of this policy that even if they attained victory, it would simply sow the seeds for future violence? It might not be next year or the year after, but it certainly would come in ten years' time. Roy Mason is following

a long-standing tradition of British government who have taken the easiest way out of the Irish problem. In ignoring the demand for democratic rights in the North, they lined themselves up on the side of repression. And this is the meaning of London's current policy.

If the British government wants to see peace achieved in Northern Ireland then the first step must be the granting of a bill of rights so that all political parties and groups may have the freedom to organize politically. We believe that the only way to stop military violence is by ending social and economic discrimination and by granting full civil rights to all the people of our country. The bleeding wounds of Northern Ireland bring back to my mind the prophetic words spoken in 1915 at the graveside of an Irishman killed by the British colonizers: 'They think they have pacified Ireland ... Fools, fools and fools again! An unfree Ireland will never be peaceful.'

The case of Peter Hand

Peter Hand was first arrested in June 1976 and held in police custody for seven days under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Various means were used to wrest a written confession to murdering a policeman. By then the authorities knew that Peter had nothing to do with the murder, committed by an organization he did not belong to. Nevertheless, he was beaten and threatened with death by electrocution or shooting. The policeman interrogating him also hung him from the ceiling by a rope tied around the neck and only cut him down when he began to choke.

Peter attempted suicide and signed a 'confession,' after which he was released without any charge. Indeed, the police were compelled in the spring of 1977 to arrest their informer on a charge of misinformation on the case.

Peter's doctor upon examination revealed a linear bruise on his neck about four inches long. Peter also had a healing scratch on his left wrist — self-inflicted with a comb in a suicide attempt. Dr. Daly, one of the leading psychiatrists in the Republic of Ireland Case against the British Government being examined by the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg, said that what Peter Hand had experienced during interrogation had been 'calculated to produce extreme psychological stress by virtue of the beatings and threats of various kinds. It appears that he had an acute traumatic neurosis which has resolved only to some extent.'

Peter Hand attended the World Assembly of Peace Builders in Warsaw in May 1977 and testified about the outrages perpetrated by British troops and police in Northern Ireland. The Northern Ireland authorities could not forgive him the exposure — he was re-arrested and beaten by the same detectives responsible for his torture in 1976.

As the earlier charge of murder had been dropped, Peter was charged with possession of a weapon in 1977 and membership of an illegal organization. After the new beatings he signed another 'confession' and was jailed from August 2 to November 21.

A campaign for Peter Hand's release was waged at home and abroad. 'This is another indication of the British authorities' continuing violations of civil rights in Northern Ireland,' said the Secretariat of the World Peace Council in a statement. 'We call for organizing a worldwide protest campaign and for demanding that the British government fully restore civil rights as a requisite of settling the long-standing dispute and economic problems in Northern Ireland.'

Protests from world opinion forced Peter's jailers to release him on bail pending trial. Late in 1977 he made a three-week tour of the United States where he spoke at 20 meetings, went on the air three times and was interviewed by the press and radio. He told about himself and his compatriots who had been beaten, tortured or even killed. The American public was thus given first-hand information on what went on in Northern Ireland. Numerous newspapers and radio stations gave ample coverage to the facts related by Peter Hand. The Congressmen he met promised to raise the issue of civil rights violations in Northern Ireland with the Administration. However, neither President Carter, initiator of a human rights campaign, nor members of his cabinet received Peter Hand.

Victims of torture

Bernard O'Connor, a 34-year-old teacher from Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, was arrested in January 1977 and taken to Castlereagh Police Station in Belfast. He was beaten, made to take off all his clothes and subjected to more beatings and insults. 'A track suit top,' O'Connor testified later, 'was then put over my head and tied around my neck in hood style and then my nose and my mouth were blocked off ... I couldn't breathe.' During his interrogation he was forced to pick up cigarette butts from the floor with his mouth. Later a glass of water was knocked from his hand and he was made to lick the drops from the floor.

After his release O'Connor made an official complaint to the RUC. He was told that no charges would be preferred against any policeman involved in beating him.

Keith Kyle of the BBC was so impressed with O'Connor's story that he decided to film it. After the TV screening of the program there was an outcry from the government and the police, who said that programs of this type undermine the security forces.

Owen Roe O'Neill was held by police in Cookstown, Co. Tyrone. He was maltreated during detention. Tufts of hair were pulled from

his head, moustache and chest. When he vomited during torture a detective cleaned up the vomit with a tissue and forced it into his mouth. About one month after his release O'Neill was re-arrested and charged with withholding information from the police.

Leo Martin, aged 23, was arrested in August 1977 by the Marine Regiment of the British Army. The Marines kicked and punched him with rifle-butts, tied his hands behind him and then dragged him by the hair to an Army vehicle and threw him in. He was kicked and beaten again in a nearby barracks for nine hours. After that he was taken to Castlereagh Police Station where his family doctor was allowed to examine him. The doctor said that it was the worst case of beating that the victim had survived which he had ever seen. There were bruises all over Martin's body. His ankles were bruised and swollen. One eye was badly swollen and heavily discolored. There were multiple lacerations on the head and burn marks on the back. The young man was unable to walk.

Leo Martin was set free four days later with no charges being preferred.

Eamonn Kerr was held at Castlereagh for three days and then released without any charges being brought against him. He was in 'severe physical pain and his body was severely marked.' Kerr said he had been continually beaten and burned with cigarettes in an attempt to force him to sign a statement implicating himself in various crimes. When these methods failed Kerr was told that they would continue to harass him and his family until he signed a statement. 'We will not arrest you again,' they said, 'but we will arrest your wife, your children, your brothers and even your mother and we will do the same to them as we did to you.'

Cold-blooded murders

Brian Stewart, a 13-year-old schoolboy, was playing in the street near his home when he was shot with a plastic bullet at point-blank range fired by a British soldier. Several days later he died in hospital from a fractured skull caused by the bullet. Eyewitnesses have testified in sworn statement that the attack on Brian was completely unprovoked. The boy became a victim of the soldiers massed in the wake of unrest which had occurred not far off.

To date there has been no inquest and no soldier has been charged with Brian's killing.

In the evening of April 30, 1977, Danny McCooey, aged 20, was on his way home from a social club when a patrol of British soldiers stopped his friend and began abusing him. Danny intervened to help cool down the situation. The soldiers then hit him in the stomach with a rifle-butt, severely bruising him and knocking him almost uncon-

scious. They took the boys to barracks. He cried during questioning, for he was hemorrhaging internally. Two hours later the soldiers were forced to rush Danny to hospital to prevent him from dying in their custody. The doctors expressed little hope for recovery due to the severity of the beating. Danny McCooey died on May 20, 1977.

Leo Norney, a 17-year-old General Post-Office messenger, was shot dead by British soldiers in Belfast. The soldiers who murdered Leo claimed that he was a gunman who had opened fire on them. No weapon was found at the scene and in the court hearing Leo Norney's family was awarded damages of £3,000 for his death. The British Ministry of Defence admitted that the boy was 'totally innocent' but no soldier has yet been charged with the killing.

Majella O'Hare, a 12-year-old schoolgirl, was shot dead by soldiers of the Third Parachute Regiment of the British Army in Co. Armagh. It was hard to charge the girl with terrorism, so recourse was had to the hoary old story of the soldiers firing at a gunman and killing the girl by accident. On May 2, 1977 in a Belfast court, the soldier Michael Williams, who had killed Majella, was found 'not guilty.' The judge said he believed the story of Williams that there had been a gunman, although no proof had been produced.

The case was unusual in that a British soldier was charged with a killing. However, the outcome was the normal one — no soldier or policeman has ever served a sentence for killing or torturing civilians since the outbreak of the troubles in 1968. Our Association's research points to there being at least 200 cases of innocent civilians killed by British soldiers or the Northern Ireland police.

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The multinational octopuses

The monopolies are often called the rulers of the capitalist world. Nowadays this applies, first of all, to the powerful international monopolies.¹ And since the multinational corporations have transferred a substantial part of their production capacities to other countries and set up numerous branch companies there, their activity virtually covers the whole of the capitalist world. The might of these monopolies, said the Political Declaration of the Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Capitalist Europe (1974) on the activity of the multinationals, 'provides them with additional opportunities to step up exploitation and worsen working and living conditions.' The Declaration stressed that 'the activity of these multinational octopuses encroaches on the economic and even political independence' of many capitalist countries.

In compliance with readers' requests, *WMR* is beginning publication of statistical and other reference material on the multinationals based on the major imperialist countries.

U.S. multinationals

Most of the multinationals have their headquarters in the United States where there are at least six times as many as in Britain and eight times as many as in West Germany.² The U.S. is also the base of most super-monopolies, the sales of 12 of which range from \$10,000m to \$50,000m. Most of the 500 top U.S. corporations are multinational.

The biggest multinationals may be described as global. Their assets exceed the GNP of whole countries and their operations involve the entire capitalist world economy. In 1972 Exxon, for instance, was prospecting for oil in 34 countries, had oil refineries in as many countries and marketing enterprises in more than 100. IBM had plants and offices in 126 countries, and Gulf Oil in 61. In the case of Mobil Oil, Standard Oil and some other multinationals, the share of foreign operations exceeds 80 per cent of their total business volume (see Table 1).

Not only are they in the lead among the giant monopolies but, more important their economic and financial potential is much greater than their competitors'. Of the 49 companies with annual sales of more than \$5,000m, 24 were American.

Survey prepared by the *WMR* Information and Research Bureau, which has drawn on data received from the Economic Commission of the CPUSA.

Table 1

Foreign operations of 12 global U.S. corporations, 1975

	Sales (\$m.)			Net Income
	Total	Foreign	% Foreign	
Exxon	47,746	33,218	69.6	2,503
General Motors	35,725	6,807	19.1	1,286
Texaco	25,584	19,630	76.7	847
Ford	24,009	9,493	39.5	323
Mobil Oil	20,620	16,950	82.2	810
Standard Oil (Cal.)	17,523	10,546	82.2	773
Gulf Oil	16,047	8,722	54.4	700
IBM	14,437	8,316	57.6	1,990
General Electric	13,399	3,747	27.9	581
Chrysler	11,598	5,569	48.0	—
ITT	11,368	5,900	51.9	254
Standard Oil (Ind.)	9,555	4,330	43.5	787

Sources: Fortune, May 1976; Moody's; Industrial Manual, 1976; Public Utility Manual, 1976. Financial reports of the corporations where available.

The U.S. corporations owe much of their superiority over foreign competitors to more effective control over every aspect of economic activity. This helps them in the fight for markets and raw material sources, and makes for efficient use of production facilities and technology. The search for more profitable investments than at home, and hence for opportunities to make new superprofits, is the main incentive for the U.S. multinationals' penetration of other countries.

This expansion has assumed immense proportions. From 1961 to 1973, U.S. firms built or absorbed 5,476 plants abroad, that is, more than had existed before or were expanded in the same period (1,445).³ Growth of the assets and capacities of the largest monopolies operating abroad are ahead of their expansion at home. At present, about 75 per cent of the assets of the U.S. electric-industry monopolies, over half of those of the oil monopolies, nearly 30 per cent of the assets of the chemical corporations and about 40 per cent of those of the consumer goods corporations are abroad.⁴

No less than 60 per cent of foreign enterprises started by U.S. monopolies in the 60s and early 70s are 100 per cent U.S.-owned. As a result, 67 per cent of the foreign branches in developed capitalist countries and 60.6 per cent, in developing countries are fully owned by U.S. monopolies.

The multinationals always try to place their subsidies in the most profitable fields. One method is to distribute the production process

among several countries. For instance, companies manufacturing items requiring much manual labor are concentrated in developing countries, where labor is cheap. Capital-intensive goods and sophisticated plant are concentrated in developed capitalist countries, with their highly skilled labor and large consumer markets. Characteristically, the importance of the developing countries as a source of monopoly profit has increased in the past five years, though the developed capitalist countries are still the U.S. multinationals' main investment sphere (see Table 2).

Table 2

	All areas		Developed countries		Developing countries	
	1970	1975	1970	1975	1970	1975
Direct investments (\$000m.)	75.5	133.2	51.9	91.1	19.2	34.9
Profits (\$000m.)	8.2	17.6	4.5	9.7	3.0	7.5
Profit rate (per cent)	11.4	14.0	9.1	11.2	16.1	23.6

Sources: *Survey of Current Business*, September 1976, December 1971; *U.S. Direct Investment Abroad*, August 1976.

International banking monopolies play a vital part in the financial operations of U.S. imperialism abroad and in financing multinational industrial corporations. They have been growing fast. In 1965 there were 13 U.S. banks with 211 branches and assets totalling \$7,500m.; in 1974 there were about 100 banks with 700 branches and assets in excess of \$100,000m. Access to the foreign market freed them from such curbs imposed at home as the prohibition to open branches outside the state of registration or to own shares in industrial companies. The result has been fusion of their foreign capital with industrial capital, so that now foreign production by the U.S. multinationals has become an important and separate part of world capitalist production. The scale of foreign operations of the giant U.S. banks is shown in Table 3.

The multinationals, which command tremendous production and financial resources, boost profits by cutting employment and wages and stepping up exploitation. In 1972-76, sales and incomes of 500 super-monopolies nearly doubled while the rate of employment remained unchanged and average wages in manufacturing even declined (see Table 4).

The condition of American labor is also affected by the transfer of a

considerable part of national production to other countries. In 1975 alone, production in U.S.-owned enterprises abroad and import of their output to the U.S. entailed the loss of over 1,250,000 jobs. At least as many jobs were lost due to the production abroad of goods traditionally exported by the U.S. Besides, the multinationals are the main initiators of profit redistribution and use the strength of a virtually subservient state for the purpose. The state puts an enormous and steadily increasing tax burden on the working people. These taxes make possible appropriations for military spending, most of which is used to subsidize the monopolies engaged in war production. The taxpayer also has to foot the bill for 'aid' to other countries, mostly those whose governments welcome U.S. corporate activity. Revealingly, the multinationals are exempted from tax more and more often (see Table 5).

Table 3

Foreign operations of the 12 top U.S. financial monopolies

Company	Deposits (\$m.)				
	Total	Foreign	% Foreign	Gross income \$m.	Net income
Bank of America Corp.	56,545	22,618	40.0	4,743	303
Citicorp.	44,681	25,155	56.3	2,087	350
Chase Manhattan Corp.	33,928	15,030	44.3	3,232	174
Manufacturers Hanover	23,471	7,323	31.2	1,858	142
J.P. Morgan & Co.	19,938	10,527	52.8	1,961	184
Chemical NY Corp.	19,392	6,669	34.5	1,797	96
Bankers Trust NY Corp.	16,945	6,558	38.7	1,495	63
Continental (Ill.)	15,300	5,936	38.8	1,441	113
First Chicago Corp.	14,193	4,627	32.6	1,447	107
Charter NY Corp.	9,861	2,929	29.7	709	45
Marine Midland Bank	9,568	4,420	46.2	851	15
Mellon Bank	7,008	1,890	27.0	309	61

Sources: Fortune, July 1976; Moody's Bank and Finance Manual, 1976. Individual financial reports where available.

Table 4
The position of 500 U.S. super-monopolies

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Sales (\$000m.)	558	667	834	865	971
Employment (million persons)	14.6	15.5	15.2	14.4	14.8
Profits (\$000m.)	27.8	38.7	43.6	37.8	49.4
Average wages (manufacturing; 1967 = 100)	123.5	124.5	119.4	117.6	117.4 (April)

Sources: Fortune, May 1976, May 1975, May 1974; U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1976, p. 377.

Table 5
Decreasing taxation of monopolies

	(% of total Federal income)			
	1965	1970	1975	1976 (estimate)
Income tax	41.8	46.7	43.6	44
Corporate tax	21.8	16.9	14.5	13.5

Source: U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1976, p. 230.

The U.S. multinationals have worked out a streamlined system of foreign investment. Often investment is preceded by the establishment of U.S. military bases, the dispatch of teams of U.S. experts or the signing of shackling treaties. The U.S. multinationals use military and economic pressure to bring to power governments that will follow an open-door policy toward U.S. monopoly investment.

The multinationals withdraw a large share of their profit from the host countries, drain off raw materials needed for the development of these countries and curtail rights won by their workers. The constant shifting of capital from one country to another undermines economic stability, leading to the closure of 'unprofitable' factories and loss of jobs for tens of thousands of workers. The multinationals exert pressure on the trade unions and resort to gross political blackmail to prevent radical or even moderate reforms.

In developing countries, multinational subsidiaries invest mainly domestic capital and remit the bulk of their 'earnings' to their parent companies abroad. To keep the developing countries 'technologically dependent' the U.S. multinationals supply them technical equipment that is either second-rate or cannot be used for lack of

know-how. Price policy, too, is prompted by selfish monopoly interests. According to some data, subsidiaries in developing countries sell pharmaceuticals at 155 per cent, electronic equipment at 60 per cent and rubber products at 40 per cent above world prices. In Colombia transistor sets cost 11 times more than in the U.S., and in Chile imported goods cost from 30 to 700 per cent more than in the U.S.⁵ This undermines the already feeble economies of developing countries. Besides, the U.S. multinationals brazenly meddle in politics and impose their terms. The most striking case is, of course, Chile, where major international monopolies, primarily U.S. multinationals, made use of the state to bring about the overthrow of a lawful government, the assassination of a President elected by the people and the replacement of progressive leaders by fascist rulers at the monopolies' beck and call.

The U.S. multinationals' unscrupulous activities at home and abroad meet with increasing resistance from the working people and their class organizations in every part of the area dependent on capitalism. The progressive forces of these countries want an end to the multinationals' arbitrariness and expansion. In the eyes of the peoples, the giant international companies, primarily the U.S. multinational corporations, are not the 'makers of a better world,' as monopoly propaganda would have them believe, but the 'makers of crisis.'

1. These giant groups (controlled by the finance capital of one country or more) are variously described as 'multinational,' 'transnational' or 'supranational.' This survey uses *multinational*, the term most common in *WMR*.

2. See *U.N. Multinational Corporations in World Development*. New York, 1973, pp. 127 and 159.

3. See *The Columbia Journal of World Business*. Summer 1974, p. 102.

4. R. Barnet, R. Müller, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations*. New York, 1974, p. 17.

5. See R. Barnet, R. Müller, *Global Reach*, pp. 158-159.

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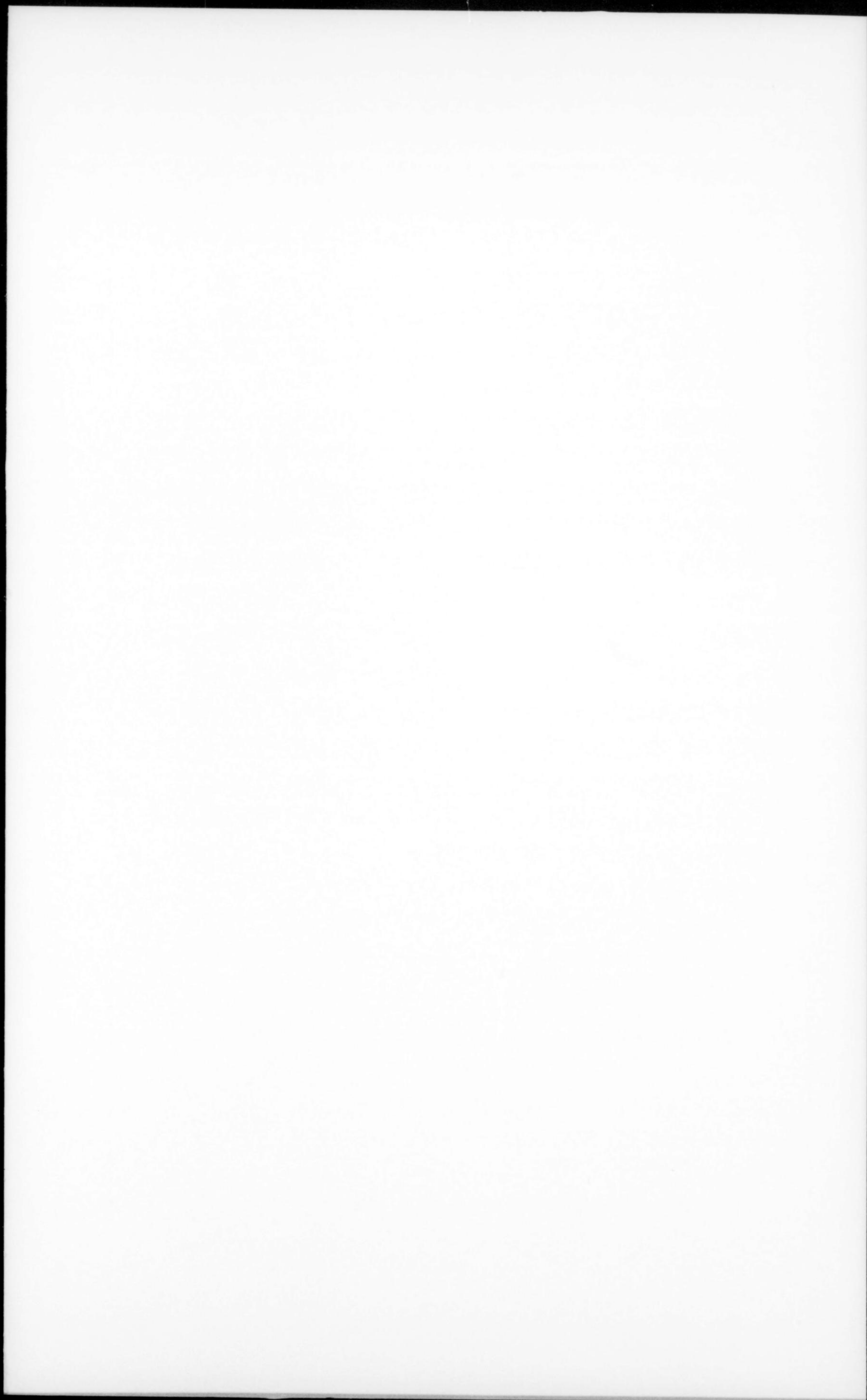
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