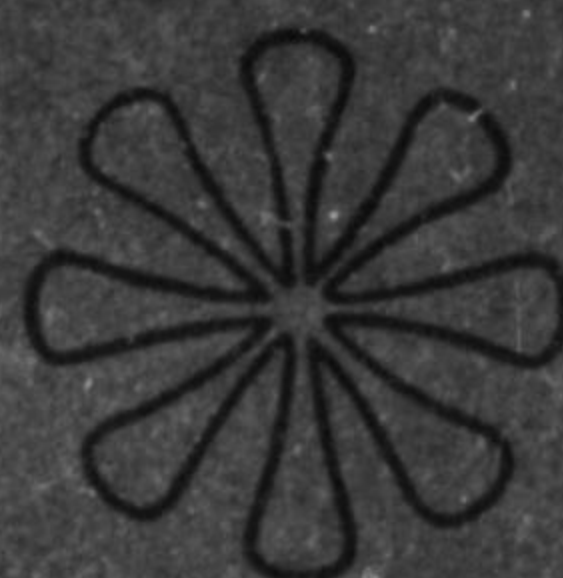


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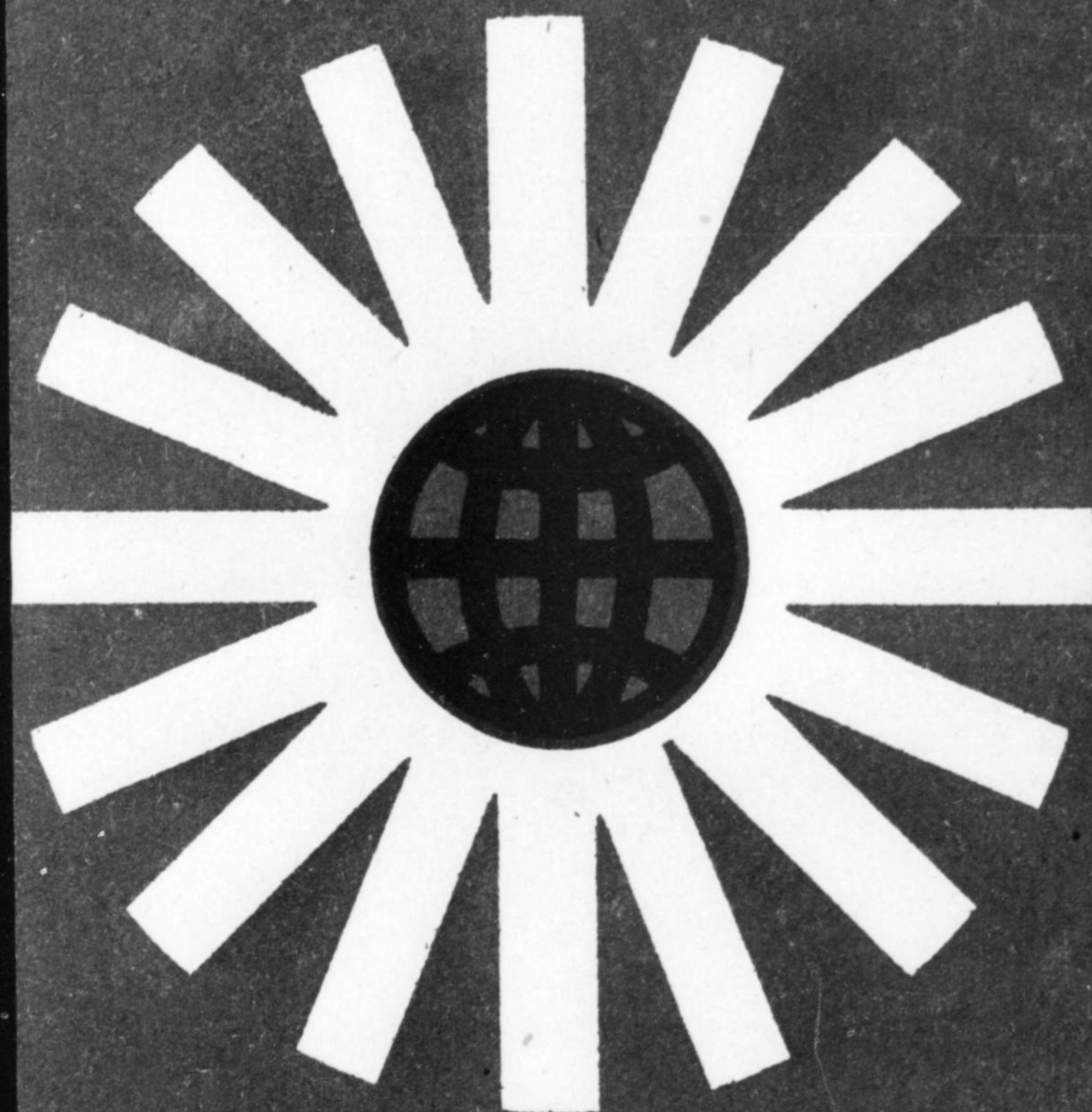
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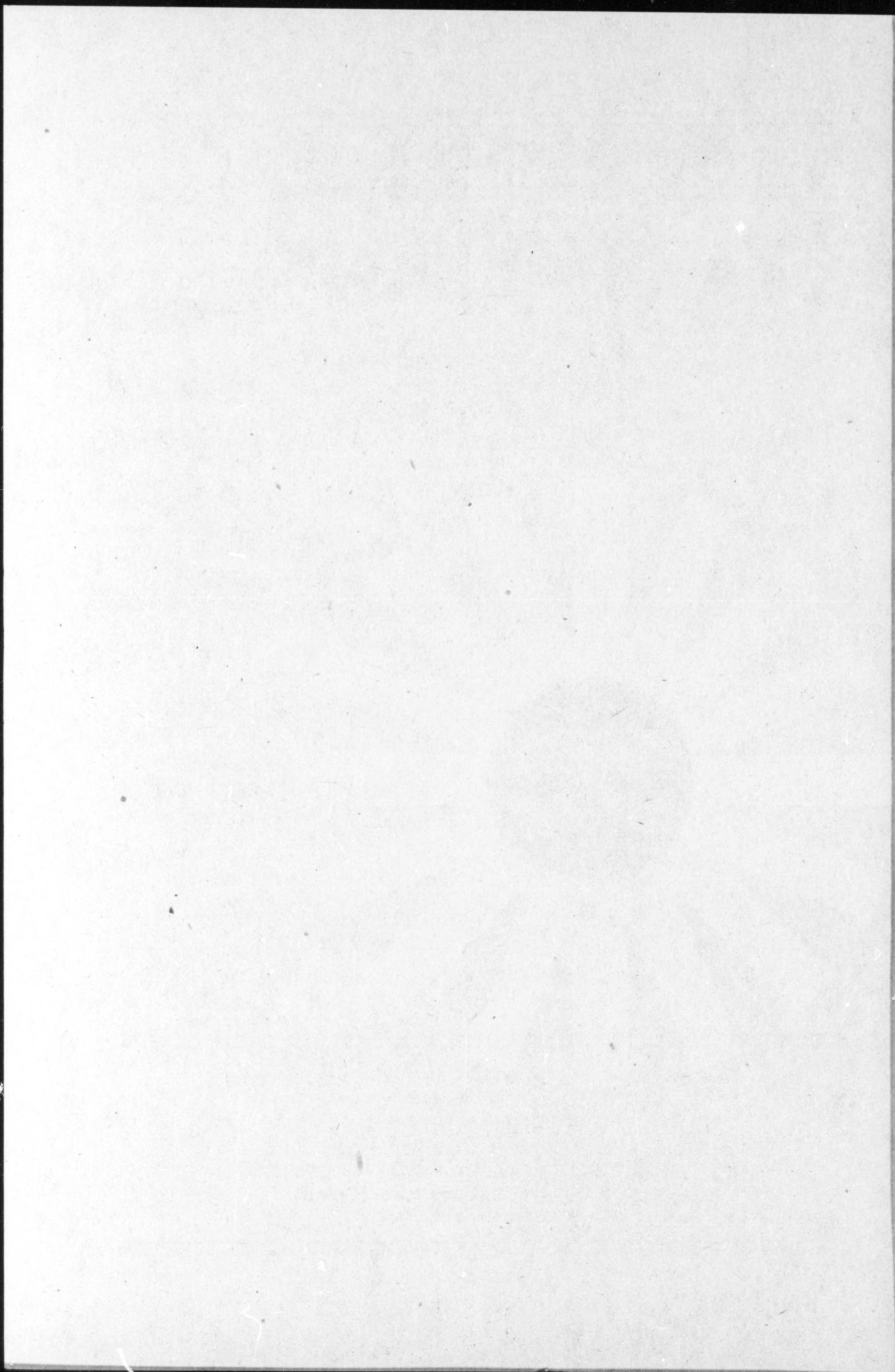
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IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

The Central Committee of the CPSU has examined the results of the Crimea meetings and talks which took place between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz and President of the CSSR, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the GDR State Council, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and President of the SRR, Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and President of the State Council of the PRB, and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP, Chairman of the Presidium, People's Great Khural of the MPR.

The CC CPSU highly assesses and fully approves the activity of Leonid Brezhnev. Together with the talks which Leonid Brezhnev held with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, during a recent visit by a Soviet party and government delegation to the Hungarian People's Republic, the 1979 Crimea meetings and talks represent an important stage in further strengthening the interaction of the fraternal countries in resolving both internal and international tasks.

These meetings are especially significant in that they concentrated on the promising areas determining the long-term cooperation of the socialist states. This is particularly important since the communist and workers' parties of the socialist world are entering the pre-congress period when new big plans will be drafted for the construction of a new society.

The 1979 Crimea meetings show that the socialist countries are confidently advancing in their socio-political and economic development. Their achievements contrast sharply with the situation in the capitalist world, which is characterized by increasing crisis phenomena.

At the same time the socialist countries are mindful of the fact that the complex world economic situation creates certain problems for them. In particular, this concerns maintaining the present high level of

consumption of oil and related products and ensuring a steady growth of energy-producing capacities.

The socialist community countries are creating a solid basis for the further growth of their national economy by pooling their efforts to solve the energy problem, which is seen, for instance, in the construction of the high-capacity "Soyuz" gas pipeline, the broad program of building nuclear power stations, intensive work to develop new energy resources and orientation on the most progressive technology with the use of traditional resources.

The CC CPSU notes with satisfaction that the fraternal countries are steadily following a policy of developing and deepening cooperation and specialization of the socialist economies, as reflected in the results of the Crimean meetings. This is a reliable way of rising to the heights of scientific and technological progress, to better effectiveness of production and quality of output and, consequently, to the further growth of the well-being of the peoples of socialist countries.

The long-term goal-oriented programs for cooperation, approved by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the work on the bilateral documents for the long-term development of specialization and cooperation, now nearing completion, pose before the USSR State Planning Committee and all Soviet ministries and departments participating in cooperation with the fraternal countries new responsible tasks that are of enormous national and international importance. Their consistent implementation will become an organic part of the forthcoming 11th five-year plan.

The 1979 Crimea meetings have demonstrated once again the fraternal socialist countries' firm commitment to peace and peaceful coexistence. The consistent line toward curbing and stopping the arms race, the clear orientation on détente, on complementing political détente with military détente, support for the peoples' right to a free and independent development — such are the present directions of socialist foreign policy, which was forcefully reaffirmed during the Crimea meetings.

The paramount issue of present-day international life is the limitation and end of the arms race. The socialist countries are convinced that a big step in that direction was made by the signing of the new Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation treaty. That treaty clearly shows that given good will it is fully possible to find mutually acceptable solutions to the most complex problems directly concerning the security of states.

Progress in military détente can only be ensured if all sides work

toward that goal. The socialist countries are persistently seeking constructive solutions at the Vienna talks on the limitation of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, in the disarmament committee, and at other talks devoted to the task of curbing the arms race, and urge the Western countries to reciprocate in these efforts. Naturally, there can be no rational justification for the endless stockpiling of weapons, including highly lethal ones, by the NATO circles on the territories of West European countries. The military equilibrium in Europe is a reality. And it is quite feasible to lower, step by step, the level of armed forces and armaments of the groups confronting each other here.

The consistent realization in their totality of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act — which all fraternal socialist countries are calling for — would be a sure way of turning Europe into a continent of stable peace, good neighborliness and cooperation.

The Soviet Union, together with other Warsaw Treaty members, calls for further measures to strengthen mutual confidence in Europe, for weakening the military confrontation of the socialist and capitalist states. The convening for this aim of an all-European conference with the participation of the USA and Canada proposed by the Warsaw Treaty members, the successful conduct of the forthcoming Madrid meeting could help greatly to improve the political climate in Europe and throughout the world.

The CC CPSU considers it extremely important that the Crimea meetings stressed the need for further strengthening the internationalist solidarity of the socialist states with all the peoples subjected to imperialist and hegemonistic pressure. In this connection the danger was noted of Peking's continuing expansionist policy, and the Soviet Union's solidarity with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea was reaffirmed. The right of every nation to be the master of its own fate is sacred and must be strictly respected.

The Soviet Union shares and supports the peaceful, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist aims of the Sixth Conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries due to be held in Havana in September.

The CC CPSU has instructed the corresponding ministries and departments to take practical measures for the realization of the tasks stemming from Leonid Brezhnev's talks with the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries.

Pravda, August 18, 1979

OUR HEARTS, OUR MINDS AND OUR DEEDS BELONG TO PEOPLE'S POLAND

*Address at rally in Lublin By Edward Gierek
First Secretary, CC PUWP*

We are assembled here today in anticipation of an important event which is a highly emotional one for every Pole and particularly dear to the inhabitants of Lublin. It is the coming anniversary of the renaissance of our country, July 22, the day when the Polish Committee for National Liberation issued its Manifesto and People's Poland came into being.

Many of those present here will recall the historic days of liberation heralding victory and peace. From here, from Lublin, which for seven months was the capital of a country fighting for its freedom, the world heard the news that Poland was living again, that after going through untold suffering, it was rising from flames and ashes to freedom and independence.

OUR ACHIEVEMENTS SPEAK OF POLAND'S PRESTIGE

What our people have built and achieved over the past 35 years, what we have and are proud of, and what speaks of Poland's world prestige and holds a promise for the future was begun in July 1944. Freedom for Poland! Peace for the world! Power and democracy, work and land, education and social justice for the working people of town and countryside! This has been, and will be for all time, the foundations of our people's statehood and socialist development.

Many of you remember the years of war and occupation, the inferno of Zamojszczyzny and Majdanek, the guerrilla war raging in the Lublin area.

Never between the tragic September events and that victorious May in Berlin did the Poles break down anywhere. They fought staunchly in the Resistance and on every front of the most terrible of wars.

We recall with the deepest respect the best and bravest who fell in the war against fascism. We pay homage to the courage of the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the people's Polish Army whom Lublin greeted with flowers and tears of joy 35 years ago. All freedom fighters have won glory and the people's gratitude. Their heroism will illuminate our national history with an unfading light.

The historic mandate of those days was to find answers to such key questions as the future existence and nation's road of development, the form and boundaries of the state, indispensable alliances, and guarantees of independence and a peaceful sky over Poland.

These questions were answered resolutely and correctly by the Polish Workers' Party and the forces cooperating with it — the left-wing socialist, popular and democratic alignments, the Polish communists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and those who formed the First Polish Army. The program of the Polish democratic camp expressed the interests of the whole nation and became its program. It was a factor uniting the masses in struggle for national and social liberation. It provided unconditional support for the Polish cause through the alliance with the Soviet Union. It determined the democratic form of an independent state and its just historical frontiers, paved the way for the Poles' return to the ancient Piast lands on the Oder, Neisse and the Baltic, and charted the road to all-round development. The land reform, nationalization of industry and abolition of illiteracy were the beginning of far-reaching social changes and provided concrete conditions in which the working class and other working people of town and countryside could play a growing role.

The past 35 years have borne out the correctness of the political thinking and program of the Polish democratic camp. Implementation of this program gave our nation historical satisfaction, and the courage shown by all Polish soldiers, guerrillas and Resistance fighters in their struggle was crowned with victory.

Everyone has a right to say, irrespective of the banner under which he fought for liberation, that his fallen brothers and friends did not give their lives in vain. Anyone who has contributed his share to the rehabilitation and development of the country has a right to say that socialist, People's Poland is also his cause.

People's Poland is the motherland which generations of Poles dreamed of and for which they strove amid war and labor, amid suffering and sacrifice. It is the legacy of all patriotic and progressive traditions and the continuation of all that is lofty and great in our past . . .

The path travelled by our people from the Lublin of July 1944 to the present day was arduous. It took great devotion and effort to overcome the resistance of reactionary forces and win the support of all social strata for people's rule. It took tremendous effort by millions to heal the wounds of war, build anew the destroyed factories, blast

furnaces, ports and mines; bring cities back to life, restore communications, feed the hungry, give shelter to the homeless, care for hundreds of thousands of widows and a million orphaned children, rehabilitate and develop restored lands and receive repatriates.

It was necessary to overcome age-long backwardness, increase our industrial potential many times over and modernize it, advance agriculture, expand our cities, develop science and give everybody access to education and culture. And our people, who had been bled white, did it.

The first generation of builders of People's Poland gave her all their energies and knowledge. In an atmosphere of nationwide enthusiasm, such qualities as commitment, devotion and patriotism were put to the test. People's characters were steeled in labor. There emerged steadfast and wise men and women, and they were the most valuable asset of our nation. At this enterprise and on thousands of other building sites of socialism, the younger generation was tested for patriotic labor.

Surely many of you remember the years when we had to overcome many shortcomings, make sacrifices and tackle seemingly impossible tasks. Many members of that generation of builders have retired by now, proud that they had done their duty to the country. Today we salute them with the greatest respect . . .

We recall with due respect and think highly of the contribution of all who were active in the democratic camp, in our party and the National Unity Front, who played the leading role in the fight for liberation and the establishment of people's rule . . .

We pay tribute to the work of millions of Poles and express our deepest gratitude for what they have done for their country, for what has been the content of their lives and is now a component of our nation's present material and spiritual patrimony.

We owe it to the people's effort and to socialism that Poland has taken the path of rapid development on modern lines. The seventies have been particularly remarkable in that we have made new gains in every sphere of the economy, science and technology and in the material, social and cultural conditions of society's life. You know well what has been achieved in these years; you remember the beginning and know of the great changes that have come about in every city and every village, in the life of every Polish family.

Let us, however, say firmly and openly what each of us is aware of: our country has yet to accomplish a great deal. We still have to

eliminate the effects of earlier delays and lags. In the economy, in science and technology we must move on and on. On this depend the material and spiritual standards of our life, the possibilities and standing of our country. We face new tasks set by present-day civilization. We must solve problems of energy, food and environmental protection. The whole world is trying to solve them. They are not easy.

How are we to realize the people's goals, plans and aspirations? How to meet growing needs and overcome difficulties? What should guide us in our effort for the good of Poland? Our historical experience, the nation's collective wisdom and the interests of our state point to the path we must follow: we must consolidate socialism, strengthen the people's unity and foster a sense of civic responsibility for the destiny of the country.

We must show wisdom and efficiency at every job in industry and agriculture. We must work rationally and effectively, increase the nation's wealth, strengthen our people's state, promote socialist democracy and ensure, always and everywhere, social justice and respect for human dignity, for the stability and prosperity of the family. These are our guidelines. We are following them as we advance to the Eighth Congress of our party.

We can look ahead and visualize the future of our nation and state with hope. We have a large economic potential, up-to-date industries, a splendid, highly skilled working class, an experienced and hard-working peasantry, a gifted intelligentsia whose numbers are growing. We are well prepared to face the challenge of our time.

Our class and national alliance with the Soviet Union is the basic prerequisite of our world standing and our security. It has developed on the experience gained by the Polish people in the course of history, on the finest traditions of Poland's working class and our joint struggle against Hitlerism. It has been steeled on the battlefield. It has passed the test when a postwar system was shaped and has been developing and growing stronger in all-round peaceful cooperation.

The fraternal alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union, which is prompted by the interests of our state and forms the basis for its foreign policy, has taken deep root in the Poles' hearts and minds. It is solid and indestructible.

We are able to strengthen Poland's positions in today's world because we combine our internal possibilities and our political, economic and cultural development with the strength of the entire community of socialist countries. We will unfailingly uphold the

cohesion of the community and build up its economic and defense power. The gains of the socialist community are our gains. We now have friends at all our borders. We are linked by cordial relations and fruitful cooperation with fraternal Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, with Hungary and Bulgaria, with Rumania and Yugoslavia, with Cuba and the friendly Asian peoples building socialism.

The more than quarter-century-long struggle for universal international recognition of the political and territorial realities created in Europe after World War II has ended successfully. One highly important result of this process was the creation of conditions for normalizing relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Our efforts and our policy made an appreciable contribution to the success of the Helsinki Conference. The name of our country is associated with numerous initiatives in support of détente and disarmament. The Polish soldier has repeatedly served the cause of peace outside our country.

We promote mutually beneficial relations with countries belonging to a different social system. We systematically extend our participation in the international division of labor. We champion freedom and progress always and everywhere. We resolutely and actively back efforts for disarmament, especially the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty signed recently by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Jimmy Carter, the U.S. President. We look forward to the early ratification of the treaty. We hope the successful outcome of the Vienna summit will lead to further progress in détente, to curbing the arms race and to the development of useful international cooperation in Europe and all other regions of the globe. We are willing to join in every peace initiative and to back every effort to this end.

Peace is the key goal of today. It is the fundamental right of every nation and every individual, the paramount condition for the happy future of all men . . .

Let us turn our hearts and minds to the Polish People's Republic. Let every one of us think how he can best serve his country, so that with every passing day it will become more beautiful, richer and stronger, and that its sons and daughters live better, more comfortably and affluently. Let us join efforts for this supreme goal.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, July 20, 1979

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE NETHERLANDS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

As reported earlier, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands held a plenary meeting in Amsterdam on June 30, 1979. CC CPN Chairman Henk Hoekstra made the report, which we print below.

It is necessary, following months of great party activity, to draw up a kind of provisional balance sheet. Not in order to come immediately to definitive conclusions and to lay them out in a resolution, but in order to work over the experiences and consider what further steps will have to be taken. This does not imply that general directions should not be indicated for our action — and developments do in fact demand quick reactions from us.

It will be clear that in this connection we start from the Congress decisions and their results and that these point toward the 27th Congress that is to take place next year.

I

It is in the first place necessary to discuss the results of the great mass movement against the government's social policy, the action against "Besteck '81" — the 1981 Plan. When we talk about results we are concerned not only with the high point of the action, June 23, but with the totality of actions leading up to June 23.

Working over these experiences is of exceptional significance because of the coming and necessary follow-up, given that the forces of the right in this country will go to any length to push through their program of hardly predictable attacks.

One thing that is certain is that the first results of the anti-Plan action is a great victory for our line and for our party's policy. Favorable bases have thus been created for further militant opposi-

tion against the government's policy, for the formation of alliances and for the creation of progressive alternatives.

The anti-Plan movement, in which communists are to be found among the most important organizers and inspirers of ideas, was an irreversible success. It was also therefore a touchstone for the effectiveness of our views.

The results must not be of a once-and-for-all kind. They must be utilized for the whole further development of the labor movement in this country.

The June 23 demonstration made an enormous impact, also taking into account the rather spontaneous on-the-spot reporting by the NOS¹ and VARA Radio.² The preparation for the demonstration and for the whole day of action was an event in itself. Four thousand people of all progressive colors called for participation. A kind of alliance thus came into existence of a very original kind, with kaleidoscopic appearance.

The sectional meetings — in which above all the militants, the most active element, demonstrated — and the demonstration itself, organized in blocs of participating groups, produced a unique picture. In this way it was clear who all those were who took part.

All the groups were clearly recognizable, they had their own contributions and put forward their own demands. This determined the high level of the demonstration and of the preceding preparations.

It is a very important fact that many new forces came into action in cooperation with older participants who, with their experience, played an important role. This provides a guarantee for the continuation and extension of the movement in a steadily rising line.

The results of this movement must certainly be linked up with the action of the party as such, its leadership and the line it worked out. The picture of the CPN's activity has become more complete in the last months. It covers the struggle for peace, for democracy and national independence, for social rights, and against the crisis and unemployment.

Precisely as a consequence of the action of the communists the necessary link is created between these great problems of our time.

The consolidation of the influence of the CPN and the recognition of its role is absolutely necessary; on it depends for a great part further progress. If the party is not clearly recognizable in the movement, a gap will appear between the readiness for action on the one hand and political comprehension on the other.

The FNV³ demonstration of June 19 was a response to the breadth

and depth of the anti-Plan movement: and a correct response, because whoever did not react would have been overwhelmed. It was interesting that a kind of cooperation emerged in the period in which preparations were being made for both June 19 and June 23.

It is clear that for the activists the preparation of two demonstrations within one week was an enormous task, especially because the formal approach of a number of trade union leaderships hardly can be considered as a contribution to the mass action.

All these experiences are of great significance for the follow-up, especially in giving a good content to the outstanding initiative for the creation of a "great social forum," based on the mass action, directed against the social policy of the government, but also directed toward the creation of a *common progressive alternative*.

Favorable conditions have now been laid down for that, but no more than that. Hard work must still be done in this direction.

Here a meeting-point can arise between different currents in the labor movement, which is much more inclusive and many-sided than some party programs suggest. Thus a debate about a common opposition and the alternative can be developed.

There must be a common will to talk with each other passing over demarcation lines, to look for new ways forward based on the movement and on the demands posed by the workers, for the introduction of a socio-economic policy directed to those ends and not to the multinationals and to the financing of constantly growing armaments.

In the action itself we can answer many of the questions addressed to us and which must indeed be answered.

There was for example the letter, already dealt with by us, from Max Van den Berg⁴ to the branches of the PvdA (Labor Party), which gave a distorted reproduction of our standpoints, with the aim of obstructing socialists from working together with communists, or hindering this cooperation where it had already come into being.

The letter from Van den Berg shows that such cooperation "between the rank and file and up from there" is the only fruitful form at the present stage.

The PSP (Pacifist Socialist Party) also took a rather dismissive attitude on the eve of the June 23 demonstration toward the "1981 Plan Must Go" movement, because according to them it was a collection of discontented forces without perspectives. This is a very shortsighted, sectarian, actually paternalistic attitude in the face of the breadth and content of the movement. But we must go further, the action is posing its own demands, has its own dynamic, is posing new

questions. The mass demonstrations are first of all placing on the agenda the point that a new course must be worked out and that very active forces are present in the population capable of this.

What is in fact the situation? Within the labor movement different alternatives are being worked on. The CPN's is set out in the IPSO⁵ plan "For Work and a Better Life." Among the socialists there exist deep differences of opinion: ince can hardly say, therefore, that what is said in the Den Uyl⁶ proposal is the alternative of *the* socialists. It must be said that the trade union movement, the FNV, is too passive in this field. Sections of the leadership want to follow Den Uyl's ideas. Others disagree and know that if these ideas were applied in practice, they would certainly meet resistance within the trade union movement, that is, among members and representatives. We already had a foretaste of this in the period of the Den Uyl-Van Agt government.

Within the labor movement there is thus an enormous discussion going on concerning the best direction. Dozens of economists have now entered this discussion, economists of a new type, who with their conceptions are actually moving in the same direction with us: defense of living standards as a means of fighting the crisis. The action leaders are thinking along the same lines: no reduction in the standard of living, no interference in the Collective Agreement negotiations, getting to grips with the rich and armaments, no closure of enterprises.

A certain clarity must therefore come in this situation. A common agreement has been developed precisely over the rejection of the 1981 Plan, and for this reason it must find its expression in the will to look for a *common alternative*. There must exist at least a will to discuss and argue about these questions. Even if there are disagreements, the main disagreement is with the right forces. The disagreements in the labor movement must be bridged — that is the means of constituting a left or progressive majority.

We are being asked, by just those people who are taking part in the action, not just to protest but to offer a vision for the future. And correctly.

The complaint that we have no alternative is incorrect, as shown by our Congress and the IPSO plan. The question is posed: Should there — if we were talking about an alternative and the discussions in the labor movement — be no compromise possible, and what is the CPN's standpoint on this question?

Naturally the achievement of agreement also makes compromises?

necessary, though this does not mean that each group should abandon its own long-term aims. Who would disagree? But the question is of course: where is the compromise to lie? It can only be possible if each accepts the other's identity. This cannot be arranged behind the scenes.

An acceptable compromise is not possible as a result of one-sided negotiations with the right and elimination of the left, that is, of the CPN. An acceptable compromise depends also in part, and indeed in the first place, on action, on the mass movement, on the struggle of forces which takes place in that action and the lessons which must be drawn from it.

That is doubtless also the meaning of the movement against the 1981 Plan. Here a platform is being created for unity of action and discussion about an alternative — a platform which did not previously exist because of anti-communism and also without doubt on account of sectarian shortcomings on our side.

Typical of the present situation is that where the CPN is now taking initiatives to create openings, those who criticize us want to slam the door shut again.

But the mass demonstrations are pointing in another direction; so does our thinking and that of many socialists and other progressive forces. This direction must set the tone, it is the direction of a determined, left or progressive majority in action.

We are prepared for discussion, for a serious and positive confrontation between our ideas and others' on the greatest possible scale, on television and radio: about the opposition, about alternatives, about the formation of a left, progressive majority.

The "1981 Plan Must Go" action has shown that the constitution of a coalition requires above all cooperation between communists and socialists and that this will succeed if it is directly related to the needs, demands and actions of the people.

The CNP must make its own contribution here, and preserve its recognizable character. It is the communists themselves who first must be convinced of this.

That is why it will also be necessary to create clarity about the role of the party in the movement, and especially in the movement against the social policy of the Van Agt-Wiegel government.

Is it not tactical to speak in this connection of the ideas of the CPN? We want to continue the broad cooperation, but together with open action of the CPN for its ideas and policy. We would like to see others in the labor movement making an open and honest assessment of our

standpoint, but that is naturally not possible if we hide our light under a bushel. Some people suggest that communists always want to "take over" actions. No one who takes part in actions can deny that we would have the right to exercise our rights. The need to do so becomes irresistible when others try to control the actions, to twist and misuse them for misplaced personal popularity. No one can deny that the mass communications systems often play a sinister role in this. Thus the complaint that communists want to take over actions is hypocritical and in flagrant contradiction with practice. We do want to place our conceptions and aims — and our activities, based on these — openly on the order of the day, that is, to put them forward for discussion. We do this of course convinced of our views, but also open to correction, to honest criticism which begins from knowledge of our standpoints and not from suspicions or rumors put about by others.

We shall therefore never disguise, belittle or hide our standpoints and our role in the action. It will be clear that all this requires the improvement of the quality of our work. The struggle which we are fighting here in the Netherlands is unique, completely Dutch in character. The roads which we, in Dutch conditions, have to lay down demand our utmost effort in thinking, action and inventiveness.

II

In the middle of the heated struggles against the government's policy came the European elections. People were busy formulating their demands, working out their actions, in the battle against the neutron bomb, for better wages and against the 1981 Plan. Via the mass media everything was done to separate these election from their real significance and to gloss over the great questions on the order of the day.

Only the CPN dared to speak out about the real European problems of our time, that is, the struggle against the West Germans' striving for European dominance, against the multinationals, for the defense of democracy, for détente in Europe and for the unity of militant people in the EEC countries for these aims, for the struggle against crisis and unemployment.

This action of our party was absolutely necessary and prevented these elections from being completely hidden behind a dangerous cloud of words about European integration and the surrender of national identity for the sale of a "European policy" and "European armament."

Already during the election campaign it became clear how great the repugnance was toward the EEC policy. Gradually there was switch-over to a campaign of indifference with a goal to keep opponents away from the ballot box, so that the European parliament would become the plaything of the monopolies.

This was directed in this country of course against the CPN, but also against the PPR (Radicals) and PSP.

But this attempt was doomed to failure, because the communist movement is an international factor, including within the EEC.

It would of course have been better if the CPN had made up part of the communist representation *in* the European parliament.

This would have reflected the true political position of our party both nationally and in terms of its contribution to the international communist movement, in the struggle for peace and against capitalism. It would also have reflected the multi-faceted character of the communist parties in West Europe, a diversity which is complemented by a unity on the main questions. But our links with, among others, the French and Italian CPs are good and have been strengthened to such a point that also our ideas will be brought forward via the communist representatives.

The social democrats of the Vondeling⁷ type have turned sharply against us, avoiding any debate, behaved as haughty Europeans, flirted with the CDA (Christian democrats) and put it about the CPN would in any event not get in. They keep quiet about the fact that there would in any case be a communist representation in the European parliament. What was the result? This representation consists of 43 communists in the European parliament, a greater number than that of the social-democratic parties from the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark and England together. There is thus absolutely no foundation for Vondeling's superior attitude.

As far as the elections here are concerned, it is clear that the EEC advocates have been dealt a heavy blow as a consequence of an as yet passive rejection among the voting population. At this stage people would rather see what can be achieved by doing nothing.

Hardly more than half of the voters used their vote to elect the parties which now sit for this country in the European parliament. So this "representation" has no right to speak in the name of the Netherlands.

As far as our party is concerned, the picture of the previous elections was maintained. We are busy with an enormous operation aimed at activating the voters, against the current, and winning over

at least the most conscious of them. Our propaganda was explicitly directed to gaining access to the masses through the most conscious and militant among them. The results have yet to be tested. Things are moving slowly but surely. There is a sharp contradiction between election figures and the trust that the communists are certainly winning in the actions.

We must not rest content and accept this picture as a sort of fait accompli. It is true that the masses were influenced by the mass media which are monopolized by a few currents. Our approach to the masses — the propaganda for our party policy — follows more complicated paths. We must work through the experiences of the election campaign, and have only just begun to test out new forms in a field where more is necessary.

It is certain that the defense of parliamentary democracy in this country makes it absolutely necessary to strengthen the parliamentary position of our party as the best accepted, most combative representative of the working class.

And if we book progress in a number of places, then we must investigate just how this result was achieved and extend it to other places. The progress in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Delft and East Groningen is therefore very important.

Progress is booked in those places where our party is most obviously visibly present to the population, where it exists, functions and is active, where new forms of propaganda are being introduced on the basis of the study of previous experiences. It is necessary to strengthen the party in breadth, depth and quality of its work.

The election result has also shown the particular importance of the relation of our party to the PPR and PSP. This will require further study. This relation should never be of a sectarian kind.

In that respect the attitude of the PSP toward the "1981 Plan Must Go" campaign is negative. We are looking for relations of openness, for mutual relations which will be sensitive to and will react to the impulses from within the mass movement and in which all will be involved, especially socialists and progressive people from other circles.

III

Certainly, too, we shall have to take into account the international situation, when planning our activities. For the situation in our own country cannot be separated from it. We can discover two tendencies in the developments in Europe. On the one hand we see the forces of

the right making a grab for governmental power: we have seen that happening in Holland, England and Luxembourg after the latest parliamentary elections, and we can see the German right forces trying to do the same with all their force, after their having stimulated the same kind of order in their surrounding countries. This pressuring by the right forces in the Federal Republic can undoubtedly create severe tensions in Europe.

It cannot be said that the fall-in of right-wing governments is in accordance with the results of the elections. In Holland this is most certainly not the case. In England electoral results are obscured by England's absolutely undemocratic electoral system. The British two-party system sets a most forbidding example and is a warning against any change in electoral laws in that direction.

What is the background of the obtrusion of the right to governmental power in several West-European countries? An obtrusion which the social democrats do not effectively oppose, because they are more occupied with making concessions instead of working together with all left-wing forces. This background is fear of the second tendency, that of the radicalization of the masses.

That is the reason why everywhere where the right forces are in power attacks are being launched on democratic rights, on the organizations of the workers, on the trade unions and their rights. And intimidation of anyone who so much as raises a finger against isn't shunned. Most especially this is aimed at newly developing movements as those of the women, the young and the unemployed. In this phase the right-wing social democrats are not considered trustworthy deputies, especially as within social-democracy left-wing tendencies are beginning to break through under the influence of the mass movement. Certainly in Holland this is the case.

Among imperialists there also exists fear of the consequences of their own contradictions, of which the recent oil panic is an example. A sinister comedy is being staged around the oil shortage, with the aim of forcing all private persons to cut down on motoring and heating. Everyone knows by this time that this has hardly any effect on the total expenditure of energy. But behind this comedy a bitter war is waged between the multinationals, between the imperialist superpowers over the allocation of the remaining oil supplies. At the same time, referring to shortages, the people are being prepared for new surges of rises in the price of oil and gas.

The struggle between the imperialist superpowers has grave consequences. Therein lies the origin of the lingering threat of war in the

Middle East. Herein also lies the origin of the sharp neo-colonial reactions to every liberation movement, as that of Nicaragua, which shocks the already shattered imperialists the worse.

The "natural" answer of the imperialists is a constant increase of armament, that is aimed at the plundering of the people in their own countries, at expansion of the one at the cost of the other, at new neo-colonial adventures and with some also at a confrontation between East and West.

But especially in this context special significance should be attached to the SALT-2 agreement. This agreement in any case indicates a new direction in the international relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which will influence, too, the relations between other states, in particular between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries of Europe.

That is why the greatest emphasis should be laid on efforts to give further shape to the détente in the direction that is given by the SALT-2 agreement. And no country should withdraw from its obligation to make further steps on the road to détente and peace. At this moment chances are existing. Now new chances exist for peace movements. Especially in this situation the struggle against the N-bomb gains new significance, in particular the new initiative of the Dutch cooperative organization "Stop the neutron bomb — stop the nuclear arms race" for holding an international relay race against the N-bomb. It cannot be denied that exactly in the present situation the governments and peace movements in the smaller countries have larger possibilities of taking effective steps. Countries such as Holland can set an example and be a new source of inspiration to the whole of the international struggle for peace.

IV

The position of our party is under discussion in wide circles. Sometimes essentially a delayed reaction to the 26th Congress is at stake. We should also estimate and re-estimate the position of the CPN ourselves. From the right side there is criticism of us, saying that we haven't changed our position, not even after the 26th Congress. But that can be seen to be a bit of desperate talk against their own better knowledge. Assertions that nothing has changed regularly meet with protests, especially from circles of people of really socialist outlook. This was proved at a congress of the PvdA, where a study of a new way of approach to the CPN was insisted on: a form of mutiny that severely disquiets the right wing.

This proves at the same time that something has changed indeed. No anti-communist whining passes without a reaction. This has as its basis a change in view that was not spontaneous, but the result of the actions of our party. It is a result of the discussion that was evoked by these actions, that, in my opinion, has been more daring, renewing and taking the initiative in many fields of action.

We do make mistakes, the conception "die Partei hat immer recht" (the party is always right) is not ours. But no one can deny that communists take the initiative and play a leading and recognized role in actions and in the political life of today. People expect it of us and justly criticize us when we lag behind.

We should contemplate further on our activities in the coming time. There are terrains where we have realized progress (in industrial actions, in the recruiting of new members, in some sectors of propaganda), but other terrains demand more attention (the foundation of new sections, the rational employment of our forces, the intensification of the work of the executives in this respect). The preservation of realized results demands every effort. It seems to me that the question is not so much the putting in of more work, as the raising of its quality to an even higher level, for that will preserve results. It will lead to the strengthening of the labor movement and of the role of the party therein. In this respect the development of party life has been proved to be of the utmost importance in realizing a broad formation of opinions within the party. This should take place in a spirit of action and of the execution of the decisions of the congress. Party life, the functioning of party democracy, the discussions, all should be aimed at the many problems of action and at finding an answer to the questions of our ideas on the future, on the Dutch road to socialism. That is why the discussions next autumn on the first draft of a new program — which deals with the CPN and democracy — are of the utmost importance.

The functioning of democracy in our party leaves a trace of actions and of the deepening of insights among the members of our party. This stands in direct opposition to what happens within the PvdA. There one often sees discouragement, passivity.

As stated before our propaganda has only received its first stimulus to a greater many-sidedness. In this respect the beautiful "Waarheid" festival⁸ gave a good picture: it functioned as a new meeting place of communists and their friends, of those who by virtue of their opinions and experiences feel a tie with the CPN and *De Waarheid*. The

festival had also a strong internationalist orientation, as is proper in view of our struggle.

Summing up, it can be said that the successful spreading and penetration of our party politics marked an important gain for our party itself — its numbers have grown. But still, they have been mainly investments in depth. The foundations have been laid for further progress and the bringing into still better view of the CPN. It is this that demands a raising of the quality of the whole range of our work, and a restless search for improvement through a comradely critique of our shortcomings, starting from our dedication to the causes to which we communists have devoted ourselves.

V

Our relationships with other communist parties are strengthened continually. This is of the greatest importance in view of the international struggle that must be waged against imperialism, for peace and progress. But it is also of importance as our contribution to the repair of the ruptures in the international communist movement.

Against the background of the capitalist crisis and the anti-capitalist opposition of diverse nature, it becomes ever more important to take common action. Especially where it concerns the study in depth of processes that jolt the imperialist system. In my opinion imperialism is involved in an existential crisis. But it is not so interesting to try and make estimates of the speed in which things will develop and to think in chronologies and schemes as was done in the past without taking into account the many forces that influence each other and lead to ever new results.

There is one certainty, the decisive battle against capitalism — with its crises, exploitation, armament and its preparations for war — will be waged *within* the capitalist countries, in alliance with all the forces in favor of peace of the world, the socialist countries, the freedom fighters of the third world with whom we feel ourselves closely tied, such as the fighters in Indonesia but also the courageous liberation movements in countries as Nicaragua. The development of practical mutual solidarity is in the interest of all democratic forces and those for peace.

Where communists are the leading force unity increases and alternatives in the direction of more freedom, more democracy and of socialism are developed.

Especially at this moment it is the duty of the international communist movement to study this all thoroughly and in depth. And in the

interest of the future it is necessary to assimilate the great positive results as well as the shortcomings.

Only then will we be able to speak freely about the great perspectives that we communists can offer together with the other democratic forces. At the basis of the activity of communists in mass actions should lie knowledge. This knowledge — as far as the communists are concerned — is multinational, because it is founded upon experiences of many *autonomous* parties that take as their guide the responsibilities they bear toward the workers of their own countries.

Collecting and getting together of this knowledge could also prove to have a "crisis-controlling" influence on the international communist movement. The conflicts within the international communist movement should not dominate its appearance, although it should be clear that often very important questions are at stake. The discussions on these questions and the reaching of conclusions takes time. But, in particular, the existential crisis of imperialism demands a collective assimilation of knowledge and experiences. A lot of work is done individually, but not enough is done about the gathering together of all existing knowledge. The whole of the labor movement needs precisely this to be able to determine its tactical and strategic lines.

Rightly a lot of attention is paid internationally to the starting up of Sino-Soviet talks that seem to develop into the direction of normalizing their relations. Is it possible that this will be realized soon? Is there any opponent of imperialism that does not hope so? But it would be an unreal demand that this happen in a forced pace. A deliberate carefulness is needed that should be based on the consideration that a restoration of trust must be possible. Let us not forget that the labor movement of the capitalist countries and the liberation movements of the third world can play an important part in the attempts to mend the ruptures by not doing anything that may worsen the relationships between parties. This does not at all mean that no discussions should take place. The conclusions formulated at the Berlin conference of June 1976 should be the basis of relationships between parties.

The labor movement, and in particular the communist parties of the capitalist countries can, through the formulation of new, positive perspectives and goals of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism, give a great new impulse to the entire international communist movement. And then it is not important whether this takes place from a large or a small country, for here also quality will turn the scale.

1. NOS — National Broadcasting Corporation.
2. VARA — Social-Democratic Broadcasting Corporation.
3. FNV — Federation of Netherlands Trade-Unions.
4. Newly elected chairman of the PvdA.
5. Scientific Institute of the party.
6. Den Uyl — former prime-minister, now leader of the Parliamentary faction of PvdA.
7. Vondeling will be chairman of the faction of Dutch social democrats in the European Parliament.
8. On the 20th of May *De Waarheid* — daily of the Communist Party — had a festival in Amsterdam, visited by over 20,000 persons.

IMPORTANT REQUIREMENTS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Statement by the Communist Party of Honduras

U.S. imperialism's economic and political domination in Central America has been dealt a severe blow. The capitalist system has exhausted itself and is in the throes of a permanent crisis. This accounts for our country's political instability and the further impoverishment of the working people of town and country. New forms of struggle, including armed uprising (as in Nicaragua) are essential to put an end to exploitation.

The military regimes are no longer capable of subjugating our peoples to the dictate of foreign monopolies and the local oligarchy. In Guatemala and El Salvador the popular masses are fighting against official terror, and in Nicaragua the courageous Sandinists, socialists, communists and all democratic forces are dealing decisive blows at the bloody Somoza tyranny. A Government of National Reconstruction has been set up there and it enjoys the support of all the peoples of our continent.

The Honduran ruling classes have once again demonstrated their inability to surmount the economic and political crisis. They are out to deceive the people by an electoral farce, which they have already begun to prepare. Abstention from registration by voters (hardly 60 per cent of them have registered) clearly shows that the people are incensed over this farce, which eliminates some political parties from active participation in the electoral process. Though they are not registered, these parties represent a large part of the country's public

opinion. In these conditions, the approaching elections will only be another farce, barring from the electoral process new political and social forces that are seeking an opportunity to take part in determining the fate of Honduras. A government thus elected will be a minority government, lacking the necessary authority and therefore incapable of studying and resolving the country's serious problems.

The mounting inflation hits hard at the popular masses who bear the burden of the accelerated accumulation of capital by the local and foreign capitalists.

The present government has demonstrated its total inability to find a solution to the energy crisis which is fraught with an economic catastrophe for the country. The angered working masses are demanding a stop to the spiralling prices of consumer goods and the growing cost of services. This is evidenced by the mass demonstrations in the capital and other cities against the attempts to increase city transport fares. The people are demanding nationalization of the Texaco oil refinery, which is conducting a policy of continuous blackmail, offending the national dignity of Honduras.

Everything points to the lack of a correct and firm policy aimed at implementing economic and social reforms and, thereby, putting a stop to the crisis that is paralyzing the country. The ruling circles, which have no intention of adopting such measures, have abandoned the development plans which the Armed Forces themselves advanced in 1974, in particular, the plan of agrarian reform. They continue following a disastrous policy characterized by wastefulness and administrative corruption.

In the circumstances, a so-called "national dialogue" is developing, which was initiated by the military government junta along with some sectors of public opinion. This dialogue will be fully warranted if it results in a policy aimed at resolving the fundamental problems which lie at the basis of the crisis. However, if it is limited to measures that leave the anti-popular policy unchanged, as can be predicted, then nothing will come of the dialogue. This would spell disaster for the country, and the only alternative lies in democratic and popular power. This is what the communists have been fighting for ever since they became organized in a party of the working class.

No dialogue, at whatever level, can lead to positive results unless a climate of internal guarantees and respect for the democratic rights of the Honduran people is ensured. The trade union and democratic organizations are demanding that this respect should imply recognition of the non-registered political parties. It is essential also to put

an end to all persecution for political motives and to release the prisoners being held in the Sampedrano prison and in the capital's central penitentiary and accused of crimes that they have not committed.

On the other hand, lowering the level of the dialogue and limiting the circle of its participants cannot serve as a sound foundation for its successful consummation. Only given the agreement of diverse political and social forces will the decisions adopted in the course of the dialogue be carried out and produce the desired results. Any attempt to ignore other forces is tantamount to acting like an ostrich and to conducting a sectarian policy which is opposed by the peoples of our entire region.

In this respect an important role will be played by the stand of the Armed Forces government on the events in fraternal Nicaragua. Honduras is obliged to honor the principle of self-determination of nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. That is why it must not permit itself to be drawn into individual or collective intervention, which the OAS or CONDECA (Central American Defense Council) may try to impose. Otherwise it will grossly violate this principle. Whoever seeks to render covert aid to the Somoza dictatorship is playing with fire. Intervention in Nicaragua is fraught with the gravest consequences for the cause of peace in our region and will cause incalculable damage to our country. The communists add their voice to the call of the Hondurans and other peoples of America saying "Hands off Nicaragua!" and demand non-interference in the affairs of that country and recognition of the Government of National Reconstruction.

The Communist Party of Honduras holds that for the popular forces to seriously consider the Armed Forces government's appeal for a "social peace," the appeal must include the following demands:

- (a) a search for sound solutions to the economic crisis;
- (b) respect for the democratic rights and freedoms of our people;
- (c) a stop to all forms of persecution and the immediate release of political prisoners;

- (d) a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples;

- (d) a reform of the electoral law so as to permit other political forces to register and participate in the forthcoming elections to the National Constituent Assembly, which will express the sovereign will of the Honduran people.

Such, in our opinion, is the minimum foundation for a dialogue and

national accord that will enable us to surmount creditably and with a sense of responsibility the present difficult situation of our country.

*Political Commission of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Honduras*

Abridged
June 1979

FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY ON A BROAD BASIS

Plenum of the CC, CP of Colombia

From July 7 to 8, 1979, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia met in plenary session. Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CC CPC, presented a report on behalf of the Executive Committee.

The meeting approved the EC report, a Political Declaration and some other documents. It resolved to convene the 13th Party Congress in July 1980.

Following is the Statement of the meeting.

Now that almost a year has passed since the Turbay Ayala government took over, the accuracy of the analysis made by the previous Central Committee meeting has been fully confirmed. The analysis warned the Colombian people against the concessions that the new President would make to military reaction and to the most retrogressive plans of big business and U.S. imperialism.

Turbay Ayala has imposed the "statute of security" and permitted the arbitrary application of Article 28 of the Constitution. He has intensified the state of emergency and allowed systematic recourse to practices that may lead to a bloody dictatorship: systematic torture, excessive growth of military "justice" cases, and the introduction of punishment for the "crime" of "voicing an opinion," the aim being to virtually outlaw the whole democratic movement, beginning with the Communist Party.

Thus our country is really threatened with a fascist dictatorship. Abetted by President Turbay, the Camacho Leyva — Escobar Sierra team has been working to impose harsh practices. As a result, hundreds upon hundreds of our compatriots have been arrested and tortured.

But the popular forces have not been passive. A very broad resistance has been unfolding in the country. The need to defend civil freedoms has created the possibility of organizing a broad united front capable of paving the way for the democratization of the country.

The strength of the forces prepared to fight in defense of democracy was exemplified by the Forum for Human Rights, the subsequent celebration of May Day as an action for unity and the fruitful Third Congress of the Confederation of Labor Unions of Colombia.

This upsurge in the growth of democratic forces corresponds to the present situation in Latin America and, more specifically, in the Caribbean and the states founded by Bolivar. The Nicaraguan people's epic struggle is complemented by electoral gains of the left-wing forces in Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Mexico. It is not fascism that is gaining the upper hand. A new upsurge in democratic struggles is under way on our continent.

In these circumstances, we affirm that *by achieving the broadest possible democratic unity we can prevent a fascist military takeover in Colombia.*

The task is to launch all the mass actions we can organize in order to defeat reactionary plans and bring about a vigorous convergence of parties, popular forces and individuals capable of bringing about a change in national policy, thwarting the plans of reaction and opening a new democratic perspective.

To prevent Colombia from succumbing to fascism, it is necessary to form the broadest possible alliance of political, social and economic forces willing to fight for progress and freedom in our country. It is not only among the left or the dissenters in the traditional parties that there are groups determined to fight against a bloody dictatorship. There are progressive-minded people in the armed forces and the Catholic church. There are large segments in the various political alignments that can take up the defense of civil rights. It is the communists' duty to overcome sectarian limitations and the burden of inertia and promote a broad movement.

The masses must be roused to action against the new price increases announced by the government, in defense of wages and against the regime's economic policy favoring financial groups and monopolies.

The 1980 election campaign must be turned into a campaign of denunciation and the electorate must be offered a broad program under the slogan of *lift the state of emergency, hold free elections.*

The Communist Party is ready to cooperate with other forces and to present in March 1980 joint lists with those who are resolved, (1) *to defend human rights and freedoms*, (2) *to support the struggles of the workers and people for higher wages, agrarian reform measures, the nationalization of oil, and trade union unity*, and (3) *to seek the repeal of the state of emergency and the statute of security, the release of all political prisoners and imprisoned trade unionists*.

We support the initiative of the Standing Committee for Human Rights, which plans to hold a *March for the Freedoms* throughout our country at an early date that will demand an end to repression.

We will work for an early fulfillment of all plans for party-building in the course of the 50th anniversary promotion campaign to increase membership with due regard to the new conditions.

Support for the heroic people of Nicaragua is a priority task in the movement of international solidarity, against the Somoza tyranny and the danger of U.S. intervention, for freedom for Sandino's country.

The Communist Party of Colombia is the main target against which the reactionary offensive is aimed. In this way the enemy is trying to disrupt the working-class vanguard so as to strike afterwards at the democratic movement at large. In this hour, which may mark the beginning of a new stage, the Central Committee reaffirms the correctness of the policy line approved by our congresses and calls for a most vigorous effort to expand mass struggles.

The Central Committee condemns every act of terrorism and banditry, as well as the practice of kidnapping, which are methods running counter to communist principles and which play into the hands of the enemy. Strengthening party unity, greater cohesion of our ranks and adjusting our working methods to the new conditions are the earnest of beating off reaction's offensive.

By strengthening our solidarity actions and denouncing arbitrary arrests, we will win the release of all political prisoners, beginning with our dear comrade Alvaro Vasquez, prominent member of the party leadership.

We will prevent the reactionary chieftains, acting as a tool of imperialism, from imposing fascism on Colombia. In this way, by uniting all democrats in a broad front, we can open a new road leading to democracy and the freedoms which Colombia needs.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia
Bogota, July 8, 1979
Voz Proletaria, July 12-18, 1979

STEP UP THE STRUGGLE IN DEFENSE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Communiqué of the Political Bureau, FCP

1. The Giscard regime and the employers persist in the policy of austerity, renunciation of national interests and the decline of France.

Unemployment is growing. Jobs are becoming less and less secure. The pace of inflation is quickening, prices are going up. The working people's purchasing capacity is under sustained attack. For the first time, spokesmen of the government and the employers indicate that it is a planned objective. They want to increase their pressure on wages and their attack on indirect forms of remuneration, primarily social security.

None of the excuses offered by the regime warrants these measures. The only reason for them is a capitalist bid for greater profits, which this year have already set a new record. Far from helping resolve the crisis, the wage and salary earners' diminishing purchasing power is making it worse. It is accompanied by a deterioration of the plight of other population groups. It is aggravating the state of the French economy, making our country more vulnerable and more dependent on foreign imperialists, above all in energy.

This policy is by no means the only one possible. We reject it. And we are fighting against it.

The dockers' success shows that action can pay. There is no task more pressing for the communists than to continue supporting the struggles of all who reject austerity and restrictions and to support vigorously every initiative that can help people understand the real causes of the situation, set action goals and achieve improvement in the standard of living.

2. The Political Bureau has considered the results of the Geneva international conference on Vietnamese refugees.

We are continuing our efforts to bring about an end to the slander campaign against Vietnam in France, to ensure that the French government rejects the outrageous decision of the nine Common Market countries to starve the Vietnamese people, that it joins in the international aid in the rehabilitation of Vietnam and contributes its share to the effort to supply the Cambodian people with food and medicines.

3. The Political Bureau notes the progress made compared to 1978 in the distribution of the vignette in support of the *L'Humanité* Festival. This early advance confirms the possibility of making the preparations for the Festival and the Festival itself a political success. It is essential, therefore, that all party organizations, all branches and members, should work systematically to distribute the vignette among hundreds of thousands of people.

It is also important to do our utmost in order to prevent a drop in the *L'Humanité* and *L'Humanité Dimanche* circulation. The entire printing of our weekly should reach readers in August.

4. From June 15 to July 15, a record number of new members — over 10,000 — joined the party. In the same period 15,000 party cards were issued. It is important to continue this work of reinforcing the party in August by taking more initiatives at enterprises and in residential neighborhoods and communities.

L'Humanité, July 26, 1979

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THE SOCIALIST IDEAL AND EXISTING SOCIALISM

How far existing socialism and its concrete-historical practice dovetail with the theoretical notions about socialist society as enunciated in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism is one of the pivotal issues of the ideological struggle of the last three decades of the 20th century over the ways and means of mankind's transition to the new way of life. This issue is by no means solely academic. It affects the vital interests of many millions of people. The communists are history's first and only political party that has openly declared that its aim is to build a society scientifically, on the solid theoretical foundation of cognized objective laws of social development. Moreover, the Marxist-Leninist principle of the unity of practice with theory is one of the basic sources of our spiritual staunchness and confidence in the imminent triumph of the communist system.

Naturally, this fundamental question is the main target of attack by the adversaries of scientific communism, usually in the form of outwardly abstract arguments about "contradictions" between the tenets of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the experience of building socialist society. Indicative in this context is that in a program book entitled *The Will for Peace, Political Prospects*, Willy Brandt, one of our astute and experienced opponents, in an exercise of wishful thinking expresses the hope that the "communist world will sink ever deeper into the internal difficulties because it is finding itself less and less able to implement the principle of conformity between theory and reality (Willy Brandt, *Der Wille zum Frieden. Perspektiven der Politik*, Hamburg, 1971, p. 64).

The history of existing socialism knows of many abortive attempts to "prove" that there is a fundamental "discrepancy" between the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction. One of the latest inventions in this field, typifying the anti-communist polemic with us, is criticism of existing socialist society not from without but from within, as it were, from the standpoint of neither more nor less than the socialist ideal itself. In other words, the

undisguised, head-on criticism of socialism is complemented with criticism turned inside-out, with attempts to discredit the new socialist system by comparing it with a sort of "ideal model" interpreted with, of course, an obvious bias.

The idea of socialism has won popularity throughout the modern world. It is not at all surprising to see the rapidly mounting preoccupation with socialist slogans and, together with it, the growing attempts to give the impression of "adaptation to socialism." To be fair, it must be noted that in itself this is not exactly new. "At present," Frederick Engels pointed out, writing of the advances made by "Red republicanism" in the early 1850s, "all the not openly reactionary public personalities and newspapers vie with each other to win the once-scorned name of 'Socialist.' The oldest enemies of socialism proclaim themselves Socialists" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 44, p. 9, Russian translation). The same was observed by Lenin, who wrote in 1916: "'Socialism' in general, as an aim, as the opposite of capitalism (or imperialism), is accepted now not only by the Kautsky crowd and social-chauvinists, but by many bourgeois social politicians. However, it is no longer a matter of contrasting two social systems, but of formulating the *concrete* aim of the *concrete* 'revolutionary struggle' against a *concrete* evil" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 153-54).

Yet this "socialist" screen has acquired a new dimension and a new concrete-historical content. A brief formulation of the substance of this question as it stands today is that at the present stage *the forces of socialism and progress regard capitalism and its imperialist policy as the principal evil*, while the forces of reaction attack not only the theory of scientific socialism but also its actual embodiment in the institutions and practice of the socialist system and hypocritically proclaim its *growth pains*, the *temporary* shortcomings of its social organization, as the main evil. In other words, our class adversaries play off their talmudist-demagogic, essentially restorative approach against the revolutionary approach to present-day reality. Hence their liking for the talk about the different subjectivist "models" of socialism, which distort the integral scientific notion about the new system, and their pretentious arguments about "ideal" social patterns that have never existed and are unrealizable.

The Marxists have never given a subjectivist, illusory, or normative-dogmatic content to their concept of the ideal. Their ideals have always been their key, long-term aims and principles that were

ultimately deduced from the objective trends of law-governed social development, and not the alluring slogans adapted, as is the custom in bourgeois practice, to mementary political considerations. The Marxist-Leninist view of social ideals, the only genuinely scientific views, *is that a long period of persevering and constructive work and unremitting effort lies between the proclamation of an ideal and its translation into life.*

This natural fact is what our adversaries use for their mechanical comparison of the ideals of socialism and communism, which are integral components of the scientific projection of the future social system, with its present and in many ways evidently imperfect state. This is where they give vent to their demagoguery, publicly castigating the communists for allegedly "poorly" or, in any case, "incorrectly" building the new society.

By its very character this is obviously an attempt to erect a barrier to scientific socialism for those sections of bourgeois society that are in one way or another drawn to socialist ideas. In some sense it is also an attempt to influence the population of socialist countries. Young people are frequently the objective because of their special psychological predisposition to assimilate and mentally construct the world in the shape of notions about the most perfect, just forms of social organization and relations between people. However, it must be borne in mind that the built-in urge to compare the ideal with reality is implicit not only in the mentality of the formative individual. This urge is frequently sharply in evidence also in mature people, who sum up what they have lived through and compare the results of their work and what has been attained by their generation with the hopes and aims of their early years.

This, I feel, is the socio-psychological soil that is being cultivated by the high priests of so-called "humane socialism" or "socialism with a human face." It would be an unpardonable mistake to under-rate the subversive potential of this concept in its different variants if only because it is one of the few versions of the reformist utopia that has been used for attempts to threaten the revolutionary gains of the working people when socialist social relations have been in the main established. The events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia gave millions of people further evidence that a scientific understanding of socialism is a crucial element of the political consciousness of the genuinely free person, and that this goes far toward predetermining the socially understood, sensible, and responsible line of his activity. On the other hand, underestimation of this factor and a carefree attitude toward the

elaboration and propagation of Marxist-Leninist theory may lead astray even those people whose own interests objectively coincide entirely with the interests of the revolutionary working class, with socialist construction.

The pivot of the concept of "human" socialism is the striving to portray existing socialism, built by generations of revolutionaries, as being "dissonant" with the theoretical projections and ideals of the founders of Marxism and, on that basis, provoke a collision between different groups, including the different generations of socialist society, between its "fathers" and "sons." For this purpose use is made of right-revisionist criticism of the so-called "monopoly of Leninism over the interpretation of Marxism," meaning, above all, the theoretical and practical experience of the Soviet communists; it is demagogically asserted that the socialist system requires "democratization and humanization," that a quest should be made for "new variants of Marxism by reviving its initial liberative aims," and so on and so forth.

Thus, in this case, too, the attacks of the adversaries of Leninism are directed mainly not at the ideas of socialism as such, but at socialist society as built under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. As its alternative they suggest not a frankly anti-socialist model, but a subjectivist construction permeated through and through with political bluff, claiming to be a "genuinely humane" social system, to close the "gap" that allegedly exists in socialist countries between their forms of political organization and socio-economic transformations, whose progressive significance the right-opportunists no longer venture to dispute openly.

In these constructions one clearly discerns the strong influence of the reformist assertions that in the socialist-community countries freedom and democracy are "alienated" from socialism. At the same time, there is not a shred of scientific socialism in them. Little wonder that the "models" of "humane" or "democratic" socialism are counterposed not so much to the capitalist system as to living socialist society. In his principled class assessment of this sort of criticism of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party wrote: "One should never counterpose illusions and mirages unsupported by historical experience to the historical experience of socialism, to the socialism in the shape it exists, to true socialism. To counterpose one's socialist project not to capitalist reality in one's own country but to the living

socialism in socialist countries is tantamount to renouncing the struggle for socialism."

It is symbolic that however paradoxical it may sound, the right and "left" revisionists join hands in the abortive attempts to divorce humanism from existing socialism, to separate the practice of socialist construction from humanist ideals. The Maoists, who distort the revolutionary humanism of Marxism-Leninism in their own way, see humanistic ideals as a concession to the bourgeoisie.

Whatever the claims of the revisionists, who preach "humane" socialism, to having contributed a new word to social science, to a "renewal" of socialist theory and practice, the dubious precedence in speculations on the dialectically contradictory relationship between the social ideal and historical reality belongs not to them but to the right-wing social democrats. Historically and gnoseologically these speculations are based on the old but still exploited "accusation" of the reformists that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had in fact entered into a hopeless "contradiction" with the ultimate socialist goals of the working class by recognizing revolutionary force as a lawful means of attaining these goals. More, even the absurd (there is no other word for it) assertion that "all means are good that serve the end" is attributed to the communists. On the basis of precisely arguments of this kind Jules Moch, veteran of the French Socialist Party, wrote in his book *Socialism and the Nuclear Age* that in his view the "fundamental" distinction between the socialists and the communists is in their "ethical divergence," the source of which is that the communists have allegedly renounced the cardinal ideals of the liberation movement of the working people.

The anti-communists are going to all lengths to make capital out of the problem of the aims and means in socialist and communist construction. Counting on the philistine or on people with no political education, they compile a simple list of problems: the communists, you see, are, in the ideal, against violence, but do not deny the need for using it; the communists are proponents of peace and general disarmament, but they maintain strong armies; the communists advocate complete social equality, but they practise unequal distribution — according to the quantity and quality of work — and so forth. All this is presented outside the historical context and, of course, with slanted comments.

Marx, Engels and Lenin proved scientifically and practice has confirmed that the basic socio-economic interests and aims of the struggle of the proletariat — the abolition of exploitation of man by

man, the establishment of a people's power, and the building of the classless, communist society — can only be attained by extirpating the political rule of the bourgeoisie, effecting the transition from private to public property in the means of production and, on this basis, replacing capitalist by socialist production run in the interests of all members of society according to a general plan. In other words, the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot be effected without fundamental, qualitative changes in the character of socio-economic and political relations, without revolutionary negation, without a socialist revolution that springs from the soil of capitalism as a result of a sharp aggravation of the contradictions implicit in it.

These changes in the character and structure of social relations can evidently take place only against the will of the bourgeoisie as a whole. It has never yielded and will never yield its political power and its economic privileges, despite the fact that the objective laws of historical development are working against it. This truth is borne out by the experience of all the proletarian revolutions of the past and present century, both victorious and unsuccessful. That explains the Marxists' unswerving recognition of the need for and historical lawfulness of revolutionary coercion in the course of the struggle for society's socialist transformation against the inevitable resistance of the bourgeoisie. Also, that explains their firm conviction that renunciation of coercion is tantamount to renunciation of the end goal of the working class, to renunciation of socialism.

Nonetheless, for the working class, the viewpoint of the historical necessity for revolutionary violence, a viewpoint linked to recognition of the historical need for and law-governed character of the transition from capitalism to socialism, does not exclude a *certain freedom of choice of the forms of implementing it*. Practice shows that these forms depend on the extent and character of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the strength and maturity of the proletarian movement in the given country, and its objective position in the system of interstate links and relations.

Identification of revolutionary coercion with one of its forms — armed violence — is the source of many political miscalculations, ideological speculations and sometimes lamentable misunderstandings. In this, incidentally, lies the basic theoretico-gnoseological reason that the concept of a "democratic way to socialism," interpreted as a present-day revolutionary "alternative" to the October Revolution, appears among some circles of the working class. However, democracy can be counterposed to the first victorious socialist

revolution only by misrepresenting the nature and sense of the very concept of "democracy," by confining it, in fact, to the narrow framework of bourgeois-democratic legality.

Actually, any real, especially socialist, revolution is a period of direct democratic development, of the fullest expression of the people's will both in content and form. It is *democratic* because it results in radical changes in the life of the people, in changes that are put into effect with the direct and conscious participation of the people on a level that is simply inconceivable in the "most democratic" periods of society's evolutionary development.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was precisely such an act of the people's true expression of will and socio-political activity. The fact that its direct commencement was sparked by the armed rising of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, that in the process of struggle to uphold and consolidate the revolutionary power of the proletariat of Russia went through all the hardships of the civil war and foreign intervention forced on it — this fact concerns the specifics of the way to socialism in our country and in no way casts aspersions on the truly democratic character of this way, which is inseparable from its socialist content.

A really revolutionary "alternative" to the October Revolution as a definite *form* of assumption of power by the proletariat (precisely and only as a form coinciding with it in basic *content*) may consequently be not a democratic — this was precisely the essence of the October Revolution — but a *peaceful* way, a *non-armed* form of the socialist revolution, the possibility of and preference for which for the working class was not only never denied but, on the contrary, comprehensively substantiated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

A characteristic point is that the elaboration of the very idea of a peaceful way to socialism in the works of Marx is seen by the spokesmen of modern reformism as an admission that revolutionary coercion is historically needed for the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie; more, that it spells out a transition from revolutionary to evolutionary positions. As an example they cite Marx's speech in Amsterdam in 1872.

Indeed, the founder of the theory of scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat never doubted the possibility of democratically achieving socialist aims in Britain, the USA, or any other country: not because he had ever reneged on the revolutionary principles of his teaching but because he saw the socialist revolution as

the only way of asserting the broadest democracy, democracy in the true meaning of the word, *the power of the people*.

To use Lenin's words, without binding oneself or future revolutionaries to specific forms, ways, and means for the assumption of power by the proletariat, and for the revolutionary negation of capitalism, the founders of Marxism had no illusions about the possibility of a "non-violent" revolution, i.e., the voluntary renunciation by the bourgeoisie of its political and economic domination. "We," Marx said, addressing bourgeois governments, "will act peacefully against you wherever this is possible, and with arms when it becomes necessary" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 17, p. 649, Russian translation).

This in no way conflicts with the relevant passages of Marx's Amsterdam speech. "We know," he declared, "that we must reckon with the institutions, customs, and traditions of different countries; and we do not deny that there are countries like America and England, and if I knew your institutions better, then perhaps I would add Holland, where the workers can achieve their aims by peaceful means. But even if that is so, we should also recognize that in most of the countries of the continent force must serve as the lever of our revolution; it is precisely force that will have to be resorted to in order finally to establish the rule of labor" (Ibid., p. 154).

"The working class," Lenin wrote, "would, of course, prefer to take power *peacefully*" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 276). He endeavored to implement this principled stand even when there were few chances for the peaceful triumph of the revolution. Was this not seen in early September 1917 in his offer on behalf of the Bolshevik Party to the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (in a period when Bolshevik influence was growing rapidly in the Soviets and in the country as a whole) of an alliance, of a compromise for the sake of "the *extremely* rare opportunity" for the peaceful development of the revolution? While assuming that this development of the revolution was "*already* impossible" in Russia at that period, Lenin nevertheless articulated the following characteristic words: "Perhaps. But if there is even one chance in a hundred, the attempt at realizing this opportunity is still worth while" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 307). The communists acted on these humanistic guidelines in subsequent years. At its 20th Congress the CPSU put forward the proposition on extending the possibility for a peaceful transition to socialism, a proposition that underlies the present-day strategy and tactics of the world communist movement.

Marx's famous thesis that "an aim requiring wrong means is not a proper aim" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 65, Russian translation) has been and remains for the communists one of the basic principles of the political, class struggle, springing from the revolutionary-humanistic essence of working-class ideology. The attempts of the anti-communists to extend the concept "wrong means" to include the revolutionary coercion applied by the working people against the exploiting minority does not hold water from the scientific point of view. While from the practical-political angle, to proclaim that revolutionary coercion is a "wrong means" is tantamount to disarming the working class ideologically and politically, to perpetuating the rule of capital. It spells out self-seeking preaching of the sinfulness of practically any radical step, any action by any revolutionary disturbing the peace of the bourgeoisie, a contrasting of the "sinfulness" of revolutionary action with the "sinlessness" of opportunist inaction.

Of course, the aforesaid does not mean that Marxist-Leninists see the sense of the socialist revolution in violence, that they regard it as a "universal master-key" for the new society, as the means of resolving problems, as suitable for all occasions. Views of this sort, slanderously attributed to the communists, have nothing in common with their world outlook, with the practice of existing socialism, chiefly because the basic aims and tasks of the socialist revolution — economic, socio-political and cultural — are wholly positive and constructive, and are attained through the broad creative initiative of all the working people. As the socialist revolution deepens and the building of the new, classless society makes headway the coercive methods of struggle steadily recede into the background and class coercion disappears in a country of victorious socialism.

The case is different with the problems and tasks of the proletarian struggle in capitalist countries, where the workers are systematically suppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie. The working class obviously cannot change its present condition radically if it is not prepared to use, on the scale of society, various forms of class coercion relative to the exploiters. Its orientation solely on a different solution of the problem can only irreparably harm the working-class movement. This is the lesson of the October Revolution, lessons of all genuine revolutionary movements.

The influence of right-wing reformism and social-democracy in their anti-communist variant is the ideological mainspring of various

views spurring the attempts to discredit existing socialism by counterposing it to socialist ideals. However, one should not forget that factors of a gnoseological order linked to incomprehension of the entire complexity of socialist construction likewise exercise a certain influence on the shaping and dissemination of these theoretically specious and politically harmful views.

There is no absolute, metaphysical identity between the logical, general theoretical picture of socialism and its concrete-historical development, between the ideal and reality, between the subjective wish of each given generation and objectively limited possibilities of attaining that wish. Underestimation of the essential dialectics of the ideal and the real, of the logical and historical in the development of the new system, or overestimation (and sometimes even dramatization!) of elements of partial non-coincidence between them may be a reason for the emergence of similar concepts also among individual members of the intelligentsia of socialist countries, although the objective conditions for anti-Marxist views have been in the main eradicated.

There is another important point. The history of many, including triumphant, revolutions of the 20th century shows that the bright ideal inspiring revolutionaries to great things may (especially at the early stages of the building of the new society) not only illumine the path to their goal but sometimes also blind them, dulling political vigilance, concealing the actual historical distance between the ideal and reality, generating a striving to bridge that distance artificially, and enforce the highest communist principles. This was noted, for instance, by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, at that Party's First Congress, when he gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis of some of the errors committed when socialist construction had only commenced. "Revolutions usually have periods of utopia," he declared, "when their participants, who had devoted all their lives to the noble aim of realizing their dreams and ideals in practice, believe that the historical goal is much closer than it is in reality, that the will and intentions of people are omnipotent and stand above the requirements of objective reality . . . We sought to develop our own methods by interpreting Marxism idealistically, departing from the practice tested through the experience of other countries. . . . We believed that we were drawing nearer to communist forms of production and distribution when in fact we were drawing farther away from the correct methods of building socialism."

While taking note of these and other theoretico-cognitive reasons

for possible errors in interpreting the problem of "the socialist ideal and reality," it must be strongly emphasized that on an international scale this is today not so much a gnoseological as a class problem, while in capitalist countries it has become a component part of the ideological and political struggle. According to West German communists, in the FRG young people, especially students, are showing a tremendous interest in socialist literature. As their principal yardstick some of them use the attributes of complete communist society worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, while others use their own idealized notions of that society. From this standpoint they criticize existing socialism and develop utopian "socialist theories." This is to be seen also in other countries.

While exposing the claptrap of our ideological adversaries over the question of the relationship between the ideal and the real in the development of socialist society it is important to remember in our ideological and educational work that what they operate with are not the actually existing dialectical contradictions between the ideal and the real but their metaphysical counterpositioning, which objectively serves the single purpose of undermining existing socialism's force of attraction. That is what makes a correct, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the correlation between social ideals and historical reality of paramount significance for an argued refutation of all anti-communist concepts.

In relation to capitalist reality the socialist ideal, in its main, decisive aspects, is in *direct contrast* with capitalism as a radical, revolutionary-critical negation of the bourgeois mode of production and way of life. Here, consequently, the character of the contradiction between the socialist ideal and reality is directly antagonistic.

With the establishment of the power of the working people in one country or another, the contradiction between the socialist ideal and reality is not "abolished" but undergoes a fundamental change. To use the figurative words of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of CC Communist Party of Uruguay, "the Soviet Union is not a 'paradise', it spells out a triumph over the hell of capitalism and imperialism." Following the socialist revolution the remnants and survivals of the old system are surmounted in the social being and social consciousness, and gradual progress is made toward resolving a qualitatively new contradiction between the socialist (communist) ideal and the consciously restructured reality, a contradiction that now stems from the process of its realization, from the dialectics of the new system's development. The basic elements of this non-antagonistic contra-

diction are, on the one hand, the ideal as the ultimate, theoretically foreseeable aim of the proletarian movement and, on the other, the empirically given social reality, which is necessarily only one of the initial or intermediate stages of the road to that aim.

This contradiction stems logically from the scientific notion of the new society's genesis. But in practice it is of immense importance to take into account not only the logically deduced contradictions of the establishment of the communist system but also the contradictions generated by the specific-historical features of that system's development. In particular, it should be borne in mind that the first socialist revolutions triumphed mainly in countries where technology and economy were less developed than in the leading imperialist states.

According to the scientific theory of society, socialism represents a higher stage of mankind's historical movement than capitalism not only politically and ideologically but also socio-economically, in other words, it is a more developed and harmonious sum of productive forces, basis, and superstructure. However, for the actual level of the productive forces and labor productivity existing socialism has not yet entirely reached that stage.

Lenin noted the certain contradiction between the emergent socialist system's historic mission, its objective historic role, and its initially limited resources compared with those of the most developed imperialist states. In a polemic with the "left" communists, he wrote in 1918, "Bukharin went astray because he did not go deep enough into the specific features of the situation in Russia at the present time — an exceptional situation when we, the Russian proletariat, are in *advance* of any Britain or any Germany as regards our political order, as regards the strength of the workers' political power, but are *behind* the most backward West-European country as regards organizing a good state capitalism, as regards our level of culture and the degree of material and productive preparedness for the 'introduction' of socialism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 345).

Returning to this proposition in 1922, he wrote in his preparatory notes for the political report of the RCP(B) Central Committee to the Party's 11th Congress: "The main thing: the *discrepancy* between the epochal magnitude of the tasks, set and begun, *and* the material and *cultural poverty*" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 45, p. 414, in Russian). Lenin and the party saw the overcoming of this discrepancy as the key to socialism's worldwide triumph.

Thus, in the process of establishing the socialist society (in the USSR and in most of the fraternal countries) it was necessary to resolve difficult problems left over by the capitalist epoch. This is of supreme importance in refuting the anti-communist inventions of a "conflict" between the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The theoretical picture of developed socialism given by Marx, Engels and Lenin in works such as *A Critique of the Gotha Program*, *Anti-Dühring* and *The State and Revolution* presupposes the consummation, in the main, of a number of socio-economic processes, notably the existence of large-scale machine production and the accompanying rise of the cultural and technical level of the workers, the ousting of manual, unskilled labor, and the technico-technological and organizational socialization and centralization of the economy.

Under these conditions the period of the proletarian dictatorship was seen as necessarily short-lived, for its main and, essentially, only action was to be to convert the means of production from private to public property (of course, with the accompanying organization of public accounting and control of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption and the introduction of individual distribution of products depending on the quantity and quality of the contributed labor).

This logical approach to the building of the new system reflects a law as such. During the lifetime of the founders of scientific communism and in Lenin's early, pre-October work there could be no other approach. That it was correct was confirmed by the victorious proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia, by the first experience of socialist construction, but not everything coincided with it in successiveness or in the timetable of transformations.

Much was written about this non-coincidence in the Soviet Union and abroad, while its slanted interpretation became a favorite ploy of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and anti-communist propaganda. Indeed the distinction between the logical (scientific prevision) and historical (realization of this prevision) in the transition from capitalism to socialism is obvious. In the theoretical prevision, which, while correctly expressing the underlying content of future developments and anticipating these developments decades in advance, some tasks look somewhat different from what they later turn out to be. However, only irresponsible publicists can conclude from this that there is a contradiction between the theory and practice of scientific socialism. A general refutation of this precocious conclusion is that the *teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin envisages a longer (and more meaningful)*

stage of development than has already been covered by the new system.

“Marx’s creation, which as a scientific achievement represents a gigantic whole,” Rosa Luxemburg noted at the turn of the century, “transcends the direct demands of the proletarian class struggle, for whose sake it has, properly speaking, been constructed. By his scrupulous, consummate analysis of the capitalist economy and by his historical method of study with the immeasurable sphere of its application, Marx gave much more than was necessary for the practical needs of the class struggle.”

Further, it would be useful to recall what Marx wrote about the relationship between the logical and the historical. “It would be impermissible and wrong,” he noted, “to take economic categories in the sequence in which they played the decisive role historically. On the contrary, their sequence is determined by their relationship to each other in present-day bourgeois society, and this relationship is the direct opposite to what seems to be natural or to correspond to the successiveness of historical development. This does not concern the position which economic relations historically hold in various successive social forms. . . . It concerns their fragmentation in modern bourgeois society” (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, p. 734, Russian translation).

This holds true not only of capitalism. For instance, as it emerged and developed socialism had in some countries to resolve social problems the solution of which is a preliminary condition for its own establishment, in other words, to complete what had not been completed by capitalism. This greatly complicated and extended the mission of the working-class dictatorship and went beyond the framework of the socialization of the means of production forecast by Marx and Engels, but it in no way means that they were in error. For the industrial countries of Western Europe and North America their prevision is correct in every detail, for there, on account of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the revolution will place in the hands of the working class, of the people’s power, a production apparatus that is almost completed, almost entirely adapted for the management of a socialized economy. The working people of these countries will not be required to make a titanic effort to resolve many of the problems that confronted the working class of Russia immediately after the October Revolution. Here, the history of proletarian states may in the main coincide with the logic of scientific prevision, although the subsequent development of socialist society

will, of course, nowhere and never be an easy task and will everywhere take considerable time.

During the past 60-plus years of the practice of existing socialism there have been, as there most certainly will be in future, many people who hastened (sometimes with subjectively good intentions) to declare various key tenets of Marx, Engels and Lenin on socialist society as unjustified and replace them with new propositions allegedly more in keeping with "existing reality." Attempts are sometimes made to attribute this "replacement" to Lenin with the contention that in his last works on the problems of socialist construction in the Soviet Union he allegedly renounced his own earlier ideas about socialism. Here a reflection of one or another specific milestone in the process of its establishment is given out as the essence of Lenin's conception of socialist society.

In some cases attempts are made to draw a dividing line between Lenin's understanding of socialism and the notions of Marx and Engels about that society on the grounds that Lenin gave much more attention than his great predecessors to the problems of economic policy in the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship. Special reference — and this indeed strikes the eye — is made to the fact that in practice socialism proved to be much more dependent than was seen in theory on the preservation and improvement of such categories vital to economic planning as commodity, cost, price, money and so on. In this case the "pragmatist" Lenin is counterposed to the "romantic" Marx. However, the problem here is to understand Marx, and for this it must be borne in mind that from his point of view the commodity-cost categories lose their vital significance to society and do not mirror the qualitative aspect of economic and other social relations with the abolition of capitalist private property and the commodity character of labor power, which are the culminating point in the development of commodity production. From his methodological height Marx did not and could not consider as important how long they would exist after this and how soon they would be replaced by more perfect instruments of commercial responsibility and economic incentive. What interested Marx was the historical aspect of the matter, its content, but not the economic and organizational aspect. As regards Lenin, he enlarged on the understanding of the former aspect and complemented Marxism with a theory on the latter.

It may be said that Marx and Engels were past-masters of scientific prevision and theorists of socialist society *in fact* (in the philosophical sense, in other words, of a society that in the process of its *formation*

has acquired all possible essential features within the framework of one quality). To Lenin fell the task of using practice to develop and specify the "model" of the future created by Marx and Engels, to evolve the theory of *formative* socialism, chiefly of the political economy of the transition period, of the economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship, of the laws governing the functioning and development of the socialist social system, and the principles of administering that system. Of course, the magnitude of the epochs in which scientific communism is applied steadily grows and, with it, the armory of Marxism-Leninism is correspondingly enlarged. However, this does not belittle the *heuristic value*, either for us or for future generations, of Marx's analysis of capitalism and his notions about socialism, or of Lenin's ideological legacy. They remain a dependable antidote to all the vain, methodologically helpless attempts to find salvation from the complexities of modern social development in the questionable embrace of a fashionable social utopia.

The aforesaid in no wise refutes the possibility — and under certain circumstances the necessity — of practice correcting the theoretical views about socialism. Any different approach would conflict with the very substance of Marxism-Leninism and its actual historical development. This correction is not an invented but a real problem that is being creatively resolved by the communist and workers' parties. However, before hastening to declare one or another pronouncement or thesis of the founders of scientific socialism as unjustified, would it not be better first to consider more closely the meaning of truth in social cognition?

In this context it must be remembered that there have been many instances when various social judgments that seemed to be wrong from the standpoint of concrete history proved to be true in the world-historical sense. This permits us to ask: Would it not be reasonable to assume that the little in the pronouncements of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the image of socialism that has as yet had no confirmation when regarded only in the *retrospective* of a few decades will acquire a different ring if they are assessed from the standpoint of a longer *perspective*?

I believe that only if this dialectic of social truth is taken into account can one gain a correct understanding of the relationship between the logical and the historical in the development of socialism, an understanding that makes it possible to avoid sidestepping elements of their non-coincidence, to avoid artificially "fitting" them to each other, but to analyze the maturity stage reached by socialist

society objectively, scientifically, from Leninist positions of the "revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism."

From these positions it is not hard to see the hollowness of the anti-communist attempt to discredit the developed socialist society built in the Soviet Union with the contention that it does not meet some of the requirements of the highest phase of communism (regardless of the fact that these requirements as yet cannot be satisfied). While rebuffing "criticism" of this sort, the communists reject all attempts to deprive existing socialism of its communist perspective, to weaken the impact of the "ultimate" revolutionary-socialist ideals on the ideology and psychology of the masses.

The significance of the problem of the dialectically contradictory relationship between the socialist (communist) ideal and living socialist reality goes beyond the ideological struggle proper. It has a direct bearing also on the party's positive ideological and educational work among the masses, particularly among young people. I mean mainly Lenin's clear-cut injunction that the revolutionary education of young people should be based on the scientifically substantiated socialist ideal. A natural outcome (and by no means "damage") of educating young people in the spirit of our ideals is a critical attitude to existing shortcomings, to the achieved level of socialist development, and its comparison with the party's longer-term aims and tasks. In itself this is a healthy phenomenon. However, persevering effort is required to prevent this criticism, which is a response to the certain incongruity between the ideal and reality, from separating itself from positive activity aimed at removing deficiencies, further improving the new society, and resolving new and more difficult tasks, from giving some people, particularly young people, the striving to adopt the posture of an outside critical observer, who, without doing anything never errs and "is always right."

In the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, the Central Committee's recent decision "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Politico-Educational Work," and other party documents note is made of the need for energetic and meaningful propagation of communist ideals and of concrete practical tasks of our current construction, for showing the close link between these ideals and tasks. In this propaganda it is important to avoid idealization of what has been achieved and of adaptation of ideals to existing reality, which, in turn, makes them "passive" thereby depriving them of the capability of being a powerful driving force, moulding and stimulating bold creative thinking and practical activity.

In a socialist society ideological work with all generations of working people must entail a competent explanation of the specific of embodying in social life the principles, aims, and laws of the establishment of the communist system formulated in the shape of general theoretical propositions and social forecasts in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Inadequate knowledge of the mechanism of embodying scientific prevision in social life may cause individuals to vacillate ideologically, and this, as we can see, is often skillfully used by our adversaries. For that reason the party takes pains to ensure that a comparison of the theoretical ideas about socialism, received through political education, with the practice of socialist and communist construction becomes an effective incentive for vigorous and constructive efforts by the people to carry out our programs.

Kommunist, July 1979

THE ESSENCE OF PEKING'S NATIONALITIES POLICY

According to reports from Peking, the CC CPC and the PRC State Council decided to restore the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia within the administrative and territorial borders that existed prior to June 1969. In accordance with this decision some aimaks and hoshuns, which during the "cultural revolution" were dismembered and turned over to neighboring provinces, were returned to Inner Mongolia on July 1, 1979.

The question arises: why the reorganization? Is this new recarving of the map of Inner Mongolia really prompted by a genuine concern over the dire lot of the national minorities in the People's Republic of China?

Let us take a look at history. In 1638 the Manchurian conquerors occupied southern Mongolia and set up a separate administrative region there which they called "Inner Mongolia." Theirs was a far-reaching policy of disuniting the Mongolian people, and they split them up into small administrative units for the purpose.

After the fall of the Manchu dynasty in China in 1912, the Peking administration launched wide-scale and brutal military punitive actions with the aim of suppressing the national-liberation struggle of the people of Inner Mongolia and in 1915 carried out the first broad

administrative and territorial reorganization, dividing it into four separate regions that were ruled by Chinese governors. Some Mongolian hoshuns were incorporated in other Chinese provinces. Thereby Inner Mongolia was, in effect, deprived of its historical national territorial and administrative independence.

As a result of Northeast China's liberation by Soviet and Mongolian troops in 1945 and the many years' struggle for national self-determination waged by the Mongolian ethnic groups inhabiting China, an autonomous Inner Mongolian region was first formed in May 1947. After the formation of the People's Republic of China and in the course of the Chinese people's liberation struggle the approximate historical borders of the territories of the Mongolian ethnic groups in China were restored and they were united in a single autonomous region by the mid-1950s. This became an important factor in developing the national economy and distinctive culture of the Mongols in China, although it did not signify actual implementation of their right to self-determination. However, Inner Mongolia's territorial and administrative integrity was short-lived and the Mongolian ethnic groups' hopes and aspirations for genuine liberation were not fulfilled.

The new PRC Constitution, adopted in 1954, granted national statehood only to the Han nation, while all the other nations and nationalities were given only very limited territorial autonomy. The largest territorial and administrative autonomous units, such as Inner Mongolia, with its dense Mongol population, were conferred the same status as ordinary Chinese provinces. In this way the Chinese leaders created opportunities for arbitrary division and dismemberment of the national autonomous administrative units.

Since late 1950, lawlessness and arbitrary actions in relation to the non-Han nations and nationalities in China were raised to the level of state policy by the Maoist leadership. As a result, the expansion and increase of Chinese settlements in the national regions and the forceful assimilation of the non-Chinese nationalities acquired unprecedented scope, which led to a sharp reduction in the proportion of the indigenous population in comparison to the Chinese. This was followed by another large-scale recarving of the territories of the national regions, including Inner Mongolia, which continued up to the 1970s.

The repeated recarving of Inner Mongolian territory was subordinated above all to Peking's striving to liquidate the Mongolian nationalities as a large ethnic group through forceful assimilation. One need only mention that Chinese nationals from the central provinces

intensively resettled in inner Mongolia over a period of many years. According to official data, the territory of the regions inhabited by the Mongolian nationalities in China in 1926 amounted to more than two million square kilometres, with a population of 3,700,000 Mongols. Now, according to Chinese sources, only some 400,000 Mongols are living in the territory of Inner Mongolia, or less than 8 per cent of the Chinese settlers in that region.

The essence of the Chinese rulers' nationalities policy has not changed in the least. The idea of uniting the national minorities under Great-Han power and of their forceful assimilation is one that has been fully shared by all China's rulers without exception over the centuries. Today the Peking leadership continues this policy with respect to 50 million members of the non-Chinese nations and nationalities inhabiting 60 per cent of the country's territory. Peking's anti-popular nationalities policy actually verges on the inhuman racist policy of genocide. This policy, naturally, cannot but engender national discord and enmity between the Hans and the non-Chinese population of the country.

Obviously the unbridled hegemonistic proclivities of the Peking chauvinists are based on the reactionary aggressive conceptions of Chinese emperors and militarist cliques, according to which the "Middle Kingdom" is destined to become the hegemon or the center of the world. Hence the measures undertaken by Peking to restore the territory of Inner Mongolia within the 1969 borders are a new tactical step dictated by the Maoist policy of "divide and rule."

By reuniting the separate parts of Inner Mongolia that were dismembered by the Great-Han the Chinese leaders are in fact seeking to turn this national region into a new large Chinese province and to lay hands on the rich natural resources and extensive lands of Inner Mongolia. Not by chance was it stressed at the first enlarged meeting of the PRC State Council's Nationalities Committee, held in May-June in Tientsin, that it is essential to "unite the numerous population of the Han nation and its technical superiority with the extensive territories of the national minorities and the natural wealth."

Now the Chinese leaders are compelled to admit the baneful effects of the Maoist nationalities policy. At the same time, the Peking leadership is resorting to more sophisticated maneuvering in its nationalities policy under cover of the demagogic slogan of "eliminating the historical backwardness of the national minorities," with the aim of lessening the intra-national contradictions, exploiting the

natural resources of the national regions and implementing its hegemonistic proclivities.

Peking's new manipulations in connection with Inner Mongolia do not in the least signify concern over the sad fate of the Mongolian ethnic groups in China, which, like the other national minorities in the country, are suffering the tragedy of national extinction.

Despite the effort of Peking propaganda to depict the recent decision of the CC CPC and the PRC State Council on the question of Inner Mongolia as a highly humane and democratic step, it clearly has nothing in common with respect for the elementary rights of nations and nationalities. It makes only partial adjustments of the most odious orientations of the compromised Maoist policy, which the present Peking leaders are following with the aim of more effectively implementing the strategic task of the "four modernizations," above all, the task of speeding up the militarization of the life of society and stepping up war preparations.

Unen, July 26, 1979

PEKING'S INTRIGUES AGAINST THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Present-day international relations are inconceivable without the large group of countries composing the non-aligned movement. Their active stance on the questions of war and peace, curbing the arms race, consistent support for the peoples fighting to throw off the shackles of colonialism and to defend their independence against the onslaught of the neo-colonialists have become an important positive factor in the international arena. They enhance the authority of the non-aligned movement and draw the attention of world opinion to the measures being carried out within its framework.

But as the facts show, the development of the non-aligned movement is being closely followed not only by friends — the fraternal socialist countries. Latterly, opponents of the non-aligned policy are resorting to diverse maneuvers designed to emasculate its anti-imperialist, peaceful orientation, or, as an intermediary stage, to paralyze the movement by splitting its ranks. And once again, as in many other instances, Peking is virtually acting in concert with the imperialists. It is obviously out to pressure the movement into the

Maoist "three worlds" scheme, to distract its participants from the constructive tasks of consolidating international security, and to re-orientate their policy toward struggle against the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union.

According to foreign press reports, the CC CPC Political Bureau adopted a special decision on the question in August 1978, envisaging, in particular, imposition on the non-aligned countries of the Peking variety of "anti-hegemony," as the main policy line. Peking began to steer a course of setting up a pro-Maoist nucleus consisting of Pol Pot's Kampuchea, Sadat's Egypt and certain other states, as well as undermining the positions of Cuba and Vietnam and even seeking their expulsion from the movement. It sought to postpone and then to obstruct the convening of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned Countries in Havana this September and to provoke every manner of complications designed to bring about a clash of interests between the socialist and non-socialist states.

The CC CPC Political Bureau's August decisions were preceded by endless zigzags in the Chinese leaders' approach to the non-aligned movement and its individual members. Recall the aggression against India, interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia, support of the reactionary, and — in the case of Africa — openly colonial regimes as well. For decades Peking has had nothing but abuse for Yugoslavia. Now the Peking leaders are attempting to gloss this over, to create the impression of a "consistency" in their policy, to depict China as an ally and even a participant of the non-aligned movement.

If one can in general speak of "consistency" with respect to China's actions, it is only in one sense — in their relations with others the Maoists have never sought anything but advantage for themselves. At the present time they see this advantage in anti-Sovietism, and their entire foreign policy is subordinated to the aim of setting up of an alliance hostile to the Soviet Union.

Adapting themselves to the changing situation, the Peking propagandists have latterly begun holding forth on the possibility of "postponing a war," which they earlier claimed was "inevitable." According to them, war can be postponed provided all forces unite to rebuff the "main threat" to peace, which the Chinese leaders ascribe to the Soviet Union. The logic of this reasoning is very primitive: if the non-aligned countries value peace, they should shift their alliance, and furl their anti-imperialist banners. More, they should side with the USA and its allies, as Peking is doing.

On the pretext that a number of non-aligned countries are ignoring these appeals and are "conniving with Soviet expansionism," Chinese propaganda has let loose a flood of insinuations and slander, particularly against Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Afghanistan. The Republic of Cuba, the host of the forthcoming Sixth Conference of Non-aligned Countries, is accused of "intervention" on the African continent although the whole world knows that it is on the invitation of their lawful governments that Cuban specialists and military personnel are stationed in a number of African countries. The need arose for them to appeal to Cuba for aid because of the interference of reactionary forces or direct foreign aggression.

The similarity of the arguments of China and the U.S. is significant: Peking, like Washington, considers the presence of its own personnel, including military personnel, in various African countries as quite natural. China, for instance, is actively cooperating with South Africa in organizing subversive actions against Angola and suppressing the liberation movement in Namibia. Peking's role in the struggle of the racists against the Zimbabwe people is ambiguous. Did the Peking leaders condemn the aggression against Ethiopia and manifest a readiness to come to its aid? Nothing of the kind. Their sympathies were on the side of the aggressors, and Cuba's aid to the victims of aggression infuriated Peking.

The non-aligned countries themselves, to their credit, are able to see things in their true light. The political declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of the non-aligned movement highly evaluated "the actions of the Republic of Cuba and other states, which helped the Angolan people in thwarting the expansionist and colonialist strategy of the racist regime of South Africa and its allies." This evaluation holds true to this day.

China had launched a broad anti-Vietnamese campaign even before Peking's above-mentioned decisions regarding the non-aligned movement. Socialist Vietnam became an obstacle to the Chinese leaders' great-power designs in Southeast Asia. Hence the hastily invented concept of "regional hegemonism" which must be "punished." At first Peking attempted to deal with its disobedient neighbor with the means at its disposal — with the aid of the Pol Pot clique. But that failed. The affair ended in the debacle of the criminal regime that was hated by the Kampuchean people. It was then that the Chinese leadership dispatched a more than half-million army against Vietnam.

The brazen armed attack was repulsed by the Vietnamese people.

It was condemned throughout the world. Peking was forced to pull out of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to go to the negotiation table. However, it is not displaying any noticeable striving to reach a mutually acceptable decision on the problems. The Chinese side is using the talks to bring pressure on Vietnam, including outright threats of "repeating the lesson" unless its demands are met.

The Chinese aggression against Vietnam has indeed provided a lesson. It is a lesson to everyone who contrary to reality prefers not to think about the real motives of Peking's present policy. It serves as a warning to those who believe that while China is engaged in conflict with Vietnam it will display "moderation" in its relations with others. But Mao Tse-tung's heirs show no signs of giving up their mentor's great-Han plans, of rejecting the territorial and other demands on their neighbors, their claims to almost the whole of Southeast Asia. Moreover, they are declaring for all to hear that they consider this region as exclusively their zone of influence, and have confirmed their intention to continue supporting the anti-government groups in Thailand, Burma, India and in other states.

China, along with imperialist reaction, is attacking democratic Afghanistan. It is providing groups of bandits who are being sent to Afghanistan with money and weapons. Chinese instructors are training terrorists and saboteurs, who seek to obstruct the development of the Afghan revolution.

During the popular revolution in Iran, Peking sided with the shah to the very end. The Chinese leaders encouraged the shah to take military measures against the popular uprising, and called for direct U.S. military intervention in Iranian affairs to save the monarchy in the name of repulsing an alleged "Soviet threat." Peking's 180-degree turnabout in the past weeks will hardly create a favorable impression when it belatedly declared its "support" for the new Iranian government and "apologized" for its earlier hostile stand toward the revolution.

A whole set of facts could be cited irrefutably proving that the Chinese leaders' declarations of sympathy and solidarity with the ideals and aims of the non-aligned movement are refuted by their practical actions. Indeed, what does China's military, political and economic cooperation with the fascist regime of Pinochet in Chile have in common with the interests of the non-aligned countries of Latin America? What does China's actual support of President Sadat's pro-American policy of plotting with Israel and the Chinese leadership's urging the United States to step up its military penetra-

tion in the Middle East have in common with the interests of the Arabs, above all the Arab people of Palestine? What does Peking's participation in actions organized by imperialism and the colonialists against a number of young states of the continent and its cooperation with the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have in common with the interests of the peoples of Africa? What can be more alien to the non-aligned movement, to the tasks of supporting world peace than China's attempts to lay hands on extensive territories in Southeast Asia, than its aggression against Vietnam, its subversive actions in Laos and Kampuchea, India and Bangladesh? Finally, can there be the slightest doubt that attempts to derail the non-aligned countries from their anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist positions — which Peking is intent on — meet the fondest hopes of reaction, that this line is aimed at subverting the movement, at linking it to a policy favoring the opponents of détente, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and equitable cooperation?

Not by chance does China's present policy toward the non-aligned movement meet with full approval in the capitals of the imperialist states. And just as understandably Peking's aims meet with the criticism of the non-aligned countries.

The leaders of the "front-line" states, Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique, told Vice-Premier of the PRC State Council Li Hsien-nien — who last January visited a number of African states, where he slandered in every way the policy and stand of the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam — that they do not share the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist views of Peking. They noted that they are not interested in developing relations with Peking to the detriment of their relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, and that the continuous attacks by Peking's representatives against the socialist community countries at international forums, particularly on questions of liquidating the remnants of colonialism and racism, weaken the unity of the progressive forces and their support for the national-liberation movements.

The Sixth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries will be held in Havana in September. With every passing day Peking's and the West's propaganda is becoming increasingly importunate, with a mounting spate of concoctions about existing socialism, détente and international economic cooperation. Life has repeatedly shown that these concoctions are aimed at a return to the past and are designed to obstruct the peoples' advance to a better future.

A. Petrov

Pravda, August 11, 1979

CANADIAN COMMUNISTS: NEW STAGE IN STRUGGLE

Editorial in "Communist Viewpoint"

The outcome of the May 22nd federal general election which brought a minority Conservative government to power attested to the political instability that exists in the country. The result shows also a tendency toward both the right and the left in Canadian politics. A portent, perhaps, of things to come.

The election result showed also a certain polarization expressed in regional disparity in terms of parliamentary representation. On the one hand the Conservatives elected only two members in Québec, and on the other, the Liberals only three members in all of Western Canada. The NDP elected no members in Québec, the Maritime provinces and Alberta. As a result none of the so-called major parties can claim national status in the electoral sense.

The election campaign became an occasion for the parties of monopoly — the Liberal and Conservative Parties — to step up the drive to the right as both of them competed for the support of monopoly in this particular election. As we pointed out in the March-April 1978 issue of *Communist Viewpoint* monopoly, because of growing political instability rooted in the deep and persistent crisis, would prefer an election outcome that would install one of its favored parties in the saddle with a strong working majority.

Monopoly wanted a majority government, be it Liberal or Conservative, united around a right-wing program directed to overcoming the crisis at the expense of the living and social standards of the working people. As a consequence, the competition between the Liberals and Conservatives grew in intensity as to which party could best serve the interests of the monopolies. As it turned out the Tories won the nod which assured them their election victory over the Liberals.

Once the monopoly interests in the country, especially the decisive financial interests in Ontario (the financial heart of Canada) and Western Canada, decided to make the Conservative Party their preferred party, the mass media which they control launched a strident well-orchestrated campaign to elect a majority Conservative government. However this was not to be. It managed though, to elect a minority Conservative government pledged to carry through a right-

wing monopoly program. And, there can be little doubt, that the financial interests which backed Clark will exert the utmost pressure to ensure that he delivers the goods.

There can be little doubt either that the success of monopoly in securing the election of its chosen party in this election will spur the drive to the right. The "new direction," demagogically promised by Clark during the election campaign to cash in on the mood for change existing in the country, will amount to no basic change. Rather what it will amount to will be a stepped-up version of the right-wing policies already in operation, or being considered, during the latter years (from 1976 to be more exact) of the Trudeau government. That is: a stepped-up policy of giveaways to the corporations at the expense of the well-being of the people, as an integral part of the policy of loading the cost of the crisis onto the backs of the working people while strengthening the positions of monopoly and the multinationals.

It can be expected that monopoly will demand of the new Clark government an even harsher policy against the working people. Such a policy will most likely include further measures to depress living standards, undermine universality in social security, introduce a two-tier system in unemployment insurance benefits and attacks against trade union rights.

The isolation of the Conservative government from French Canada will aggravate existing contradictions and create new ones. Clark's hard-nosed attitude to the right of self-determination for Québec and his fanning of Anglo-chauvinist attitudes to the national aspirations of the French-Canadian people have created the danger of sharpening relations between Canada's two nations, threatens the attainment of true national equality based on a voluntary union of the two nations in a binational state, and weakens the independence of the whole of Canada in the face of U.S. domination.

The election results show also that the two parties of monopoly — Conservative and Liberal — still control the political situation in the country, having between them received the overwhelming majority of the votes cast. This serves to emphasize that while the breakaway from the old-line parties is still continuing it is not yet taking place on a scale sufficient to win a popular parliamentary majority. This underlines the fact that the working class in the main has not yet broken with capitalist positions or parties.

The above objective is made more difficult to attain because of reformist leadership which continues to dominate the trade union movement. Nevertheless, the efforts of the trade unions, although

quite inadequate, did help the NDP* to increase its vote and its seats in parliament. But the NDP's failure to put forward a consistent anti-monopoly position and its tendency to veer to the right, prevented it from taking full advantage of the potential that existed to gain more votes and more seats than it did, especially in the main industrial centers of Ontario. In addition, and as a result of its incorrect position on the national question, the NDP made it more difficult to combat Anglo-chauvinism in the working class thus objectively assisting the Tory campaign.

The Communist Party for its part strove to achieve three main objectives in the election campaign; namely, prevent a shift to the political right, help strengthen the position of the working class and democratic forces in parliament, strengthen its position and influence and, if possible, increase the percentage of the vote for the candidates of the Communist Party. These objectives were only partially achieved. Despite a hard-hitting campaign the party's vote remained low even though there was a marked change in the attitude of the working people to the party and its program.

Coming out of the election the working people face a new stage in the struggle against monopoly and its crisis policies. The prospect is one of the increasing political instability as the polarization process between monopoly and the democratic anti-monopoly forces continues to develop.

The initial policy measures undertaken by the Clark government in both the international sphere and home affairs serves to underscore the above prediction. They underline also the necessity of active defense of *all* the social and economic gains won by the working people, the national interests of the French-Canadian people and Canadian independence, and the preservation of détente and world peace.

To achieve the above calls for maximum unity of the workers and of all working people so as to curb the power of the monopolies and the multinationals. For, it is only through united struggle that conditions can be created to change the balance of forces in the country in favor of the working class and other democratic forces, and to change the direction from that charted by monopoly to one of new advances for the people all down the line.

The prevailing situation presses upon the NDP the necessity to redefine its role in Parliament. It can no longer be content with

*The New Democratic Party. — Ed.

playing a role of a "loyal" opposition group. It now holds a possible balance of power in Parliament. This situation can be a source of considerable strength to the working class and democratic forces fighting for an alternative program to the crisis policies of monopoly. The times cry out for the NDP, in concerted action with all left and center forces, including the Communist Party and the trade unions, to combine its parliamentary activity with non-parliamentary mass political action.

Unity and more unity is the pressing need of the times. Success in maximizing the participation of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for new democratic alternatives to the anti-people policies of the Clark government and the monopolies depends on the unity of the working class. This in turn depends on achieving unity of action of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party. This is the number one task facing the working class and all democratic forces.

Communist Viewpoint, May-June, 1979

IN BRIEF

JAPAN

The Communist Party of Japan has published its election platform "Issues at the General Elections and the policy of the CPJ."

The policy of the Japanese conservatives, the document notes, is aimed above all at fortifying the Japan-U.S. military alliance. At the elections the broad popular masses should demand abrogation of the Japan-U.S. security treaty and oppose the formation of a trilateral alliance by the USA, Japan and China. They should put a stop to reaction's onslaught in the country and defend the well-being and rights of the people.

Rejection by China of the principles of socialism and support for U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and interference, as well as China's aggressive war against Vietnam have created more favorable conditions for the actions of the imperialist forces in Asia.

The chief cause of the sharpening tensions in Asia today, the CPJ document emphasizes, is the formation of the trilateral U.S.-Japan-China bloc and its military hub, the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

NORWAY

A delegation of the CPSU consisting of V.N. Ptitsin, alternate member of the CC CPSU and first secretary of the Murmansk regional committee of the CPSU (head of the delegation) and deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department V.S. Shaposhnikov visited Norway from August 11 to 18, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway.

The delegation held meetings and talks with the leaders of the CPN led by Party Chairman Martin Gunner Knutsen, and visited Oslo, Bergen and other cities, where they met with the party activists and trade union workers. The CPSU delegation expressed solidarity with the CPN's struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for peace and social progress.

The Norwegian communists highly evaluated the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, their efforts to expand détente, to stop the arms race and for disarmament, to strengthen peace and international security.

Stressed during the meetings was the importance of furthering relations of good-neighborliness and friendship between the Soviet and Norwegian peoples in the interests of stronger peace in Northern Europe and the whole world.

During its stay in Norway the CPSU delegation also met with leaders of the Norwegian Workers' Party.

SOVIET UNION

Boris Ponomarev, alternate members of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU and Karen Brutents, deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, met with a delegation of the Communist Party of Honduras lead by Party General Secretary Rigoberto Padilla at the CC CPSU offices on July 27.

The CPH delegation noted the historic significance of the Soviet people's achievements, who have built and are confidently advancing a mature socialist society, the enormous importance of the CPSU's foreign policy that is aimed at strengthening world peace, stopping the arms race and consolidating and expanding détente.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPH warmly hailed the victory of the Nicaraguan people over the forces of internal reaction and imperialism. They stressed the CPSU's invariable support for the struggle of the democrats and patriots of Latin America for the freedom and happiness of their peoples.

The sides noted the coincidence of their views on topical questions of the world communist movement, the need for further consolidation of the communist and workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On July 31, Boris Ponomaryov met with Charilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece. The ensuing friendly talk dealt with topical international issues, the world working-class movement and inter-party ties. The participants in the meeting stressed the enormous importance of furthering equal, mutually advantageous and friendly relations between the USSR and Greece.

On August 1, Andrei Kirilenko, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau, and Boris Ponomaryov met with Valid Joumblatt, Chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon.

During the talk topical international issues were discussed, above all the situation in the Middle East and in Lebanon, as well as the development of friendly relations between the CPSU and the PSP.

The participants emphasized that events irrefutably confirm the correctness of the evaluation of the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty as an anti-Arab pro-imperialist deal that further aggravates the explosive situation in the region and is designed to expand neo-colonialist interference in the Middle East. This treaty led to the creation of a military-political bloc of the rightist circles of Israel and Egypt, directed against the vital interests of the Middle East peoples. Using this bloc, the Israeli ruling circles are intensifying their expansionism. They are expanding their aggressive actions against Lebanon and hatching plans of dismembering it.

The Soviet representatives declared that the USSR is consistently following a course of achieving an overall just settlement of the Middle East conflict, with account for the rights and interests of all states and nations in the Middle East, that it firmly supports the people's struggle against the capitulatory deals and stands for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to set up their own state. They expressed solidarity with the courageous struggle waged by the Lebanese people and its national-patriotic forces in close cooperation with the Palestine resistance movement.

Both sides expressed support for the measures of the legitimate Lebanese authorities, which are aimed at defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lebanese Republic.

The Soviet and Lebanese representatives reaffirmed the CPSU's and PSP's striving to further their relations, to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Lebanon.

