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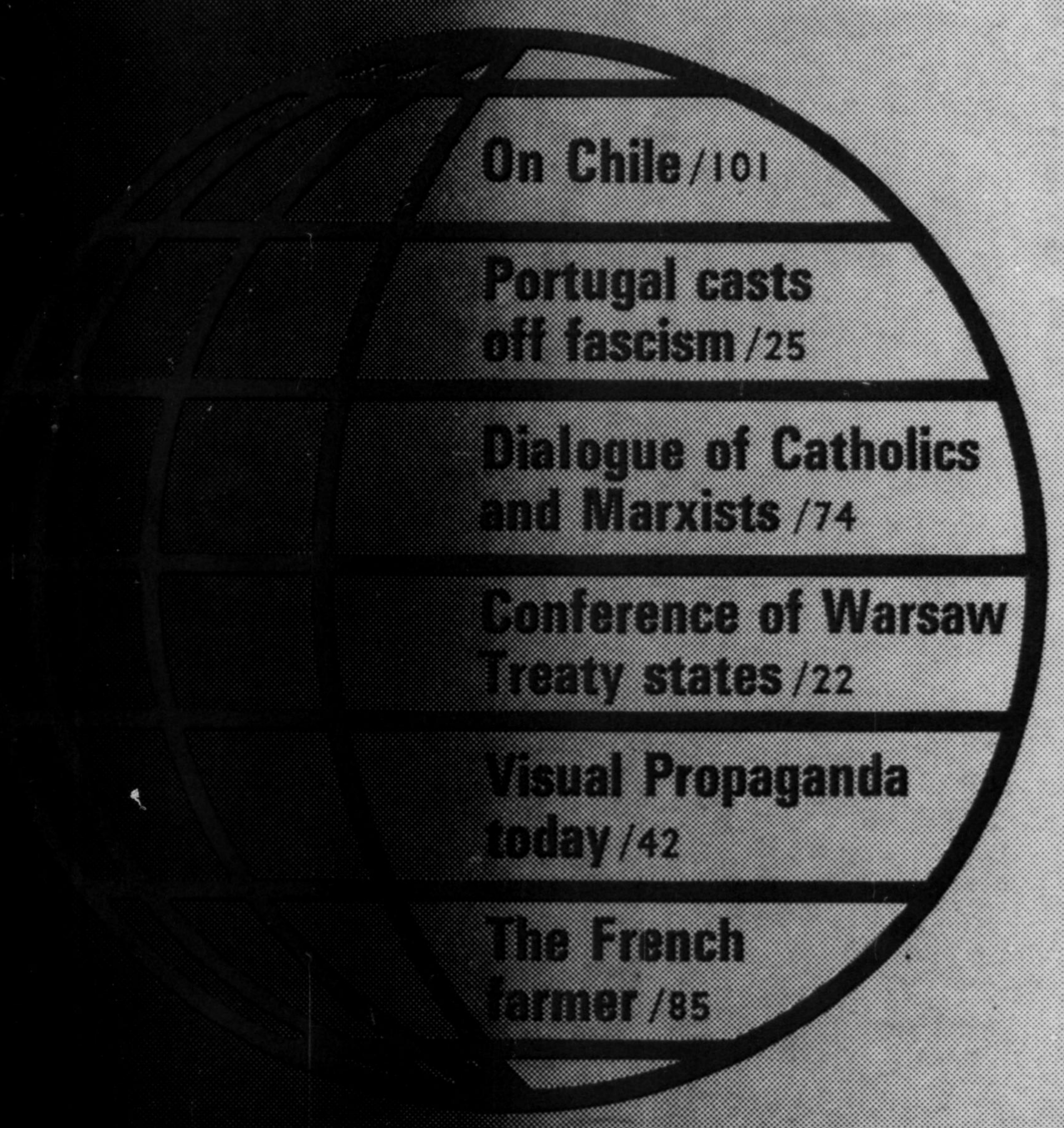
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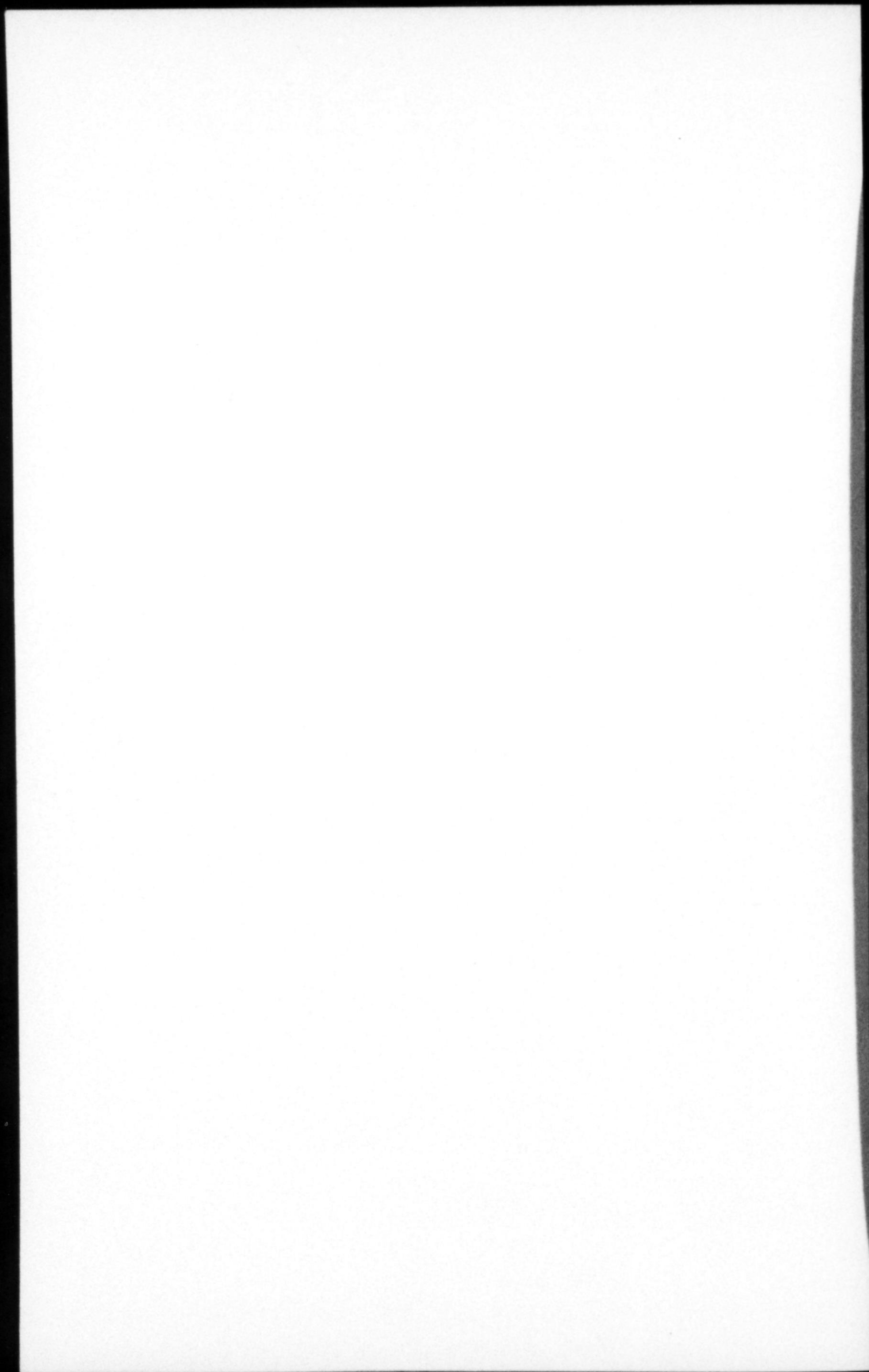
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journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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The world situation and the revolutionary process

Boris Ponomaryov
Alternate PB Member
CC Secretary, CPSU

The five years since the Moscow 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties are remembered by the peoples as a significant period in the development of the international situation and the revolutionary movement.

Events have fully confirmed the meeting's conclusion that 'imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development.' The aggravation of capitalism's economic and political crisis is clear proof that it cannot resolve the vital problems now facing mankind. And more and more the masses are coming to realize that socialism is the highway to social progress for all.

The two most important processes over the past five years have been, first, the growing might of the countries of the socialist community, their vigorous action together with all the peace forces against imperialist aggression, for détente and international security; and second, the mounting struggle of the working class and working people generally in the capitalist countries, of the ex-colonial peoples and the anti-imperialist movement as a whole. Developing in interconnection, these two cardinal social processes have substantially changed the international situation in favor of peace and socialism.

New upsurge of world socialism

The 1969 Meeting emphasized that the socialist world had entered a stage that enabled it to make much fuller use of its vast latent reserves. The past years have convincingly demonstrated that we are in a new stage of social, economic and political development.

To take economic policy. As distinct from the recent past, when the Soviet Union had to concentrate its resources chiefly on expanding heavy industry, it has now turned to comprehensive solution of social and economic problems. The growth of its economic, military and political strength enabled the 24th CPSU Congress to make higher prosperity standards the priority goal, without, however, relaxing attention to the technical re-equipment of the economy and

to assuring the country's defense capacity. Similar changes have taken place also in the other countries of the socialist community.

In relations between the socialist countries, the period since 1969 has seen the development of socialist economic integration, the highest form of economic cooperation. It envisages production cooperation and specialization on a broad scale and closer coordination of economic plans. It is important to note that fraternal cooperation of the CMEA countries tends to even out their development levels and this, in turn, makes their cooperation more effective, increases its positive impact on their economies and on all aspects of their social life.

Socialist economic planning assures high and stable growth rates, with resultant growth of the CMEA countries' share in the world economy, and enhances their political and economic standing. Today, the chief industrial centers of the capitalist world, including Western Europe and the U.S., are behind the CMEA countries not only in raw material resources, but also in industrial potential.

The economic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are there for all to see. The world was deeply impressed by the Soviet Union's successful fulfilment of the third-year program of its current five-year plan. The decisions of the December 1973 CC CPSU Plenum, aimed at higher effectiveness of social production, are a new and powerful stimulus to economic development.

The achievements of developed socialism are not confined to economic growth and higher prosperity standards. The socialist countries have in recent years made vivid progress in imparting a fundamentally new quality to life, one unknown under capitalism, and creating the conditions for man's all-round cultural growth and the full development of his abilities and talents.

The uninterrupted development of socialist democracy – genuine government by the people and their broad participation in directing production and the affairs of state – is the unaltering policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist states. Accordingly, socialism not merely proclaims, but effectively guarantees the workingman's rights and provides conditions enabling him to look to the future with confidence. Socialism forges the moral and political unity of the people and creates a social stability which capitalism has nowhere and never been able to match.

Social and political importance of détente

In the final analysis, it is the achievements of existing socialism that made possible the historical change from the cold war to détente and consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The concrete results of the struggle for a better international political climate are well known. They are: cessation of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people and creation of the prerequisites for a just peace throughout the whole of Indochina; progress toward eliminating the consequences of Isra-

eli aggression in the Middle East and the prospect of resolving the crisis in this explosive area; recognition of the GDR under international law, and the strengthening of Cuba's positions. They also include the system of agreements designed to restrict and eliminate the danger of a world thermonuclear war; the series of agreements formalizing the results of the Second World War and Europe's post-war development; normalizing of international relations and expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation between countries belonging to the two world social systems.

An important contribution to détente was the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty held in Warsaw April 17-18. The views and positions on outstanding European issues set forth in the final communique offer a constructive base for finalizing preparations for the concluding phase of the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

All these changes are the result of the intensive struggle of the socialist states, the international working class, the national-liberation and all peace-loving democratic forces.

Together with other political forces, the international Communist movement has done much in recent years to raise the fight for peace to a new level. The anti-imperialist action program drawn up at the 1969 Meeting has played an important part in this. The results of the program's realization are eloquent proof that the socialist community countries and the world Communist movement hold the initiative in the positive development and prevention of a thermonuclear conflict. And that initiative is clearly expressed in the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The social and political significance of recent international developments is perfectly obvious. Acceptance of the inviolability of existing European boundaries and the obligation of states with differing social systems stringently to abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in internal affairs, not only strengthen peace, but also create the international conditions for the continued advance of socialism and the democratic and revolutionary struggle against the system of exploitation. This is emphasized in the clear and substantiated statement of the Brussels Conference of West-European Communist Parties and is dealt with also in the Communist press of other continents.

More than anything in the past, official acceptance by the chief imperialist forces of peaceful coexistence undermines the social basis of the aggressive military and political organizations ranged against the Socialist countries and the revolutionary and democratic forces. Détente strengthens the realistically-minded elements within the bourgeois camp and helps to isolate the more reactionary imperialist forces, the 'war parties' and the military-industrial complexes.

Lastly, détente has stimulated changes within the social democratic parties. Notwithstanding the anti-Communist policy of a number of their Right-wing leaders, the leaders of most European socialist and social democratic parties want to extend contacts with the socialist

world, and in some countries we have the first steps toward united action with the Communists. Of course, these positive trends can be of tangible value to all the forces within the labor movement only if the Right-wing anti-Communist leaders are neutralized.

In origin, substance and results, détente is not only a political, but also a social factor representing a new and important stage in the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle.

The Communists are fully aware that political détente will not develop automatically, without energetic efforts to overcome the resistance of the hardline cold warriors, who are behind all the attempts to impose 'détente terms' obviously calculated to 'soften up' and 'erode' the socialist community. The forces working for a new military and political bloc in Western Europe are more active, too. The enemies of détente will not stop at armed provocation to torpedo the peoples of Indochina, and they are continuing their subversion in the Middle East and Latin America.

There is the sinister fact that even today, in the détente setting, a process which, essentially, is the material preparation of war is continuing and gaining momentum.

The imperialist-boosted arms drive forces the socialist countries to assign the needed funds for defense, and draws into its orbit dozens of developing countries. Imperialist militarism is, at the same time, always directed against the interests of the working class and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries themselves.

That is why the fight for social progress, for the continued advance of all the revolutionary contingents, imperatively requires an all-out effort to consolidate international détente and foil the imperialist strategy based on the permissibility of war.

Discussing the distinctive features of the present period, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, emphasized in his speech at the World Congress of Peace Forces that the road to peace will not be a smooth and simple one. 'As in the past, it will require not only consistency, firmness and energy, but also better forms, new methods, timely and precise initiatives to prevent the rise of centers of tension and setbacks in the détente process.'

Qualitative changes in the general crisis of capitalism

International détente does not, of course, repeal the laws governing the development of capitalist society, and has not brought it a respite.

The crisis of the capitalist system now manifests itself in widely different areas: the energy crisis, monetary crisis, economic-policy crisis, overproduction crisis, crisis in relations between imperialism's chief power centers, the United States, Western Europe and Japan, the political and ideological crisis – a combination of crisis processes unique in the history of postwar capitalism.

And yet only a while ago bourgeois ideologists were maintaining that, for capitalism, the time of crisis had passed: the scientific and technological revolution had ostensibly cured capitalism of all its ills,

heightened its vitality, infused new strength. But Marxists had always seen behind the much-vaunted 'economic miracles' of some capitalist countries deep-going processes that were undermining the very foundations of bourgeois society. Thus, in 1966, the Central Committee Report to the 23rd CPSU Congress stated: 'The inner destructive forces of the capitalist economy continue to operate, and it cannot avert fresh upheavals.' And this in the Document of the 1969 Meeting: 'The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialization of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form.' And reality furnishes incontestable confirmation of both statements.

The outstanding feature in the economic picture is the unprecedented combination of energy crisis, growing unemployment and inflation. What do we see in the U.S. today? A 'troika' reign of inflation, unemployment, shortages. And this not from a Communist, but from J. K. Galbraith, the well-known bourgeois economist.

Only yesterday a combination of rapid inflation and production stagnation – now described as 'stagflation' – seemed unnatural. Today it is taken for granted, and there are now, unexpected combinations: energy, raw material and food shortages coupled with overproduction of many commodities, for instance.

And so, only two or three years after the wave of serious slumps and economic recession that swept the capitalist world in 1969-1971, again we have industrial boom giving way to drastic economic deterioration. Is this not clear evidence of the bankruptcy of state-monopoly capitalism's economic policy?

There has also been a sharp aggravation of contradictions between imperialist countries. U.S. finance capital is trying to exploit its lead in oil and gas to avenge its recent defeat on the world capitalist market, symbolized by the collapse of the monetary system built on dollar supremacy. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is seeking to bolster its political position and patch up the global system of imperialist military alliances under its aegis.

However, the U.S. economic and political counter-offensive is meeting with increasing resistance. This can be seen in America's growing contradictions with Western Europe, notably France, and sharper economic rivalry with Japan. And to these imperialist conflicts should be added the new tangle of contradictions within the Common Market and also between Japan and the West European countries.

In present-day conditions the sharper antagonism between the imperialist countries and the Third World stands out in especially bold relief. For many years the imperialist monopolies used the development of synthetic materials, increased agricultural output in the capitalist countries, etc., to pressure the former colonies into selling their produce at a lower price. The result has been steadily and sharply to reduce the developing countries' share in world trade and widen the economic gap between the two groups of non-socialist countries.

Now the developing countries, notably those of the Arab East, are

taking advantage of the dependence of many industries of the imperialist countries, particularly those producing synthetic materials, on oil imports, to deal imperialism a retaliatory blow. The shock-force of imperialist expansion, the international supermonopolies, are now more frequently confronted with a united front of countries that have broken out of colonial oppression and are now asserting their sovereign right to dispose of their natural wealth. The energy crisis is but a reflection of the crisis of the entire system of economic relations between imperialism and the Third World, the crisis of neo-colonialist policy.

Never before have crisis processes in the economy and the factors that deepen the political crisis in individual imperialist countries and in the whole system of capitalist international relations been so closely interrelated, and never before have they so powerfully affected each other. And if we examine these sharpening crisis processes in their aggregate, we shall find that what we have is not merely the further deepening, but a definite qualitative change in the development of the general crisis of capitalism within the framework of its third stage.

Sharper class battles

The collapse of hopes for durable social and political stability in the imperialist countries – such is the distinguishing feature of the present stage of capitalism's general crisis and, at the same time, the inevitable consequence of its development. Practically everywhere the class struggle has taken on a new sharpness. This is evidenced by the overall social picture in the capitalist countries in the past few years; the vast scope of the strike movement, the severity of social and political conflicts, political tension, recurring government crises and, in a number of countries, the sharp crisis of the system of government and the institutions of power.

Events in the past few years have convincingly confirmed the thesis of the 1969 Meeting that the working class is the main motive and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire democratic, anti-imperialist movement. Events have confirmed that the class struggle of the working people is increasingly directed against the system of state-monopoly domination.

The economic basis of social maneuvering by the monopolies has visibly narrowed since the 1960s. More and more frequently the ruling element resorts to wage restrictions and measures against the trade unions. The natural result is the sharpening of class struggle. However, this does not testify to the growing strength of the enemies of the working class. That was impressively demonstrated by the Tories' anti-labor policy in Britain. The three-day week and corresponding wage cuts – essentially monopoly capital's reply to the massive strikes of the miners and other contingents of the working class – was a nationwide lockdown that made the entire working population semi-unemployed. The frontal attack on the working class failed. The

miners won a convincing victory and the Tories were defeated in the parliamentary elections.

The discussions at the conferences of West-European Communist parties in London (1971) and Brussels (1974) showed the need for joint, practical international working-class action to halt the multinational companies' attacks on the workers' trade-union rights and social gains. Coordinating the struggle of the workers employed by these trans-national monopolies in the various countries has become an urgent problem, especially in the battle against increasing U.S. monopoly expansion, EEC anti-democratic social policies, and the plans to use the EEC to consolidate the most reactionary forces.

No one will deny that the national-liberation movement, too, has taken on a more pronounced social content. Countries with progressive regimes continue to play an important part in extending social and economic change. However, the prospects of the national-liberation struggle depend in no small measure on a decisive rebuff to the dangerous tendencies toward anti-democratic policies, reactionary nationalism and anti-Communism that have come to the surface in some of these countries.

Democratic and anti-imperialist tendencies are acquiring increasing importance in India, Bangladesh, the Malagasy Republic, Sri Lanka and other countries. And as the 1969 Meeting foresaw, there is widening social differentiation in the newly liberated countries and a sharpening conflict between the democratic forces and those of imperialism and internal reaction. This process is extending to countries which only a short while ago were considered secure bases of neo-colonialism (e.g., Thailand and the Philippines). Patriotic-minded people in these new national states are increasingly attracted to socialist ideas.

The crisis of capitalism and the fascist danger

It should be remembered that reaction always tries to use a crisis situation and heightened social and political instability for counterblows against the working class. Rightist elements are now more active in many countries of Europe, among them Italy, France and the FRG. The latest reactionary coup in Greece and the fascist terror in Spain are symptomatic. In this situation, the warning sounded by the 1969 Meeting that fascism steps up its activity at the height of a crisis, is especially pertinent, as is also the Meeting's call to Communists to repel all pro-fascist sallies.

The Chilean people's tragedy today is evidence of the reality of the fascist danger. Many people have awakened to the fact that the repressive measures adopted in Chile – the shootings, prison camps, book burnings – are all fascist, Hitlerite methods. The events in Chile have given rise to a powerful international campaign in defense of Chile's democrats and revolutionary fighters, for saving activists and leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties and other patriotic forces from persecution. Characteristically, there is a tendency to analyze

the lessons of Chile in terms of the outlook for revolutionary progress in present-day conditions.

Our revolution, too, came up against the fierce resistance of the reactionary bourgeoisie and world imperialism. That resistance suffered a crushing defeat due to a firm, far-sighted, principled and flexible Leninist policy accepting blocs with other parties, necessary compromises and temporary changes of policy, of which the New Economic Policy was a vivid example. That is why at crucial moments of the revolution, at its turning points, the working class had adequate support from the majority of the people, while the reactionary forces and their henchmen found themselves in isolation.

Communists know how to draw lessons from setbacks as well. Study of the experience of the Paris Commune and the 1905 revolution in Russia, that is, of abortive armed revolutions, made it possible to evolve the strategy and tactics which ensured the historic victory in October 1917. In today's conditions, the Chilean events, which furnished the first example of 'peaceful' revolutionary development over a long period, are most valuable to Marxist-Leninists from the point of view of perfecting revolutionary strategy and tactics.

If we were to attempt a summary – in very general terms, of course – of the problems raised by these events, we could say the following,

To begin with, the setback should not detract from the positive aspects of the experience of the selfless activity of Chile's revolutionaries – its Communists and socialists. It was shown for the whole world to see that a Left bloc led by the working-class parties and inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas can come to power in a constitutional way and that, moreover, a considerable part of the peasantry and other middle strata can be won for the revolution.

Secondly, whereas in the Russia of 1917 the revolutionary process developed peacefully for only several months, in Chile there was a three-year period leading – it is essential to point this out – to important social and economic changes in the interest of the working people. This development was arrested precisely when there was a new upsurge among the masses in support of the revolution with its promise of further gains. It should be stressed that it was not the revolution but the counter-revolution that openly and brazenly violated the Constitution and trampled democratic rights underfoot. This confirms an objective law which has repeatedly manifested itself in the history of revolutions, namely, that whenever a real threat to the class interests of the bourgeoisie develops, it resorts to its substantial resources, in particular its links with international capital, in an effort to frustrate the revolutionary process and uses the most extreme, terroristic, dictatorial methods to suppress and defeat the revolution.

It follows that the events in Chile are a further reminder of the importance of maintaining revolutionary gains, of the tremendous importance of being prepared to promptly change forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, of the ability to repel the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence. Those

events are also a reminder of the need to approach the issue of the peaceful, non-armed road to a victorious revolution from a correct, Leninist position. The peaceful development of the revolution is guaranteed not only by an alignment of social forces under which the bourgeoisie would not venture to start a civil war, but by the constant preparedness of the revolutionary vanguard and the masses – in deed and not in words – to use the boldest means of struggle should the situation require it.

Experience shows that the revolution can make good progress if its social basis is consolidated and reinforced. This depends primarily on economic policy. After decisive political success it is the economy that becomes the main field of battle for victory of the revolution. The problem of framing and consistently implementing a correct economic policy in the period of transition, of choosing the forms and setting the pace of economic change, is complicated by the fact that the bourgeoisie uses economic blockade, artificially accentuated economic difficulties and industrial sabotage as a key weapon.

Reaction plainly counts on the vacillation, half-heartedness and duality of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata, hoping to dissociate them from the working class and set them against it. Besides, the class enemy actively uses groups of 'Left'-wing adventurers which play an objectively provocative role, especially when the revolution is developing peacefully. A fundamental problem invariably facing Communists is to fight with determination against the erroneous line and action of these group and at the same time to work patiently among those influenced by them, and give the right direction to their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The role of the mass media in the social and political struggles of today has grown to an extent unseen in past revolutions. The Chilean experience shows that to achieve victory it is essential to deprive the class enemy of the mass information and propaganda media.

In fighting against revolution and the working-class movement generally, reactionaries assign the most important role to the army and diverse police agencies, which they try to turn into a bulwark of conservatism by isolating them from the people and inculcating in them an anti-Communist spirit. The facts show that reaction unhesitatingly uses the armed forces when its power over society is really threatened, and not only in Latin America with its tradition of *pronunciamientos*, but in developed capitalist countries as well. This is why, even when the revolution follows a peaceful course, it is of crucial importance to deprive the old regime of important levers of power such as the army and to form a new state apparatus. There is no such thing as an army outside the state or outside politics.

Fundamental problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution were again brought to the fore in the most dramatic way by the Chilean events. It is pertinent in this connection to recall a prediction made by Marx. The experience of the revolutions of the 19th century, he said, indicated that modern revolutions would be less and less 'improvised' and spontaneous and more and more socially conscious

and organized actions by the masses and by parties. This has a direct bearing on our time. The Chilean events have served to re-emphasize the importance of safeguarding and defending socialism and revolutionary gains by all necessary means.

Growing significance of the ideological struggle

The class confrontation on the world scene extends to every public sphere. Nor is it accidental that ideological issues are gaining in importance in the process. The struggle for people's minds is, in the final analysis, one of the decisive areas of the competition between the two systems.

Lenin taught Communists that to defeat reaction, we must, first of all, 'free the masses from the ideological influence'* of reaction. Thus Lenin's thesis applies to revolutionary struggle generally and to what is inseparable from it—the struggle against imperialist war and aggression, for the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Hence, international détente means extending and carrying deeper the ideological struggle, and does not mean 'peaceful coexistence' of the two opposed ideologies.

The results of the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism show more and more clearly in the character and pace of social development. The conditions of this struggle are changing, because both sides use the powerful modern mass media, which are making rapid progress under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution.

Reactionaries try harder and harder to discredit socialism. They bank above all on nationalism and on efforts to undermine socialist society in various countries and loosen the unity of the socialist community.

The opponents of international détente resort to anti-Sovietism to step up the arms race and revive the cold war. Anti-Sovietism also suits those who regard détente as a means facilitating subversion against socialist countries.

Consequently, anti-Sovietism has become something of a center of activity for aggressive and, in general reactionary, elements intent on curbing anti-imperialist forces and undermining the struggle of the masses against the exploiting system of capitalism.

This is why the fraternal parties rightly stress that the fight against anti-Sovietism is a matter for all working people, for all democrats and patriots. They attach key importance to comparison of the main trends in the condition of the working people. Under socialism, the trend is toward extending socialist democracy, making it richer in content, bringing the masses more and more into real management of public affairs and into government, and steadily improving the standard of life, which makes people confident of the future. Under capitalism, the trend is toward curtailing and nullifying democratic rights, toward lowering the standard of life, which results in social insecurity.

**Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 382.

To diminish the appeal of socialism, anti-Communists often resort to a biased comparison of certain aspects of life in capitalist and socialist countries. This makes the criteria of competition between the two opposed systems very important. No one in the socialist countries wants to compete with capitalism in things reflecting the characteristics of this exploiting system and its historical limitations. What must play a growing role in comparing socialism with capitalism are the indicators of genuine care for the working man, unfailing and increasing satisfaction of his material requirements and the provision of conditions for his full spiritual development.

Explaining the program objectives of socialist international policy and fully revealing the world outlook which guides socialist countries, are tasks that hold a special place in the ideological struggle. Soviet Communists see their duty in helping world opinion, hundreds of millions of people on earth, to realize that socialism and peace are inseparable and that thanks to socialism, to its prestige and power, it has become really possible to prevent world wars and curb imperialist aggression.

Active resistance to the Chinese leadership's policies and propaganda, attacking the socialist community and the foreign policies of brother parties and countries, remains an important aspect of the ideological activity of the CPSU on the international scene.

The new political and ideological campaign 'criticizing Confucius and Lin Piao,' like the 'cultural revolution' before it, is assuming the character of militant anti-Sovietism, which has already done incalculable harm to the Chinese people first and foremost, and to socialism and the fight against imperialism.

At a time when all democrats and peace-loving people are striving to consolidate détente and curb aggressive forces everywhere, Peking tries deliberately and with provocative intent to discredit and torpedo the process of détente.

At a time when the Communist parties of European countries and all peace forces are trying harder than ever to turn Europe into a continent of peace and international cooperation, the CPC leadership suggests in so many words that NATO be strengthened as a counter to the Warsaw Treaty organization, and supports dangerous plans hatched by the more reactionary forces of Europe to form a new military bloc on the basis of the Common Market.

At a time when Communists and democrats are extending their struggle against the fascist danger and organizing a campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people, Peking demonstratively backs the Chilean military junta which has perpetrated unheard of crimes.

The CPSU regards it as its duty to persevere in resisting the anti-Leninist line of today's Chinese leadership, a line detrimental to socialism and the Communist and national liberation movement as a whole. At the same time, the Soviet Union continues, as we always stress, to favor normal relations with the PRC and would welcome

China's constructive participation in the settlement of international problems.

The present situation and the world Communist movement

'We say with rightful pride,' wrote L. I. Brezhnev in this journal, commenting on the results of the 1969 Meeting, 'that never before has a political movement or ideological current played as tremendous a revolutionizing role in the life of mankind as the international Communist and working-class movement . . . The future of mankind in this, the last third of the twentieth century, depends largely on the growing might and strength of this movement, on unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties.'

The world Communist movement has gained considerably in strength since the 1969 Meeting. Its political prestige and the influence of Communist and Workers' parties have grown appreciably in the past five years. Looking back, we realize all the more clearly the timeliness of the Meeting and the vast importance of the documents formulated by it for the Communists to win new positions in the struggle against imperialism, for closer cohesion and greater militancy of the world Communist movement itself and for extending the anti-imperialist front generally.

These years have shown again that in today's conditions meetings of brother parties are the most effective and acceptable form of internationalist relations between Communist parties. Very many fraternal parties say so in their statements and documents. Further evidence of this are the regional meetings of Communists, theoretical conferences and multilateral contacts in other forms which have gained in frequency since the Moscow Meeting and become firmly established in our movement.

Indeed, brother parties have this year held conferences which we consider very important. In January representatives of 67 parties attended a conference on the work of *World Marxist Review*, where they had a fruitful and interesting exchange of opinion and information on a number of topical problems. The conference of Communist parties of Western Europe, which met in Brussels at the end of January, undoubtedly helped to coordinate Communist policy in the struggle against monopoly capital. It stressed their determination to work actively and in common with other contingents of our movement for lasting peace and security in Europe, for the promotion of new principles in international relations generally.

At these meetings and in public appearances by leaders of a number of fraternal parties, it was said that there are fundamental changes, new trends and new processes in the world situation which entitle us to speak of both a serious change in the very conditions of the Communists' struggle over the past five years and the new tasks facing our movement. The CPSU, for its part, maintains that assessment of the progress made on the basis of the conclusions of the 1969 Meeting, analysis of the processes and phenomena characterizing the evolution of the international situation today

and definition of the line of united action by the Communists in new conditions, require collective effort by brother parties.

The initiative of a number of parties calling for a European conference of Communist and Workers' parties similar to the Karlov Vary Conference of 1967 likewise meets the requirements of the situation and the needs of the Communist movement.

In view of the extraordinary intensification of international relations typical of our time, with the ideological struggle gaining in force and influencing the entire life of society more and more, Communists make a special effort consistently to apply and carry forward the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism is an earnest of success in building socialism and communism. Loyalty to it is the main condition for ensuring the interaction of the three main revolutionary streams of the national liberation struggle. Proletarian internationalism is our unique weapon in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and national independence, for the ideals of communism.

Economic integration of sovereign states

Horst Sinderman

Member PB, CC SUPG

Chairman, GDR Council of
Ministers

The concept of socialist economic cooperation is gaining ever richer content with the passage of time. Some five years ago, in our March 1969 issue, we presented a selection of articles describing the then already not inconsiderable achievements, ushering in a distinctly new stage in the cooperation of the countries of the socialist community. It was in 1969 that a special session of CMEA, attended by leaders of the Communist parties and governments of member countries, adopted an agreed policy of socialist integration, which has since then become the main form of cooperation. Along with the article below, socialist integration is examined in other articles of this issue: a dialogue between Polish and Soviet scholars on international socialist property, a study of the mechanics of socialist economic integration by a working group of representatives of fraternal parties, and a statistical survey.

The steadily increasing importance of international relations is a natural part of the process of history. The world character of social development noted by the Marxist-Leninist classics, stands out in ever bolder relief. The interconnection and interdependence of coun-

tries and peoples is visibly greater. This is reflected, among other things, by the current turn from cold war to détente, from confrontation to broader cooperation based on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, actively supported by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the fraternal socialist countries and all progressives of the world, has wrought far-reaching positive changes, notably in Europe, where coexistence principles have been accepted as foreign-policy guidelines by nearly all countries. The European peoples are clearly determined to follow the path of peaceful coexistence, blazed by the Soviet Union and its allies of the socialist community. This line, reaffirmed in the communique of the recent Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries' Political Consultative Committee assures a peaceful environment and good-neighbor relations on the continent and elsewhere. Other continents, too, could by following this line rid themselves of wars now—and not at some distant date.

The solid alliance of socialist states is a guarantee of peace. Our common policy is further to consolidate the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties on the dependable basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to deepen the all-round cooperation of the fraternal peoples, and tighten their economic bonds by socialist integration. We have declared our aim: to unite the forces of the countries of the socialist community and make the utmost use of the advantages of the new social system to improve the material and technical basis of socialism and communism.

That this is the right thing to do is confirmed by the Comprehensive Program for the CMEA countries' socialist economic integration, and by the results of their joint activity of the past 25 years. It is increasingly obvious that the attraction and international prestige of the socialist community will continue to rise. But for this we must make fuller use of the opportunities for cooperation among our countries in order to accelerate the integrational processes.

The 27th Session of CMEA (1973) recorded available opportunities for speedier implementation of the Comprehensive Program. With an eye on the long term, the main accent is laid on one of the most difficult aspects of communist construction, namely, convergence of the national economies of sovereign socialist states, and the progressive interweaving of their structures. While working for integration, we are also seeing to the affairs of the present day. The scientific-technical revolution poses problems that can only be resolved jointly.

Oriented chiefly on integration, the new and higher level of economic cooperation requires new answers to a number of fundamental, purely economic, juridical and political questions. These include the relation of socialist integration and state sovereignty, joint guidance of integrational processes, and consolidation of planning in international cooperation. Facilitated by their political unity, the countries of the socialist community work in common on the answers to these and other questions. Improvement of the forms and methods of cooperation in the CMEA framework is indisputably the principal means of resolving our problems.

Highly important politically and in practice is the Marxist-Leninist definition of the content, forms and methods of cooperation among socialist countries, and a correct alignment of national and international interests, of the general and particular, within the socialist community. The effectiveness of the policy of the fraternal parties, aimed at consolidating the unity of our countries, depends on our answers to all these questions. Naturally, this unity is not an immutable concept. Its content grows richer and its forms change, depending on the features prevalent at the various stages of the international relations of the new type. The deeper the political, economic, ideological and military cooperation of the countries of the socialist community becomes, the stronger the influence of socialist economic integration on all social spheres, and the more diverse are the forms of their mutual ties.

In the developed capitalist countries internationalization of production has resulted in more intensive exploitation of workers at home and in countries economically, and to varying degrees politically, dependent on imperialist monopolies and states. And since the principal powers in the capitalist world pursue their egoistic interests in the drive for maximum profit, the contradictions between countries and groups of countries are growing more acute. This results in inequality and discrimination.

In contrast, the content of international relations within the socialist world is distinctly internationalist, for internationalism is an essential feature of the working class, whose social nature is opposite to that of the bourgeoisie. National and international obligations are compounded on the basis of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism regulating relations between the fraternal socialist countries.

The working class movement, its struggle for liberation, has upheld the idea of international solidarity since the moment the workers' class consciousness was aroused. And with the proletariat becoming the dominant class, the right and duty of every socialist state to build socialism and communism in its own country combines with its right and duty to cooperate with other fraternal countries. Therefore, for us state sovereignty is a dialectical unity comprising the inalienable right to sovereign statehood and affiliation with the community of fraternal states, and the establishment and continuous deepening of ties with its other members in the interest of the all-round progress of the community and each of its member-countries. 'Identification with the community of socialist states,' Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the SUPG, said at the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, 'is a dependable guarantee of the sovereignty of our German Democratic Republic.'

Socialist international law took shape gradually in the period since the founding of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. Its content is based on the principles of socialist internationalism.

State sovereignty is the inalienable attribute of a state as a subject of international law. Its content is closely linked with the class character of the social system. And socialist sovereignty is the result

of the power of the working class and its alliance with the people. It is secured by the leading position of the working class in the socialist countries and by the might of their community. It is, therefore, guaranteed twice over.

In the capitalist world the principle of sovereignty is raised to an absolute. This finds its extreme expression in the wish to affirm the right to war as an instrument of state policy. What this amounts to, by and large, is the imperialist formula that everything a state may do in conformity with its capacity to achieve its aims, is uncontestedly lawful.

The democratic principles of modern international law, which took root chiefly through the victory over fascism of the Soviet Union and its allies, exclude the use and threat of force, and substitute the obligation to safeguard peace for the imperialist 'right' to war. The foes of détente, the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, are going out of their way to obstruct the implementation of general democratic legal principles, and to discredit socialist international law, which represents the highest attainment in modern inter-governmental legal standards.

Marxist-Leninists associate the general democratic standards and principles applied in inter-governmental relations between socialist countries with the principles of socialist internationalism. Such principles as equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, and the like, contain a new and higher quality in the relations between fraternal countries, because they are applied to strengthen the socialist community in the joint struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress. Socialist sovereignty is the highest of all the types of state sovereignty known in history precisely because it derives from the most progressive and stable of all social systems and the broad initiative of the masses.

The progressive, humane and universally recognized general democratic standards of modern international law, as set out in Article Two of the UN Charter, declare the principle of the sovereign equality of states as inalienable and imperative. Its consistent observance is an inviolable rule of inter-governmental relations of the new type.

But that is just one principle of socialist sovereignty. There are also the principles of all-round and continuously deeper cooperation, fraternal aid and mutual support. The fraternal Parties' striving to consolidate and expand inter-governmental relations, including economic, is formalized in treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid, and other bilateral and multilateral agreements between the socialist states. Socialism's progressively more solid positions in each country and on the world scene enrich socialist sovereignty and give it new internationalist features implicit in socialism as a social and also a world system.

The socialist community is a community of independent states linked by an identity of vital interests and aims. Nor have these countries surrendered their sovereign rights to any inter-governmental or supranational body. This is why the general and specific tasks

relating to the building of the new society are handled on a national, state level. The state is full proprietor of the country's means of production and national income. It bears full responsibility before its people for effective use of the national economic potential and the best distribution of the national income. None but the state may employ the national wealth for plan-regulated extended reproduction, calculated to raise the nation's living standard. Simultaneously, being a component of the fraternal community of socialist states, each state has an objective stake in the community's political, economic and military consolidation, and each makes its contribution for this end.

A country's economic potential is the crucial factor of its influence in international affairs, and essential for forging genuine sovereignty. For this economic potential to grow rapidly it is exceedingly important to exploit the advantages of the socialist international division of labor. In their comprehensive socialist economic integration program, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA countries defined the ways and means of balancing the common interests and the specific interests of each. The program, therefore, is first and foremost a unanimous expression of allegiance to socialist internationalism. Its provisions coincide with the conclusion of the 24th CPSU Congress, which generalizes the collective experience of the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community: "Successes in socialist construction largely depend on the correct combination of the general and the nationally specific in social development. Not only are we now theoretically aware but also have been convinced in practice that the way to socialism and its main features are determined by the general regularities, which are inherent in the development of all the socialist countries. We are also aware that the effect of the general regularities is manifested in different forms consistent with concrete historical conditions and national specifics. It is impossible to build socialism without basing oneself on general regularities or taking account of the concrete historical specifics of each country."

Socialist economic integration is based on the dialectical interconnection and interaction of the international and national, and does not violate state sovereignty. It is an objective process. Participation in it is subject to the sovereign consent of each separate state. This is the guarantee that the state interests of each participating country will be respected. However, voluntary participation also predicates responsibility first and foremost for consequent fulfillment in the spirit of socialist internationalism of all assumed obligations. Thus respect for sovereignty means not least of all a responsible attitude toward the interests of the community and of each of its partners.

International factors have begun to play a greater role in the promotion of the state interests of socialist countries as the universal laws governing socialist construction operate more deeply and comprehensively. First, the state interests coinciding with the common interests of the community increase in number. As integrational measures make headway, for example, improving the material and

technical basis of the separate countries, and also improving the system of planning, management and economic stimulation, becomes increasingly an object of common concern. Secondly, common interests come to the forefront in further expanding the political, economic and military strength of separate countries and the community as a whole in order to assure security and provide favorable international conditions for building socialism.

But how to develop and improve the more adequate forms and ways of agreeing national state interests? Socialist economic integration requires joint solutions of an international nature in diverse spheres of society, because the mere fulfilment of national economic targets cannot assure the maximum development of the productive forces, which Marx described as the economic basis of society.

With the present interlacement of the processes of reproduction, no country of the socialist community can adopt important economic decisions without long-term forecasting and without taking into account the implications of international cooperation. National economies will not attain the highest possible efficiency, unless they make the fullest use of the opportunities presented by socialist economic integration.

The Marxist-Leninist classics have always associated socialism with plan-regulated social development. 'The proletariat,' Engels wrote, "assumes social power and by virtue of this power converts the social means of production slipping out of the hands of the bourgeoisie into the property of all society. By this act it liberates the means of production from everything that had until then been typical for them as capital, and offers full freedom of development to their social nature. It becomes possible from then on to conduct social production in accordance with a plan drawn up beforehand.'

With the development of the socialist world system it becomes possible and necessary to regulate economic relations between the socialist countries through planning. The increasing international socialization of labor requires harmonious national and international coordination, so that labor could be distributed and used according to plan.

The CMEA countries' collective efforts to build and perfect developed socialism are objectively connected with expanded cooperation in planning. Planning is the main instrument of the working class and its parties, ensuring consistent and timely implementation of integrational measures. Thanks to the Comprehensive Program and the decisions of the 26th and 27th CMEA sessions we have made further headway in joint planning. Among other things, it is increasingly becoming one of the main methods in the activity of the international economic organizations established by the fraternal countries.

It depends on the degree of joint planning how fully the common interests and requirements of the countries of the socialist community become the point of departure in integration (with consideration for the various specific interests of each country); how fully the resources and capacities of the separate countries, pooled according to plan, are used to meet the joint demands, and how effectively the

advantages of cooperation forge still greater harmony between the general and the specific interests.

By virtue of available experience in joint planning, the member-countries have agreed that it should run along the following lines:

- continuous improvement of the coordination of five-year plans. A plan for 1976-1980 is being worked out for multilateral integrational measures, laying the foundation for the fulfilment of the Comprehensive Program. In addition, the five-year plans of the member-countries will contain special commitments related to integration;

- new forms of cooperation will be progressively introduced, such as joint forecasting, joint long-term planning, and joint programming in selected fields. This will deepen cooperation in planning and will stabilize the coordination of five-year plans.

Joint planning extends the sphere of state sovereignty, encompassing responsibility for stable and consistent production by all CMEA countries, for preparing integrational measures, and carrying out commitments. This cannot be mechanically identified with planning in the separate countries, effected on the basis of national socialist ownership of the means of production and the principles of democratic centralism. Joint planning is based on an identity of the interests of the participating states. It materializes in a system of bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties, charters, and the like, which must be backed by the national economic plans of the member-countries and reflected in their legal standards.

The common interest in assuring the best possible conditions for reproduction and higher labor productivity, to which Marxist-Leninists give priority as 'the touchstone of social development' (Lenin, Vol. 32, p. 235), prompts the CMEA countries to take new steps toward international socialization of production. In some fields we have to pool material and financial resources, as well as manpower, in order to find the best place for using them from the standpoint of their effectiveness for the community as a whole. A higher degree of concentration will thus lead to higher productivity of labor and growth of production.

At present socialization of labor within the socialist community materializes in joint investments, international economic organizations, enterprises belonging to two or several states, etc.

Active cooperation, notably in fields decisive for speedier scientific and technical progress, is the common concern and common interest of all the countries of the socialist community. For example, the CMEA countries have pooled their resources in the Interatom-energo agency in order to expand production of equipment and material for, and help each other to build, atomic power stations and to train personnel for them.

All these new forms of cooperation - joint planning in selected fields, joint investments, and international economic organizations - involve the question of sovereignty, which we settle on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Is the sovereignty of the Soviet Union impaired when fraternal countries build joint enterprises on Soviet territory to develop Soviet natural resources?

Or is the sovereignty of the GDR or Czechoslovakia impaired by their cooperation in producing olefines? The answer will be found in the concrete mechanism of cooperation, which differs from similar mechanisms in the capitalist world.

It depends on the freely taken and sovereign decision of each country whether or not, and in what form, it will participate in the various integrational measures. The countries of the socialist community make their decisions on the basis of proletarian internationalism and the principle of interest. This also applies to the International Investment Bank, and the research and production agency Interatominstrument, both of which envisage possible adoption of decisions by a qualified majority. This decision-making procedure does not impinge on the sovereign rights of member-countries, assuring successful operation of the international socialist economic organizations.

Observance of state sovereignty is an essential precondition for the implementation of the Comprehensive Socialist Economic Integration Program. The quality and intensity, rate and desirability of the forms of joint action are subject to the sovereign consent of the countries concerned, their parties and governments. By participating in the integration processes the socialist countries contribute to the further consolidation of the socialist community. They also multiply the opportunities for accelerating their own development, assuring their own stable and long-term economic growth. This is how joint advance toward the common goal is achieved. 'One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries,' the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties said in 1969, 'is to develop all-embracing cooperation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology.'

Conference of Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty Member-States

The Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance convened April 17-18, 1974, in Warsaw. It was attended by Party-Government delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and discussed questions of European security and détente.

A communique was issued which emphasized that the trend toward détente is at present the dominant feature in European affairs and

in the rest of the world. The principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is gaining wider and wider acceptance in the practice of international relations, together with such basic norms of relations between states as respect for independence and sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of European frontiers, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and non-interference in internal affairs.

At the same time, the Conference participants pointed out that the forces of imperialism and reaction have not laid down their arms and are trying to oppose and arrest the process of détente, which corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples. The communique expresses the firm conviction that, acting together, the peoples of the world, all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, will be able to gain the upper hand, uphold their vital interests and ensure respect for the right of each people to decide its own destiny.

The constructive foreign policy activity of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, especially the signing of the treaties and agreements with the FRG, have contributed toward normalizing the situation in Europe, establishing good-neighborly relations and expanding wide-ranging and mutually beneficial cooperation among all states. The movement toward détente in Europe has led to the calling of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, which has become the common cause of all peoples and governments of Europe. The participants of the Warsaw Treaty noted that in endeavoring to lay the basis for a stable and just peace in Europe they had, for a long period, worked for a European Conference and regard it as a great victory for peace, the victory of sound common sense in international relations. The European Conference is called upon to turn Europe into a region of truly equal cooperation of all states, and to promote steps encouraging growing trust among them.

The communique reiterates the unanimous view that the closing stage of the European Conference and signing of its documents should be at summit level. The Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty regard the European Conference not as an end in itself, but as a starting-point in the historical task of building new relations between all the countries of Europe. The principles that will be worked out by the Conference and have the authority of 35 states will enable the countries of the continent to establish and develop large-scale cooperation for the greater material and spiritual benefit of each of them. The communique states their readiness for such cooperation and urges all the participants in the European Conference to help contribute to it. The creation of a permanent body of the states taking part in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe would be in keeping with this aim.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states agreed that it was important for political détente to be supplemented by military détente. They reaffirmed their positions on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe as set forth in the Prague declaration on peace,

security and cooperation in Europe adopted by the Political Consultative Committee Conference in January, 1972. Success in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would considerably contribute to this and create favorable conditions for holding similar talks concerning other areas of Europe.

The states taking part in the conference reiterated their readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or, as an initial step, to dissolve their military organizations. At the same time they declared that as long as the NATO bloc remains and effective disarmament measures have not been implemented, the Warsaw Treaty countries deem it necessary to strengthen their defenses and develop close cooperation among themselves in this matter.

The Conference communique expresses complete solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist policy of aggression, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands and ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and emphasizes that the security, integrity and sovereignty of all the states of the area must be ensured.

There was an exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam and complete support was expressed for the course pursued by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam aimed at strict and unswerving implementation of the Paris Agreement by all the parties to it. The Conference welcomed the setting up of coalition government bodies in Laos and the successes of the patriotic forces of Cambodia, and declared its support for the constructive moves of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at creating conditions that favour peaceful democratic reunification of the country without outside interference.

The communique demands an end to the outrageous violations by the Chilean military junta of the UN documents on Human Rights, an end to persecution of patriots, and called on other states and international public opinion to support the progressive forces of Chile.

The participants in the Conference expressed the conviction that détente should be worldwide. Concern for preserving peace and active cooperation in the solution of international issues in keeping with the interest of the peoples is the duty of all states, large and small, irrespective of their socio-political systems.

Loyal to their international duty, the participants in the Conference expressed full solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national liberation, the strengthening of political independence and achievement of economic independence, and for social progress. They declared their support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

The Communique stresses the increased role in international affairs of the non-aligned movement and states support for the anti-imperialist trend of the policies of the non-aligned countries. It notes their growing contribution to the struggle for détente, against war

and aggression, for peace and national independence of peoples, and the great significance of the Fourth Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states attach great importance to enhancing the role of the United Nations and increasing its effectiveness on the basis of the UN Charter in solving international problems, strengthening peace and promoting cooperation among all peoples.

The participants in the Conference noted with satisfaction the further development of all-round cooperation among the fraternal countries which accelerates the growth of their economic potential, strengthens the defense capability of the Warsaw Treaty member-states and contributes toward raising the welfare of their peoples and the development of culture and science. The Warsaw Treaty member-states will continue to strengthen their unbreakable friendship in the interests of socialism, progress and peace. They will raise ever higher the prestige of socialism, which sets an example of a new type of relations between countries, of a truly democratic society, an example of the socialist way of life.

The Conference also adopted the statements: 'For a Durable and Just Peace in the Middle East,' 'For a Durable Peace in Vietnam, for Guaranteeing the Just National Interests of the Vietnamese People,' and 'End Arbitrary Acts and Persecution of Democrats in Chile.'

Portugal casts off fascism

Catarina Mendes
Portuguese CP
Representative on WMR

At 5.35 a.m. on April 25 last, Portugal took the road of freedom and democracy.

That day the Armed Forces Movement overthrew the fascist government under Caetano. This was the culmination of a long process generated by the crisis of the fascist regime, the economic and political effects of the protracted colonial war, international condemnation and isolation of Portuguese fascism and colonialism, the vast scale of the Portuguese people's struggle against exploitation, the high cost of living, repressions and colonial adventures, and the gains of the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

The success of the April revolt came as a bolt from the blue only to those who had not followed the evolution of the political struggle

in Portugal. In last October's 'election' campaign, hundreds of thousands of Portuguese expressed their protest against the colonial war and their desire to win democratic freedoms. A powerful popular movement built up, headed by the working class and involving all social strata and all anti-fascist forces.

The trade unions' resistance to government attempts at curtailing their rights was of unprecedented proportions. The regime steadily lost control of the trade unions, most of which came to be led by democrats. Over one million people took part in inter-union assemblies which discussed the working people's demands. Since October 1973 more than 200,000 working people joined in actions to win higher pay. The strikes involved over 70,000 people.

The fascist repressions were opposed by the students. The general strike at the university and in the secondary schools of Lisbon last February was an important contribution to the fight against the colonial war. In the armed forces, resistance to fascist policy and colonial war became more and more organized in character: conscripts refused to take the military oath, there was subversion in the military establishment and soldiers protested against the severe army regimen.

From July 1973 (when the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party called for mass political action) a 'captains' movement' spread in the army. It provided the organizational basis for the April revolt, and showed that the regime's intrinsic contradictions and conflicts also affected professional army officers. At the same time it was evidence that basic democratic demands were supported by the bulk of officers.

The 'captains' movement,' which involved hundreds of officers in all three service arms, was indicative of the deepening political crisis in the country and of mounting opposition in the armed forces to the Caetano government's colonial war policy.

After the abortive 'rebellion' on March 16* there was much discussion in the armed forces on the situation at home and in the colonies. The government could no longer stop the ferment among the military or stifle their protest against the hopeless policy of colonial adventure.

In recent years the colonial war swallowed over 40 per cent of the revenue, damaging the economy. The economic situation was steadily deteriorating. The government proved unable to curb inflation and rising prices. Even official estimates show that prices rose by 20 per cent last January alone and went on rising.

The colonial wars killed and maimed many thousands of Portuguese and Africans. The whole country demanded that the colonial troops should be brought home, ending the dirty war and opening negotiations.

Due to the split in the armed forces and the discontent of a section of the Catholic clergy, the regime could no longer count on the unqualified support of either. It was only through fierce police repression that the government maintained its rule.

*The reference is to a revolt of several army units put down by the regime. - Ed.

In addition to democratic-minded working people, hundreds of men and officers were jailed. The prisoners were brutally tortured. The political police controlled enterprises and universities. Democratic leaders and activists were threatened with prosecution and dismissal. Hundreds of students were expelled and tried, there were purges in the armed forces and many officers were retired. Nationwide 'alerts' were frequent, a 'state of emergency' was declared again and again, with police stopping and searching cars and pedestrians.

That was the background to the April revolt.

'The April 25 revolt,' Alvaro Cunhal, General-Secretary of the PCP, told *L'Humanité* on April 29, 'was not a coup by a military clique but an action resulting from a vast movement of officers who had adopted open and democratic methods of discussion and decision-making. For all their contradictory, specific and original characteristics, the armed forces movement and the events of these past days fit into the process of the Portuguese democratic revolution.'

The day after the rising, the Communist Party declared that it 'hails all the military men who throughout the victorious movement of the armed forces have shown a firm resolve to abolish the fascist dictatorship, end the colonial war and establish a democratic regime in Portugal.'

As regards the colonial war, the PCP stresses negotiations, cessation of hostilities and recognition of the right of the colonial peoples to immediate and complete independence.

The Portuguese Communist Party warns the people that while the government has been overthrown, the fascist apparatus has yet to be completely destroyed. It is urgent, on the one hand, to abolish the fascist state and eliminate the bases and forces of counter-revolutionary conspirators and, on the other hand, to ensure participation of the democratic forces and the masses in politics and in rehabilitation, which is necessary and now possible.

The PCP declaration also warns against discrimination of Communists. It stresses that there can be no freedom in Portugal without legalizing the PCP, which was the main force in the long struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The deep-going democratic transformation of society necessitated by the national interest cannot be effected without active participation of the PCP, the working people's party, the great party of the Portuguese anti-fascist movement. Legalization of the PCP would be a real indication of the establishment of democratic freedom in Portugal.

Alvaro Cunhal's arrival in Lisbon on April 30, his meeting with leaders of the armed forces movement and General Antonio de Spínola, the participation of a CC PCP delegation in the first national meeting to be held since April 25 by the Portuguese Democratic Movement with a view to evolving a common program of the Left, the presence of members of the CC CPC Executive Commission at a mass demonstration welcoming Alvaro Cunhal, the broadcasting over the national radio network of an Executive Commission appeal to the population to give the PCP General Secretary a rousing welcome, his May Day speech and the legal publication of *Avante!*, the Party

newspaper, are all facts showing that the Communist Party has won virtual legalization as a result of its struggle and the struggle of the masses.

The masses are taking an active part in initial democratization – disbanding the secret political police (PIDE-DGS), releasing political prisoners, abolishing censorship, taking over the premises of the fascist National Popular Action party for the Portuguese Democratic Movement.

The popular demonstrations that swept the country and the powerful May Day demonstration showed what forces are involved in the struggle. The united action of the popular forces and army, of all democratic forces, is bound to put an end to fascism, safeguarding national independence, establishing a democratic system, ending the colonial war and granting independence to the colonies.



Marxism-Leninism is creativity

Gus Hall
General Secretary
Communist Party, USA

Only Marxism that is creative is Marxism-Leninism. And only theoretical creativity can defend Marxism-Leninism. The defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism must rest on the premise that it is a science, a tested reflection of reality; that it is a unified body of thought. Its philosophy, theory, politics and the creative contributions to its growth through the dialectical process are of one mold. If one of these elements is cast in a defective die, sooner or later the defect will appear in all of its sectors. Only a philosophical outlook based on materialism is compatible with a revolutionary theory, and they, in turn, are compatible only with politics based on the acceptance of the centrality of the class struggle. Thus, the ideological pillars of Marxism-Leninism rest on a working class foundation. A non-revolutionary ideology will not sustain a revolutionary practice. Anti-working class ideology will lead to counter-revolutionary acts of class betrayal.

Because of the unified nature of Marxism-Leninism, revisionism or distortions in any of the areas will inevitably lead to a caricature of Marxism-Leninism. And so the defense must be of a unified, a logically interconnected whole scientific body of thought.

Validity and historical conditioning of knowledge

The criteria for testing the validity of any scientific body of thought are as many-sided and complex as is the ever-changing reality they reflect. The standards for testing Marxism-Leninism are no exception. Because Marxism-Leninism is a science it must undergo a continual process of check and double-check of its fundamental thesis. This is necessary to see whether life and experience have turned up any new dimensions or still further factors and developments of reality. The process is endless, the knowledge attained is cumulative.

Marxism-Leninism must go through a continual process of being

*Continuation of the international discussion on the subject, 'The Marxist-Leninist Party of Our Epoch.' See WMR, No. 2, 1974 (pp. 18-29) and No. 4, 1974 (pp. 31-36).

checked against its basic theoretical points of reference and against the changing conditions brought about by the historic process. The present is viewed from the vantage point of the theoretical points of reference.

Of course one must not make mechanical comparisons between sciences. But there is a scientific approach and a non-scientific approach in all fields of inquiry. With the scientific approach one studies reality as it is—its laws of motion, causes and effects and the inter-relationship of all elements. A non-scientific approach is a surface, subjective reaction to reality, an effort to substitute an abstract mental concept, an irrelevant fantasy, for reality and against reality. The scientific approach is a probe of the past and the present, a probe into the root causes and effects, a study of each particular and its relationship to the whole. In the non-scientific world one creates one's own subjective image with its own imaginary forces and laws.

Marxism-Leninism must be defended as the truth that it is, but in the same conditional sense as all sciences correspond with or approximate objective truths. To be sure, the body of scientific knowledge is constantly increasing. But it remains always an approximation. This is so because of the ever-changing nature of reality. But instead of disproving its validity or its preciseness, this relationship of Marxism-Leninism with reality is indeed the absolute proof of its validity and preciseness. In fact, that is what separates real live science from a 'science' that is 'dry rot,' a listing of abstract 'quotations,' or images that run wild.

Marxist-Leninist theory, based on and reflecting real processes, is a revolutionary theory and cannot be conjured up. It does not flower in the rarified atmosphere of a temple. It does not grow under national colors. It grows out of the sum total of revolutionary experiences of all of the countries of the world. Thus, the struggle to further develop the science of Marxism-Leninism is, in fact, the struggle for a deep understanding of the laws and processes of developing reality. It is a struggle to acquire a deeper class insight into the objective laws of social development. It is a struggle to keep Marxism-Leninism abreast of the developments in the historic process so that it will continue as a process to reflect and approximate the ever new and accumulated experiences more accurately and more precisely. It must be a creative defense of a creative science. The defense and the further development of Marxism-Leninism is an interrelated, inseparable process.

It is necessary to reject all ideas that deny the absolute validity of Marxism-Leninism as a science. As a social science it has distinctive characteristics. All attempts to use the distinctive features as proof that it is not a science must be rebuffed. There are many who try to use the fact that science is 'conditional,' that it is an 'approximation,' as the opening wedge through which to deny the validity of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. In the 'books' of revisionists the 'approximation' becomes the license, the opening, for injecting opportunist, revisionist concepts into Marxism-Leninism.

After believing they have created the revisionist beachhead, they

move to the next step by declaring Marxism-Leninism is not a universally applicable science. From then on it is a matter of picking and choosing. But the picking and choosing is not a random process. What gets picked is that which can be distorted into supporting revisionist, opportunist, non-revolutionary concepts. What gets chosen are phrases out of context which on the surface seem to sustain non-Marxist and anti-Marxist concepts. These same 'theoreticians' most likely would not accept national boundaries for other sciences. This they would most likely see as a violation of the law of the universality of scientific thought. And they would be right. But the same law of science applies to Marxism-Leninism. The basic approximation of truth is a universal phenomenon.

The argument that 'Marxism-Leninism does not rest on principled points of reference and therefore is not applicable in all countries,' is a misuse of the fact that all sciences are 'conditional.' When, in 1959, it was declared that 'Leninism is useless for China. China will follow the road of Maoism and not Leninism,' it was a denial of Marxism-Leninism as a science. It thus closed China's doors to the world body of accumulated revolutionary experience. It was a rejection of the real world, its basic laws of motion, its causes and effects, the class struggle and the role of classes, which are all universal, including in China.

Those who argue that Marxism-Leninism is 'conditional' and therefore does not embody 'universal truths' only betray their basic ignorance of all sciences. If one were to accept such nonsense one would have to reject all scientific bodies of thought because they are all, to one extent or another, 'conditional.'

Lenin stated the Marxist position on this question very clearly when he said that every ideological position is 'historically conditioned, and that this does not, in any way, weaken the validity or preciseness of the science: 'From the standpoint of modern materialism, i.e. Marxism, the *limits* of approximation of our knowledge to the objective absolute truth are historically conditional, but the existence of such truth is *unconditional*, and the fact that we are approaching nearer to it is also unconditional. The contours of the picture are historically conditional, but the fact that this picture depicts an objectively existing model is unconditional. . . . In a word, every ideology is historically conditional, but it is unconditionally true that to every scientific ideology (as distinct, for instance, from religious ideology), there corresponds an objective truth, absolute nature' (Lenin, 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,' *Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 136).

Marxism-Leninism is a 'conditional' truth that can dispose of all fantasies and dogmas which claim that it is not a science, or that it does not rest on basic, universally applicable points of reference.

Dogmatism is a form of revisionism. Its biblical-like dogmatic abstractions are as non-scientific as is its revisionist counterpart from the Right. It is equally a distortion of Marxism-Leninism. Dogmatism is not, and cannot be, a defense of a creative body of thought because

it is itself non-creative. The repetition of dogmatic abstractions is a coverup for opportunism. In dogmatism revolutionary sounding phrases are used to cover up opportunistic and counter-revolutionary practices.

Marxism-Leninism develops and grows by way of a continuous struggle to clear up any areas of fuzziness or ambiguity. It is a struggle to narrow the gap between relative and absolute truth. All criteria for testing the validity of Marxism-Leninism must meet these standards. Thus dissection is the tool of all anti-Marxist-Leninists. They try to deny its inherent inner unity. They can give it a distorted, narrow nationalist image only by denying its universality.

Factor of cognition and change

Marxism-Leninism is, at the same time, an instrument of observation and an instrument for changing what it observes. Thus it has an input and an output relationship with reality. Because of this, Marxism-Leninism itself is an integral part of the objective truth. Therefore, a legitimate criterion of its validity must be a test of both its effectiveness as an instrument of observation, and its effectiveness as an instrument of change.

To be a factor in changing reality it is not sufficient for a science to take note, or to agree, that changes are taking place. It is necessary to understand the laws and the forces that bring about and propel the historic process. It must itself become a factor in bringing about the change. This creates the framework for the dialectical relationship between the objective and subjective forces that propel the historic process. Only a subjective force that correctly reacts to and relates to the objective factors can become a force that can bring about change. It is necessary to check whether an idea or a thesis is based on a correct understanding of the laws of change, and a correct assessment of the forces that are propelling the change. It is only on such a foundation that science itself can become a factor in guiding and propelling the change.

The input-output relationship that sciences have with reality is reflected in the fundamental concept of the unity of theory and practice in Marxism-Leninism. This is the link that energizes both the theory and the practice. This unity is more than togetherness. It is a dialectical unity. If this cord is cut the theory will turn into brittle, abstract phrases and practice will be influenced by subjective whims of opportunism.

Marxism-Leninism cannot passively observe and assess events. Passivity and opportunism are the same species. Thus, Marxism-Leninism is a force that constantly leans on events, a force that endlessly pushes and tests. It is, in a sense, perpetual political motion. A revolutionary force cannot have a wait-and-see attitude to objective developments. That leads to a reliance on spontaneity. It cannot create an objective situation that is not in the process of development. But on the other hand it must use fully, to the maximum, the potential that is present at each moment. This demands a great

sensitivity to mass patterns of thought. This is very often a convenient hiding place for opportunism. Thus, how a party reacts to objective developments is an important area and criterion for testing.

It is therefore understandable why, in one way or another, all opponents of Marxism-Leninism attempt to sever the tie between Marxism-Leninism and the realities of life's historic process. By this method they attempt to remove its revolutionary heart and transplant into it a non-revolutionary heart.

The struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism is not a debate over lifeless, abstract formulations, or a battle over bookish quotations. The question of how closely concepts approximate and reflect objective reality at each stage of the historic process and how they can influence what is observed is at the very heart of all checks, of all criteria, in determining the correctness of all theses, of all ideological concepts.

Reality versus fantasy

Because real-life processes do not sustain their revisionist concepts and their opportunist positions, and in the attempt to give their conjured-up images a semblance of credence, the opportunist revisionists, of both the Right and the Left varieties, create 'false' realities, make-believe world processes and social forces, to match their erroneous positions. Because the real world and real life experiences reject them, they conjure up fantasy worlds in which fantasy forces and fantasy laws are at work. They attempt to revise Marxism-Leninism so it will correspond to their fantasy worlds, moulded by their opportunism.

Opportunism and revisionism have an input-output relationship to each other. They are blood relatives. Where you find one you are sure to find the other. Opportunism in all its forms is an accommodation, a capitulation, and in its fully developed form it becomes a surrender to the class enemy. No matter how it is camouflaged, opportunism is capitulation. Revisionism is a theoretical coverup for such opportunistic capitulation.

When all their schemes become incompatible and are exposed by the processes of the real world, they weave a fantasy world and use it as their point of reference. They retreat behind vague, abstract, mystical-like phrases. It is difficult to argue about such 'quotations,' for the same reasons that it is difficult to argue against passages from children's nursery rhymes, the bible or Confucius—because they are meant to have many meanings. The only difference is that the rhymes, the bible and Confucius are not peddled as anything scientific.

Let us take a look at some of the specific conjured-up opportunist concepts. For example, the concept of a world in which the 'lumpen element is the only revolutionary force,' is a concept based on fantasy. It has no foundation in a real world, or real world experiences. It is not a truth, but it is a convenient cover for those who have rejected the revolutionary role of the working class, which is a basic

truth. Opportunism necessitates revision of the correct Marxist-Leninist assessment of the role of the working class. And so they substitute the concept that 'the peasants are the revolutionary force.' There are many different variations of this theme, such as, 'only the forces who are outside of the production process, the non-working class elements,' or 'only the poorest,' can be truly a revolutionary force. Some come out openly and assert, 'the working class has become a part of the capitalist establishment.' In the revisionist fantasy world such opportunist concepts lead to fantasy ideas of struggle, such as 'surround the cities with the forces of armed peasants,' or to ideas of 'instant communism' through 'peasant communes,' as the 'pacesetters in the building of a communist society.' Rejection of the working class as a revolutionary force is a running theme that unites all the fantasies of the revisionists.

Revisionists must always try to give the impression that they are dealing with reality. An example of this is how they deal with the changes in the composition of the working class. They hook onto the correct premise that because of the technological revolution some changes have taken place in the composition of the working class. But from that correct general premise they swing out into the swamps of opportunism. They start to count the color of shirts—so many white shirts, and so many blue shirts. The relationship of the working class to production, the basic element of exploitation, is pushed aside. And so their conclusion is that the composition has so drastically changed that the working class, as a class, has all but disappeared.

There is also the concept that a 'revolutionary need not be concerned whether or not a revolutionary situation exists because a real revolutionary creates his own revolutionary situations.' This is but another fantasy situation. Such a subjective ego-concept denies all historically accumulated experience. It rejects the role of objective factors of causes and effects and, again, the role of the working class. It is a hothouse concept that has no relationship to the real world. The enormous crimes that have been committed against the revolutionary movement, and the damage that such concepts have been responsible for, *must be placed* at the doorstep of those who have advocated such self-defeating policies. Such concepts always serve the forces of counter-revolution.

In the context of criteria based on the real world of classes and the class struggle, operating in the context of real laws of motion and real class forces, such concepts, at best, are unrealistic, illusory and therefore totally unacceptable. They are reflections of non-working class, non-revolutionary theories and are influences of enemy ideology. The forces of capitalism want the working class and the revolutionary movement to be occupied with make-believe problems in a fantasy world.

In fantasy worlds where one does not have to deal with real forces, or where there can be no check on whether or not they are instruments of change, these concepts may momentarily take on the appearance of reflections of reality. Also in the context of some local-

ized experience they can momentarily seem feasible. But as generalizations they become dangerous traps. In this case, as is true with so many wrong ideas, we are not only arguing against them abstractly. They are wrong theories that have misled important militant forces. In the process of trying to 'create a revolutionary situation,' when the objective conditions did not sustain such a concept, many revolutionary groups have been destroyed. Therefore, in the context of real-life struggles they are counter-revolutionary. The fact that they do not meet the test of reality becomes obvious through experience, but very often at great cost. Thus, the cause and effect relationship between ideas and practices is a necessary element in the testing and criteria of the validity of thought.

The central weapon in the arsenal of monopoly capital is its attempt to retard the development of working class consciousness. Their aim is to create confusion and to soft-peddle the class nature of capitalism and capitalist exploitation. The aim of capitalist ideology has always been to create an image of itself as a 'fantasy world' in which the class struggle and classes do not exist; an image of a fantasy world that is divided along national lines; an image of a world in which nationalism replaces working class consciousness and working class internationalism. It is the image of 'we are all one happy family.' This image is the foundation for the class collaborationist policies being peddled in the ranks of the working class. The fantasy world of opportunism is an accommodation to these enemy class pressures.

The revisionist credo

But as in all matters, there are also laws of revisionist development which apply to both its Right and Left variations. They all basically reject the class structure in the real world. In one way or another they all reject the class essence of capitalism. They reject the class struggle as a fundamental law of motion under capitalism. And they reject the working class as the class that has been historically assigned a special revolutionary role. This is a law of all revisionist concepts. In their fantasy world the classes are either non-existent or they appear upside down. In one way or another they all want to 'revise' the working class out of existence, and the working class content out of Marxism-Leninism. To one degree or another they all reject the working class as a revolutionary force. It is in this basic sense that revisionism rejects and attempts to revise the objective laws of capitalist development, because it is these laws that determine the role and nature of classes, including the role and nature of the working class. They deny class exploitation as the basic process that gives rise to classes and the class struggle. The acceptance of the historic role of the working class as the advanced contingent in the struggle for social progress cannot be separated from the acceptance of the objective laws governing capitalist society, any more than one can separate the relationship between cause and effect in general. This leads us to the very kernel of the criteria by which the theses and concepts of working class parties must be judged.

The incompatible conflict between the classes of the exploited and the exploiters is the objective reality of the capitalist world. To ignore it is to ignore the class struggle. It is therefore a most basic element of all criteria measuring the Marxist-Leninist content. It is the decisive factor in the struggle for ideas – the ideas of what class? It is the main ingredient in matters of policy – policies in the interest of what class? It applies to culture, ethics, morals – reflecting what class interests? It is the very essence of economic and political power – the power of what class? It is the fundamental ingredient in assessing an economic and political system of society – led and moulded by what class?

The essence of the shift in economic and political power of the working class is the dictatorship of the proletariat. An attitude toward class political and economic power has been a most basic criterion from Marx's time on. Lenin stated it forcefully: 'A Marxist is only solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 412). Not to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be with the class struggle right up to the moment of economic and political power, only to desert it at that most critical juncture.

Opportunism breaks out at the point where the enemy pressure is the most intense. The enemy's rage reaches the point of frenzy when the economic and political power passes into the hands of the working class. Thus, the opportunistic capitulation on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a response to the intensity of the rage of a class losing its power to dictate.

The opportunists continue repeating the old slanders. 'It marks an absolute break with all democratic traditions of Marxism.' 'It is exclusive one-class rule.' 'There is a need for socialism with a human face.' What such statements reveal is anti-working class faces. The criterion is not the acceptance of the phrase dictatorship of the proletariat but rather the essence of the matter. The essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is that the proletariat exercises its power in alliance with the working people, but an alliance in which the working class – its ideas, its policies, its culture, its cadre – is the dominating influence. Its dominating influence is not in any basic contradiction with the interests of the other sectors of the alliance. It is only in basic contradiction with the class of exploiters. It is an alliance with a broad people's democratic base. It is an alliance that eliminates minority rule by the class of exploiters.

The criteria of the recognition of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat include whether there is a working class attitude toward proletarian internationalism. A state power following policies of narrow nationalism, policies that disrupt, divide and slander the forces of socialism; a state power that, for narrow partisan gains, makes opportunistic concessions of principle to the forces of imperialism; a state power that is mainly influenced by the ideas of the non-working class elements, i.e., peasants, middle class, does not meet the criteria or the standards of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The building of a socialist society is a working-class idea. The

dictatorship of the proletariat is an inseparable element of that process. Because 'the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat,' the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, are all elements of one historic process.

Revisionism, in all its forms, invariably tries to sidestep the basic class issues, the basic working-class approach to developments. Because the working class is the basic revolutionary factor in the class struggle, the revisionist accommodation takes the form of modifying or rejecting the historic role of the working class. In order to give this rejection some appearance of credence, revisionism invariably upgrades some other group such as the 'peasants,' 'lumpen elements,' 'the poor,' or the 'oppressed in general,' as the new, 'advanced revolutionary sector.' This, of course, is possible only in a fantasy world. It is a coverup. In essence it is opportunism. In doing this the revisionist rejects the necessity of an alliance between the working class and peasants, as well as alliance and coalitions of the working class and the victims of racism, the national liberation forces, and the victims of imperialism in the struggle against imperialism. Opportunism is a form of accommodation and capitulation to the class enemy. It is an aid to capitalism in its effort to hide the class essence of its system of exploitation. Scratch the skin of any of the varieties of revisionism and you will find expressions of 'a lack of confidence in the working class;' a lack of confidence in the force that energizes the world revolutionary process, a lack of confidence in socialism.

A rejection of the basic Marxist-Leninist theses of classes and the class struggle leads the revisionists to the attempt to distort the Marxist concept of the main contradiction. They replace the real contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class, and between imperialism and socialism, its world form, with a fantasy world in which the class contradiction disappears and is replaced by a 'multitude of contradictions;' a fantasy world in which 'small and medium size countries—socialist, fascist and imperialist—are in contradiction with large countries—socialist and imperialist; a fantasy world in which the 'third world' countries are in contradiction with the rest of the world—a world that is divided into 'zones' where the 'superpowers' are in contradiction with each other and jointly with the rest of the world. The purpose of these fantasy contradictions is very obvious. Each created contradiction is for the purpose of hiding a specific policy of opportunistic capitulation. A policy of not supporting the working-class struggle is covered up by saying there is no class struggle. A policy of betraying the interests of the world socialist community is covered up by 'eliminating' the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The concept of the 'multitude of contradictions' is a cover for a multitude of opportunistic sins.

The concept of the main class contradiction is not only a correct assessment of today's reality, it is a guide to working class policies, to working class actions. Those who want to capitulate, those who want to jump over this class contradiction, try to cover up their betrayal by attempts to remove it.

The working class has a special role as the advanced contingent in the struggle for social progress, in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and build socialism. This is a basic point of reference which determines whether 'new' concepts are reflections of the truth, of reality, or are opportunistic revisions or dogmatic phrasemongering that seem 'real' only in a fantasy world.

Ideological masquerade

Because they both have the same relationship to the class issue, because they are both forms of opportunism, because they both reflect capitulation to the pressure of the enemy class, there has always been, and there is today, close affinity between the Right and Left varieties of revisionism. They can, and they do, often coexist in the same individual person or group of people. They can, without too much trouble, replace each other. They come to the table of appeasement from different directions, but they are on their knees on the same side of the table. The net result of both is an accommodation to the pressures of the enemy class.

Opportunism-revisionism in most cases starts as a defense of some seemingly legitimate 'tactical' position, a defense of a 'tactical' concession. But it has its own inner logic. As is the case with most destructive germs, in the struggle against opportunism it is of utmost importance to be able to detect the germs early. In its early stages it is necessary to be able to separate opportunism from legitimate and correct tactics that are necessary in a struggle. Often this is not easy. Ideas and thoughts cannot be fully tested until they are related to concrete events, to reality.

The nature of opportunism-revisionism surfaces clearly in the struggle against imperialism. The pressures of the class enemy are strong and the danger of accommodation to such pressures is always present. It was just such pressure that destroyed most of the Social Democratic parties of the Second International. They revised Marxism to cover up their opportunism. The opportunism in this field shows up in the playing down of the brutal class nature of imperialist policies. Even to this day opportunist accommodation takes the form of justifying the annexation of other people's land as 'needed to create defensible borders.' The defenders of Israeli aggression wallow in this opportunistic swamp.

The accommodation (the capitulation in most cases) takes place in response to the pressures of the ruling class of one's own country. This opportunist accommodation very often takes place under the cover of correct statements 'against imperialism' in general or against the imperialism of some other country, while either remaining silent about or playing down the imperialism of one's own country. Such opportunism very quickly leads to attempts at revising Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concepts as a coverup. A Marxist-Leninist party that does not take on the imperialism of its own country is feeding on bourgeois nationalism. The path of accommodation to the whims of the class enemy cannot lead to victories of the working class. The opportunistic accommodation destroys the

ideological and political fibers that are necessary in the struggle against the class enemy.

The struggle against racism is another element of the criteria for measuring the ideological stand of a working class revolutionary party. Because racism is a weapon of imperialism, opportuistic accommodation to the imperialist policies of one's own country is very often accompanied by a soft-peddling of the struggle against racism. An accommodation to racism is an important signal of the corroding influence of opportunism. In fact it is impossible to separate the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against racism. The opportunism in the struggle against racism can show up in many ways. This accommodation may exhibit itself by silence. It may show up in the projection of ideas postponing the struggle to some later date. It may show up in tactical considerations with an idea that the masses are not ready for a struggle against racism. All such excuses are opportunistic. They are an accommodation to the ideology of racism itself.

For more than 50 years the biggest guns of imperialist ideology have been aimed at ideas of communism in general and, in a special way, they have zeroed in on the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism is a special form of anti-Communism. For world imperialism this is the central front, the decisive arena of battle. In a sense this is understandable from the viewpoint of imperialism. This is a reflection of the new world relationship of forces. And, again, as is to be expected, it is also here that revisionism and dogmatism appear as a coverup for policies of accommodation and capitulation to the pressure of imperialism.

Anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are therefore central arenas for the testing of the influence of opportunism. This has become a most important criterion for testing the ideological mettle of working class parties. The numerous revisionist and dogmatic coverups appear as an ideological masquerade ball. There is no such thing as anti-Soviet Communism or anti-Soviet Marxism-Leninism.

They appear in many disguises. The concept of 'two superpowers' and its more open form the 'two imperialist powers' is an offspring of the opportunism of both revisionism and dogmatism. This is their peace offering to imperialism. It is an accommodation, a capitulation, to the pressures of imperialist ideology in the arena of anti-Communism. The aim of this tactic is to move some forces in the camp of socialism, in the camp of national liberation, one step into the camp of anti-Communism. It is a way for the opportunistic capitulators to say to their imperialist masters, 'see, we are for you in at least one area of anti-Communism.' The 'two superpowers' concept is a form of anti-Communism. The leading spokesmen for United States imperialism are enthusiastic promoters of the 'two superpowers' concept. They clearly understand the motive behind the slogan. They know it blunts the attack on imperialist policies. They know it is an attack on the unity of the socialist countries. It is designed to drive a wedge between the developing countries, the national liberation movements, and the Soviet Union.

Opportunism is not only a concession to the ruling class directly. It is also a way of demagogically maneuvering with masses who are under the influence of enemy ideology. Opportunism can penetrate a tactical accommodation to masses who are so affected. In the beginning it can be explained as a way of winning votes of masses who are under the influence of bourgeois ideology. But there comes a point when opportunism leaves the arena of tactical considerations and moves into open opportunistic accommodation. Once it breaks out it spreads. And one step leads to another. Before long the opportunist is tailing behind the masses who are influenced by the ideology of the enemy.

In this period when the historic process is propelled by revolutionary waves, the opportunistic accommodation and the revisionist justification are increasingly tailored into Left-radical-appearing vestments. This was already beginning to appear in Lenin's time: 'The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584). As the balance of world forces has shifted, this tendency has correspondingly increased. This has, therefore, increased the need to sharpen the weapons and the criteria with which to defend Marxism-Leninism from the opportunism that is presented in Left-radical-sounding phrases. In some ways this has complicated the struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist thought.

Many of the criteria for testing ideas appear in their sharpest form in the everyday activities of working class parties. They appear in the overall posture of a party, and there are some very specific points of checkup such as: A revolutionary policy must at all times bend in the direction of struggle; a revolutionary movement must never accept the idea of 'partnership' with the class enemy, explicitly or implicitly. It is a basic truth that the gap created by the system of class exploitation cannot be bridged or bypassed. These points of reference must influence the everyday activities of a working class revolutionary party. They are part of the criteria in the struggle against the influence of opportunism.

Is this 'bent' toward struggle in contradiction with policies of alliances, coalitions or the united front? Absolutely not. In fact it is the 'bent' toward struggle that gives the united front policies a special meaning. When Communists do not take the class concepts to the masses and into the alliances and coalitions the door is opened to influences of opportunism. On the other hand, to inject the class concepts abstractly and dogmatically leads to sectarianism. The task of Communists is to present the working class viewpoint in a way that convinces all forces that their self-interests are best served by such class policies.

The class approach to détente

Of course, it is necessary to view all truths as they unfold within the historic process. So today the class struggle on a world scale takes place in a new setting. The class struggle takes place in the context of two world social and economic systems. Through the

socialist state the working class has state and military power. This fact influences the class struggle in every capitalist country. Socialist countries must deal with the capitalist powers on the level of state relations. They have diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist countries. The relationships include exchanges in science, medicine, culture and exploration of space. But this has not changed or eliminated the fact that the class struggle – two opposing classes – remains the central point of reference for Marxism-Leninism. The fact that there are two world systems presents new criteria for testing the validity of policies and programs.

Détente is a word that describes the new relationships between the socialist and capitalist countries. But they each come to the table from opposite directions. They come with opposite class interests. Détente is possible now because of a new level in the balance of world forces. Socialism fights for détente from the position of a growing influence and new strength. Imperialism is forced to accept détente because it is dealing from a position of increasing weakness.

There is a shift in U.S. foreign policy. It is a shift from the cold war policy of frontal aggression toward a policy of retreat and maneuver. It is a policy that continues to seek out weak spots. It is a policy of divide and rule. It tries to balance off one force against another, while it takes advantage of both. The change is not from an imperialist policy to an anti-imperialist policy. It continues its policy of aggression, but increasingly it is forced to maneuver.

To the extent that U.S. imperialism is forced to give up its policies of frontal aggression it is possible to have relationships based on détente. For socialist countries it is possible to have relationships based on détente and do so on the basis of championing self-interests of the working class. For socialist countries détente is a policy of struggle against imperialism. It is a struggle for world peace. The policies of the Soviet Union clearly and fully meet these criteria.

But it is also possible to have relationships based on détente and follow a policy of opportunistic accommodation to the pressure of imperialism. To speak of 'two superpowers' is to do the bidding of imperialism. To conduct a slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union is to capitulate to the anti-Communist pressure of imperialism. To help the oppressors of Bangladesh, of Chile and of the Sudan is to be of assistance to imperialism.

One follows a working-class, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist policy in relationships of détente; the other pursues an opportunistic policy – an anti-working-class, anti-socialist, pro-imperialist policy of capitulation.

For Marxist-Leninists the class struggle, the class viewpoint, is the principal point of reference. It is the brightest star in the galaxy of reality. This is so because the class struggle is the central element of the truth of the historic process. The historic role played by the working class is a truth determined by this historic process. It is therefore understandable why, without exception, all opportunists, revisionists and dogmatists attempt to revise the Marxist-Leninist concept of the class question.

Revolutionary theory must be tested in its input-output relationship with struggles. Revolutionary theory and the world revolutionary process must blend, each influencing the other. Revolutionary theory is a guide to revolutionary practice, but in turn is influenced by it. Non-working class, non-revolutionary, petty bourgeois theories have an input-output relationship and blend with opportunism, capitulation and counter-revolution.

One serves the self-interests of the working class, the forces fighting imperialism and the overall cause of human progress; the other serves the self-interests of the capitalist class, all of the attached leeches, and the forces of reaction generally.

Testing the validity of theories must not be an annual inventory. The testing cannot be separated from its daily application. The struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism must not be left only to some special conference, to a special cadre, or to special books. It must not be separated from the revolutionary practice. It is an everyday task for all of the revolutionary cadre.

The development of Marxism-Leninism, as is the case in all fields of science, is never ending. It grows out of the collective and cumulative wisdom and experience of the working class and people the world over. It is the truth. It is the very best the human mind has produced.

A tried and tested weapon

Round-table discussion

VISUAL PROPAGANDA TODAY

'Anyone who tears down or tampers with this poster is guilty of a counter-revolutionary act.' This warning was printed on revolutionary posters appearing on walls and in factories during the Civil War in Soviet Russia.

In Athens and other Greek towns anti-dictatorship and anti-American slogans in luminescent paint frequently appear on the walls and fences. Once a police patrol car drove around the streets of Athens for a whole day with a 'Down with the Junta' sticker on it.

Two examples from different periods and from different countries. They prove one thing: that when a fierce class battle is being waged it is not only rifles that shoot. Posters, leaflets, slogans are all formidable weapons in the hand of the proletariat. This was the theme discussed when representatives of European Communist and Workers' Parties met at the journal recently for a round-table discussion

on 'Visual Propaganda Today.' Those taking part were: A. Matzinger, member, CC CP Austria; P. Karagyaurov, section head, Propaganda Department, CC Bulgarian CP; M. Tamas, functionary of the Propaganda Department, CC Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; P. Seifert, section head, and H. Geppner, functionary, Propaganda Department, CC Socialist Unity Party of Germany; K. Mentis, functionary of the Propaganda Department, CC CP Greece; H. Bidstrup, Danish Communist artist, International Lenin Prize winner; G. Galli, member, CC Italian CP, deputy chief of the Press and Propaganda department; A. Wlodarczyk, deputy chief of the Propaganda, Press and Publishing Department, CC Polish United Workers' Party; A. Stefan, functionary of the Propaganda and Press Department, CC Rumanian CP; I. Chkhikvishvili, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade, and N. Ludanov - Chief Editor of the political posters department, Iskustvo Publishing House (CPSU); K. Arvola, publishing house editor (CP Finland); F. Noll, Member of the Board of the German Communist Party; V. Novy, Member, CC CP Czechoslovakia, Y. Kase, section head, Propaganda Department, CC CP Czechoslovakia; A. Hauska, section head, Department of Propaganda, CC CP Slovakia, and M. Hegar, Czech Communist artist, professor at the Higher School of Applied Arts.

In step with the times

In the course of revolutionary struggles visual propaganda developed as an independent form of Party work. Combining political appeal with information and artistic expression, it has served the working class faithfully at all stages of its struggle for emancipation. It is effective, challenging, and has great emotional impact.

Engels wrote: 'Posters are the main means of influencing the proletariat . . . What is more likely to preserve revolutionary energy among the workers than posters, which turn every street corner into a large newspaper . . . for the worker a poster is at one and the same time a newspaper and a club absolutely free of charge.' V. I. Lenin, who, as is known, attached great importance to visual propaganda, emphasizing its revolutionary impact, wrote that in response to a leaflet printed and circulated by 'two or three hundred people' - *two hundred and fifty thousand* people rose as one man in St. Petersburg' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 225). The Party leadership of the masses should, he considered, use 'lively, mobile, speedy, brief leaflet-bulletins giving the main slogans and the results of the main events' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 34, p. 361).

Over many years of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction (in countries where the revolution triumphed) various ways of presenting visual propaganda were developed: posters, transparencies, leaflets, exhibitions, information stands, lapel pins - one can hardly list them all, particularly as life brings forth ever newer forms and types of visual propaganda, such as billboards, color slides, etc.

What role does visual propaganda play today in the ideological, political and organizational work of the fraternal parties? Isn't its importance lessened with the development of the mass media? Almost everyone listens to the radio, watches television, goes to the cinema, reads newspapers, magazines and books and pamphlets, uses all the modern channels of communication. Doesn't this squeeze out visual propaganda? These questions were in the center of the discussion that ensued.

For instance, some people think, said *H. Bidstrup*, that poster art is obsolete, it has outlived its time; that no one looks at posters; people pass quickly by, rush past in motor-cars and pay no heed to things around them. This is not so. The political poster as a means of struggle, of influencing the masses today, tomorrow and in the future should not be underestimated. I am convinced that a great future awaits the poster.

Greek Communists have been struggling in illegal and semi-legal conditions for many years against foreign invaders and reactionary regimes, said *K. Mentis*. In such difficult circumstances visual propaganda becomes the most important, and at times virtually the only, method of Party activity among the masses.

We sustained a serious blow immediately following the black colonels' coup in 1967. We had no newspapers, but we still had our radio station 'The Voice of Truth.' The directives which it transmitted were immediately transformed into leaflets and slogans. The leaflets were written by hand or typewritten. They did a splendid job, inspiring and activating the people, while the enraged Minister of Home Affairs demanded: 'It's high time to put an end to these bits of paper.' But, as before, a great number of them appeared in streets and squares, in parks and cinemas, in places where the junta organized celebrations or meetings, on walls and billboards. The junta mobilized the police to destroy the leaflets, but they reappeared. And the people saw that the Party lives and acts, and organizes opposition to fascism.

Those arrested for distributing or possessing these 'bits of paper' suffered cruel torture. Many received severe sentences – as much as 20 years' imprisonment just for a leaflet!

Our Party works in different circumstances, *Galli* said. As a mass Party, the Italian Communist Party tries to utilize all forms of legal struggle – from Parliament down to the branch organizations; we publish *L'Unita* and the journal *Rinascita*. But we are denied the use of television, the radio, and many publishers will have nothing to do with us. The ruling majority groupings, primarily the Christian Democrats, dominate in the state-controlled mass media (radio, television, some daily papers). Powerful economic and financial groupings, as well as the Vatican, hold key positions in the daily and periodic press and to a considerable degree in the book publishing world. So that although we can conduct our propaganda legally, as compared with the bourgeoisie we have far less means to do so. Our Party pays considerable attention to visual propaganda, through which it makes direct contact with millions of people (of course, we do not forget

other methods of influencing the masses). Posters, leaflets, and photographs are highly effective. They are used according to the circumstances in order to give our propaganda documentary veracity and keenness, to expose the enemy and acquaint the broad masses with Communist proposals.

In order to maintain their power big business interests in the FRG, said *Noll* monopolize the mass media which mould public opinion. Our Party has to create its own information and propaganda system.

The spoken word is still an important means of spreading communist ideas and explaining the Party's policy. But how many fellow-workers can 40 Communists talk to in a factory employing, say, 10,000 workers? What can counter the powerful ideological apparatus of the monopolies brainwashing the workers? We had to find a weapon that would enable the Party to speak to thousands of people simultaneously, and the factory papers of the German Communist Party were the answer.

These papers are not very large, and rather like leaflets. They always attract attention because they are multi-colored, have large headings, include cartoons and diagrams, and tell the workers how to achieve their demands. They also acquaint them with the policy and aims of our Party.

Incidentally, we too heard people saying: 'Who in this age of television and radio is going to read leaflets?' A concrete example of what resulted from a comparison we made of rents in the FRG and the GDR is the best answer to such ideas.

'A four-room flat to let in a new block, with bathroom and a balcony, kitchen with fittings, waste disposal chute and central heating. Rent 112 marks per month, no payments in advance, no gratuities to middlemen. The only condition: You must be a citizen of the GDR.' We published this text as an advertisement in our factory newspapers and the effect was electrifying. Non-Party workers pasted the advertisement on car-windows and walls of houses. Tenants rang the Party organizations enquiring about rents in capitalist and socialist countries and discussed the reasons for the high cost of housing in the FRG. The conversations led to the subject of who owns the means of production and the land, and what has to be done so that the working people in capitalist countries may become real masters of their own country.

The influence of these leaflets is undoubtedly far greater than that of many hours of anti-communist TV programs and the many tons of Springer newsprint.

Wlodarczyk, Seifert, Karagyaurov, Kace, Tamas, Chkhikvishvilli and *Stefan* spoke about the development of visual propaganda in countries of the socialist community, where the mass media and propaganda serve the interests of the people. In socialist society it is possible to ensure close cooperation between the press, radio, television, cinema and visual propaganda means. Each vehicle of the mass media uses its specific methods to tackle common tasks, such as helping the Party to mobilize the masses for creative effort, contributing to

the establishment of socialist public relations and the communist education of the working people, and explaining Party decisions.

The constant success of exhibitions, the rising circulation of political posters and increased demand for transparencies and panels is testimony to the growing role of visual propaganda in the socialist countries. Last year, for example, Soviet publishers issued more than 5,000 posters with an overall printing of 130 million copies. In addition, a large number of visual teaching aids were produced, their circulation exceeding 50 million copies. The demand for such aids is growing all the time.

Everyone at this meeting—representatives of parties working in the most varied conditions—confirmed that the weapon of visual propaganda is by no means outmoded. Today, with the class struggle becoming much sharper in the capitalist countries, and the battle of ideas between the forces of socialism and capitalism keener, it can prove of immense value to Communists and the working class. It is, therefore, justifiable and essential to devote attention to its further perfection, and this, too, was spoken of at the round table.

Seeing is believing

Although visual propaganda does not compete with other mass media, the essential need for establishing cooperation between them was pointed out. Therefore, said *Włodarczyk* and *Stefan*, the sphere of application of visual propaganda appropriate to its nature and its merit has to be clearly established.

Visual propaganda aids are concerned, primarily, with emotional impact. Therefore, it is imperative that posters, exhibitions, billboards of a high ideological standard conform to modern aesthetic standards, are expressive and able to produce an emotional response in people.

Influenced by scientific-technical achievements, visual propaganda methods undergo changes in style; their structure is enriched, and new methods of display employed. This puts the question of the relationship between content and form in sharp relief.

Soviet poster experts, said *Chkhikvishvili*, have done a great deal to make visual propaganda a valuable helpmate of the Party in building communist society. But, obviously, the greater the scale of work, the greater the problems.

With the 'information explosion,' it is highly probable that visual propaganda will have a major part to play in forming lasting impressions about the Soviet way of life and socialist democracy. Therefore, visual propaganda must be closer to reality, and the tasks which the Party and people are striving to solve. It must be effective, timely, and, ahead of the ideological actions of the bourgeoisie.

We have much to praise and be proud of. But artists and writers are not always able to find clear, unforgettable literary forms and graphic images.

Some artists, in place of clear images with a clear message to the

people, resort to abstract designs, which obscure the idea and make it more difficult to understand. We decisively oppose various theories of 'aesthetic appeal' or 'complex artistic fabric' as applied to the poster, theories, which justify a one-sided development of artistic devices separated from content.

The aim, in effect, is to turn a poster into a splash of color to be admired only for its combination of colors, its delicacy of form and lines. This leads to the disappearance of the very substance of a political poster: its direct, absolutely clear political message, its explicit socio-political content. We are also against trivial representation and clichés. It is no secret that many posters are still lacking in content and repeat old images.

The search for new, original artistic paths, a decisive refusal to perpetuate stereotyped styles, and a striving toward fruitful diversity of styles are the essentials for the further creative development of the political poster along the lines of socialist realism.

The Propaganda Department of the Bulgarian Communist Party, remarked *Karagyaurov*, strives to make its visual propaganda forceful and striking, and employ to the full the latest technical aids. The successes in the economic and cultural development of the country make it possible to employ monumental-decorative types of art – mosaics, ceramics, sculpture – although these forms necessitate particular attention to artistic merit.

As an experiment, said *Tamas*, we conceived a system of propaganda exhibitions designed to show, alongside varied examples of the present, the dynamics of development of Hungarian society. Recently a travelling exhibition about the working class was produced. It is constantly being enlarged by the addition of local material on the life and work of the people of the region where the exhibition is being shown. This also helps the local people to compare the successes of their region, town or enterprise with those of the country as a whole.

Representatives of Communist parties in capitalist countries spoke of methods of distribution and the search for forms of visual propaganda better suited to the concrete situation, the channels available for propagating Party ideas.

In conditions of illegality, persecution and repression, the need for inventiveness is particularly great. New methods are continuously devised, said *Mentis*. For instance, leaflets were stuffed into the exhaust pipes of cars; no sooner does the engine start than the leaflets fly out like a whirlwind.

During the recent referendum in Athens the junta pasted hundreds of posters bearing its symbol – a phoenix and the word 'Yes.' These were torn off by patriots and the dark background thus exposed seemed to say to the junta 'No.'

Holding up a small piece of paper, *Mentis* said, 'Here is a tiny leaflet which looks like a postage stamp. An anti-dictatorship slogan can be printed on it, for instance, 'No,' and it can be posted anywhere, on shop windows, cars, on trolley-buses and trams.'

Letters from political detainees in prisons and camps their drawings, handwritten bulletins (which the Party distributes in leaflet form) and many examples of their handiwork all have a great effect.

Although we work legally we too try to find new ways of visual propaganda, said *Noll*. The factory papers of the German Communist Party have already been mentioned. We also issue similar publications in industrial communities, villages and higher educational establishments, appealing to specific groups of the population.

Letters to neighbors are also very effective; when, for instance, there are price increases a Communist will write a letter to a neighbor giving his opinion and explaining the party's attitude. In these 'letters' we publish the photograph of the author, and this helps to establish personal contacts with the population.

Information stands have been widely used, and we attach great importance to them. With striking posters, with a well thought out exposition of a given theme, the stand, which is placed in the street, attracts the attention of passers-by and stimulates political discussion. Our paper *Unsere Zeit* is on sale and other Party materials are distributed.

Our Party organizations, remarked *Arvola*, are making increasing use of photo-slides, which make for effective visual propaganda. We use them to tell people about the activities and aims of the Communist Party of Finland and the political situation in the country.

Posters that had been sent by the parties taking part were on display at the *WMR* premises, and aroused discussion on ways of developing political posters. Among other things, *Bidstrup* said:

'Poster art is undergoing change and is developing. True, not everything that is new can be regarded as successful. I think that the present tendency to use words on posters is a debatable one. There are times when the drawing disappears from the posters and words take over. It seems to me that in such cases we lessen the emotional impact in favor of a misconceived rationalism. The poster is a form of the depictive arts which speaks to the viewer in a language of its own, the language of artistic imagery, the language of symbols.

'I am not against a text as an integral part of a poster, but it should, I feel, be minimal and laconic. One of the chief defects of present-day posters is the inability of many artists to create works arousing emotional and psychological impact.

'Color is exceedingly important. Our main color is red, the color of the revolution, the color of the Party banner. It is a color which arouses people, excites and calls to action. If we take red out of posters, they lose a great deal . . .

'The conditions under which poster artists work in capitalist countries are vastly different from those in the socialist countries. Posters are ordered by capitalists to advertise tooth paste, face powder, every conceivable item, but certainly not the workers' struggle or cartoons on social themes. But there will come a time when we shall enjoy the same excellent conditions as in the socialist countries. I am hopeful that we shall make the whole world red so that it can "advertise" socialism for other planets!'

To lead and direct

The effectiveness of visual propaganda depends to a large extent on Party leadership. There was an exchange of information at the meeting on ways in which visual propaganda is organized.

In the socialist countries there is a considered and flexible system making it possible at all levels – at the center and in the localities – to direct the activities of all branches of visual agitation. A characteristic feature of this system, noted the representatives from the socialist countries, was public participation in advisory councils or commissions dealing with methods of work set up by party branches and higher organizations. Artists, writers, psychologists, sociologists and economists work in these commissions. They are concerned with the form and content of visual propaganda at enterprises, in the towns and villages, etc. The CC SUPG, said *Seifert*, has set up a special publishing house to supply Party and public bodies with visual propaganda aids.

In Czechoslovakia, said *Kase*, we have a journal *Nazorna Agitace* (Agitation) with a circulation of 70,000.

Party organizations in Rumania, commented *Stefan*, lay great emphasis on exchange of experiences in this field. Special exhibitions are organized which display the more interesting new methods of visual propaganda.

In Warsaw we have what is probably the only Poster Museum in the world, said *Wlodarczyk*, and the journal *Sugestie* which deals entirely with questions of visual propaganda has been in existence for four years.

The fraternal parties in the capitalist countries organize appropriate forms of Party leadership in this sphere of activity.

Decentralization and local initiative, said *Galli*, are characteristic of the Italian Communist Party's propaganda work. It is impossible to put out and swiftly distribute propaganda material from the center to the Federations (there are 110) and sections (11,000). This requires a great deal of time, whereas the need to communicate with the masses in reply to bourgeois propaganda arises daily. Therefore, the federations and sections must themselves put out visual propaganda. Naturally, the CC directs the activities of the primary Party organizations: conferences are held and a special bulletin is issued.

Arvola, *Matzinger* and *Noll*, in their contributions, devoted a good deal of attention to the training of cadres, drawing specialists into propaganda work, and emphasized that success in this field largely depends on the people to whom it is entrusted.

The Board of the German Communist Party approached a recent congress of writers, requesting them to contribute to communist publications. Some non-Communist writers responded, writing in the Party press, preparing leaflets and composing political songs. In various regions groups of Party poster artists and sympathisers are formed. Incidentally, relations with the intellectuals are not only of a 'consumer' nature. Exhibitions of progressive artists are arranged in large enterprises with the aid of trade union activists.

In this manner the Party strives to bring art closer to the workers while increasing the workers' influence on art.

The desirability of further improvement in international cooperation and exchange of experience in visual propaganda was also referred to.

Galli. Nowadays propaganda about socialism is a particularly live problem. The entire capitalist West is passing through a deep crisis, not only economic, but social, political, cultural. Many people who believed in the capitalist system are beginning to appreciate the choice made by the socialist countries.

Undoubtedly propaganda on these themes is primarily the task of the Communist parties of capitalist countries. But we hope that through cooperation with the parties in the socialist countries we shall be able to fulfil this task with great effect. I should like to refer to the example of the *Unita* Festivals. In recent years the Communist parties of the socialist countries have been sending delegations to the Festivals, showing exhibitions, performances, feature and documentary films. This met with a terrific response by Italian society and broadened people's knowledge about the socialist countries. It also encouraged a joint search for new forms and means of demonstrating the achievements of real socialism. We consider that this experience can serve as the starting point for broadening cooperation in the future.

Wlodarczyk. Meetings of specialists in connection with specialized or general exhibitions could be most interesting. It is worth giving consideration to forms of mutual aid when introducing new technical means of visual propaganda.

Karagyaurov. There is now a need for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the production of posters. We should consider the organization of joint exhibitions.

Matzinger. We believe that it is well worth promoting international communist cooperation for elaborating joint propaganda action to counter the offensive of multinational monopolies.

Chkhikvishvili. Apparently we have now reached a stage when we should arrange a regular exchange of information between our publishing houses. For quite some time now, books have been published in which teams of authors from different countries have jointly produced works on current problems. Why couldn't we pool our efforts in the preparation of political posters? Such themes as reaction, socialist cooperation of peoples, socialist integration and many others could serve as a good basis for jointly producing a series of political posters which could be issued simultaneously in several countries.

The discussion once again revealed the enormous and evergrowing possibilities inherent in visual propaganda, the significant and varied experience of Communists who use it in the widest possible manner in political, ideological and organizational work. It concluded with expressions of the hope that visual propaganda would, in the future, by its arresting impact, bring millions of workers into the active struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In brief

ARGENTINA

A national conference of the Communist Party of Argentina was held to discuss organizational problems. It noted that 27,950 new members had been admitted from April 1972 to January 1974; the Party membership is now 126,000.

In his speech, Organizational Secretary Athos Fava stated that while this mass influx had added new valuable dimensions to the Party, it at times also affected its ideological level negatively. Hence the importance of regular functioning of the cells and consistent political-theoretical and educational work among Communists. The Conference, regarding rapid growth of the Party as the decisive prerequisite for changing the correlation of forces in the labor movement and creating the basis of an anti-imperialist front, set the task of increasing its membership to 200,000, and membership of the Young Communist League to 100,000.

There are now 3,218 Party cells. The Party has set itself the aim of setting up 3,000 new cells, 2,000 of them at industrial plants, 500 among farm laborers, 800 among women, etc.

BANGLADESH

By decision of the CC CPB, a Lenin Communist Party school has been opened in one of the central districts of Dacca. This first Party School for Communist education, said the General Secretary Mohammed Farhad, should help to eliminate defects in the ideological and organizational fields.

CONGO

The CC of the Congolese Party of Labor is engaged in setting up basic Party units in residential neighborhoods and enterprises. In accordance with the decision of the CC Plenum, Party organizations are being formed in town communes, regions and districts. At this first stage, communal, regional and district Party committees are being formed.

The Plenum noted that the growth of the Party has made such organization imperative.

DENMARK

The prestige of the Communist Party of Denmark among the population continues to grow, particularly since the parliamentary elections in which the Communists gained six seats in the Folketing. This is confirmed by public opinion polls carried out by Gallup and other pollsters according to which five per cent of the electorate now support the Communist Party, whereas at the time of the December 4 election, 3.6 per cent voted for the Party.

INDIA

The 'Central News Agency,' a new organ of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, has recently been launched in Delhi. Its first dispatches cover meetings of the National Council of the CPI and popular demonstrations for better living and working conditions. The Agency announced that the membership of the CPI during the past year has increased by nearly 90,000.

PARAGUAY

The Paraguayan Communist Party has issued information about its recent conference held underground in Paraguay. The conference discussed the political situation in Paraguay and the role of the PCP in the struggle to overthrow the Stroessner dictatorship. Party membership has increased sixfold in the past 18 months.

RUMANIA

At a Plenum of the CC RCP held in March, proposals for changes in the country's Constitution came under discussion.

The establishment of the post of President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania was agreed upon, and at the recommendation of the Plenum the National Assembly of the SRR unanimously elected the General Secretary of the CC FCP, Nicolae Ceausescu, as President.

The Plenum considered Party structure and the membership figures. On December 31, 1973, there were 2,386,819 members of whom 71.5 per cent are engaged in material production. Measures for strengthening the Party membership were agreed on.

Decisions on the selection, preparation and promotion of leading Party and government cadres were also adopted. Particular attention will be paid to the promotion of young cadres who have proved their worth in their professional and social responsibilities. They will be entrusted with Party responsibilities, leadership on national councils, industrial enterprises, and mass organizations. Preference will be given to people of working-class origin and of high professional and political standards. The Plenum also emphasized the prime importance of giving women positions of responsibility, and laid down measures for raising the ideological level and revolutionary consciousness of the cadres.

The Plenum adopted changes in the Party Constitution, the draft bill on wages related to performance, adopted the Theses on the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania from fascism and plans for celebrating this anniversary.

SWITZERLAND

A successful campaign was carried out in the Zurich canton by the Swiss Party of Labor, where people voted on a proposal of the Communists that a Federal Law be adopted on rent profiteering. Two out of every three voted in support of the initiative of the cantonal organizations of the SPL, despite the desperate attempts of the 'Land-

lords' Union' to interfere with the referendum. The trade unions and also representatives of the Socialist Party supported the Party's proposal.

YUGOSLAVIA

The first issue of a new magazine *Marxism and the World*, has just appeared, published by the Belgrade Komunist Press. A statement by its Editorial Board says the magazine will publish reprints of articles by Marxists and 'publicize the results of research, ideas and trends of modern Marxists and other progressive authors.' 'Once or twice a year,' it says, 'we shall publish special issues, in which the Union of Communists will make a basic critical analysis of an ideological and theoretical character of specific problems and themes that are now under world discussion.' The main theme of this first issue of 180 pages is 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Chile.'

Memorable February 1934

Erwin Zuecker-Schilling

The author, a veteran of the Austrian and international Communist and Workers' movement and representative of the CP Austria on **World Marxist Review**, has devoted more than 50 of his 71 years to Communist Party activity. For many years he was a member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the CP Austria, edited its legal and illegal press, bringing to his work the talent and experience of a Party publicist. This article was written at the request of **WMR**.

The tram came to an abrupt halt in the tunnel. The lights went out. I looked at my watch—11:47. Together with the other passengers I walked to the end of the tunnel into the bright sunshine of a cold winter day. Not only the tram had stopped, the whole of Vienna, it seemed, had ground to a halt: electric power had been cut off.

A strike! At last. I did not know what had triggered it off, but I had been long enough in the labor movement to make a good guess, all the more so that what happened, and what was to happen, on this Monday of February 12, 1934, concerned us Communists in a very direct way. In the tram, as it wended its way through the Vienna streets, my thoughts turned to what could happen in the coming week. Now, they were on what had happened in all the preceding weeks.

For almost a year Austria had been living under a reactionary

authoritarian regime, its most outspoken representatives working for an outright fascist dictatorship modelled on Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany. A long and tortuous path led to that situation. Things could have been different: in 1918, the Austrian bourgeoisie and its government had lost power under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia and the collapse of the Habsburg empire. Now the trend was toward a stronger and still more reactionary regime. This was not a fatal inevitability. The course of events could have been foreseen, for the Social Democrat leadership had been abandoning the positions won by the working class one after another. Retreating before reaction and its terrorist organizations and shying away from a struggle by the well-organized and politically powerful working class (most workers were either Social Democrat members or supporters), the social democrats contributed to a situation in which the reactionary government, the fascist organizations and their foreign preceptors, were able to carry out their plans.

The Communist Party of Austria was aware of the danger and did everything to explain it to the workers, warn them, convince them of the need to repel fascism. That was brought home to the workers day after day by *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag), the Communist daily. It was frequently confiscated and its editor tried on charges of 'inciting resistance to the authorities.' I was tried early in 1930, after *Rote Fahne* had carried a series of articles urging the workers to prevent action by the para-military fascist groups then being formed, fight the threat of imperialist war and show their solidarity with the Soviet Union. In court, I cited facts showing that the fascist para-military groups, the Heimwehr, encouraged by the government, were preparing a coup d'état. My lawyer at the trial (it ended with a 'not guilty' verdict from the jury) was Comrade Egon Schoenhof, a Communist Party member widely known and admired as much for his courage as for his legal acumen. He died in a Hitler concentration camp.

Much of Dr. Schoenhof's speech was a criticism of the Social Democrat leadership and well-argued defense of Communist Party policy and its newspaper. He was backed by many of the witnesses. 'In the Communist view,' my lawyer told the court, 'the Social Democrats virtually relinquished power when it was in their hands. And when the Communists warned of the fascist danger the answer was that they were making a mountain out of a molehill. That was not so long ago (Dr. Schoenhof emphasized), and now fascist reaction is a very real, visible and pervading danger. Fascism has been artificially nurtured. It must be resisted, determinately and energetically, even if this requires sacrifices. The Communist Party will never tire of explaining to the workers that no sacrifice is too great to prevent fascist dictatorship, for the sacrifices are greater still where fascism is already in power.'

That was said early in 1930, three years before Hitler had brought the Brown Plague to Germany, and four years before the bloodshed of February 1934, when the Austrian fascists, the green-flag bands egged on by Mussolini, trained their guns on the workers to break

their heroic struggle and destroy the remnants of bourgeois democracy and of the hard-won people's rights. There was probably still time to reverse the course of events and ward off the tragic defeat of the working class.

In fact, the Social Democrat leadership had everything needed for that: a well organized and strong party and a powerful trade union movement. What it did not have, however, was the will to muster this working-class might to prevent a reactionary take-over. To the workers' demand for action the Social Democrat leaders answered with the command: 'at ease.' 'What a pitiful sight this inflated Heimwehr movement compared with the strength of Social Democracy!' was one of their slogans in the November 1930 parliamentary elections.

They won 72 of the 165 seats and could name the speaker. Besides, there was the Republican Schutzbund, a para-military organization made up mostly of young and middle-aged Social Democrat workers. The Schutzbund was armed—at any rate the weapons, oiled and greased, were kept in storage for 'a serious emergency.' The existence of the Schutzbund created the illusion among the workers that everything was being done to safeguard their social and political rights and defend the Republic. But in February 1934, when the 'serious emergency' became very real and action had to be taken against the reactionary forces, the working class was left unarmed, unprepared for mass struggle and the Schutzbund was isolated. Such was the result of the Social Democrats' long years of capitulation policy.

That policy was opposed within the party. Kaethe Leichter (she died in a Nazi concentration camp) told the 1932 Social Democrat Congress: 'Only a policy oriented on winning power and on employing every available means, including revolutionary violence, can assure an effective struggle for democracy.' But revolutionary violence was what the Social Democrat leaders feared most of all.

Through its political and ideological work the Communist Party clearly indicated the way to prevent a fascist takeover. But the vast majority of Austria's workers relied on the Social Democrat leaders to give the 'go signal.' It did not come; the workers were disappointed, their will to resist broken. In March 1933 the reactionary Dollfuss government, egged on by Mussolini from Rome and Bethlen from Budapest, and inspired by Hitler's capture of power in Berlin, virtually paralyzed parliament and put the country under an authoritarian regime. The Communist Party responded with an open letter to the Social Democrat party and its members, urging a militant proletarian united front, a general strike and the use of all other available means to stop the government's attack against democracy. Such a counter blow by the Austrian workers, the letter said, would have immense international significance.

The Communists waited anxiously for a reply. It came only after numerous reminders on the pages of *Rote Fahne* and resolutions from many factory meetings. 'The best kind of united action' the Social Democrat partly said, 'is within the framework of the Social Democrat party, which must always retain leadership of the move-

ment... If Communist workers, animated by a feeling of solidarity and discipline, want to join the Social Democrat masses in the struggle they will always be welcome.' Communist workers would have enthusiastically responded if the Social Democrat leaders were really concerned for organizing the struggle. But they consistently evaded struggle, and that was the tragedy of our working class. Their attitude was exploited by the reactionary forces in working out their own plans.

The Schutzbund, the Communist Party and a number of other labor organizations were already banned, but the Social Democrat leaders clung to their wait-and-see policy. This only emboldened the reaction. The ban on *Rote Fahne* was followed by similar measures against Social Democrat press, and still the SD leaders were reluctant to call on the working class to fight. In the very apt words of Georgi Dimitrov in his Letter to Austrian Workers, 'constant retreat has never been an indication of the strength of the organized working class.'

Mounting resentment in the factories and within the party's Left-wing finally compelled the Social Democrat Executive to call a general strike and bring the (now illegal) Schutzbund into action. But even that decision was hedged off with the reservation: 'If the situation takes a critical turn,' and there were four points to define what was meant by 'critical.' But there was no 'go signal' even when the fascist Heimwehr took over the key posts in the government and all but announced the day of the coup d'état. 'Next week we'll strike,' announced Major Fey early in February and there was a similar statement from Prince Starhemberg. We knew this was not empty talk, and on Monday, February 12, all Vienna Communists were mobilized to distribute leaflets calling on the workers to down tools, on the Schutzbund to take up arms, and on the factories to set up action committees. 'Crush fascism before it crushes you' was the message of the leaflets.

Have they really given the signal for an all-out fight against fascism, I asked myself when the tram suddenly stopped. Will there really be united working-class action throughout the country? The answer to these questions came later.

This is what happened: the Schutzbund leadership in Linz refused to stand by while the Heimwehr and police were openly preparing for a coup d'état. The Schutzbunders decided to organize armed resistance if the police attacked the labor center and if party and Schutzbund officials were arrested. The Linz Schutzbund resolution said 'the resistance would develop into an offensive.' This resolution, with a note that it could not be reversed or repealed, was sent to Otto Bauer, the Social Democrat leader, in Vienna. Bauer ordered a wire sent to Linz to delay all action – the policy was still wait and see. Meanwhile the police had got word of the Schutzbund plans in Linz and raided the local labor center. The struggle had begun, but not in the way the Linz Socialist comrades had expected.

They had asked the Social Democrat leadership to 'call for a crushing blow in Vienna and by the working class throughout the

country' as soon as there was news of the fighting in Linz. That call did not come in time. A few Vienna factories went on strike when the news from Linz reached them. Others were still waiting for the 'go signal,' out of wrongly understood discipline. The situation was rapidly changing, and in the end the much awaited 'go signal' was given... but only after many workers and Schutzbunders had been killed in the Linz fighting. There was no plan, no united leadership. Instructions from Vienna to some Schutzbund units were to resort to armed resistance only if attacked by the police and Heimwehr. In Vienna, where fighting flared up in some working-class districts, the Schutzbund displayed remarkable heroism, defending working-class areas against repeated attacks by the fascists and regular army, which was using artillery. The fighting lasted several days, the last shot being fired on February 17. Many brave sons of the working class gave their lives in the February battles.

And what of the general strike? At about 5 p.m. on February 12 the lights went on in Vienna and the trams continued on their way. The strike had petered out, for it had not been a general stoppage and had not affected the railways.

Johann Koplenig, already then an outstanding leader of the Austrian working class and Communist Party, gave a very precise and very apt characteristic of the February events. Speaking at the Communist Party Congress in September 1934 he said: 'The Schutzbunders fought heroically in February but they were isolated from the masses. The general strike failed because it was unorganized and sabotaged by the Social Democrat leaders... There was no guidance from the revolutionary party. The Social Democrat leadership's long policy of retreat exhausted the working class, weakened its will to fight and, in February, led to its defeat.'

Dimitrov's letter, written soon after the February events, made a deep impression in Austria, where it was secretly circulated. Dimitrov had spent many years in Vienna, where he had lived illegally and was in touch with the Austrian labor movement. He had every justification for writing: 'We Communists look to the near future of the Austrian working class with supreme faith. For we are firmly convinced in the final world victory of the proletariat. This conviction gave me strength during the Leipzig trial, strength to face the rabid enemy with the same courage with which the glorious fighters at the Karl Marxhof faced death... One battle is over, the fighters count their dead, but their will has not been broken, the great proletarian army is marching ahead to final victory.' Dimitrov's letter did more than reveal the cause of the tragedy; it played a tremendous part in overcoming defeatist sentiments among the Austrian workers.

These are events of 40 years ago; they are part of history.



Political economy and social progress

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The materialist interpretation of history and the discovery of the essence of capitalist production (surplus value) were Marx's great achievements which made it possible, as Engels stressed, to provide mankind's most radiant dreams and notions of a just society of free and equal working people, a society free from exploitation, with a genuinely scientific theoretical basis. Marxist political economy, like historical materialism, played an outstanding role in transforming socialism from a utopia into a science.

Lenin described Marx's economic doctrine as the 'main content of Marxism' and 'the most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 59) of Marx's theory. The role and place of political economy in the Marxist-Leninist system of theoretical ideas stem from the fact that it investigates the objective laws of development of production relations and their interaction with the productive forces, that is, the very foundation of the life of society. Theoretical economic analysis and its conclusions are also indispensable to other social sciences.

This means that Marxist-Leninist political economy plays a tremendous role in shaping the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working-class struggle and in the decisions of brother parties directing socialist and communist construction. Furthermore, it would be hard to overestimate the ideological importance of Marxist political economy, which consistently upholds in today's confrontation of ideologies the only scientific conception of the laws and motive forces of social development and hence expresses in theoretical terms the fundamental interests of the vanguard of world progress, the working class, and of socialism.

As an independent science, political economy has three social functions: cognitive, ideological and economic. The nature of their interconnections and their relative significance are different in different periods of history and in different societies. The fundamental difference between bourgeois economic theories and Marxist-Leninist political economy accounts for the fundamental distinctions

Continuing the series on Marxism-Leninism, its components and their role in the ideological, social and political struggles of today. (See the articles by D. Urbany and V. Kelle in *WMR*, February and April 1974, respectively.)

in their scientific authenticity, class orientation and practical value. Marxist-Leninist political economy came into being on the basis of a deep-going and comprehensive investigation of the capitalist economic system and the corresponding social structure. This analysis, contained primarily in Marx's *Capital*, was made with an objectivity and accuracy which bourgeois scholars could not achieve, being shackled by their role as ideological exponents of the interests of the ruling capitalist class. Marxist political economy was therefore thoroughly scientific, in contrast to bourgeois economic doctrines, which were in effect an apology for capitalism, and to the critical petty bourgeois conceptions which condemned capitalist society only morally and whose solutions were utopian.

It is fair to say, therefore, that with the rise of Marxist political economy other economic doctrines lost all genuinely scientific cognition of the deep-lying laws of the economic and, in the final analysis, political life of society. This does not detract from the historic significance of the progress made in the early 19th century by English political economy, which expressed the views of the bourgeoisie as an ascending class. We know that critical analysis of the writings of Adam Smith and David Ricardo helped considerably in evolving the Marxist economic theory. But whereas the labor theory of value was an indisputable achievement of pre-Marxian political economy, it acquired a consistently and full scientific content only when Marx developed it into the theory of surplus value, with relevant deductions concerning exploitation and the irreconcilable contradictions between labor and capital, the working class and the bourgeoisie, inevitably leading to a revolutionary explosion.

The scientific impotence of bourgeois theoretical thought became particularly manifest in the period of the development of capitalism into imperialism, at a time when the general crisis of capitalism set in and state-monopoly capitalism developed, in the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the rise and consolidation of socialist society. It was Marxist political economy that analyzed the qualitative changes in the economic mechanism of capitalism, found the basic laws of the socialist economic system, and provided the guidelines for socialist construction.

The ample new historical evidence led to a most fruitful stage in Marxist political economy, associated with Lenin, who created the scientific theory of imperialism and laid the foundations of the political economy of the communist formation. The experience of recent decades and the social and economic processes going on in the world today fully confirm the scientific accuracy of Lenin's political economic ideas and deductions, of Leninism as a whole. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed in a unanimously adopted document that 'the victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle

against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.' By contrast, history has confirmed none of the fundamental forecasts of bourgeois economists, whose numerous recipes for eliminating the ills of the capitalist economy did not stand the test.

This is why, in the 20th century the scientific function of political economy is borne entirely by the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine; bourgeois concepts of economic development are not grown to it.

Marxist political economy has always reflected and explained, and striven to transform along revolutionary lines, the economic basis and the life of society. Investigation of the objective economic laws of capitalism led to the conclusion that its decline and transition to socialism are inevitable. This scientific conclusion became a fundamental provision of the Communists' program in fighting for the interests of the working class. It amounted to an explicit definition of the ideological function of Marxist political economy, which progressed in step with the growth of class antagonisms and the upsurge in the workers' revolutionary struggle. The solution of the historic problem of linking scientific socialism with the struggle of the working class raised the ideological and political role of the scientific economic doctrine to a qualitatively new plane. This doctrine became an indispensable ideological factor in the revolutionary offensive against capitalist power and in building the new society.

Today, political economic analysis of the alignment of world forces, the achievements of socialism, and the trends and contradictions of the development of imperialism and the non-socialist part of the world as a whole serves as the basis on which the international Communist movement evolves its strategy and tactics. An example of projecting this analysis into a specific action program was furnished by the 1969 Meeting. The Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries regard systematic spread of economic knowledge as a most important factor of the working people's ideological education. Knowledge of the fundamentals of scientific political economy by people active in various economic fields and, in general, by the population, by intellectuals and youth, helps considerably in increasing their conscious participation in the construction of socialist and communist society.

Most bourgeois theorists make out their economic doctrines to be 'pure science' free from ideological fetters. However, whether this is deliberate pretence or sincere error, the objective truth is still Lenin's thesis that in modern society the theory of political economy 'is as much a *partisan* science as is *epistemology*' (Vol. 14, p. 342). And this means that every bourgeois political economic concept is ideological from beginning to end. What is more, as bourgeois political economy lost its scientific value, it was its ideological function that became decisive. It became an apologia of capitalism, distorting the true nature of capitalist economic relations and contradictions. After the victory of the first socialist revolution there appeared all sorts of studies that might be styled as a 'bourgeois political economy of socialism,' but which are a specialized ramification of the anti-Communist ideology.

Lastly, speaking of the economic function of political economy, we may say with certain reservations about remote and not very revealing periods (such as mercantilism) that theory did not begin to really influence economic processes and the economic policy of nations until the 20th century. It should be obvious that the practical function of Marxist-Leninist political economy as a theory organizing and guiding the economic development of society could only come into its own in the conditions of socialist and communist construction. By contrast, under the capitalism of free competition there was no room for using the general theoretical concepts of bourgeois political economy for practical economic ends. In any case, the ruling class had no objective interest in applying them on a nationwide scale. The situation changed with the development of capitalism into imperialism and the rise of state-monopoly capitalism. The ruling quarters of bourgeois society realized the need for a definite system of guidelines for shaping the economic policy of the state, whose role in capitalist economy had greatly increased. The result was a qualitative change in bourgeois political economy generally associated with the works of John M. Keynes ('the Keynesian revolution').

Keynesian ideas set the general tone for the economic concepts of the bourgeoisie for a long period. They enabled the apologists of monopoly capital, first of all, to extend considerably their ideological armoury. They set out to depict state-monopoly forms of capitalism as a counter to bitter and ruinous competition and a safeguard of 'universal welfare.' At the same time, bourgeois economists following in Keynes' footsteps urged the state to regulate the economy and made relevant recommendations. As a result, the function of bourgeois political economy in terms of practical economy extended somewhat and it came to exert greater influence on governments' economic decisions. It is important to stress that for all its talk of 'national welfare,' bourgeois political economy remains a dedicated defender of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In the last resort, it is the class content of political economy that determines the nature of the unity and interconnection of its three social functions. In the case of the bourgeois economic concepts, this expresses itself in a renunciation of scientific objectivity in theory, reactionary apologia in ideology, and a frantic search for ways and means of perpetuating the system of exploitation. Scientific political economy, an inseparable component of the general theory of Marxism-Leninism, provides by contrast an objective reflection of economic development laws, operates as a necessary factor forming the ideology of the working class and guides the economic practice of socialism.

The economic mechanisms of countries and the world economy as a whole have become complex. The number of factors influencing them has increased very greatly. The competition of the socialist and capitalist systems in the framework of the world economy is of gigantic proportions, combining dialectically with the unfolding process of technical and economic cooperation.

Economic science has never had to cope with such a variety of processes, phenomena and problems. And never before has society, its main classes and political forces, stood in so great a need for economic theory.

Socialist society requires scientific economic theory most of all, and uses its achievements and recommendations continuously. 'We value communism,' Lenin stressed, 'only when it is based on economic facts' (Vol. 29, p. 191). Consequently, socialism values economic science, and notably its theoretical basis – political economy. It places great trust in it as a determining factor of administration.

Marxist-Leninist political economy has resolved some of the key theoretical problems of socialist and communist construction. The system of planning and managing national economy has been exhaustively substantiated. The laws and categories of socialist political economy have been conclusively defined. The economic problems of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been worked out in detail. So has the question of forms of ownership, and the improvement of production relations in socialist society.

Socialism's economic headway, high development rates, performance according to plan, stability, and steadily rising living standards – all this is evidence of the practical effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist economic science, as well as the advantages of the socialist system.

It goes without saying that socialist and communist construction presents new problems to our economic theory and to the special and applied economic disciplines. There are three main groups of such problems. The first encompasses improvement of current and long-term planning, organization and management, and economic incentives. It is common knowledge that these questions are getting their due share of attention in the Soviet Union, Poland, and other socialist countries. In recent years, impressive success has been achieved in raising the effectiveness of the national economic mechanisms in the fraternal socialist countries. It is based on decisions of the ruling Communist and Workers' Parties and is expressive of the propositions of Marxist-Leninist political economy.

Another group of problems is related to the comparatively new, but incontestably natural, process of socialist economic integration. Here our political economy studies socialist economics not only in a national, but also the international, dimension.

Lastly, as we see it, the third group of problems encompasses those that arise with the attainment of the qualitatively new stage, developed socialism. To be sure, some of the issues listed in the previous two groups refer in certain ways also to this one. But they have to be viewed from a somewhat different angle in the conditions of developed socialism. The problem of blending the gains of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, that of introducing intensive forms of economy on a larger scale, and raising the effectiveness of social production and economic management to the maximum, is now of the utmost importance.

The part played by the economy in social progress is not to be

reduced to just a rapid expansion of the productive forces. There is this other important problem: what is to be done for growth of the productive forces to become a still more effective factor in the development of the higher forms of the socialist system, and the advance to communism. Economic science must forecast the main trends of national economic development and forge effective instruments to control this development.

Marxist-Leninist political economy enables us to work out scientific solutions, which direct economic development toward the highest criterion, because for socialism neither greater production nor scientific-technical progress is an aim in itself, but merely a means, the determining vehicle for achieving the long-term aims of the people, among which continuously rising well-being ranks highest in importance.

Considerable effort is also centered these days on ascertaining the more important tendencies and features of present-day world capitalism. On the basis of the analysis of capitalism's cardinal features made by Marx and Engels, and Lenin's theory of imperialism as the final and highest stage of capitalism, Marxist-Leninist scholars devote prime attention to studying state-monopoly capitalism, which possesses qualitatively new characteristics stemming from the modification of some of the laws governing capitalist development.

The monopolization of economic and political life has grown gigantically, and in recent decades there have been substantial changes in monopoly, the main foundation of imperialism. The far-reaching changes in the system of capitalist production relations have materialized in wide-spread state regulation and programming on the scale of national economies. And with the power of the state and that of the monopolies fused into one mechanism, there is a considerably broader social basis for the class struggle of the proletariat, whose success is facilitated by the growing strength of world socialism. World socialism also exercises a tremendous influence on all the processes in the capitalist world, undermining its positions and compelling it to adapt to the new historical conditions.

Studying the crisis and disintegration of imperialism's colonial system, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character of national-liberation revolutions, the way of development of states liberated from imperialist oppression, and, last but not least, the non-capitalist way of development and the socialist orientation—all this is a special assignment which is being creditably fulfilled by Marxist-Leninist political economy.

It is safe to say, therefore, that Marxist-Leninist political economy, its study of capitalism, is one of the fundamental scientific pillars of the program of the anti-imperialist struggle of the international working class. Providing the Communist and Workers' Parties and all the democratic and progressive forces in the capitalist and developing countries with a knowledge of the laws of social development, it helps them work out their revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Like any other science, save perhaps Roman Law, where everything seems to have been studied and clarified by now, Marxist-

Leninist political economy still has many problems that it must tackle and resolve. For the economic development of both socialism and capitalism poses new, previously unknown, questions of crucial importance. Furthermore, it cannot overlook the appearance of such achievements of human genius as cybernetics, systems analysis, and the like, which open the door for economic-mathematical modelling and computerized investigation of economic processes.

Of late, it is true, this has served as the pretext for attempts to proclaim the necessity, even the inevitability, of a 'revolution' in political economy. Such views also appear in Poland. Their exponents contend that political economy 'in general' is in the throes of a crisis of the old 'paradigm,' that is, a system of initial postulates, a universally accepted basic and fundamental theory. They advocate its replacement with a new one. In the case of the scientific political economy of capitalism, for example, this paradigm would probably be the theory of surplus value.

This call for a 'revolution' in political economy presupposes not two antagonistic economic theories—the Marxist-Leninist and the bourgeois—but some single theory with a common 'paradigm.' Yet since the appearance of 'Capital' and since Karl Marx performed his truly revolutionary overturn in political economy, and later since Lenin's work on imperialism—a projection and development of 'Capital'—none can any longer speak of some 'basic common theory,' existing independently of the disparities and clash of class criteria.

Marxist scholars have no need to construct conceptual foundations for their scientific political economy, or to revise its basic principles. Progress in economic science is not achieved by jettisoning old theories, but by painstaking and creative development of the scientific legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

Marxist-Leninist political economy is a science, not a collection of dogmas. It is therefore enriched by the new experience of social-economic and political development, the class struggle of the proletariat, and the building of the new society. Naturally, more than a hundred years after the appearance of 'Capital' some of its particular formulations are no longer relevant, but its main logic and Marx's dialectical-materialist method remains as valid as ever, providing the key to the crucial phenomena of our time. The cardinal propositions of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory, confirmed by the development of society, retain their significance.

Those who want a 'revolution' in the Marxist-Leninist economic science cannot answer the following question: What is the crisis of the 'paradigm' of the political economy of capitalism, that is, of the theory of surplus value, the cornerstone of Marx's teaching? Indeed, no answer is possible, because by discovering the economic law governing the movement of bourgeois society Marx was able to trace capitalism's historical path from the moment of its birth and to its collapse.

Twentieth century history has also confirmed the conclusion of Lenin, the founder of the scientific political economy of imperialism. Lenin defined steady monopolization and development of state-mono-

poly capitalism as the essence of that highest and last stage of capitalism. To renounce this 'paradigm' of the political economy of present-day monopoly capitalism means to deny the uneven economic and political development of imperialism and, ultimately, Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, the depth and substance of which have by now been confirmed by historic victories of the new social system on three continents.

If there is any 'paradigm' crisis, it applies to bourgeois political economy, though following the Second World War it did take a step forward to meet the practical requirements of state-monopoly capitalism.

An eclectic mixture of elements of the economic theory and some of the political principles of Smith, Ricardo, Say, Malthus, Clark, Marshall, Walras, Pigou, Keynes, the 'neo-classics' and 'neo-Keynesians,' modern bourgeois political economy and its traditional approach to economic problems have of late encountered considerable criticism. It comes from the flanks and the rear – through publicistic denunciations of capitalism and the antagonisms that are building up in it (J. Galbraith, USA), or through expressions of discontent with the excessive use of overcomplicated mathematical formulas,¹ and rebellious onslaughts of the 'new left' and various 'left radical' forces.

A striking admission of the present crisis of bourgeois political economy comes from an authority on the subject, Mrs. Joan Robertson, of Britain: Another bankruptcy of economic theory, which has nothing to say precisely on those questions, the solution of which is regarded as most urgent by all except the economists.²

Having made her confession, she suggests turning to Marx. Nor is she the only one. Swedish economist G. Myrdal, too, says 'often modern Western economists have taken over theories from Marx; usually without crediting him with them.'³ And U.S. economist Martin Bronfenbrenner lists nine important discoveries by Marx, which, he says, were overlooked by bourgeois economists until the 30s, and which had to be 'rediscovered.'⁴ If anything, this is an admission of the great vital power of the only existing scientific political economy.

It is absolutely wrong, as we see it, to speak of the need for a 'revolution' in the political economy of socialism, though this view too has cropped up in Poland, where now and then someone proposes to replace the old with a new 'paradigm,' defined as direct regulation of economy on the basis of a long-term aim function, that is, in effect the striving to achieve an optimum functioning of the economic mechanism.

This contraposition of general political theory and the theory of planning is unjustifiable, if only because optimum planning is a specific conception which is adjusted in each stage to suit all the elements of internal and external economic relations. It would be far more correct to regard optimum planning as a component of the political economy of socialism. The harm of this contraposition is all the greater, because it totally ignores the complexity of the economic mechanism of socialist society, and thereby grinds the axe of the exponents of various revisionist conceptions of 'market socialism,'

whose authors, as a rule, try to infer some 'third way' between capitalist anarchy and planned economy. Among their arguments are speculations concerning the faults of a purely administrative approach to the management of national economy. These are meant to conceal their main purpose, that of wiping out the system of centralized planning, a major gain and advantage of socialism.

Economists in the fraternal socialist countries seek no 'revolution' in the political economy of socialism. What is necessary is to develop and deepen it in conformity with the present stage of developed socialism, a qualitatively new stage of socialist and communist construction. This is in harmony with the scientific method, based on the principle that any more mature object of research requires a more highly developed science.

1. U.S. economist Oscar Morgenstern, who is a prominent exponent of the mathematical trend in economic research, is among the critics (See Oscar Morgenstern. *Thirteen Critical Points in Contemporary Economic Theory: An Interpretation*. 'Journal of Economic Literature,' December 1972 Number 4.)

2. Joan Robinson, *The Second Crisis of Economic Theory*. 'The American Economic Review,' Vol 62, 1972, No. 2.

3. Myrdal. *Asian Drama. An Inquiry Into Poverty of Nations*. Vol. I, New York, 1969, p. 674.

4. *The American Economic Review*, 1967, No. 2, pp. 628-630.

International socialist property

This theme was discussed by Polish and Soviet scholars who met in Warsaw recently. Those taking part were: **Zdislaw Bombera**, lecturer at the CC PUWP Higher School of social sciences; Professor **Wieslaw Iskra**, Head of the School's Chair of Political Economy; **Boguslaw Reutt**, M. L., Director of the Board of Foreign Economic Cooperation of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Trade; **O. T. Bogomolov**, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Academy's Institute of Economics of the Socialist World System; **Y. S. Shirayev**, D.Sc. (Economics), Deputy Director of the Institute.

Objective process

Shirayev: The international concentration and centralization of the productive forces is intensifying considerably throughout the world. In capitalist countries this process is taking place not so much within the framework of the Common Market (nine, previously the six), but within and between multinational corporations. Their activities cannot be divorced from the capitalist framework in which they operate. Their gains are, as often as not, due not so much to the concentration of production and the accompanying scientific

and technical progress as to exploitation of differences in national markets, tax systems, the cost of labor, etc.

However, international division of labor also possesses absolute advantages, for concentration of production makes possible the use of large-scale industrial technology. The first to try to realize these advantages are the socialist countries. This, obviously, is the objective, while the actual mechanism is subordinate. I consider the main way to unify the productive apparatus in our countries is to develop all forms of joint planning, and long-term cooperation agreements which, in effect, transform parts of the production apparatus of different countries into parts of a larger production apparatus.

Examples can be given of cooperation in the automobile industry and a number of other fields involving technological mergers. They do not necessarily affect the national features of socialist property, but parts of the national economy of different countries begin to operate according to technologies and plans that cross national boundaries.

When a system of international cooperative relations is established, it naturally leads to further development. Sooner or later, various aspects of legally constituted international property relations arise.

Reutt. The precondition for integration right up to the creation of international property is technological unity, as Shirayev has put it. It is also economic unity. I do not agree that the mechanism plays a subordinate role. On the contrary, it must be taken into account. The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration calls for better adaptation of the mechanisms of national economic management to integration conditions, including the operation of joint properties. This is not only a practical question, but a theoretical one, and our scholars must express their views on it.

An important political question arises: are we creating international or supranational enterprises and organizations? In my opinion this question can only be answered from a class standpoint. Joint monopolies represent different vested interests. Our joint organizations represent socialist states, socialist state-owned enterprises and organizations—in other words, they represent the working people. Therefore socialist joint property in any form is not supranational, but is always international. There are no conflicting class interests, as is the case under capitalism, nor are there any clashes between competing groups. This creates the most favorable conditions for satisfying national interests.

Iskra. I understand internationalization of economic life to be the continuation of a process of socialization on an international scale. This is a natural process and is characteristic of both capitalism and socialism. When we examine it in the countries of CMEA, we must bear in mind that their economic potentials vary considerably. It is estimated that the national income of Poland is approximately 12 per cent that of the Soviet Union, Rumania's is 6 per cent, and Hungary's 3.5 per cent. These figures, although approximate, indicate that the majority of the CMEA countries are small, and it is for this

reason that there is a basic need for international specialization. But consumption is universal and cannot be specialized. To eliminate this disparity, there has to be production cooperation on an international scale, and this constitutes a new stage in socialization.

It would seem that the fulfilment of the growing demands of society, a basic law of socialism, cannot be achieved solely through a national economy, since it increases in various spheres at a slower pace than in the world economy as a whole. Generally speaking, consumption is the motive force of production, which includes cooperative and socialized production forms.

The disparities between national socialist property and the further socialization of productive forces is being discussed in scientific literature. How is this disparity to be resolved? National property cannot be viewed statically, from the positions of yesterday. The view must be dynamic. If the productive forces are increasingly socialized, then ownership has to be adapted accordingly – as has always been the case. How is this adaptation expressed? In general terms, it is the convergence of national economies. National interests, in my view, are integrally bound up with national property. The convergence of the national properties of individual countries will be achieved through coordination of national interests.

At times the question is put, is there a relationship between the internationalization of economic life and the emergence of international property relations? I would begin by speaking of the convergence of national property of the socialist countries, and only then of international property and the stages of its development.

Bombero. I see no direct relationship between the internationalization of production and property problems. Internationalization is an objective process occurring through established permanent forms of planned coordination which aids specialization and cooperation. In specific circumstances it can result in the emergence of international property. But for this there must be a conscious drive.

Therefore, I consider that irrespective of objective factors, technical or economic, decisive in the emergence of international property is the political line of CMEA countries. This is borne out by the Comprehensive Program which has established the political conditions for the development of integration.

Bogomolov. Here is how I see it. There is the process of internationalization of our whole economic, political and spiritual life; as Lenin pointed out 'socialism will make it completely international' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246). He even noted that, speaking in the abstract, in the epoch of imperialism development inclines toward a single, world trust, which swallows up all enterprises. Of course, matters will not go that far, because imperialism will collapse before. Only socialism can lead up to such a degree of socialization. But it is characteristic that the tendency toward international property is seen by Lenin as an objective one.

In capitalist society the process is a contradictory one, since internationalization there does not mean public ownership. Nevertheless, imperialism adapts itself to new phenomena, and this should not be

denied. It tries to extricate itself from its contradictions by creating transnational companies which act as parasites on the objective base of internationalization.

Socialism faces the task of developing appropriate forms of international concentration of production and, in the final analysis, the creation of international socialist property in forms which will aid the internationalization of economic life.

We are accustomed to treat the question of international property as one of joint enterprises. But it would seem that the process is not restricted only to this and an even broader international development is taking place. The socialist states, while remaining separate socialized owners (which is already an exceedingly high form of property relations), enter into relations of cooperation which must include joint utilization of parts of the fixed assets in industry. At the present stage, socialist states enter into cooperative relations which do not involve internationalization of production, but there do exist elements of joint utilization of parts of these assets. Proof of this is that not only are enterprises built jointly but there is joint scientific research, joint use of sources of raw material that remain national property. This is a qualitative change: there is yet no international property, but the relations are no longer national-state property relations in their purest form.

Reutt. It was correctly stated that the forms of internationalization expand in step with the growth of the national income and the rise in the standard of living. This is not simply an economic question; it is also political and influences the selection of concrete forms.

Stages and forms

Shirayev. Generally speaking if the researchers and economic managers could now find an ideal way of coordinating long-range plans, this would mean that our countries had already learned to use their resources jointly without any direct intervention in national-state property. This would imply that the level of joint management had been brought into accord with the actual degree of socialization of production.

Bogomolov. It would mean a new level of property relations.

Shirayev. Yes, it would mean a new stage in the division of labor and in the development of international property relations.

Bogomolov. The first, initial stage is already a reality. Take the Peace power grid. The plants that supply the power belong to the participating countries; so do the transmission lines within their national boundaries. But the whole system is something new.

Shirayev. In fact it is a joint project, technologically indivisible.

Bogomolov. Not only technologically, but also in terms of management. There is the Central Dispatching Office in Prague, operating as international property and this makes for further integration of the system. The operation of the Friendship oil pipeline also requires agreed action. I might be told that these are obsolescent forms, inasmuch as they do not involve international ownership of the main means of production: power plants and transmission lines, pumping

installations and pipe lines. But joint use of means of production, which in each country is the property of the whole people, denotes a fairly high form of 'cooperative.'

Shirayev. But not enough for actual socialization of production on an international basis. Today, the bulk of the decisions that go into coordinated planning are drafted at government level. As of now, coordination is not backed by massive stable cooperative links at medium and operational level—ministry, amalgamation, enterprise, research center. Hence, coordination is not yet ideal. The problem of the levels at which the countries coordinate their plans and devise common forms of work and give adequate scope to the socialization process, is at the same time a problem of the stages of development of international property. Much has been achieved compared with earlier periods of CMEA activity. But if we are to think in terms of the future, we shall have to admit that researchers and practitioners are only beginning to appreciate the vast potential of socialist integration. If you like, this is also a psychological problem.

Reutt. I may be affected by my connection with Poland's medium-sized economy, but I do think that cooperation is the decisive factor in CMEA. It is most effective economically and technologically. There is a big future for joint production, now only in its very early stage. What I have in mind is division of labor in producing components of a definite product. Where this has begun it has proved effective and will be most effective if not only production, but also marketing, are jointly managed.

We must advance to every new level of international socialization gradually through transition forms. I would call the first stage association, that is, with the retention of national property. The second stage, which might partially overlap the first, is the creation of joint property. Of course neither of these stages manifests itself in pure form.

Iskra. I also think there will be two stages. The basic characteristic of the first is the *drawing together* of national properties. For a long time to come international socialization will be based chiefly on national ownership. It will go through essential modifications to adapt to international economic reality. And this will find its main expression in closer coordination of economic policy, production plans and international economic decision-making. That I think will be the outer expression of the convergence of national properties, with their segregation gradually diminishing. Legally national property will still exist for a long time to come, but with a changed economic content; it will undergo qualitative changes. That is the main process.

Bogomolov. Should we not include also a degree of unification of management systems, more even development levels, broader exchange of personnel?

Reutt. Integration of societies?

Iskra. Correct. And there will be a parallel, supplementary process, namely, intertwining. By this term I mean joint enterprises. These

are currently based on national property, but they are nevertheless a step forward from convergence. National property does not lose its content, but becomes part of a single economic organism. Its economic basis is the intertwining of national property.

Bogomolov. To a certain extent this is already collective property, for it is jointly managed, or perhaps cooperative property elevated to a higher degree, for the 'cooperative' partners are socialist states in which property is the property of the whole people.

Iskra. Yes, there is a certain analogy here. And no matter how difficult the intertwining process, the formation of joint enterprises and amalgamations will be, it is an objective process, a technical imperative, and is bound to hew a way for itself. And so, these two processes, first convergence and then progressive intertwining, are the substance of the initial stage in the development of international socialist property. It is hard to predict when the next, more distant stage, will crystallize. I have in mind the stage at which approximation and intertwining will gradually lead to the merger of national properties. And in this context I might recall Lenin's words that 'the aim of socialism is not only to end the division of mankind into tiny states and the isolation of nations in any form; it is not only to bring the nations closer together but to integrate them' Vol. 22, p. 146). The economic basis for that is steady fusion of national properties. This is not only a gradual process, but also an absolutely voluntary one, powered by economic expedience.

Bombera. I largely agree with that, but I would like to make this comment. I would be more cautious in treating the present forms of cooperation as forms of the development of international property. What we have are but the prerequisites of joint property, not the thing itself.

As for the formation of international property, I think the process will follow two stages. First, the creation of international economic organizations (and the trend is already toward putting them on a paying basis), which will maintain their own production units and research centers. This will be paralleled by the rise of joint enterprises. The main problem here is how to organize internationalization at the microeconomic level.

The second stage is transition from coordinated planning to joint planning within CMEA. That will become a reality when all the prerequisites mature in the productive forces, production relations and the public mind.

Bogomolov. I would single out several stages. The first, described by Shirayev and Iskra, might be defined as joint use of the resources of several countries. And though this can be seen as a preparatory phase, it is doubtlessly the embryo of international socialist property.

The second stage, I think, will be the appearance of common financial funds such as the International Bank For Economic Cooperation, International Investment Bank, and the CMEA Railway Car Pool. They represent a new step forward. Another second-stage development is the rise of international economic organizations. So far their function has mainly been one of coordination, but here too we have

the embryo of common property. Still another element is partnership arrangements. All this will give rise to new political relations, because the formation of common funds, e.g., the CMEA banks, calls for both economic and political decisions.

The third stage, I think, will see the emergence of international economic organizations – socialist concerns organizing production, marketing, research, etc., through international division of labor in certain industries. This goes beyond partnership and cooperative arrangements. What we will have, I think, is international property, and an international management apparatus serving all the CMEA countries, but on an entirely new basis. Profit will not be distributed in accordance with the investment of each participating country, for as the organizations increase their assets this will rapidly lose significance. Profit allocations will take into account not only mutual advantage and equivalent exchange, but also the principles of proletarian internationalism, the need to help the more backward to catch up. And it might well be that part of the profits will not be distributed at all, for at this third stage there might be formed large international funds, made up partly from the revenue of these organizations. And unlike the present CMEA banks, they will be used to solve much bigger common social and political problems, such as, say, evening out national and regional economic levels, stimulating expansion of branches of the economy, or financing large energy projects.

Bombera. There are joint enterprises of a type which, in all essentials, comes very close to state enterprises. I would mention Zawiercie, a factory owned jointly by Poland and the GDR with an appointed manager. Another example is Haldex, a Polish-Hungarian joint stock company in which the national parity principle is applied at all management levels. In both cases we have joint socialist property. Thus, the Zawiercie statutes describe the enterprise as indivisible property. I think that joint management creates a new quality in socialist property.

Reutt. This has both economic and legal aspects. I think integration will be defined not by national laws, but, as new economic realities come into being, each country will formulate the appropriate laws.

Bogomolov. We have to deal with different kinds of international property. Which is the most promising at the present stage? Theoretical assessment can indicate some practical decisions. The Comprehensive Program provides that international property will develop through international economic organizations mainly with coordinating functions and employing a small staff. This is the initial form and from it we have come to such organizations as Interatomenergo where, in addition to coordination, specialization and division of labor, there are also elements of joint property: designing bureaus, marketing organizations and, in future, also joint production units.

Other examples could be cited, and they are not always multilateral enterprises – sometimes bilateral arrangements prove more effective.

Reutt. There are other forms which three years ago, when the Com-

prehensive Program was adopted, could not be foreseen. Take the Intertextilmash agreement – it envisages joint factories.

In any case, I wouldn't attempt to devise a ready model of joint enterprises because reality is more imaginative than we economists or jurists.

Organizational problems

Bogomolov. The experience of international organizations shows that sometimes pressing problems are left unsolved owing to such objective obstacles as currency, prices, legal questions, etc. For instance, Soviet law contains no legal procedure for founding joint socialist enterprises.

Reutt. Our laws contain no provision for factories like Zawiercie. But there is a bilateral agreement. We are asked: How does it fit into Polish laws? I answer: We have set up Zawiercie, now you make the laws.

Bogomolov. You can do that, of course, but it would be better to have laws covering such matters, all the more so that we have accumulated some experience in this field. The biggest difficulty, however, is the need for a mechanism to assure a uniform profit pattern, so that the enterprise is integrated in the economic and social setting of the country in which it operates. We need either some sort of mechanism to level out differences, or some overall system.

Reutt. Wage differentials should not turn the joint enterprise into a prosperity oasis within a given country.

Shirayev. I would add that wage differentials in CMEA countries are far less than in capitalist integration, and what's more they continue to narrow. The problem often arises because we economists cannot precisely calculate the cost of research services, and as for organizational services – well, we don't even know how to go about it.

Bombera. So far, joint enterprises are started under intergovernment agreements, with the practical problems resolved at lower levels. The ideal procedure would be the following: recommendations issued by CMEA for the appropriate provisions in national laws. But I think I would refrain from beginning to apply such a procedure to currency and financial matters, otherwise we would have to adopt the market concept, and this would delay solution of many problems.

Iskra. All our countries maintain economic relations with capitalist countries. This should enable us to work together in buying equipment or whole plants. It would obviate a parallelism in buying new technology.

Reutt. Economic problems, I think, boil down to meeting the requirements of the partners. And as for social problems, the main thing is that all international enterprises should help to raise living standards.

It was not the object of the meeting to summarize the discussion on all questions. Everyone put forth his views on the understanding that in so new a process as socialist economic integration only prac-

tice will show which concrete solutions are best suited. But everyone agreed on the following. First, that socialist economic integration has good prospects, especially when seen against the background of the present crisis of capitalist integration. Second, that scholars in the socialist countries can make a meaningful contribution by joint study of integration problems.

Differences in outlook and political cooperation

*Meeting of Marxists
and Catholics*

Communists attach importance to cooperation with Christians for peace and social progress. Considerable experience in this field is already available.

This journal asked Marxist scholars and Catholic theologians to speak on the subject. Invited to the round table at our editorial offices in Prague were Professor **Rudolf Weiler**, Director of the Institute of Ethics and Social Science of Vienna University; Professor **Alexander Dordett**, Director of the Institute of Canonical Law, Faculty of Theology, Vienna University; Professor **N. Kovalsky**, Deputy-Director of the International Labor Movement Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, and Dr. **Walter Hollitscher**, member of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, Professor Emeritus of Karl Marx University, Leipzig. The following is a summary of their discussion.

Hollitscher. Cooperation between Marxists and Christians is possible and necessary. It accords with the needs of our time. There are about one billion practicing Christians in the world, more than 600 million of whom are Catholics, a large proportion of them working people. It would be inconceivable for the Communist movement to leave so large a population out of the reckoning. It is not for our meeting, of course, to discuss the depth or degree of their faith.

There is considerable controversy over what is meant by 'dialogue' and how it relates to cooperation. As we see it, a dialogue implies an open and honest confrontation, a clash of ideas aimed at fostering joint action to resolve specific problems. A dialogue should evidently also imply practical cooperation in fields where we have the same political and social interests. Without such cooperation contributing to the unity of democratic and peace forces, all discussion would be meaningless.

Weiler. Christians place great significance in dialogue with people aspiring to progress. And we know that the Communists, too, have always been ready to cooperate with progressive forces. We might recall facts from the history of the October Revolution and the first years of Soviet Russia, when Lenin issued his famous Decree on Peace. At that time, conflicts and misunderstandings arose for various reasons between different movements. At present, however, there is common ground for cooperation in assuring the peaceful co-existence of states and world progress.

What do I understand by dialogue? To begin with, it is a discussion predicated by a definite line of social behavior and calculated to assure cooperation where convictions make it possible and where it is needed to safeguard peace. Certainly, dialogue does not imply renunciation of convictions.

Dialogue also implies joint public and political activity promoting contacts between peoples and helping affirm peaceful coexistence. However, it contains elements of confrontation, pursuing the aim of understanding your partner and readiness to cooperate with him. I would say that the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, a model of free and open discussion with full respect for different values and convictions, was a splendid example of dialogue. It seems to me that the important speech by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, showed what the object of dialogue between groups of divergent outlooks could be.

Dialogue also implies a progressive stand based on mutual respect. Thus, I respect the Soviet Union, which has played a very substantial part in the world's development, and is incontestably a force of peace and progress.

Dordett. In stating its views on the world and society, Christianity frequently lacked goodwill in hearing other opinions. It was moved by a desire to influence the moulding of society and state, but its endeavors were often misguided. At one time Christianity supported the feudal system, and later capitalism; it sought to justify different social systems by reference to the Bible. Today, when we Christians meet Marxists, we must reckon with the burden of this historical past, which explains much of what still divides us.

In its attitude to dialogue with Marxists, Christianity follows the following postulates: recognition and approval of social progress, irrespective of who promotes it; the common weal must be central to the dialogue; communism and the socialist states are a reality that cannot be ignored. To ignore them would mean that in a large part of the world the Christian churches would not be able to work for the good of man.

Kovalsky. Cooperation between Marxists and Christians is a derivative of present-day world development. It is spurred by a common concern for the crucial problems of our time, through, naturally, each side advocates its own philosophy. Dialogue is not an aim in itself. A fault of meetings of people of different ideologies is, I think, that they tend to confine themselves to comparing philosophies, while today more attention should be given to deeds, discussing the ways of promoting cooperation, to joint action. That is the main thing.

Marxists are for unity of all forces that can contribute to the struggle against imperialism, against monopoly, and for peace, democracy and social progress. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties saw the possibility of alliance between the revolutionary and working-class movement and believers on an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist basis. It concluded that the time was right for a dialogue with Catholics and representatives of other denominations on such problems as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, neo-colonialism and the developing countries. Through broad contacts and joint action the mass of believers can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and social change.

'Yes' to peace

Weiler. In 1963 Pope John XXIII issued the encyclical *Pacem in terris*. Its message was peace on earth for all men of goodwill. It appealed for specific action and contained ideas on how and in what conditions Christians could and should cooperate with other forces aspiring to peace. The encyclical of Pope Paul VI, *Populorum progressio*, called on all people of goodwill to work jointly for disarmament, to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, and the like. And the New Year's message of Pope Paul VI stressed that individual approval of peace must become collective and universal. Peace must become the conviction of the peoples.

We hold that the stand for peace taken by Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, and equally the very important efforts of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties to assure international security, are stimulating actions to avert the disaster of war and create – never too soon – conditions for a happy existence. It is this fundamental position that necessitates a dialogue aimed at progressive cooperation wherever this is required in the interest of humanity.

It is probably immaterial what convictions move people to say 'yes' to peace. It is much more important that all who sincerely aspire to peace should say 'yes.' The idea of peaceful coexistence, which originated in the teaching of V. I. Lenin and the first Soviet commissar for foreign affairs G. V. Chicherin, is a gift to humanity which we can all gratefully accept. It obliges us, I think, to develop the dialogue theory in close association with practice. It opens up the perspective of cooperation during the long period of coexistence of different social systems.

Mutual understanding presupposes joint condemnation of anything that endangers peace. Oppression of people or races in any form is one such danger. It is therefore essential to support movements for final national and social emancipation in former colonial regions.

As for Europe, here we have a special area of cooperation – the building of a security system. Practically for the first time in 150 years, the Vatican is participating as a full member in a broad all-European forum – the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. We took due note of the fact that the invitations to the Conference came from socialist, as well as capitalist, countries.

Dordett. I want to second the thought that the dialogue should be more specific. Examples of a specific approach are still too few.

World peace is one of those important areas where practical cooperation between Christians and Marxists is quite feasible. During the Vietnam war many Christians and their spiritual leaders worked hard for an early peace. Another promising field would be scientific cooperation for peace. Hard unpretentious work is always followed by palpable success. A colleague from the FRG once said to me: in the final analysis, if you cooperate with Soviet scientists, you support communism. To which I replied that science is indivisible and that it paves the way to world peace.

Kovalsky. Christians, as well as Communists, face many common problems aimed at making irreversible the world changes achieved through the activity of all progressive forces and the implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress.

For example, cooperation to assure European security has been successful. The Brussels Public Assembly for Security and Cooperation in Europe was attended by a large number of Catholic representatives. And in December 1973 an academic colloquium took place in the Brussels suburb of Overijse under the auspices of the International Committee for European Security and the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, at which joint participation in resolving the social aspects of European security was discussed. We could cite many more examples.

Hollitscher. The idea of making the dialogue more specific, of accentuating vital problems, including those of peace and of applying the principles of peaceful coexistence in international practice, is unquestionably correct.

The Communist parties of the European capitalist countries attach the utmost significance to cooperation and dialogue with Christians. The Political Declaration of the Brussels Conference of January 1974 says: 'The growing perplexity of Christians in face of the crisis of contemporary society leads a number of them to condemn its injustices and to conclude that it stands in need of far-reaching changes. Their disquiet finds expression even within inner Church circles. The attraction of socialism is growing among Christian workers and some of their organizations. The Communist Parties pay close heed to these developments and to the closer relations emerging among workers, whether believers or not. They express their support for convergent and united action with the representative forces of the people and the Christian movements. They consider that the fight in support of the people's demands and for socialism calls for a coming together, discussion and joint action by the workers irrespective of their belief, on the basis of mutual respect.' This document shows that Communists regard cooperation aimed at positive solutions of problems relating to world peace and social progress as a necessity of our time.

The social position

Kovalsky. Communists and Christians are cooperating successfully in promoting social progress. Such cooperation is widespread in the

working-class, trade-union, youth, women's, and other movements. It is spurred by the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalist society, the negative effects of the scientific-technical revolution for the working people in capitalist countries, and the attempts to shift the difficulties stemming from these processes on the working class and the laboring masses. Another, relatively new, source of difficulties for the working man are the multinational monopolies, which anti-monopoly forces can combat only if they act in union.

The energy and monetary crises and other crisis developments in capitalism make cooperation more necessary still. For we have a situation in which trade-union and other organizations of diverse persuasion, including Communist-led and Christian-led organizations, are faced with the problem of upholding the workers' interests.

Capitalist economic laws do not differentiate between workers, be they believers or atheists, Communists or members of other parties. For the capitalists they are all an object of exploitation: the main ideological and political contingents of the labor movement, though in different degree and for different reasons, are drawn into the anti-monopoly struggle. And faced by a common enemy, it is only natural that they should join forces to repel the monopoly onslaught, win more rights for the workers and, in a broader sense, promote social progress.

Weiler. Catholic social doctrines devote much attention to the problems of the laboring class, problems that are central also to the Catholic social movement. The Christian trade unions and Christian youth organizations have all made a distinct contribution to the Christian understanding of social responsibility.

The worldwide task before us now is to take appropriate measures against the economic tyranny of the multinational monopolies. International united action against the multinationals on concrete issues and, where possible, cooperation of all trade unions, are of obvious value.

In the world community there is a close interconnection between events in widely different areas. If there are deplorable developments in Chile, that complicates cooperation of groups of differing ideological orientation in Europe. If there are countries where the people are denied democratic rights (Spain, for instance) and the Church backs the political regime, that, too, is bound to affect a dialogue.

Dordett. Indeed it is to be regretted that the political events in Chile have deprived Christians of an opportunity for a concrete dialogue, in which many questions could have been cleared up.

I would like to look back into the past to explain the present. The history of Christian social thought in Austria shows that Christianity was in a near tragic position when Vogelsang* began to develop the ideas of the Christian social doctrine. He was suspected of being a socialist. The official leaders of the Church came out against him and were supported by the nobility. There were similar suspicions about the Christian social party. To avoid any misunderstanding, I want to say that personally I do not think that the Christian social

*Carl von Vogelsang (1818-1890), Austrian ideologist of social Catholicism. — *Ed.*

party is an appropriate vehicle for the Christian social doctrine. Parties of this type emerge from time to time in definite historical settings and Christians differ as to their value and even necessity. At that time, supporters of the Catholic social doctrine found themselves between the hammer and the anvil: the powers that be treated them with suspicion, as too far to the left, while the workers did not trust them, seeing them only as disguised servants of capitalism. That, perhaps, will explain the difficulties, even today, in arranging a dialogue.

As for cooperation on social issues, time will show what forms and methods are best suited for this. Generally speaking, cooperation between Christians and Marxists is directed against hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and can also be effective in environmental protection and many other fields. Of course, this is by no means a complete list. In short, cooperation in the social sphere should be on questions of social benefit and justice.

The following factors influence such cooperation: political realities, economic interests, and personal contacts between representatives of the two sides.

Hollitscher. What are the basic factors that make for wider cooperation in the social sphere? First, the scientific and technological revolution with all its positive and negative aspects which impel us to reflect and rethink very many problems. Its negative aspects stem from a social system powered by the drive for maximum profits.

Another factor is the widespread conviction that the capitalist system can and should be changed. The process of restructuring society, begun with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a factor of immense importance. It was carried further by the revolutionary developments in many European and non-European countries. Today it finds its embodiment in the national and social liberation movements that have spread to all the continents. They involve, besides Communists and side by side with them, people of other socio-political and philosophical views and fairly large numbers of religious people. The belief that the world can and should be changed stimulates discussion of *how* it should be changed, what has to be done, what forms should be given preference. Last but not least, the urge for peace is of paramount importance, for the peace issue is inseparable from social progress. Mankind should never again be threatened by war, whether nuclear or conventional.

All these factors – the scientific and technological revolution, the striving to refashion our society, and the deep interest in enduring peace – have made cooperation both an urgent necessity and a realistic possibility, and it can be given very wide scope. It is the duty of the scientist to contribute, even if modestly, to a broad discussion by the masses of concrete questions of cooperation. If that is done, the dialogue will acquire a new quality, and that should be the aim of all our efforts.

The events in Chile, to which other speakers have referred, have shown that joint action is especially necessary where the Com-

munists and the Catholics are a large organized force. Much of the blame for what has happened in Chile, namely, the fascist putsch, lies with Frei and the clerical forces behind him, for they were working for a split. As Professor Dordett has rightly remarked, cooperation between Communists and Catholics for social progress could have been a practical reality in Chile. The events there are additional proof of the importance of such cooperation.

Common interests and the battle of ideologies

Weiler. Ideological differences are no obstacle to cooperation between Christians and Marxists. But we must be clear on two aspects of the dialogue: it should not be understood as an ideological crusade; it should not be purely pragmatic, with unsound compromises for the sake of transient practical advantages.

Ideological differences, naturally, influence the position of the dialogue partners. We should also bear in mind that the outlook of Christians is influenced by political and social conditions. Some live in areas where the social question is far from being solved and the working people are subjected to colonial and semi-feudal oppression. Others live in developed capitalist countries, which have their own specific problems. There are many Christians also in the socialist countries. Believers are bound to be influenced by the fact that, beginning with the October Revolution of 1917, the Communist movement set up a system of national republics united in a single state in which all nations and nationalities are building communism under the leadership of the world's biggest Communist Party and in accordance with their convictions. And so, considering the influence political and social factors exert on Christians, we are not dealing with a uniform or single social outlook. Nevertheless, despite definite shades of difference in the Christian social outlook in different regions of the world, cooperation with Marxists is fully possible, with due account to concrete local conditions.

At times there has been a temptation among Catholics to use the dialogue to inculcate their views. That can be described as proselytism and represents a danger both to the dialogue and cooperation. I reject this kind of socio-political integralism which maintains, in particular, that for the Communist partner the dialogue is only a means. Hence, also, the apprehension in certain Church circles that concrete cooperation, even in areas of common interest, would pave the way to communism.

There is and should be ideological confrontation, but it should not be an obstacle to world peace and should not preclude cooperation in other fields too.

I regard the battle of the ideologies as a positive factor of progress. We can say that, in a certain sense, the dialogue is a method of cognition, a self-critical process of enriching our knowledge by studying the creative accomplishments of another. But this process precludes the element of coercion and in conducting the dialogue I do not, therefore, fear for my belief in God.

According to the traditional Catholic doctrine, a dialogue with the

socialist system is in principle acceptable to Christians, though this system advocates separation of the Church from the state, guarantees freedom of conscience, as is provided for in the Soviet Constitution and practised throughout the socialist world. Some Communist views could be acceptable to Christians, though there are ideological problems leading to confrontation, which, however, does not rule out respect for human dignity and for the beliefs of others.

Hollitscher. Experience may be said to warrant the conclusion that many Christians accept certain of the Communists' political ideas, condemn capitalism and admit the need to reorganize society. But their position on philosophical questions is different. This is typical of the atmosphere of the present-day dialogue. A 'Marxism' repudiating its philosophy is not Marxism any more than a 'Marxist' renouncing dialectical materialism is a Marxist.

Ideological discussion, while in no way impeding cooperation or unity of action, does not at all necessitate agreement on philosophical or ideological issues. Mutual understanding can be attained without renouncing one's ideas, nor does cooperation mean ideological coexistence.

We Marxists do not find it necessary as a party to the dialogue to talk about the hereafter, nor do we try to restrict discussion to comparing philosophical positions. We ascertain specific actions acceptable to both sides and directed toward progressive social changes. But when we are asked about our fundamental philosophical convictions we never disavow—our scientific atheism. By the same token, we do not expect others to deny their belief in God. Any other approach would be unsuitable for a serious exchange of views, for it would breed distrust and hence make it difficult to attain the chief goal of the dialogue, cooperation. Ideological coexistence is an entirely erroneous concept and a practice to be most emphatically condemned.

Kovalsky. Developments show that even where there is cooperation in practical matters the ideological struggle does not stop. Practice is the touchstone of any doctrine, and we Marxists are convinced that history will prove the ideas of scientific socialism correct.

Cooperation with Christians does not imply that Marxists should take a conciliatory stand on religious ideology or insist on Christians embracing materialist philosophy. We see ideological discussion as a means of stating our position on every aspect of Marxism-Leninism and Communist activity.

Insofar as the purpose of dialogue is to achieve united action, it can, of course, be conducted with only those Christian forces or leaders who do not regard contact of this nature as an opportunity to 'erode' Marxism-Leninism or carry on ideological subversion against the Communist movement and the population of socialist countries. Unfortunately, some Catholic publications, particularly *Civiltà Cattolica*, suggest exploiting the dialogue precisely to this end.

There is a growing trend among the Christian rank and file toward greater cooperation. It shows that differences in world outlook are

set aside in many instances when the class struggle gains in intensity and the working people join efforts to uphold common class interests irrespective of differences in general outlook or religious convictions.

Dordett. If we cannot accept the theory that the two systems will converge in the course of economic development, there is still less ground to accept the theory of ideological convergence. Attempts in that direction have been made in recent years, by the Society of St. Paul,* for instance. These attempts do not take into account that Marxism is an integrated philosophical system which, moreover, has found economic and social embodiment. Those Christians who consider Marxism a neutral ideology that can be baptized and modified to produce a variety of Christian ideology, betray not only naivete, but also a poor understanding of Marxism.

From this follows that, despite contradictory philosophies we must strive for cooperation and an honest dialogue in which both sides have equal chances in this spiritual confrontation. This implies, as my colleague Weiler remarked, rejection of the very idea of a crusade, and not only in the spiritual sense. The use of coercion to impose one's philosophy is inadmissible. That is why, when, in the past, the Church succumbed to the temptation to seize power, it was deviating from its ideal.

The outlook

Hollitscher. I hope the social basis of cooperation will expand and contacts between mass organizations become closer. No real changes can be brought about in the world unless the masses are drawn into the process. What are the lines which these changes should follow? We can realistically define the objectives of our activity only if we appreciate the progressive meaning of historical development.

We are occasionally misnamed 'economists' in a derogatory sense, it being alleged that we reduce everything to growth of the productive forces, to the economy, and discount man as the maker of history. Yet those who say so fail to realize that to Marxists man is both the subject of history and the decisive productive force. Marxism takes account of man's every creative manifestation – the production of material values, creative effort in science and technology, the solution of moral and political problems, and so on. To seek progress is to foster man's creative capacity. This opinion, in keeping with fundamental Marxist tenets, will hardly meet any objections.

Weiler. Indeed, there are vast opportunities for cooperation in man's moral development as a free creative being. The question is who will provide the correct motives for activity. Man's development as a creative being, his spiritual life, requires further discussion.

Many problems can be dealt with jointly in the social sphere as well. Cooperation in maintaining world peace is especially important. We can be happy that we live at a time when the policy of peaceful

*See R. Steigerwald 'The Range and Limits of the Dialogue Between Marxists and Christians,' *WMR*, October 1971.

coexistence is bearing fruit. But we must not forget that this policy needs our collective effort.

The future of Europe is apparently one of the important fields in which Christian-Marxist cooperation will expand. Christians and Marxists throughout Europe should campaign in common against the formation of blocs preventing cooperation. In alliance with all men of goodwill – and I especially mention the Communists – Christians want to help in preventing a recurrence of the cold war climate and in promoting cooperation between the two parts of Europe. If this is achieved, our continent will be able to contribute more effectively than before to the development of various regions of the 'third world' and to take collective steps, say, against famine in Africa, or for the solution of the energy problem.

Cooperation could also be aimed at social equality, which Christians and Marxists have aspired to for a long time, specifically through the participation of working people in political and economic management and development. Catholics should therefore give serious thought to the evolution of forms of property and the experience of socialist countries. It would be wrong to question the achievements of the socialist system – instead of using its appreciable experience – just because the mass media of the West misrepresent them.

Dordett. I would like to point to four principles on which I think cooperation will develop.

First, it has been said how naive it is to hope that Christianity can change Marxism. The hope that capitalism can be changed with the help of Christianity is just as idle. Christians cherished it until recently, if with some reservations. I believe the capitalist system is not moral enough to be reshaped according to the Christian doctrine. Furthermore, the behavior of its exponents cannot be regarded as a model of Christianity.

Second, there is no point in searching the Bible for an answer to the question of which system should be preferred. We believe that Christianity, though it exists in this world, is not of this world. This fact notwithstanding, there has been a temptation at certain periods to hasten the advent of heaven on earth. I am positive that Christianity can fully achieve its ideals only in the other world, over whose existence we differ, of course, with our Marxist friends.

Third, renunciation of the use of force, which we call for, implies renunciation of both physical violence and moral pressure. New ideas are accepted by persuasion, not by force.

Fourth, there should be no close bonds between Church and state. Where the two are interdependent it is a question of a passing historical phenomenon. What Christians expect of the state is an atmosphere of peace and order.

Kovalsky. The prospects of dialogue and cooperation between Christians and Catholics should be viewed from the class standpoint. Communists never look on believers as a socially homogeneous category. Differentiation in today's world is determined by one's attitude to cardinal problems, such as achieving a durable world peace or fighting for democracy, national independence and socialism. The

issue of the dialogue is, therefore, part of the general task of bringing about working-class unity, a political alliance with all working people regardless of world outlook or political convictions, and unity of the peace forces of the world. We Communists are for dialogues, not only with Catholics but with Social Democrats, as well as with anyone else who differs with us but is willing to take joint action against imperialism.

We welcome the dialogue because it also means that some believers have stopped rejecting the Communists' political program and, indeed, viewing it with hostility in favor of political cooperation in the common interests of all working people and, in the final analysis, for the good of mankind, and hence removing barriers which artificially divide the working people into political factions on the ideological principle. To proceed to political cooperation means making it possible through a free confrontation of ideas to gradually overcome anti-Communist prejudice among Catholic working people and in their organizations, and heighten the working people's class consciousness.

The participants in the meeting agreed that actual cooperation between Communists and Catholics can make headway primarily in joint efforts to eliminate the war menace and achieve a lasting and irreversible world peace. A promising area is to promote social progress and combat injustice and social evils. And Marxist-Catholic meetings and growing contacts serve joint practical action acceptable to both sides. Marxists and believers follow different paths in advancing to a common position on specific social and political issues. However, differences in the ideological basis of this position are no hindrance to cooperation. Common interests can be appreciated even where there are serious ideological differences, provided joint action is sought and the convictions of each side are respected. Meetings between Communists and Catholics reflect a real need to unite the democratic peace forces. As the participants in the discussion see it, these meetings could become a form of joint search for ways and means of continuing cooperation.



The French farmer: changes and perspectives

Gaston Plissonnier
PB Member, CC Secretary
French CP

Farmers now comprise 12 per cent of France's gainfully employed population, against 25 per cent in 1954. But agriculture is still the country's second important industry.

It has changed considerably since the war, largely due to the new technology, and also to more research, so that the farmer does not have to depend entirely on rule of thumb. He has a higher standard of living, and gets more out of every hectare. Agricultural output has substantially increased. Diversification plus hard work by the farmer assures the country a stable supply of the produce it needs and gives it a strong position in export markets. In fact, the foreign-trade balance depends largely on agricultural exports.

However these changes cannot conceal or obscure the blundering and damaging policy that is part of the capitalist system, with its inherent production anarchy. The family farm, i.e. one not, as a rule, employing hired labor, looks to the future with misgivings. The new technology finds only limited application in farming. Much still has to be done to improve rural conditions.

The authorities have been long on promises, but short on fulfilment. And the farmers, with their traditional faith in the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen, are now increasingly disappointed with the regime and not at all happy about the future.

The crisis that has gripped all facets of French life is especially painful in rural France. Government policy is that of state-monopoly capitalism, with its incessant drive for maximum monopoly profits. The ones to pay for that are the working farmers, the nation as a whole, for exploitation of the working class goes hand in hand with stepped-up exploitation of other sections of the working people, particularly the small farmers.

Accelerated concentration in agriculture is part of the profit drive. The number of small and medium farms dropped from 2,284,000 in 1956 to less than 1,500,000, a decline of 800,000 in 15 years. The gainfully employed population in farming has declined by 4,000,000, and if things are allowed to go on as they have, it is estimated that another

500,000 or 600,000 farms will be forced out of business by 1985.

This process, objectively due to technological advance, is attended by intensified exploitation of agriculture by big capital. In many areas it is not merely impeding development of the productive forces, but actually jeopardizing the very existence of the small farmer.

Hence, the exodus from the rural areas. The first to go are the youth—country life holds no attraction for them. That accounts for the high average age of those engaged in agriculture. In some areas, notably mountain communities, this has a paralyzing effect: schools close down, municipal services are curtailed, trades and handicrafts are in a state of decline.

But all this means cheap labor for capitalist industry. Many young farmers have become wage-earners in nearby towns or factories. Another result of capitalist concentration is the mounting disproportion in agricultural output, for preference is given to crop production that can be mechanized and does not require much labor.

Land prices have been mercilessly jacked up, due to the bigger demand resulting from urbanization and expansion to keep the farms competitive. The result has been unchecked land speculation. For the rich this is one way of insuring against inflation. Big firms (German, U.S., British, Japanese) pay fantastic prices for choice land, especially in major grape growing areas, and the French ruling element is doing nothing to stop this sell-out of our national wealth.

To increase profits from agricultural labor and at the same time justify low wages in industry, monopoly capital is exerting constant pressure on farm prices. The idea is for the farmer to sell the food the worker needs at a low price, so that the capitalist can keep the workers' wages down to a minimum. Practically all farm produce is for sale, and at prices set either by the authorities or the laws of supply and demand. But the farmer has to pay high monopoly prices for the manufactured goods he needs.

On top of all this there is the so-called energy crisis, for which the government is fully responsible. It has added to the farmer's burden—higher transport charges, dearer petrol, fertilizers, etc. The government is also responsible for all the extra charges that add to the price of a product on its journey from producer to consumer: there are no less than 63 kinds of taxes in trade alone. This policy is basically responsible for the wide gap between what the producer gets and what the consumer has to pay (in many cases the former gets progressively less while the latter has to pay progressively more). This has meant high profits for the big food concerns: Nestle's 91 billion old francs, Gervais-Danone 10 billion and Olida 1 billion.

According to official data, per-farm incomes rose 11 per cent in 1972. Apart from the fact that figures for a single year are by no means typical, they make no distinction between the big capitalist and the small family farm, or between different crops, and, of course, they take no account of expenditures on new machinery, insurance and mortgage payments, the land tax, etc.

The statistics on family farms produce an entirely different picture. Net monthly income per person engaged in agriculture (and this

includes farms employing hired labor) was 1,080 francs in 1972 (the national minimum wage is about 1,000 francs). Besides, the figure varies from region to region. In the Paris area, for instance, it is three times the national average, while in the South and the Pyrenees it is about two-thirds and in Limousin only half the national average.

Farm expenditure increased 137 per cent between 1962 and 1972, while farm prices increased only 91 per cent. This is an indication of monopoly exploitation of the working farmer. The fact is that despite the rapid growth of farm-labor productivity the farmer's purchasing power has been steadily declining.

The monopolies appropriate part of the wealth produced by the peasant farmer through inflation, taxes and the gap between farm and manufactured goods prices. Land rent eats up a very big share, too. Part of it comes from the surplus value created by farm labourers, and the other part from the surplus product of the non-capitalist type farms. Rent affects market prices, i.e., the consumer, particularly the working-class consumer, and is thus an added burden on agriculture and society as a whole.

The rent problem is not a simple one. The farmers, like Frenchmen in general, regard land as a good asset, and we French Communists will have to reckon with this when the time comes to build a socialist society.

It was hoped that agriculture would gain much from France's membership of the Common Market. But membership has not, could not, alter the operation of capitalist economic laws. Free movement of goods has only made for more competition, with all the consequences following therefrom. The appearance of new markets has accentuated the disproportion in regard to farming areas and also in choice of crops. We are producing too much grain, but there is a shortage of meat, and no expansion in oil-yielding crops.

The EEC price-fixing procedures are such that our farming is under constant pressure to keep prices at a level out of all keeping with rocketing inflation. What is more, the government's policy of financing agriculture does not extend to a large number of family farms, considered too small to be viable.

True, France has new markets; 63 per cent of its exports go to EEC countries. But more trade within and beyond EEC has only whetted American appetites, and the U.S. seeks a disproportionate increase in its farm exports to Europe. Present food shortages have compelled Washington to go slower, but there is the danger that the export drive will resume and that the ruling element in France will again make major economic and political concessions.

There is this revealing fact: the food industry is largely in the hands of foreign-controlled multinational firms, which have also cornered the farm-machinery market. That started in 1969, when the late President Pompidou began his steady slide into Atlantism, and Britain decided to join the Common Market.

This and many other developments stress the need for a new agrarian policy. The monopolies, however, are only concerned with speeding up agricultural concentration in order to lower costs and

increase their already big profits. Their idea is low farm prices, lower government subsidies and an industrialized capitalist agriculture to cut production costs.

The monopoly-serving theorists (Mansholt in the EEC and Vedel in France) suggest driving most of the farmers off the land. That, of course, is easier said than done. To begin with, because the 'disappearance' of hundreds of thousands of small farms would destroy the productive forces over whole areas; it would jeopardize essential industries; France would be dependent on imports for her food supply. Besides, an operation of this kind would meet with strong resistance from the farmers and with resolute political opposition.

On the other hand, the rate of profit in agriculture is below the average for the economy as a whole, and that is something the government cannot change. Even by making huge investments it cannot organize production in the same way as in industry, for there is no changing the laws of nature. With few exceptions, investments in agriculture are individual rather than corporate. For a number of reasons there is no monopoly control at the production stage—the monopolies found themselves up against formidable difficulties.

The authorities in charge of agriculture have, naturally, tried to hide behind the Common Market. But the fact that the EEC has been given certain powers in agriculture does not reduce the responsibility of the French government. The farmers want to see their interests upheld in Paris as well as in Brussels.

Mechanization and labor intensification have considerably changed the position of different sections of the farming community. We could not define our policy and direct our activities without precise knowledge of these changes.

There are now only 300,000 farm workers and another 200,000 employed by the cooperatives and credit institutions. The farm worker of today has little resemblance to the laborer of yesterday. New machinery, mechanization, more efficient techniques, all require higher skills. As a result of the working class struggle, the position of farm workers to a certain degree resembles that of the industrial workers, though they do not get the same welfare benefits.

The farm workers are part of the working class, and the most exploited part. Their working conditions, their isolation, have made for a low degree of organization and inadequate participation in the social and political struggle. Our Party upholds their interests and helps them to organize. And the farm workers, theretofore, more than any other element of the rural community, have a stake in democratic change and the transition to socialism.

The position of other sections of the farming population has changed too. This is the picture, as revealed by the 1970 census:

Farms of less than 5 hectares	492,000 or 31.0 per cent
5-20 hectares	605,400 or 38.1 per cent
20-100 hectares	463,000 or 29.2 per cent
over 100 hectares	27,000 or 1.7 per cent

Family farms, owned or rented, are the biggest group. Ninety per cent of all the farms do not use hired labor. Of the remaining 10 per

cent, only 3.5 per cent employ more than one worker. Of the 31 per cent in the under-five-hectare group many have part-time jobs, and it is from this group that the strongest support comes for the Left forces, common government program and for the building of socialism.

The 5-20 hectare group is the most numerous. Not so very long ago many of its members were approaching middle-farmer status, but today, even with additional investments, their farms cannot assure them a normal living standard, and one or more members of the family have to find work elsewhere. This group is fairly receptive to the ideas of social progress. Its position is such that the political changes proposed by the Left parties can meet with favorable response.

The 20-100 hectare group is very heterogeneous. There is, however, a common desire to remain on the land, enjoy a decent life and be able to acquire more land. Agrarian concentration has helped it, but only up to a point and at present most of the farmers in this category find the going increasingly hard. They have to seek bank loans to buy machinery and by the time the loans are repaid they have to buy new machines.

Not so long ago most middle peasants considered themselves prosperous and their future assured. But as the adverse effects of government policy begin to tell, their mood is changing. Some of them employed hired labor, exploiting it to the maximum. Now they can't afford that and have to rely on their families. Though the majority hold conservative views, there are signs of support for our Party. In fact, anti-Communist and reactionary slogans are losing their hold.

There are wide differences also in the over 100-hectare group. Capitalist farmers make up an insignificant minority: only 2,500 farms employ more than 10 workers each. Basically, they support big-business policy.

Lastly, there are several big capitalist farms directly dependent on industrial firms, in some cases on the multinationals. This category consists of two or three big producers of champagne and cognac, owners of sugar refineries, salt mills in the south, and a few more.

The result of state-monopoly capitalism's policy in agriculture and an analysis of the social structure of the French peasantry suggests that the vast majority of farmers stand to gain from Communist policy. Accordingly, in its efforts to unite the workers, the democratic and national forces, our Party is faced with the highly important task of helping the laboring farmers to take their place in the popular alliance.

The Communist Party believes that, with a developed economy, France can have a modern agriculture capable of even more fully satisfying the country's requirements. And our Party, concerned for the national interest, gives high priority to the agrarian question in all its political activity and consistently upholds the peasants' vital demands. In keeping with this policy, the Communist group in the National Assembly recently tabled 13 proposals aimed primarily at

safeguarding the production of vitally necessary produce, such as meat, milk, wine, fruit and vegetables. And there is a very real possibility of producing them at a profit without raising consumer prices. This can be done by lowering production costs, reducing taxes, assuring government assistance, chiefly to family farms, and abolishing or substantially reducing certain levies. There is also need to review unjustified imports, which only dislocate the market mechanism.

Our Party is unremitting in its defense of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, most of whom have no land of their own.

We support the laboring farmers in their demands for social legislation that would give them all the benefits industrial workers enjoy.

Ferment among the farmers has been increasing. It is very important to merge their actions with the struggle of the working class and working people generally. That is one of the preconditions for winning their vital demands and giving the movement a deeper political content.

There is a direct link between the immediate measures we propose and the common government program of the Left forces. That program should be seen as an integral whole, its provisions cannot be separated, for each of them serves the entire population, including the farmers.

Unfettered by the big private companies, the agricultural cooperatives could rapidly develop and contribute to the expansion of French farming. A democratic government would devote special attention to uniting the farmers for joint use of modern machinery and more efficient management. Gradually, this would do away with excessive physical exertion and make the farmer's work more productive and remunerative.

If we are to modernize agriculture in the interests of the family farm, there must be an end to land speculation, also better marketing facilities, especially guaranteed prices for minimum output per person engaged in agriculture.

Of the Common Market we shall demand changes to conform with the united Left's agrarian policy. Under all circumstances, the government formed by the Left will honor its pledge to the country.

To increase labor productivity and improve general conditions, there will have to be a far-reaching welfare facilities program. Hired farm laborers will enjoy the same conditions and rights and receive the same wages as workers in other industries. The rural youth will receive a comprehensive general education and occupational training, qualifying for a trade they can practice in the village, though not necessarily working on the land.

The common program has important political implications, for it will make for progress both in the economic and social spheres. Its implementation will represent a decisive transition stage that will give the French farmers a wealth of experience, convincing them that, both for their immediate and long-term interests, they should join with the working class in the fight for a new policy, for the building of socialism.

It is only natural that with the present confrontation of the forces of progress and reaction, the farmer should reflect on what socialism will be like in France.

Our Party has the urgent task of exposing all lies and spreading the truth about socialist agriculture. Since the war, agricultural production has had its most rapid growth in the socialist countries, where the land is now in the hands of the millions of farmers, whereas under the old regime it had been the property of a few thousand big landowners. In the Soviet Union the farmer is no longer haunted by the spectre of sickness or poverty in old age. There is free medical aid, pensions at 60 for men and 55 for women, and annual paid holidays. There can be no doubt that the young farmers in the socialist countries are better educated than their counterparts anywhere else, and like all young people, they have free access to secondary, technical and higher education.

But this should not be taken to mean that France will copy the pattern of one or another country. All the more so that the forms of building the new society in the socialist countries differ widely. Guided by the general principles of socialism, each country devises forms best suited to its conditions.

How will the socialist government in France assure property rights and democracy?

As for the property rights, the French Communist Party is formulating its policy in keeping with the demands of our time and French realities. There is only a small number of big farms, and the source of income of family farms is not surplus value, but hard work and thriftiness. We shall have to help the peasants enlarge their farms, develop them into viable production units that can make more rational use of scientific and technological achievements. In future, doubtlessly, we shall see the development of modern cooperative production on a scale that will assure the farmer better conditions.

French realities suggest that the family farm can and should become the basis of socialist agriculture. But to this should be added that socialization of the basic means of production and distribution is crucial for building socialism.

The existence and development of the family farm will not hamper technical progress or scientific farming. A modern and democratically-run cooperative movement will make both possible. All the more so, considering that, even now, practically all our farms are feeling the impact of the technological revolution in agriculture.

Collective farming, a veritable bogey a short time ago, now attracts the French farmer. This can be attributed to the success of machinery cooperatives and the emergence of joint cultivation cooperatives. And though both are subject to the limitations imposed by capitalism, they are promising experiments.

Modernization of the family farms and the cooperative movement will make it possible to combine collective work with individual responsibility and preserve the skills, built up by our farmers over many generations, which have made for the wealth and diversity of our agricultural output.

This, then, is the specific form of farmer participation in building socialism and in democratic government at all levels.

The voluntary principle will be firmly observed, with the farmers themselves deciding what kind of cooperative they want. The right to land ownership will, naturally, include the right to inheritance, the sale or lease of land to other peasants. This means that land rent will remain, which incidentally is characteristic of some socialist countries, but of course not on the scale as under capitalism.

Are we not risking restoration of capitalism in farming?

Let us imagine ourselves in the future. At the stage of advanced democracy, the economic power of capitalist farms will be stringently limited. The cooperatives will acquire more land than now controlled by the capitalist farms, and their farms will be run much more efficiently.

It would not be advisable to break up the remaining big capitalist farms, but these will have to be restructured to make them serve socialism. Some will be turned into cooperatives or experimental farms.

The government will guarantee the family farm assistance and marketing facilities. Prices will be set by agreement between the farmers and their cooperatives, on the one hand, and agencies representing the consumers and the state, on the other.

And so, in contrast to capitalism, socialism will give the land to those who till it. The organization and results of agriculture will stimulate social progress and steadily raise living standards. The farmers will have a worthy place in the future socialist society, which will bring them freedom, peace and happiness.

**Equal rights,
mutual assistance,
economic advantage**

FRATERNAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES FROM CAPITALIST COUNTRIES EXAMINE MECHANISM OF SOCIALIST INTEGRATION

The working group of representatives of fraternal parties on **World Marxist Review** consisted of Idris Cox, representative of the CP Great Britain; Otto Sanchez, member of the Ideological Commission of the CC, Guatemalan Party of Labor; Hamid Safari, alternate member of the Executive Bureau, CC, People's Party of Iran; Mel Doig, member of the Central Executive, CP of Canada; Kostas Pafitis, alternate member of CC AKEL; and Georg Kwiatowski, German CP representative on **WMR**.

Members of the working group toured several international social-

ist agencies working under CMEA auspices in Budapest, Warsaw and Moscow. Below is their account of what they saw and learned.

THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGE PRINCIPLE

For a souvenir from the headquarters of Agromash in Budapest we brought back a colorful prospectus of the West German firm Gutbrod, showing a small tractor plowing, sowing, harrowing and mowing, spraying fields with pesticide and clearing away snow.

'With this prospectus came an offer to do business,' Soviet engineer I. Merkulov, director of the Agromash bureau, told us. 'Agromash is an open organization and will work with firms of any country, provided all our members consent. But we were compelled to turn down the Gutbrod offer. Not because we doubted the technical merits of their tractors, but because their social orientation is unsuitable: the all-purpose Gutbrod is meant for small family farms requiring one tractor to do all the jobs. Our orientation, however, is on the large socialist farms, which need much more powerful machinery.'

This minor episode in the life of the large socialist international body reflects the growing interest in the world in socialist economic integration, and also the complexity of the many problems dealt with by this absolutely new type of undertaking.

Agromash was founded by Bulgaria and Hungary as a joint society in 1965 to cooperate in producing machinery for fruit, grape and vegetable farming. In 1969 it was joined by the Soviet Union, and in 1973 by the German Democratic Republic. Czechoslovakia is about to join.

The society is run by a Managing Council consisting of representatives of member-countries, headed by a chairman, elected for three-year terms alternately from each country. Decisions are taken by unanimous vote.

Executive management is by a bureau, consisting of a director and two deputies (appointed by the Managing Council alternately from each country) and experts from all the member-countries. Agromash agencies exist in the capitals of all member-countries.

Agromash cooperation helps eliminate duplication in designing and manufacture. At the beginning of the 70s some 60 per cent of the machinery concerned was still manufactured by the countries separately. Now, 50 types (some 200 brands) are made under specialization schemes. The member-countries have undertaken to work on 10 joint research, experimentation and designing projects, and 27 types of machines are already items of reciprocal deliveries based on specialization. Agromash efforts have contributed to the development of new machines and the improvement of some old ones, which will ease the farmers' labor, raise efficiency, and contribute to higher living standards.

The Intermetal organization also has its seat in Budapest, and operates along approximately the same lines as Agromash. We spoke to its bureau deputy director, Hungarian engineer Dr. J. Tar, the

head of the production and cooperation sector Gunter Papst, GDR, manager of the technical sector G. Genov, Bulgaria, and manager of the economic sector F. Houdek, Czechoslovakia.

'Intermetal,' Tar said, 'has three main functions: exchange of ferrous metals, elaboration of recommendations for specialization, and solution of economic problems relating to the former two functions. We also coordinate plans and help expand cooperation in rolled stock production. Our main purpose is to facilitate extra-plan deliveries.'

'Sometimes, we are called the socialist "rolled stock exchange",' said Papst. 'But that doesn't tell the whole story. Intermetal helps balance additional import needs and exportable surpluses that cannot be anticipated in long-term contracts. Obviously, we are a complement to the plan. Whereas an exchange would have no relation to planning.'

We who represent Communist parties in capitalist countries thought this highly relevant. An organization like Intermetal has no counterpart in the systems of capitalist integration. Not only because there can be no international coordination of planning in capitalist states as it is extensively practised in the countries of the socialist community, but also because in the world of competitive rivalry no country would show concern for the better use of the productive potential of another. Yet for Intermetal that is a *raison d'être*.

In 1964 deliveries made through Intermetal amounted to 800,000 tons; in 1973 the figure topped 2.5 million. Just several dozen specialists running the agency, and millions of tons of rolled stock obtained additionally through better use of available equipment! Not bad for socialist cooperation!

Intermetal draws up recommendations for joint investment in metallurgy and specialization in rolled stock production. Negotiations are under way to build in Cuba a joint steel mill, which shows that Intermetal is entering a new stage with more complex forms of cooperation. The agency also coordinates its members' transactions in capitalist markets.

Intermetal is an open international socialist organization founded by Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1964, and joined by Bulgaria, the GDR and the Soviet Union some months later. The Association of Iron-and-Steel Mills of Yugoslavia has been cooperating with it since 1969, and Metalloimport of Rumania since 1970.

In general, the socialist countries' efforts to advance economic integration are strongly in evidence in Budapest. Recently, we were told, there was a kind of poll in which workers, office employees and students were asked whether they knew CMEA. Nine out of every 10 were able to give the Council's full name, said that Hungary is a member, and that as far as they knew the biggest Hungarian enterprises sold their products through CMEA.

We asked the executive officers of the Hungarian Council of Ministers' Secretariat for International Economic Relations, Ferenc Nagy, Ferenc Kozma and Peter Szbni, to tell us of Hungary's stake in greater international division of labor in the CMEA framework.

'We have long since answered the question of whether we need

socialist integration or not,' Nagy said. 'Our relatively small country has a huge productive capacity and a high technical and economic potential. The home market is unable to absorb the range of products produced. Suffice it to say that 40 per cent of our national income comes from foreign trade. We settle our raw materials and fuel problems through cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And we also have the problems of investment resources, of attaining world standards in technology and services, and the like. The only way to solve them is through integration.'

Budapest-Prague

Idris Cox, Otto Sanchez

'WE SUPPLY KNOWHOW'

The words of the heading were spoken by a Polish engineer, Zbigniew Twardon, director of Interatominstrument (IAI), which has its headquarters in Warsaw. IAI 'supplies knowhow' because it is the first organization of its kind.

'We produce in small quantities, but the range of items is very great,' Twardon said. 'CMEA countries manufacture as many as 1,000 different kinds of nuclear instruments. That is why we need specialization. The coordination of plans we have had for years at government level could not solve all our problems. That is how we struck on the idea of a new type of body that would link up the respective enterprises directly.'

Deputy director for science and technology, Soviet specialist V. Sinitsin:

'From this general idea we had to move on to a detailed project. A preparatory committee was in session for 18 months. I was a member, and I can tell you there was a lot of discussion before IAI was finally established in February 1972. The term "khozraschyot," meaning that an enterprise covers its own expenses, introduced by V. I. Lenin in the 20s, has been a household word in national economics, but there was no such thing in the international organizations. Yet IAI is expected to operate on a khodzraschyot basis and find the means for paying its own way. The principles governing such organizations as Intermetal and Agromash are not entirely suitable for us.'

The IAI Council, for example, cannot apply the principle of unanimity in all cases. Besides, the pattern is different: the Council has 14 members, representing economic agencies of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The number of members from a country is not limited. For example, there are four Hungarian agencies, two Soviet and one Polish. But in the Council the members of one country have just one joint vote. The 14 present Council members have a total of six votes only. Some of the decisions are adopted exclusively by unanimous vote, others require a qualified majority (at least three quarters of the vote), and still others only a simple majority. In the IAI executive and directorate, of course, the final decision rests with the senior executive, as would be the case in a national body.

'Our charter says we must assure financial self-sufficiency, but does not say how to do it,' IAI director for commercial and economic matters, Juergen Korff (GDR), told us. 'We have been given three years to find the ways and means, and are cudgelling our brains for sources of income. The IAI may establish its own enterprises, the charter says. One newspaper even described us as a "socialist concern." It is too early for that, of course, because we still have to accomplish much spadework and find answers to some of the more difficult questions before we can set up a material base. But the staff of the directorate, consisting of 28 highly competent specialists, can render useful services to enterprises manufacturing nuclear instruments in our respective countries.'

When several countries want to develop something of similar parameters, they need not really each do so on its own. It is far easier and quicker to produce the item jointly by parts. The IAI is a collective agent and can help organize such joint manufacture. Five items are already being produced in this manner. Besides, IAI has joint science-technical development contracts with one Polish Institute, a Czechoslovak research institute, and the GDR Otto Schoen Messelektronik enterprise. The contracts provide for payment of IAI services.

But before such services could be rendered, the IAI had to study the demand for various instruments and what instruments the designers of six countries could produce; it also had to study the world standards, and what the factories within the IAI framework are able to manufacture. The knowledge thus acquired enables the IAI to render many different services. This includes joint planning of production and coordination of deliveries, promotion of specialization and help in expanding foreign trade. If IAI efforts lead to reciprocal exports in excess of the agreed five-year government plans, the agency gets a share of the value. Advertising, information and international exhibits are other IAI fields.

The result is a very distinctive organization concerned with planning, trade, science, technology and (potentially) production. Can its every step be assessed in terms of money? Experience has shown that it cannot. Many operations which are absolutely inseparable from other work are carried out without contracts or brokerage and free of charge. First among the free services is assistance in coordinating plans. Due to the IAI, plans for the next five years (1976-1980) were coordinated by early 1974. Two years ahead of the planned time, members of the agency know the exact volume of reciprocal deliveries and can prepare for production. The result is a substantial increase in trade: as against the usual 6-8 per cent growth, the deliveries agreed for the next five-year period will guarantee a 20-22 per cent growth. Incidentally, growth in 1973 was close on 15 per cent, due largely to deliveries over and above the plan.

Thus we have a new economic set-up and new organizational experience. Besides, the IAI introduces new working relations.

'At Council meetings,' said Jiri Meskan, a Czechoslovak expert, 'we study what every member needs. And I've never seen national inter-

ests take precedence in work of our experts, who come from various countries. We represent something entirely new: common socialist interests.'

'We Bulgarian experts in the IAI,' said T. Tonchev, a department chief, 'argue occasionally with people arriving from Bulgaria for a Council meeting. We tell them that the IAI is an international organization set up in the common interest. As we work together in it we are readjusting psychologically, and come to realize that we represent the common interest.'

Yet national interests remain. How do they manifest themselves and how are they coordinated with international interests? We decided to get some first-hand information on this by visiting the Polon group of plants, a Polish member of the IAI.

'In the past two years,' Jerzy Krawczyk, board director of Polon, told us, 'I've come to the conclusion that it's much harder to run an enterprise belonging to an international agency than to run an ordinary enterprise. The job requires much greater effort on my part and on that of many of my colleagues. Before every IAI Council meeting, the Polish delegation formulates its position and the Minister in charge of the Atomic Energy Committee endorses it. On the Council, we attend the meetings of the heads of delegations and take part in the general discussion. Moreover, we have the right to vote.'

'What is the purpose for this? It benefits both Poland and Polon. More and more often, we learn that certain instruments are not made in any socialist country and that for various reasons it is difficult to make them in one country. The IAI could design these instruments in its institutes and manufacture them in its factories. This prompted the Sixth Council Session to decide on providing the IAI with appropriate material and technical facilities. We are proud to say that the action was proposed by the Polish delegation, and that the Soviet delegation was the first to support us. However, we think it is decisions on international specialization that yield the greatest and swiftest results.'

'Can these decisions be reached on a voluntary basis?' we asked. 'From the experience of capitalist countries we know that they fight for priority in manufacturing a given article. Canada, for example, has developed its own type of nuclear reactor, although the U.S. also makes reactors. She is now trying to sell her reactor to Britain. What if the attempt should fail? The future of many workers and the chance of recouping the investment hinge on the success of the deal. The Canadian monopolies' whole purpose was to come out ahead of their U.S. competitors.'

Krawczyk told us about decisions on specialization adopted to date. The IAI Council has already agreed that Polon should specialize in laboratory equipment, which it will be able to deliver to all six IAI countries. A Hungarian proposal for specializing in atomic medical equipment is now under discussion. Every delegation makes its proposals with due regard to both national and common interests.

'But national interests may clash,' we told Krawczyk. 'We understand that IAI experts have worked out proposals for specialization

in 188 types of instruments, or one-fifth of the items manufactured by the industry. Specialization of one country in making an instrument implies that the other countries do not have to make it. Suppose Hungary is "given" an instrument which Poland used to make. What happens to your plants? What about the redundant workers?

'The problem is somewhat different,' Krawczyk said. 'None of the plants will have to close down. In fact, we will have to expand production. Our output is in high demand but inadequate specialization prevents us from increasing output. Poland, for example, manufactures about 30 basic items. We put them out in small series of about 200 each; specialized technology does not pay, therefore, and so production costs are high. But if we were to manufacture three items instead of 30, and thousands of them, to supply all six countries, they would be both better and cheaper.'

Lastly, we asked Krawczyk why an agency like the IAI is regarded as a higher stage of integration than earlier forms and whether he is of this opinion.

'Yes, I am,' he replied. 'A joint economic agency interlinks the brother countries' lower economic echelons and enterprises. This provides opportunities that are lacking in higher echelons. I think 90 per cent of specific decisions on integration would be impossible at higher levels. For a minister it is immaterial whether this or that instrument is made, but "small things" like that add up to large-scale integration by becoming an everyday assignment of the enterprise concerned. And there are many things we can decide together because we experts of socialist enterprises are united by common interests and objectives.'

Warsaw-Prague

Mel Doig, Kostas Pafitis

CREDITING OF A NEW TYPE

Moscow is the seat of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) and International Investment Bank (IIB). As we went there we only knew the workings of international credit institutions of a different, capitalist type. The number of votes cast by a member country of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) depends on the size of its contribution. Accordingly, the United States commands over 23 per cent of the votes and four other highly developed countries together have over 22 per cent. Thus, these five members fully control the IMF. On the same principle, the United States has 23 per cent of the votes in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and on its board the U.S. even has the right of veto. Now how do socialist international banks make decisions?

'The highest authority of the IBEC is the Council,' T. Ganchev (Bulgaria), acting chairman of the board, told us. 'All member countries are represented on the Council. Its meetings, held at least twice a year, are chaired in rotation and take all decisions unanimously. The Council elects an executive body, the board, whose members represent all member-countries. All bank members are equal in discussing and making decisions. This means that the Mon-

golian People's Republic, for example, which has contributed 3 million transfer rubles, casts one vote like the Soviet Union with its contribution of 116 million transferable rubles.'

'That rule also applies to the IIB Council,' said V. Vorobyov (Soviet Union), Chairman of the IIB Board. 'Each country casts one vote irrespective of the amount of its contribution. There are some differences in decision-making procedure. Decisions on the admission of new members, increasing authorized capital, approving the annual report and other matters of fundamental importance are taken unanimously, while decisions on other matters are adopted by a qualified majority.'

We asked what stipulations the bank makes in granting credit.

'There are no stipulations that might affect the independence of the recipient,' replied K. Miroshnichenko (Soviet Union), a department head in the IBEC. 'In setting up the bank, the socialist countries proceeded from the principle that its activities must serve mutual economic interests. This principle is strictly respected. Accounts are settled on the basis of mutual trust. Countries obtaining foreign currency credits from a capitalist organization like the IMF, on the other hand, are expected both to comply with its recommendations and account to it for the way the money is used.' 'I could give another example,' said S. Sikora (Poland), head of the IIB operations department. 'In the case of the capitalist IBRD, countries receiving loans must supply complete economic information on how they are used. The United States virtually uses the bank as an instrument of political pressure on progressive governments. This was revealed at an IMF and IBRD meeting in September 1972 by Alfonso Inostroza, the then President of the Central Bank of Chile, who said that under the Popular Unity government Chile had been unable to obtain a single loan from the IBRD. At the same meeting delegates from many developing countries demanded an equitable distribution of IMF funds and liberalization of world trade. As for socialist international banks, the only requirement stipulated by the IIB, for instance, is that loans be used for setting up highly effective production capacities in various countries and the socialist community as a whole.'

We asked about the international standing of socialist banks.

G. Loesche (GDR), Vice-Chairman of the IIB Board, told us that socialist international banks are independent of governments, the CMEA and other organizations. They are independent international financial institutions operating in accordance with agreements and statutory standards jointly approved by the member countries. IIB employees therefore perform their functions as international officials. They take orders exclusively from the bank and are independent of any agency or official of their countries. The property, operations, assets and records of the bank are immune from administrative or judicial interference and its premises are inviolable. Its financial policy is independent too. In granting credits, the bank is prompted by the need to carry forward cooperation and socialist economic integration and gradually to bring the economic development levels

of the member countries closer together so that they all may in the end attain the highest level. The IIB therefore takes part in CMEA discussions on coordinating the member countries' investment plans. But, of course, this merely underscores its autonomy.

'I would like to add,' said K. Danov (Bulgaria), Vice-Chairman of the IIB Board, 'that membership in a socialist bank has no influence on a country's financial policy, which remains a national prerogative. Membership in the IBED or IIB is no obstacle to business relations between member-countries or between them and other countries.'

'The autonomy of the banks,' T. Ganchev commented, 'is also underscored, in my view, by their right to enter into direct business contacts with other international monetary organizations. Over the past three years, the IBEC has signed agreements on large loans with such banks as the National Westminster Bank, Barclays Bank, Morgan Grenfell, and the Moscow Narodny Bank in Great Britain, the French Credit Lyonnais and Société Générale and the Italian Banca Commerciale Italiana. The IBEC participates in consortiums of big Western banks granting credit to the banks of socialist and developing countries. At present the IBEC has business relations or corresponds with more than three hundred major banks.'

'What is the significance of the multilateral system of payment in transferable rubles?' we asked. 'The transferable ruble,' Miroshnichenko replied, 'is an international currency used by IBEC and IIB countries. Its gold content is 0.987412 grammes of pure gold. For 10 years now, the transferable ruble has been used as the international socialist currency of the CMEA countries, as a value measure, payment medium and means of accumulation. The more noteworthy features of this collective currency are its genuinely internationalist character, planned circulation, stable rate and independence from the crisis phenomena affecting the capitalist monetary system. Payment in transferable rubles has provided a number of advantages compared with the bilateral clearing system used by CMEA countries before.'*

'With the establishment of the IIB,' said S. Kobak (Poland), Vice-Chairman of the IIB Board, 'the transfer ruble is also used for long-term crediting. The projects being built with IIB credits include a large ball-bearing plant in Bulgaria, a cotton mill in Hungary, a knit-wear factory in Poland, a wool-cleaning mill in Mongolia, the extension of a bus factory and the electrification of a transit railway in Hungary, a plant for the manufacture of machinery for processing plastics and elastomers in the GDR, an isoprene rubber plant in Rumania, and the reconstruction and extension of the Tatra automobile plant in Czechoslovakia.'

In 1973 a Special Credit Fund was set up for economic and technological aid to developing countries.

Moscow-Prague

Hamid Safari, Georg Kwiatowski

The organizations we visited are only part of the intricate machinery

*For figures on the IBEC and IIB, see the statistical survey elsewhere in this issue. — Ed.

of economic, scientific and technological cooperation among socialist countries. The main unit of this machinery, its 'brain trust,' is the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance operating in accordance with international legal instruments collectively approved by countries of the socialist community.*

To be sure, pioneering is no easy thing. Every new step in socialist economic integration requires answers to questions that never faced anyone before. New legal standards are evolved and unprecedented economic problems solved. But we Communists in capitalist and developing countries know that our working class is still fighting for the opportunity to solve problems of *this* nature. The problem created by capitalist integration for the working class is, as we all know, to fight against monopoly domination and imperialist plunder. As for the working people of socialist countries, they, as we could once again see for ourselves, tackle problems of a different kind, problems of more effective fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance.

*Among these instruments are, first of all, the CMEA Charter (1960), 'Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labor' (1962) and 'Comprehensive Program for the Further Expansion and Perfection of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Member Countries' (1971). — Ed.

The decisive struggles lie ahead

Fascism has taken over in Chile. The traitor generals who have usurped the power are waging a war of annihilation against the people. But the people cannot be cowed. **World Marxist Review** has already carried a number of materials analyzing the dramatic experience of Chile. Today we continue with articles by **Cheddi Jagan** and **Tadeo Nina** analyzing certain aspects of the Chilean problem, and a review of **Chile: The Black Book**.

FROM GUYANA TO CHILE

Cheddi Jagan

General Secretary, People's
Progressive Party of Guyana

Reflection on dramatic events

The events in Chile have demonstrated that even though the world balance of forces has shifted against imperialism, the reactionary forces are still capable of dealing many foul blows against the revolutionary movement, particularly on the most aggravated front, the 'third world.' This conclusion is arrived at not merely on the basis

of recent experience. In our view, therefore, we may justifiably refer to events that took place more than 10 years ago in Guyana. The methods employed in the successful overthrow of the Popular Unity Government of Chile were in many ways similar to those previously employed in the removal of the government of the People's Progressive Party.

Defeated at three successive elections, in 1953, 1957 and 1961 by the PPP, the local reactionary forces made a deal with imperialism.

In 1961 President J. F. Kennedy declared that 'the U.S. supported the right of all people to enjoy political freedom.' But at the same time the CIA was stabbing the PPP government in the back. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., principal adviser to President Kennedy, in his book, *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, wrote that after meeting L. F. S. Burnham* in Washington in May 1962, he recommended that the PNC and not the PPP should be supported in Guyana. He admitted that Dean Rusk early in 1962 in 'a stiff letter to the British' informed them 'of the reversal in U.S. policy in relation to Guyana.'

U.S. pressure was mounted on the British government to change the electoral system and not to grant independence to Guyana under the PPP government.** But because these were contrary to pledges given at a London Constitutional Conference in 1960, chaos had to be created inside Guyana.

After the PPP's victory in 1961, Serafino Romualdy, director of the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), declared: 'It appeared to me that young trade union leaders would need intensive training to combat Dr. Jagan's efforts.' And George Meany, of the AFL/CIO and the AIFLD, in October 1963 after the 80-day strike, demonstrations and riots, noted with pride that 'in British Guiana, other Institute graduates are participating in the fight against the Cuba-orientated government of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan.'

The CIA involvement in Guyana was first documented in an article, 'CIA is linked to strikes that ousted Jagan' by Neil Sheehan (*New York Times*, February 22, 1967). The article stated that the CIA's agents worked undercover as trade unionists through the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Public Services International (PSI) based in Washington, D.C. CIA money was channelled through the dummy Gotham Foundation.

The British armed forces and the Guyana police, under the command of a British Governor and Commissioner of Police respectively, could not overthrow the PPP government. They did the next best thing; they stood by and permitted the counter-revolutionary forces to run riot. The resultant disaster and racial strife was then used by the British government to amend the Constitution and to change the voting system, through which the PPP was ousted from the government.

Soon after, in a story in the *Sunday Times* (April 16, 1967), 'How the CIA Got Rid of Jagan,' the Insight Team wrote:

*Leader of the Right-Wing People's National Congress. - Ed.

**British Guiana became independent Guyana on 26 May, 1966. - Ed.

'As coups go, it was not expensive: over five years the CIA paid out something over £250,000. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly £10 million-worth of damage to the economy.'

The counter-revolutionary coup in Chile places in sharp focus the role of the armed forces in political life. Too much reliance should not be placed on their political neutrality.

Developments in Peru and Panama where the progressive elements in the armed forces have gained the ascendancy should not lull revolutionaries into a false sense of security. Bolivia between 1969 and 1971 clearly demonstrated the struggle among the contending forces. In a Rightist attempt to overthrow the 'Centrist' regime of General Ovando, 'Leftist' General Juan Torres came to power. But not long after, he was removed by the 'Rightist' General Hugo Banzer. The military also staged a coup against the Goulart government in Brazil, where there were also illusions about a democratic-progressive base in the army, particularly at the sergeants' level.

In Chile, the armed forces had a non-intervention-in-politics tradition. But it must not be forgotten that previous governments before Allende did not carry out a revolutionary program.

The revolution needs weapons, and also loyal people in uniform. In Chile, the disloyal Rightist elements in the armed forces were emboldened to stage a coup because of the narrow popular base of the government. The Popular Unity government had the legal right, but not the political power to govern.

The revolutionary Paris Commune 100 years ago suffered because it failed to pursue its offensive against the reactionaries at Versailles.

The constitutional government of Jacob Arbenz of Guatemala (1954) and the military government of Juan Torres (1971) were overthrown largely because of the failure to arm the workers. On the other hand, the stability of the Cuban government rests on the control of the state apparatus, and on the People's Committee for the Defense of the Revolution.

A people which has taken the path of a transformation of society must always be on the alert. Intense educational work is necessary in the armed forces and among the masses and middle strata to enlarge the base of support for the government. Short-term difficulties due to economic sabotage and aggression must be explained in the context of medium and long-term gains.

In this respect, experience both in Chile and Guyana shows the necessity for the revolutionary forces to have equal, if not greater, access to the mass media.

The position of the government of Popular Unity was made more difficult by the ultra-Left elements. Those who see only a socialist revolution and not a national-democratic revolution, whether they like it or not, politically aid the class enemy. In the formation, and particularly the execution of the program, it is vital, especially in consideration of the internal balance of forces, to make a distinction between various revolutionary stages, and between the compradore and monopoly bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the middle and small bourgeoisie, on the other.

Our main task today is to display militant solidarity with the Chilean people. Without it there can be no end to fascist terror. Above all, there is need for militant solidarity to stop the fascist slaughter, to release political prisoners and to restore democracy in Chile.

FORMULAS FOR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY COUPS

Tadeo Nina

Bolivian publicist

Many of those who, like myself, were in Chile during the bloody coup could not at first understand why that country's armed forces, widely publicized for their loyalty to the Constitution and awareness of their professional duty, had degenerated into a band of assassins, racists and xenophobes. It will take time to size up what has happened, to compare certain facts, so as to form a proper picture of how the fascist coup was hatched.

El Mercurio, the reactionary daily which had fiercely attacked the Allende government, is now trying to produce a 'theoretical' explanation of the putschists' atrocities. It will be recalled that the junta declared a state of 'internal war.' *El Mercurio* contends that, for the first time, Chilean troops had to use arms against an enemy inside the country.

Let it be said from the outset that to agree, if only for a moment, that the crimes of the soldiers can be explained away by referring to a state of 'internal war' would mean agreeing with the fascist generals, those 'restorers of the Chilean spirit.' They claim to be acting on their own initiative, but they are merely despicable, if ambitious, puppets in the hands of a foreign aggressor. And the war they are waging against the 'internal enemy' was started on instructions from without and is part of the imperialist aggression against the democratic and revolutionary forces of Latin America.

In the new international climate the imperialists cannot always intervene openly. Hence they try to 'Vietnamize' their punitive operations by making Latin American generals combat the 'Communist menace,' as they describe every act of resistance to foreign monopoly and domestic oligarchy oppression.

After Cuba, a victorious revolution in Chile would have meant a further weakening of the monopolies' Latin American rear. Too much was at stake and the overthrow of the Allende government became therefore the main strategic objective of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Preparations were begun for a coup and Chile's armed forces were assigned the role of mercenaries.

In line with their chosen tactics, imperialist monopolies, the CIA and the Pentagon operate through go-betweens. The most zealous of these are the Brazilian gorillas, to whom their masters have given a blank cheque to recast unsuitable political structures, impose neo-fascist dictatorships and even annex territories and absorb whole nations.

Colonel Hugo Bethlem of Brazil called in 1971 for the transforma-

tion of neighbor countries into Brazilian 'protectorates of a sort.' The first experiment was carried out in Bolivia where, in August 1971, the progressive Torres government was overthrown. The Brazilian dictatorship suited the action to the word – it virtually set out to annex Mutum, an area of Bolivia rich in iron ore, engaged in large-scale expansion in Paraguay and brought strong pressure to bear on Uruguay.

A new, sinister factor emerged in relations between South American countries: the Brazilian dictatorship reached the Chilean frontier and obtained a bridgehead from which to press forward its aggression, this time against Santiago and the Popular Unity government. There can be no doubt any longer that the 1971 coup in Bolivia was part of the preparations for the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile.

In rehearsing in La Paz their conspiracy against the Allende government, the secret services of Brazil and the U.S. were out, first, to unite the conspirators representing Right-wing parties (the Bolivian Socialist Falange and Nationalist Revolutionary Movement); secondly, to neutralize all progressive and patriotic elements in the armed forces, and thirdly, to incite 'Leftists' – Maoists, Trotskyists, anarchists – to provocation against the government, super-revolutionary demands and acts of terrorism. This activity helped to regroup forces in favor of reaction and bring the day of the coup nearer.

The fascist coup in Chile was prepared by almost the same methods as were used in Bolivia; only the actors but not directors were different. Also, special importance was attached to the formula 'Encourage ultra-Leftist action to bring ultra-Rightists to power.' The conspirators also used ultra-Leftists to build up an atmosphere of political instability, to which the middle strata and armed forces are so sensitive, and lend credibility to the myth of the existence of an internal enemy, said to be threatening the armed forces and national security.

For three years the CIA and its Brazilian counterpart were busy transferring ultra-Leftist elements to Chile from other Latin American countries. Most of these people were of petty-bourgeois background holding the most diverse views. But there were also many 'pocket-size' Maoist and Trotskyist parties, as well as groups of professional provocateurs.

Abusing the right of political asylum under the Allende government, these elements – some misguided, others on direct instructions of imperialist secret services – joined in the campaigns of home-grown Rightists and 'Leftists' to discredit Popular Unity.

They claimed that the Popular Unity government had come to power 'by chance' and must therefore be replaced by a government 'representing the working class,' advocated the rifle as the main argument in political struggle and called for the immediate disbanding of the armed forces and their replacement by a 'people's army.'

One year after the Popular Unity's electoral victory *El Mercurio* readily made its columns available for an interview with Chou En-Lai. Its editors knew how they could frighten the middle strata and alarm the armed forces – the Chinese Premier gave his blessing to ultra-Leftist adventurers.

While paying lip-service to the fight against imperialism, the 'Leftists' helped the imperialists and were repaid by their undisguised patronage. Here is a revealing fact. Early in 1972 a group of Right-wing MPs decided to investigate the activity of Left extremists. The very next day, however, a suspicious hush fell: the MPs must have been told who were the beneficiaries of the adventurist activity of the 'Leftists,' who sowed confusion among democrats, tried to split progressive parties, called for the use of force at a time when the revolution was following a relatively peaceful course, defamed brother parties on the pretext of combating 'revisionism' and advocated outspoken anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

At the same time Bolivia's fascist regime, taking advantage of the irresponsible mouthings of some Santiago 'Leftists,' continuously blackmailed the Allende government and threatened to 'take steps' unless 'subversion' against Bolivia was stopped. This created additional difficulties for the Popular Unity government and furnished the reactionaries with a pretext to affirm that the government was exposing the country to the threat of an armed conflict.

A product of this foreign policy of blackmail was the provocation which the Banzer regime organized on the initiative of the Brazilian intelligence service and the CIA. Well knowing that a coup was in the making, Bolivia's fascists declared that the Chilean army had nothing to fear because they were not going to attack Chile in view of the 'sore plight in which the country has been placed by the Marxist regime.' The poisoned shaft hit the mark. Chile's military felt that they had been insulted. Worse still, the 'sympathy' was expressed by Bolivia, on which Chile's oligarchs and army officers had looked with deep contempt ever since the turn of the century, regarding Bolivia as their 'backyard' and its army and police as an appendage of their armed forces. This is just one instance of how imperialist secret services incited the anger of army officers and rank and file against the Allende government, prodding them to 'save the country from chaos.'

An excuse for the coup was also furnished from without by alleging that a foreign army had found shelter in Chile. A figure was even given - 13,000 'Left' extremists, said to be preparing for Operation Z (destroying the leadership of the Chilean armed forces, etc.). The fascist groups carrying on subversion among servicemen contrived to make many officers and rank-and-file believe that absurd idea and make them an unquestioning tool of the conspirators, who took their cue from abroad.

On September 11, 1973, a major part of the Chilean army was pitted against the 'internal enemy.' The 'Leftists' played the role of a decoy, as we have seen. The main blow was struck at genuine revolutionaries, at popular parties and organizations. True, some ultra-Leftist elements, too, became victims of the soldiery but many of them forgot all about their 'allegiance to the rifle' and sought refuge under the UN flag or in foreign embassies.

The putschists continue to operate with the brutality of invaders, of enemies operating on foreign soil. The blood being shed in Chile

stains primarily those who planned the coup. But it has also stained, as it was bound to, those who gave in to foreign pressure, lifted their hand against freedom and democracy in Chile and betrayed the nation by turning their arms against it. There can be no justification for murderers irrespective of whether they are operating on instructions from abroad or on their own initiative.

It must not be forgotten that the seeds of hatred for the Popular Unity government, lavishly sown by foreign secret services, fell on fertile soil. Class prejudice, nationalism and chauvinism surfaced at once and took the form of a fascist ideology based on the racist concepts of an arrogant Chilean aristocracy that has formed over the centuries, in the course of extermination and enslavement of the indigenous population, the Mapuche Indians. The Chilean army, nurtured by landowners and the bourgeoisie, reared in a spirit of barrack-room discipline, caste allegiance and deep contempt for civilians, and armed to the teeth by foreign masters, showed itself before the whole world to be a menial of the blackest reaction.

This repressive policy has a class content. It is perfectly evident that the early days' fierce xenophobia was followed by a sustained racist policy. Persecution is particularly ferocious in the case of the largest group of foreigners, the Bolivians (about a quarter million). These are mostly miners, peasants, shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, mainly of Indian stock.

They are closely linked with the people. The new 'Aryans' exercise discrimination in both selecting a place of detention for members of the 'inferior race' and in giving them jobs.

In terms of methods used for consolidating its rule, the regime which has usurped power in Chile is unquestionably a fascist regime, complete with a racist, man-hating ideology, concentration camps and prisons. But then, like every variety of fascism, it bears the seeds of inevitable decay. The U.S. imperialists' last venture on our continent will miscarry. Latin America's peoples will take the road leading to their second liberation.

WORDS OF WRATH

War on working class districts. Repeal of the Constitution adopted 50 years ago. Burning of books. Bombed universities... Nowhere, says the General Secretary of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, have we seen so sombre a situation as in Chile... There is not a family that has not lost someone of its kin or has not cause for anxiety about their fate, says an elderly woman from a working class district of Santiago... The junta employed fascist *blitzkrieg* tactics, writes the reactionary Chilean newspaper *Mercurio*.

'Chile: The Black Book'* presents photographs, documents, eye-witness accounts and newspaper reports. It is a documentary account of the events in Chile over the past four years: the victory of the Popular Unity government, the building of a new life, the opposition of internal reaction and its collusion with international imperialism, the putsch itself and the terrible tragedy which has befallen the

*Chile. Ein Schwartzbuch. Herausgegeben von Hans-Werber Bartsch, Martha Buschmann, Gerhard Stuby und Erich Wulff. Koeln, Paul Rugenstein Verlag, 1974.

people. The reader sees the places where all this took place and shares the grief and alarm of every Chilean family. He is compelled to think and draw conclusions.

Soon a year will have passed since the putsch took place and all this time an unprecedented number of soldiers remains on the alert and the military frenzily continues to persecute workers and students, peasants and doctors. The documents and the views presented in the book, including those from the bourgeois press, show that the junta survives only through the use of torture and killings. Speaking of the instability of their rule, the British *Sunday Telegraph* wrote, for instance, that in its efforts to purge the country of Marxist ideas, the junta will make those who merely voted for Popular Unity to take up arms. *The junta has no support among the masses and behaves as if it were on occupied territory* – that is the conclusion to be drawn from this book.

Who nurtured the putschists and whom are they serving today? Diagrams, photostats of documents which expose the international monopolies, the 'Centaur' plan hatched by the CIA to overthrow the Popular Unity government, the remarkably accurate 'forecast' of influential U.S. newspapers, examples of collaboration between the local oligarchy and dollar imperialism – these materials leave no doubt whatsoever as to who directed the actions of the executioners in generals' uniforms, and for whom they are prepared to drown the country in blood. *The Chilean tragedy is yet another vile crime of world imperialism.*

The chapter entitled 'Millions Speak' shows the unity of purpose of the whole of progressive mankind in its protest against the excesses of the junta in its stand for the rights of man; it shows the solidarity of millions of people with Chilean patriots. The governments of the Soviet Union and most socialist countries, as well as a number of governments of developing and capitalist countries, have not recognized the anti-popular regime of the junta. Under pressure of public opinion, politicians who had been prepared to collaborate with the junta have had to reconsider their attitude. *Pinochet's anti-popular regime is condemned to still further isolation on the international scene.*

'The putsch in Chile and our own bitter experience under the yoke of Hitler fascism demand vigilance,' says the preface written by Hans-Werner Bartsch, Marta Buschmann, Gerhard Stuby and Erich Wulff. This book is a must for everyone, and the Cologne Paul Rugenstein Publishers have suggested to the Ministers of Culture of the Laender of the FRG that the book be used as a textbook for schools. The first edition was completely sold out within two months and a second is now in preparation.

'Chile: The Black Book' is in the best traditions of the German anti-fascists. It contains a passionate plea to fight against reaction and for solidarity with the Chilean people.

O. Lara

Promising first steps

Adel Haba

Alternate Member CC

Iraqi CP

THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF IRAQ¹

Large sections of progressive opinion in Arab countries and throughout the world hailed the proclamation in July 1973 of the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq, formed by the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The attention and support which this step drew from Communist parties and the world forces of progress and liberation are indicative of its importance to the Arab liberation movement fighting unrelentingly against imperialism, reaction and zionism, and to the revolutionary movement as a whole.

The National Front slogan, put forward at the founding of the Iraqi Communist Party (1934), was reaffirmed by the First ICP Congress (1945). Our Party advanced it with due regard to the experience of the world Communist, working-class and national liberation movement, the conditions of social development in Iraq and the tasks of the liberation struggle at home and abroad.

'A united national front,' Hussein Mohammed al-Shibibi, member of the Political Bureau of the CC ICP, who died the death of a hero, wrote in a book published underground in 1946, 'is the slogan of all fighters in the countries seeking independence or striving to consolidate it, the only line which those engaged in the national movement should follow in practice. It is the decisive first step which those who believe in our patriotic goals, primarily democrats who cherish justice and social freedom, should take.'²

As this slogan won popularity among the masses, other parties and groups, in particular those representing the national bourgeoisie, subscribed to it in one form or another. However, they generally misinterpreted it, trying to rob it of its democratic content and subordinate it to their narrow class interests. In Iraq, as in other Arab countries, there were two conflicting approaches to the problem of unifying national forces against imperialism and reaction, for democratic change.

One approach, advocated by the Communist Party and other progressive forces, leads to a national front of the parties representing the classes and social strata opposed to imperialism, colonialism and reaction, in which each retains its ideological, organizational and political autonomy. It has proved viable and correct in Iraq and elsewhere. Whenever a national front was set up on these principles the battle for genuine independence and social progress scored gains.

Typical of the advocates of the other approach is the tendency to merge political parties and forces in one organization. The ICP has always opposed this attitude, seeing it as a peril to the future of the

national movement. In the case of Middle East countries the one-party slogan ignores an objective social reality – the existence of different social classes.

Such artificial unification, far from helping to unite and mobilize the masses, results in imposing limited slogans in the interests of the privileged classes and at the expense of the working people, in eliminating or isolating the sound social and political forces. It loosens the basis of national unity and injures the cause of national liberation and social change. Such an organization cannot hold its ground against the threats of imperialism, colonialism and domestic reaction. Experience has shown that sooner or later its leadership inevitably turns against the working class and the Communist Party. The isolation or dissolution of the Communist Party makes for stronger Rightist trends in the national movement and endangers its gains. The experience of many Arab countries attests to this.

A key task of Iraq's patriotic forces is to carry the national democratic revolution through to the end. The forms and scale of cooperation among them as they strive for this goal vary from stage to stage. National alignments encompass diverse social strata and classes depending on changes in the country's social and political structure.

Our Party first put forward a specific proposal for national cooperation when, in 1948, a mass rising broke out against the rule of British imperialism and its agent, the Hashemite monarchy.³

The rising involved workers, peasants, landowners opposed to colonial rule, the national bourgeoisie, merchants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, a fact which expressed itself in coordinated action by the political parties representing them. The Communist Party played an outstanding role. The patriotic forces achieved a noteworthy victory.⁴ However, their cooperation did not last, nor did it develop into a united front due to the vacillation of Rightist elements alarmed by the powerful upsurge of the popular movement.

New steps to consolidate relations between national parties were taken during a mass action in November 1952 and the election campaign in 1954, when, for the first time in Iraqi history, a united national front of patriotic parties and democratic organizations was formed and some of their spokesmen were elected to parliament. However, there was no unity in the Communist movement itself, which undoubtedly prevented the front from accomplishing more. Indeed, Iraq's experience shows that whenever the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, close their ranks this has a beneficial effect on other national parties. The unity of the core – the Communist Party – which sets the national front in motion, guarantees the attainment of its slogans.

It was a change of this nature that began in the political sphere in Iraq and throughout the Arab world in the second half of the 50s. The ICP succeeded in overcoming its internal difficulties and achieving unity. This enabled it to negotiate with other national forces from stronger positions. The conflict between the Iraqi national movement and the colonialists gained in intensity. The Arab liberation movement grew stronger.

All this helped the ICP to make the idea of a national front a concrete slogan meeting the aspirations of the masses. Patriotic, democratic and progressive forces saw the front as the most effective way out of the crisis in which Iraq found itself under monarchic rule. As a result, a National Unity Front was proclaimed in 1957 comprising the Communist, Baath, National Democratic and Independence parties. It was the first time that such an extensive political alignment had come into being in Iraq. Agreement, limited to the leadership at first, extended gradually to the masses of the people. A new important development was that the Front had some influence on the armed forces.

The Front accomplished its first task by overthrowing the semi-colonial monarchy. However, certain adverse developments led to the virtual disintegration of the country's patriotic alignment after the victory of the revolution of July 14, 1958.

First of all, the program of social changes to be effected after winning political power was not defined in precise and specific terms. The Front program was restricted to demands for change in the political structure. The slogans calling for social reforms were of a general nature due, above all, to the position of bourgeois parties. A discrepancy developed between the demands of the masses making the revolution and the Front's general political program.

Secondly, differences arose within the Front, for whereas numerous new tasks had to be accomplished to carry forward the July revolution, the bourgeois parties refused to do their share. In the end the national bourgeoisie monopolized state power.

Thirdly, the fact that Kurdish nationalists were barred from the Front tended to weaken it considerably (all Front forces, with the exception of the Communists, were against the inclusion of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan).

The disintegration of the Front was followed by a dark period of strife among national forces which greatly injured social progress in Iraq. The 1958 revolution found itself confined to a narrow bourgeois framework. The well-known events of 1963 opened a deep gulf between the Communist and Baath parties. A turn for the better in relations between national forces began in the spirit of unification that developed after the Israeli aggression in June 1967.

In July 1968 the Baath Party took over once more. Defining its attitude to the new regime, the Communist Party proceeded not from emotional considerations but from a deep analysis of the Baathists' program and activity.

To begin with, the government advanced a constructive plan for solving the Kurdish problem. In March 1970 it signed an agreement with the leadership of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) recognizing the Kurdish people's right to self-determination and ending a civil war that had been going on for almost 10 years. Our Party played a noteworthy part in bringing about the agreement.

In foreign policy, the Baathist government adopted an anti-imperialist line. Iraq recognized the GDR, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and Cambodia's

National Unity government. The new regime promoted relations with friendly socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, as well as with Communist parties and other world revolutionary forces. In 1972 it signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The government adopted important measures to strengthen economic independence and took the initiative in financing the country's extractive industry. It signed agreements on assistance in extracting oil in the North Rumaila area with the Soviet Union and Hungary and in mining sulphur with Poland. In 1972 it nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company, the biggest foreign monopoly, and during the October 1973 war, the American and Dutch shares of the Basra Petroleum Company. As a result, about 75 per cent of oil production found itself under government control.

The state sector of industry grew stronger. Foreign trade serves the country's development – in 1972 the state controlled as much as 85 per cent of imports and 50 per cent of exports (exclusive of oil).⁵

The government adopted several social reform laws and decrees. Worthy of special note is the revision in 1970 of the agrarian reform law of 1958. This law was made more anti-feudal by abolishing compensation for confiscated land and the owners's right to choose the lands to be left to him. It provides for the early confiscation and distribution of lands and for the encouragement of agricultural cooperatives. Certain measures were also carried out in the workers' interests, such as the law on social insurance and pensions and the new labor law.

All these initiatives are directed against foreign monopolies, the compradore sector, big merchants and feudal lords. However, they came up against resistance and attempts to misinterpret them or hold back their implementation. One reason for this was that the administrative apparatus inherited from earlier regimes had not been adequately purged. Besides, the regime did not get the people behind it. It became evident that close cooperation with all patriotic political organizations was necessary if the government program was to be put into effect.

In 1969 some political quarters, including our Party, submitted a draft Charter of Cooperation of National Forces in a United Front. It was rejected, though it helped create a favorable political climate. Late in 1971 the ruling Baath Party put forward a draft National Action Charter. It appealed to the national parties, that is, in effect, the Communist Party and DPK besides the Baathists themselves. Our Party declared that the draft provided a groundwork for cooperation and dialogue and made it possible for all progressive national forces to work out a joint charter.

In May 1972 the ICP accepted a Baath offer of two government posts. It was a step toward reaching agreement on the draft charter. The talks lasted for more than 18 months. Certain differences were overcome and the two sides evolved mutually acceptable formulations so as to proceed subsequently, in a more favorable situation and within the Front, to settle the still existing differences. Much at-

tention is given to the need to secure mass support for the Front.

During the dialogue both the ICP and the Baath Party did much to draw the DPK into the National Front. We believed this would help to close the ranks of the patriotic movement and provide greater guarantees of implementing those decisions of the agreement of March 1970 that have yet to be put into effect.⁶

However, the DPK showed a lack of responsibility to the requirements of the national movement in Iraq, its future development and, above all, the solution of the Kurdish problem itself. Its attitude was negative from the outset, which did not make for a more favorable political atmosphere or better relations between national forces. Afterwards its resistance to the Front grew steadily. At the same time the DPK leadership built up tension in its relations with the ICP, particularly after the Front was proclaimed. It did so in spite of our Party's explicit and principled support for the just demands of the Kurdish national movement and regardless of our links with the DPK forged in joint struggles.

That attitude is due to the class character of the DPK, which includes influential feudal lords and members of the national bourgeoisie who do not want the National Charter to assume a socially progressive character. For certain political reasons, it is not easy for the DPK to dissociate from these elements.

The DPK was still free to take its place in the National Front and whether it would do so depended solely on its own leadership. In signing the Front Charter, both President al-Bakr and ICP First Secretary Mohammed stressed their parties' earnest hope that the DPK would join them. An invitation to this effect was renewed many times and in official documents.

On March 11, 1974, the government promulgated the Iraqi Kurdistan Autonomy Law. Progressive Iraqi circles and world public opinion hailed this move. Autonomy in the framework of a democratic republic offers a practical solution of the Kurdistan problem, insofar as it guarantees the Kurds broad national, democratic and social rights.

However, the dominant faction within the DPK leadership favor isolating the Kurdish problem from the common struggle of the Iraqi people. They refuse to accept the progressive and democratic changes in Iraq and Kurdistan itself and have entered into collusion with imperialism and other forces hostile to the progressive Iraqi regime, drawing the Kurds into a fratricidal war against Arabs. By their actions they have placed at stake the gains already won by the Kurdish masses in the course of protracted struggles. The Right-wing elements in the DPK also encourage the revival of reactionary circles within Iraq, creating conditions for the intervention of imperialism and external reaction.

Essential in these circumstances is the closest coordination of efforts by the ICP, Baath and the democratic sections of the Kurdish movement, i.e., of all forces loyal to the progressive development of Iraq, in the name of preventing an expansion of the conflict, preventing foreign interference, and finally resolving the problem of Kurdi-

stan on the basis of the March agreement of 1970 and the 1974 Autonomy Law.

July 17, 1973, was a historic day: Baathist and ICP leaders signed the Charter and Fundamental Principles of the Progressive National Patriotic Front.

Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, President of the Republic and General Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, said on that occasion: 'We do not want a front that would be set up today only to fall apart tomorrow. What we want is a solid and permanent front, a front with a strategic perspective, a front accomplishing long-range tasks. We want this front to be a model for all the progressive national forces of our Arab homeland.' A similar desire was expressed at the signing ceremony by Aziz Mohammed, First Secretary of the ICP. 'In spite of the importance of the event we are witnessing today, our aspirations, those of all Communists, go beyond the framework of this militant document and the alliance linking our parties together. We want this framework to become wider. There is no limit to our hopes and aspirations, for anyone who stops seeking progress ceases to be a revolutionary.'

The Charter and Fundamental Principles confirmed the formation of the Front on a democratic basis by guaranteeing the political, ideological and organizational independence of each Party. This will help the Front to mobilize vast segments of society so as to carry out the agreed program, organize resistance to imperialism and home reaction, and ensure effective headway in political, economic and social reconstruction.

Indeed, a distinctive feature of the present Front compared with its predecessors is that it links national objectives with social change. Its social base comprises workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the middle bourgeoisie, that is, the classes and social strata interested in development on non-capitalist lines. 'The revolution,' the National Action Charter points out, 'attaches special importance to the vanguard role which the working class and its organizations play in economic, social and political development.'

It is highly important that one of the Front members, the Baath Party, is the ruling party. This helps to implement the Front program. The allied parties – the Baathists and Communists – have overcome the difficulties and negative factors which in the 60s marred relations between them. In spite of the political and ideological pressures to which they were subjected during the talks, they showed a keen sense of responsibility by setting aside their differences, which were of secondary importance.

The National Action Charter defines the real situation in Iraq and the Arab world. It describes the present stage of Iraqi history as 'the stage of completing the national democratic revolution, advancing along the road of social progress and national unity and paving the way for the transition to socialism.' It regards the National Front as the most effective weapon of national and social liberation. The Charter points to the need of ending the period of transition, establishing legislative and executive constitutional bodies and providing

all democratic freedoms. As regards the Kurdish problem, it stresses the importance of solving it by peaceful means.

In economics, the Charter reaffirms the revolutionary policy relating to oil and other minerals, in agriculture, industry, trade and finance, based on planning and calculated to strengthen the state sector and make it the dominant factor in the economy. It calls for a higher living standard, full employment and social insurance.

Dealing with culture and propaganda, the Charter urges democratic and progressive revival of national culture and attention to the cultural legacy of the Kurdish people and national minorities.

The foreign policy section confirms Iraq's unqualified adherence to the camp of the peoples fighting against imperialism, aggression, Zionism and other forms of racial discrimination. Iraq will support liberation movements everywhere and contribute actively to the effort to exclude war from the life of society and establish a peace based on justice. The Charter speaks of the inseparable unity of the world socialist movement and the national liberation movement and declares that Iraq will strengthen its links with the socialist community and its alliance with the Soviet Union in line with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

These are the more important principles on which the Progressive National Patriotic Front has begun to operate in our country. Agreement was reached on organizational matters and various Front bodies were set up: the Supreme Committee, Secretariat, Baghdad Committee, Province and regional committees.

The Front was particularly active during the October 1973 war, in which it backed the effort of Egypt and Syria to free the occupied territories and the Palestinian people's struggle for the right to self-determination on their native soil.

The Front's very first measures are promising; they have shown its vitality. Our Party hopes that in the foreseeable future it will take steps to extend its still limited mass basis, particularly among the workers, peasants, students and women. This is imperative if the Front is to become an effective political force capable of organizing, mobilizing and inspiring the bulk of the population in struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and of leading the masses into the difficult battle for economic progress.

1. Continuing the discussion of problems of the Communist parties' struggle for a broad democratic alliance. See the theses published in the February 1973 issue of *WMR* and the articles of Alvaro Delgado (March 1973), Urban Karlsson (April), Claude Poperen (June), S. Wickremasinghe (July), Rajeshwara Rao (August), Thomas Sinuraja (September), K. I. Zarodov (October), Achyutha Menon (November), Georgos Savvides (December 1973), Gastone Geusini, Jean Blume, Karl-Heinz Schroeder, George E. Jackson and Ermenegildo Gasperoni (May 1974).

2. *National Front: Our Road and Our Internationalist Duty*. Baghdad, 1946 (in Arabic).

3. The rising was motivated by the signing in Portsmouth of a new unequal treaty with Britain.

4. The Portsmouth Treaty was rejected.

5. Iraq's imports from socialist countries in 1972 made up 27 per cent of the total and its exports to them, 23 per cent.

6. The agreement signed by the Iraqi government and Kurdish national movement on March 11, 1970 on ending hostilities and settling the Kurdish problem.



Reviews

BOOKSHELF OF POLITICAL LITERATURE

THE HIGH COST OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

The name, J. William Fulbright, Senator from Arkansas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is well known. It frequently appears on the pages of newspapers and magazines; progressive publications often refer to the Senator's pronouncements, his articles and books with their unadulterated criticisms of U.S. policies. A noteworthy addition is Fulbright's latest book, *The Crippled Giant*,¹ which saw the light of day at the end of 1972. Since then the author has more than once confirmed the views expressed there.

Reference to the U.S. as a 'crippled giant' ranks, in effect, alongside that established formula, 'a sick society.' Analyzing the causes of the malady, Fulbright names anti-Communism first; it has become government ideology, 'the national faith' of capitalist America. 'Our "faith" liberated us, like the believers of old, from the requirements of empirical thinking, from the necessity of observing and evaluating the actual behavior of nations and leaders with whom we are dealing' (p.25). Anti-Communism reached its peak under the Truman doctrine, which 'has been the guiding spirit of American foreign policy since World War II' (p. 24). As in his previous books, the author shows that such a policy is pursued without regard to the real alignment of forces. 'I think that if the great conservatives of the past, such as Burke and Metternich and Castlereagh, were alive today, they would not be true believers or relentless crusaders against communism. They would wish to come to terms with the world as it is ...'²

The sub-heading, 'American Foreign Policy and Its Domestic Consequences,' is pinpointed in the book's contents. The author has succeeded in showing the disastrous effects American aggressive foreign policy had had on the situation within the country. Internal problems become increasingly acute. One can glean some idea of the present way of life in the U.S. from the following lines: 'There is a tangible nastiness in the air of any big city – a prevailing mood of unfriendliness and irritability, a sense of isolation in the crowd, of loneliness without the luxury of being alone. Most of all there is the sense on the part of the individual of his loss of control of things,

of his thralldom to the things around him, the sense of his needs being denied, and his nature violated' (p. 260).

Fulbright has been sharply criticizing traditional anti-Communism and U.S. actions on the international scene for many years. This can create the illusion that he is endeavoring to separate foreign policy from the ideological battle and to achieve a fundamental social change at home. It is, of course, no more than illusion, since in American society Senator Fulbright could never have held his present position or enjoy his present status if he were not a confirmed and staunch supporter of bourgeois society. It is because of this that he can make frequent statements on the pages of so many newspapers and be a welcome guest in so many television programs. He criticizes the anti-Communist policy of the U.S. not merely because it is ineffectual, but also because it apparently constitutes a danger to the ruling elite of which Senator Fulbright is so much a part. He has no other choice but to try to cure the giant without changing the capitalist order so dear to his heart.

However, a sober assessment of the Senator's stance in no way lessens the importance of his exposures. The book reflects, to some degree, the changes in outlook now taking place in the United States. That this is so is proven by the fact that despite the time that has elapsed since his book appeared it has lost none of its topicality. While supporting the present administration's policy of détente, Fulbright also points to its inconsistencies: the arms race continues; the situation in the Middle East remains explosive. Finally, the author denounces the querulous, inciting activities against the socialist countries by the radio stations Liberty and Free Europe financed by the U.S. and controlled by the CIA. The still increasing U.S. war budget, the latest, fourth, Middle East war, the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaigns faithfully promoted by these radio stations—all confirm that the author has correctly pinpointed the barriers standing in the way of a stable and lasting peace.

*Krzysztof Karpinski
Janusz Senczys*

TELEPHONES AND POLITICS

International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) is a huge multinational monopoly corporation with remarkably varied interests: from telephones to cosmetics, hotels, fire insurance and bakeries. Its businesses employ 400,000 people in 70 countries. Its properties are guarded by a private secret service, 150 lawyers and countless consultants. And it holds strings leading to most sensitive White House decisions, which, apparently is why the London *Times* reviewer Anthony Sampson's book devoted to the 50-year history of that leading 'typical' capitalist monopoly, has attracted such attention in the press and among the public.³

A careful study of thousands of pages of minutes of meetings of U.S. Congress and Senate committees investigating the corporation's activities, of information gathered by prominent journalists, and

talks with statesmen, company directors and scholars, have led the author to the conclusion that ITT and similar international monopolies are a threat to democracy: everywhere, on all continents they oppose the inalienable rights of the peoples, political and economic independence, and constitutionally and legally elected progressive governments. 'The White House should establish a special task force to put pressure on Chile; they should arrange for all loans to be stopped, whether from American or foreign banks. They should foment discontent within the Chilean military. They should disrupt Allende's diplomatic plans. They should subsidize *Mercurio*' (A Conservative paper opposed to the Popular Unity government). This is how in no uncertain terms ITT dictated its plan of action to Washington (p. 255).

The CIA-ITT plot against the Popular Unity government in Chile is a recent, but not the only, example of the Corporation's activities. During the fascist mutiny and civil war in Spain, ITT supplied both Loyalist troops and Franco with telephone communications. And then successfully concluded a deal with Franco on increasing its subsidiaries in Spain.

'There was a very special relationship' between ITT and Hitler. The founder and head of the Corporation, Sosthenes Behn, was the first American businessman whom Hitler received on becoming Chancellor. During World War II, 'while ITT Folke-Wolf planes were bombing Allied ships, and ITT lines were passing information to German submarines, ITT direction finders were saving other ships from torpedoes' (p. 39). The Corporation's services were not forgotten, and after the defeat of fascism, Behn was presented with a medal 'For Services Rendered,' the highest American civil award, and 'nearly 30 years after the events, ITT actually managed to obtain 27 million dollars in compensation from the American government for war damage to its factories in Germany' (p. 44).

Anthony Sampson's book in many ways answers the question which he himself poses: 'Why people lack faith in the system' (p. 196). In recent years progressive journalists have done a lot to expose the inner workings of big business and the bourgeois state. One need but recall the Pentagon papers on how the U.S. aggression in Vietnam was prepared and launched, the scandals involving ITT, and the Watergate affair. These exposures are a specific form of protest against monopoly domination, which is incompatible with the most modest, mild notions of democracy. Nevertheless, while making their diagnosis, bourgeois journalists leave it to others to find the cure. However, the symptoms they have uncovered, and the illness itself, hold out little hope for cure.

Pierre Loiseau

PLANS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The USSR Central Statistical Bureau has published its latest Statistical Yearbook.⁴ Such authoritative statistical publications take a long time to prepare. At the time of the Yearbook's appearance the results of 1972 (when an unprecedented drought and poor harvest

affected the economic indices), were already known, and so were the general results for 1973, when industrial output had grown by 7.4 per cent and agriculture by 14 per cent; the richest grain harvest ever known had been gathered in.

Nearly 800 pages of figures provide wide-ranging material not only concerning the results of a single year, but also provide evidence of trends in the country's economic and cultural development during 55 years of socialist construction and the 50 years' existence of the Soviet Union. Many comparisons with foreign countries are made, primarily with the industrially developed ones, which give an idea of the economic competition between the two systems. From the many thousands of sets of figures let us endeavor to trace just one, sufficiently typical of the life of the country and the development of its economy.

The oil industry of tsarist Russia was guaranteed a head start. Oil had been known even in the times of Alexander the Great in one of the oldest and richest oil regions of the world, the Baku oilfields. In 1900 Russia produced 10.4 million tons of oil, giving her first place in the world. In second place was the U.S. producing 8.5 million tons.

However, Russian oil was in the hands of West European and American monopolies, who were not interested in spending money to improve the techniques of extraction and exploration of new regions. In 1913, Russian oil production was 10.3 million tons, i.e., it had not increased since the beginning of the century. That year the U.S. had produced 34 million tons. Russia was the loser in the capitalist competition.

World War I and then the Civil War and intervention by 14 states brought Russia down to the level of 3.8 million tons in 1920. The U.S. had risen to 59.1 million tons. Twenty years of peaceful development brought an eightfold growth to the Soviet Union, 31.3 million tons in 1940. During the same period the U.S. tripled its production, which rose to 182.9 million tons. And once again the war on Soviet territory threw it back. In 1946 the USSR produced 21.7 million tons, while U.S. production was 237.5 million tons. Thus the present stage of competition commenced with an 11-fold gap. Here are its stages (million tons, excluding refinery gas):

	1950	1960	1970	1971	1972	1973
USSR	38	148	353	377	400	421
U.S.	267	348	475	470	467	460

The 1974 plan envisages USSR production of over 450 million tons. It is not difficult to see that if the tendencies in growth rates continue (and the Soviet plan does not envisage any change) then the USSR will soon overtake the U.S. in oil production. Naturally, comparison of only two sets of figures does not yield a sufficiently complete picture for judging how energy requirements as a whole are met. We would add, therefore, that the USSR holds first place in the world in coal production, second in natural gas, and third in hydro-electric power. Planned and proportional development of energy has

enabled the country's internal needs to be satisfied and still export oil, gas, coal and power. At the same time further reserves of oil, gas and coal have been discovered in the USSR.

We deliberately limited ourselves to one of comparison. The Yearbook offers abundant material for assessing how the competition is faring in many spheres of the economy. O. L.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

302 TITLES, 11 MILLION COPIES

Henryk Widlaszewski
Chief Editor, Książka
i Wiedza Publishing House

Ours is the leading publishing house of socio-political literature in Poland. I should like to mention just a few books on problems of international relations and especially the international working-class movement which are to appear shortly.

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. In connection with this important date a volume, *Poland-USSR. Documents on Mutual Relations from 1944-1974*, is being prepared as a joint Soviet-Polish publication. It includes documents reflecting the development of state relations between the two fraternal countries, the assistance rendered by the USSR, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation, and the growing contacts between various public organizations. Another joint project, *Documents and Materials of the History of Polish-Soviet Relations*, Vol. 8, will conclude the publication of documents relating to 1944-45.

Out of the analytical works I would mention *The Face of Contemporary Capitalism*, a collective production. The authors, well known publicists, outline the main economic and social problems of highly developed capitalist countries, examine the social contradictions and conflicts characteristic of the capitalist system, and show the ideological and moral crisis of the 'consumer society.'

Marian Dobrosielski's *Ideology and Peaceful Coexistence* reviews current problems, many of them controversial, of international policy and relations. The book's main theme is the relation between peaceful coexistence and the class struggle and its ideology, problems of security and the future of Europe, and Poland's contribution to the cause of European security.

The *Encyclopaedia of International Organizations* will be of considerable value. Out of the 3,000 existing international organizations the *Encyclopaedia* surveys approximately 800, and the part played by Poland and other socialist countries in them receive special attention. The survey covers the setting up of these organizations, their membership, political orientation, organizational structure, aims and activities.

Finally, several books will be devoted to the history of the Polish and international working-class movement: *Lenin and the Polish Working-Class Movement*, by P. Ermolaeva and A. Manusewicz; G.

Iwanski's *The Foundation and Activities of the Alliance of Town and Village Proletariat, 1922-25*; Oz. Kozlowski's *History of the Polish Workers' Movement*; J. Tomicki's *History of the Second International*; a collective work edited by F. Tych and A. Kochanski, *Archives of the Working-Class Movement*, Vol. 2; material of a seminar on the 90th anniversary of the Polish Proletariat Party entitled *The Great 'Proletariat' and Its Legacy*, and *Rosa Luxemburg* by A. Kochanski.

We also plan to publish fiction and memoirs. Two periodicals will be published: a journal of reprints from the Communist press and a quarterly journal on the history of the Polish and international working-class movement. Our publishing house collaborates with publishing houses of fraternal parties.

The plan for 1974 envisages the publication of 302 titles in nearly 11 million copies.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

In our questionnaire, which is addressed to leading Marxist scientists, we ask philosophers, historians, economists and sociologists to tell us of their plans and the researches and books they are currently working on. The Editors would appreciate readers' suggestions: Whom would you like to meet via **World Marxist Review**? We shall do our best to meet your request. 1. What are you working at now? 2. What is the basic aspect of the problem? 3. What new element do you hope to introduce?

Pyotr Fedoseev,⁵ USSR Academy of Science, replies.

1. I continue to work on the philosophical problems of contemporary social development. The exceptional dynamism and diversity of the modern social scene calls for a philosophical understanding of the motive forces and laws of social development. Historical practice and the experience of the world Communist movement have proved that this is only possible from a materialist dialectical standpoint.

2. The dialectics of productive forces and relations of production in the modern era in various socio-economic systems is the theme of my research. The relations between the general and the particular in historical development may be regarded as the focal point of the problem. In connection with the variety of socio-economic structures in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there have been renewed attempts to cast doubt on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of socio-economic systems. In effect this leads to a denial of the general laws of historical development and the introduction of positivism into sociology and, in the final analysis, a denial of the general laws governing the transition to socialism and the building of socialist society. Thus, a scientific analysis of the development of productive forces and the relations of production in modern conditions is of extreme importance.

3. I would like to trace concretely the dialectics of the productive

forces and relations in production applicable to social problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution. The development of the productive forces from the beginning of the 20th century has inevitably led to an increase in the level of socialization of production, to its concentration and centralization. On the other hand, it is precisely this high level of socialization of production which has provided the economic basis for the scientific and technological revolution. This socialization process created the prerequisites for both the socialist revolution and for further scientific-technical progress. The social revolutions and the outstanding successes of our century are not just accidentally synchronous; they are intrinsically and necessarily linked since they are impelled by the growth of the productive forces and the requirements of their further development. Revolutionary social transformations are conditioned by the necessity to eliminate the obsolete that adversely affects social relations under capitalism, and to establish property forms in keeping with the nature of the modern productive forces. Faced with obsolete relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution has led to a still further sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism. The deepening conflict between predatory interests and man's environment has been added to the basic antagonism between capital and labor.

For the socialist world system the scientific and technological revolution is the natural result and continuation of the basic social changes initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Socialism consciously uses the scientific and technological revolution in the service of social progress.

One can say that the relationship between the socialist system and scientific-technical progress is the key theoretical problem of our times. An explanation of this relationship demonstrates the power of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the motive forces of history based on an understanding of the dialectics of the productive forces and relations of production in the course of social development.

PARTY PRESS NEWS

TOGETHER WITH THE PEOPLE

Today when the fight is on to give the Portuguese people the freedoms it was denied throughout the almost half-century dictatorship, when the unity, organization, speed and bold action of all democratic forces are so essential, special importance attaches to our party press, which did not cease to function for one moment in the darkest days of fascism.

Our entire party press was always published in Portugal. Its regular appearance in conditions of unceasing fascist repression was one of the most significant successes of our party. Where the legal press was muzzled by the fascist censor, the Communists carried out political propaganda, defended the interests of the working people and of the Portuguese nation, just as they do now. The party

press assures links with the masses; it was an important factor in the national opposition to the dictatorship, mobilizing the people for the struggle against exploitation, repression and colonialist wars. And today, too, it is ready to carry out all the tasks set by the party.

For over 40 years the illegal newspaper *Avante*, appeared regularly, as well as the bulletin *O militante*, the regional and industrial publications *O Textil*, *O Corticeiro*, *O Comportes*, *A Terra*, many proclamations, pamphlets, leaflets. This was made possible, in the first instance, by successfully solving complicated technical problems of supply, printing and distribution in conditions of illegality. For example, the use of very thin, light paper meant less weight. A year's file of *Avante* (12 issues), with some 250 typewritten pages, weighs only 60 grams. An ordinary copy of Lenin's '*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*' weighs about 112 grams whereas our illegal publication weighs 22 grams. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* issued by the PCP weighs less than 12 grams and is eight times lighter than the normal publication.

During all these years central and local organizations issued many appeals, statements and leaflets. These were often printed with matrices made of cork, rubber or even potatoes. These documents, which had a wide mass circulation, inspired many demonstrations, especially in recent years.

The Communist Party also regularly issues booklets, pamphlets, resolutions and documents of CC Plenums. Latterly the Edicoes *Avante* publishing house printed the documents of the July 1973 meeting of the CC PCP 'For a Broad Mass Political Campaign' and a number of pamphlets: 'The Experience of Three Years of Trade Union Struggle' (1973), by Joze Vitoriano, one by Boris Ponomaryov on the tasks of the ideological struggle (1973), and Leonid Brezhnev's 'For a Just and Democratic Peace, for Security and International Cooperation' (1974).

The editing, publishing and distribution of the party illegal press helped prepare party cadres, providing a wealth of experience for many Portuguese Communists.

For example, at the beginning of this year, the illegally produced pamphlet 'Free Antonio Dias Lourenco' was distributed in Portugal. The Portuguese Communist Party waged a campaign to free a member of its CC who worked for 16 years in the underground and spent as many years in jail. The pamphlet relates the courage of the Communist under torture, of his heroic escape from the Peniche Fortress in 1954. After that A. Dias Laurencio continued his underground work as Chief Editor of the Central Organ of the PCP, *Avante*. He was re-arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. The pamphlet tells of the terrible suffering that fell to the lot of one of those who published and distributed the Communist press. The very appearance of the pamphlet despite the fascist dictatorship was the best proof that no repressions can prevent Communists from speaking to their people. The Communist press needs men and women wholly devoted to their party and their people, who are able to fuse that devotion into unnoticed, often anonymous work,

are able to live with this work year in and year out. These people must be prepared to face all trials and remain true to their party and their comrades.

Such a person is A. Dias Laurencio. Another such person was Jose Gregorio, a member of the Secretariat of the CC PCP, who printed the first issue of *Avante* in 1940 after the reorganization of the Party. He died, after having spent 20 years in illegality. And Jose Moreira was murdered by the secret police for refusing to disclose the whereabouts of the printing press. Maria Machado was arrested four times by the fascist regime. During her last arrest she helped the comrades to get away from the printshop and burned confidential documents. She was arrested while appealing to the inhabitants of a village, 'This is the printing press of the illegal newspaper *Avante*, organ of my beloved great Portuguese Communist Party. If freedom of the press in our contry were not a farce this printing press would not have to operate illegally. If we enjoyed freedom of thought, we would not need to hide our names, the names of honest patriots. *Avante* defends the interests of the working people of Portugal.' People like Maria Machado have always carried and continue to carry the word of the party, the word of truth to the masses.

Catarina Mendes

Representative of the PCP
World Marxist Review

OUR WEAPON

Vorster's band of South African racists has set up a vast terror machinery to prevent the spread of Marxism-Leninism and ideas of freedom. Some time ago the police murdered the teacher Ahmed Timoly after he was discovered to have copies of *Inkululeko-Freedom*, the newspaper of the South African Communist Party. But despite persecution, Communists continue to publish and distribute the paper.

As the Right-Wing Johannesburg *Sunday Express* reported, the Communist Party and the African National Congress 'have started a new campaign to incite strikes and labor unrest' (September 2, 1973). The *Sunday Express* correspondent was worried by the fact that the South African Communist newspaper was widely distributed in Natal and other major centers just before the recent work stoppage of 500 workers at the Frame Wentex Mill near Durban.

Citing this quotation, *The African Communist* (1974, No. 56), magazine of the South African Communist Party, states: 'We do not accept the theory that the appearance of our propaganda is the cause of "unrest." But we take pride in the fact that our party's message is sucessfully penetrating the government's screen of repression, in helping to organize the masses.' 'A paper is a weapon,' *Inkululeko-Freedom* proclaimed when it was launched in July 1971, and continued: 'In the new conditions which face us, organization is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organization. That is why a newspaper is an organizer.'

Inkululeko-Freedom is not the only party publication which reaches the masses. Last year the police announced that Communist literature skilfully disguised as publications permitted by the censor reaches South Africa. Pocket editions of Marx, Engels and Lenin are passed from hand to hand, including the 'Communist Manifesto,' 'Socialism – Utopian and Scientific,' 'What Is To Be Done?' 'The State and Revolution.' Lenin's writings on Marx and Marxism have also been translated into the Xhosa language.

K. Niku

'FACTS CANNOT BE SILENCED'

This is the fourth year in which the publishers of *Rude Pravo*, the organ of the CC CP Czechoslovakia, are putting out a series of topical political works – pamphlets issued four or five times a year. This is not a new idea; it originated in the years of illegality and continued during the Second World War.

Today's reader knows this series as 'Facts Cannot Be Silenced.' That is the title of the first three collections issued in 1971. They contain eye-witness accounts and documents that added to information about the political crisis within the Party and country during 1968-1969. The library includes the well-known document 'The Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Society after the 13th Congress of the CPC.'

The series 'Facts Cannot Be Silenced' are widely appreciated by their readers, which encourages the publishers to continue this work. The subjects have, naturally, been broadened. They deal with internal political life, ideological work, economics, international relations, the international Communist movement. Quite a number of such series have appeared in the past several years. The events in Southeast Asia are dealt with in *Vietnam Unconquered* and the *Secret Pentagon Papers*. The ideological struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism are covered in the book, *The Unceasing Battle of Ideas*. Interesting documents and facts about the social situation in capitalist countries are contained in a collection entitled *Evidence About the West*. The collection *For Peace in Europe* considers the efforts of the socialist countries in the struggle for security and coexistence in Europe, and others produced have been *February and Your Future* on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the February 1948 revolution, *Bangladesh: The Birth of a State*, *White Terror in Chile*, and others.

The latest collection appeared in the bookshops early in 1974. This includes materials on the Middle East conflict and examines the results of the fourth war in this region.

Zdenek Horeni
Deputy Editor-in-Chief
Rude Pravo

THE BATTLE OF THE MICROPHONE

Drapeau Rouge, the newspaper of the CP of Belgium (since January

1 it has again begun appearing daily), published some information on a radio debate that took place on the problem of education in Belgian schools. The organizers had invited the leaders of political parties, representatives of parents' associations, the state and private systems of education. The Communists were invited to attend and were represented by Comrade Louis Van Geyt, Chairman of the CPB.

The Communist stand was supported by other participants in the debate – young Social-Christians and representatives of the parents' associations. Many supported the idea of setting up a new, democratic school, demanding a longer educational period and revision of the content of education. The discussion showed that the constructive nature of the Communists' program meets with a ready response from teachers, pupils and parents – all those who are sincerely interested in perfecting the school educational system.

The use by Communists of the mass media in order to popularize their program and radio debates are important political actions. However, under capitalist 'democracy' Communists seldom have such opportunities. *Drapeau Rouge* states that Communists have not been invited to participate in the forthcoming radio debate on health problems. W.D.

A WORKERS' PAPER

Sparkplug is the name of a shop paper issued by the Labor Commission of the New York State Communist Party, published by, for and about the workers of the automobile industry, aiming to unite them irrespective of race or nationality in the struggle for decent job conditions at adequate wages.

The main story of the first issue tells how the monopolies profit from the energy crisis. Another article exposes the ties between General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, and the racist South African regime, showing that the three companies supply half of South Africa's cars and trucks.

The paper urges the auto workers to call for a complete embargo on trade with the fascist states and for all-out aid to the liberation forces of South Africa and other African states.

The first number of *Sparkplug* appeared in 3,000 copies and was distributed at auto plants of New York state.

N. Carter

1. J. W. Fulbright, *The Crippled Giant. American Foreign Policy and Its Domestic Consequences*. New York, 1972.

2. J. W. Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power*. Vintage Books. New York, p. 255.

3. A. Sampson, *The Sovereign State. The Secret History of ITT*. London, 1973.

4. *Narodnoye khozaistvo SSSR v 1972 godu. Statistichesky yezhegodnik*. Moscow, 1973.

5. Born 1908. Graduated from the Gorky Teachers' Institute, took a postgraduate course at the Moscow State Institute of History, Philosophy and Literature. Doctor of Philosophy, professor. From 1930 taught philosophy at higher educational establishments. In 1936 worked at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy. From 1941 to 1947 worked in the CC CPSU apparatus. Then became Editor of *Bolshevik* ('Kommunist'). During 1950-1955 worked as an inspector of the CC CPSU and edited *Party Life*. In 1955 became Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and from 1962 Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. From 1967 to 1973 Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of CC CPSU.

Member of the CC CPSU, Member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Monographs: *The Dialectics of the Modern Era* (1966), *Communism and Philosophy* (1971), *Marxism in the 20th Century* (1972), and others.

1974-WMR circulation year

WINNING MORE FRIENDS

The conference of 67 Communist and Workers' Parties which discussed the work of *World Marxist Review* in Prague last January noted that in the 15 years since it was founded the journal had won a solid standing in the Communist parties' ideological life. At present this collective periodical of the Communists of the world, published in 26 languages, is distributed in 145 countries in about half a million copies.

The parties publishing the journal believe that these figures can be increased, for there are numerous potential readers among the millions of revolutionary fighters.

However, the problem is not only to increase the number of permanent subscribers and readers which every periodical, including our own, strives for. It is primarily a question of raising the standard of the journal from the ideological, theoretical and technical point of view and of establishing closer cooperation with brother Parties and the highly varied readership. It was with this aim in view that the conference of 67 brother Parties decided to hold a *World Marxist Review* Circulation Year. This is above all a political campaign intended to popularize Marxist-Leninist ideas and contribute in this way to the fight for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The Editorial Board and Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* and Peace and Socialism Publishers welcome every step, however modest, within the framework of Circulation Year, every initiative aimed at establishing closer links with readers and improving the publication and distribution of the journal.

Obviously, the best opportunities for this current campaign are in the socialist countries. The journal is publicized widely and in diverse forms in the Party press and by radio and television, and readers' conferences are held. A number of brother Parties systematically reprint articles published in *WMR*.

For Communists in developed capitalist countries and in the national liberation zone Circulation Year is a more difficult thing. Special credit is due to the brother Parties working underground for their truly heroic effort in distributing the journal.

Future issues of the journal will carry accounts of the progress of Circulation Year in various countries. At the moment we will only give a few examples.

The 'Anti-Imperialist Bulletin' published in the FRG gives lists of recommended literature which include articles from *WMR*. Students of the German Communist Party's schools and in the system of worker education also read the journal. The same is true of the Communist Party of Canada.

In India, the Party organizations of the states are advised about

the more important articles of every issue of the *WMR*, for reprinting in local periodicals. Youth organizations working under the leadership of the Communist Party have been enlisted in the drive to build up the circulation of the journal.

Argentina's Communists bring out in book form articles published in *WMR*. In Colombia the journal is distributed in universities. In addition to Party bookshops, it is sold in private shops.

Communist volunteers show initiative in distributing the journal and winning new readers.

Interest in the journal is also growing outside the Communist movement. In Baghdad, an academic conference on 'The Alliance of the World Socialist System and the National Liberation Movement' was sponsored jointly by *WMR* and the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq, which includes the Arab Baath Socialist Party along with the Iraqi CP. Dozens of progressive, revolutionary democratic parties and organizations of Asia and Africa also took part. The Democratic Party of Guinea and the Congolese Party of Labor have displayed interest in promoting theoretical cooperation with the journal and in establishing links with it in other forms. In the present issue *WMR* offers a political dialogue of Marxist scholars and Catholic theologians. More and more non-governmental organizations of diverse political trends, national libraries and educational institutions subscribe to *WMR*.

Peace and Socialism Publishers will promptly supply without charge advertising material—color posters and leaflets, a pamphlet about the journal and a film (dubbed in several languages)—at the request of *WMR* distributors.

However, the journal's regular readers can describe it better than any advertisement. They can introduce the collective periodical of fraternal Parties to many of those who work side-by-side with them or live in the same street and who aspire to peace, democracy and socialism.

A struggle without respite

Lucien Seve

Member, CC French CP,
Director, Editions Sociales

The French Communist Party has always regarded publishing as an important weapon in political and ideological struggle and accordingly worked to promote it independently of the bourgeoisie. The Editions Sociales publishing house goes back 50 years to the *l'Huma-*

nit  bookshop owned by the Party at its birth; then came the publishing Bureau, the Editions Sociales Internationales, which brought out the first volumes of Lenin's writings before World War II, and finally today's complex, which is growing from year to year.

In our country, dominated by capitalist monopolies, book publishing is difficult; it is always an up-hill struggle. The deep crisis of capitalist society involves every aspect of life. Official statistics show only too plainly the effects of a policy which fails to supply the entire population with reading matter or to encourage reading: Over half the French people do not read so much as one book per year, and for workers and peasants the percentages are 75* and 80 respectively.

For big capital books are primarily a commodity. This explains many things, such as incredibly high prices (few books cost less than 10 francs and most cost 30 or more), the trend toward lower publishing standards and the increasing concentration of publishing houses in the hands of a few financial groups which use them to indoctrinate public opinion and promote bourgeois interests.

One would think that there are hundreds of independent publishers in France and that competition between them makes for the free expression of the most diverse views. But this is no more than a first impression. Behind this facade are publishing trusts like Hachette,** controlled by the powerful Paribas financial group*** and other corporations, all of which do their utmost to impose on French book publishing a disgraceful drive for profit and subjects conforming with the ideology of the ruling class.

Nevertheless, the Communist publishing house has assets against which big capital proves powerless. The main one is a widespread and steadily growing interest in Communist ideas. Capitalism cannot prevent the political awakening of millions who ask questions about the causes of the crisis and search for ways and means of ending it. Still less can it do so today, when every three Frenchmen in four are wage-workers and most of them are subjected to super-exploitation, when capitalist concentration threatens the existence of the urban and rural middle strata, when the regime's crisis is having a disastrous effect on the lives of all Frenchmen and the younger generation is offered an existence devoid of meaning.

Communist policy and the theory on which it is based evokes growing response. The Communists are backed not only by the millions who trust them already but by other segments of society as well. This is the primary and fundamental reason for the real break-through which our publishing house has accomplished in French publishing in recent years.

Editions Sociales holds no monopoly as a publisher of Marxist literature in France. In our country we also have publishers who strive to reach particular groups of readers, such as children, or

*It should be borne in mind that every fifth worker in France is an immigrant.

**A major publishing house putting out highly diversified literature. It is linked with numerous other publishing and printing firms.

***Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.

specialize in books of this or that genre but are essentially akin to Editions Sociales. This applies, for instance, to Editeurs Francais Réunis, which brings out fiction. The socialist countries' publishing houses which produce books in French also help to disseminate Communist ideas and combat bourgeois ideology.

As the opponents of Marxism can no longer ignore it, more and more non-Communist and even frankly bourgeois publishing companies try to profit by the popularity of scientific communism, some of them in good faith, others by resorting to more or less skillful falsification. When there is an opportunity to convey Marxism to groups of readers far removed from our ideas we publish Communist writings through these companies.

A unique characteristic of Editions Sociales is that its entire activity is intended to state the FCP position on political and theoretical issues as accurately and as completely as possible. Yet the partisanship of our publishing house by no means condemns it to sectarianism or bureaucracy, which our opponents would certainly have liked very much. Indeed, Editions Sociales' very breadth and freedom of initiative are in themselves an expression of Party policy. While some books are based on adequately elaborated propositions, others reflect a quest, put forward a hypothesis or present a theme for eventual discussion by experts. We see this as a method of carrying forward Marxism.

Editions Sociales publishes mostly Communist authors, individual or collective. On the other hand, progress in the Party's policy for Left unity makes it possible to publish non-Communist authors as well. It was Editions Sociales that printed the government program adopted by the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals in 1972. It sold almost 1.5 million copies, beating all previous records of distribution of political literature in France.

We also publish political essays by non-Communists who realize the strength of Marxism, dialogues and works written jointly by Communists and non-Communists. A noteworthy example of this cooperation is the illustrated 12-volume *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Needless to say, Editions Sociales resists every attempt to distort Marxism. The criteria of our activity accord with the main objectives of our publishing house, which must be in harmony with Party policy, with genuine Marxism. We accept a manuscript only if it is likely to contribute to the success of our political and theoretical work among the masses, and to win ideological positions from our opponents.

Experience shows that to fulfil this task optimally is very hard because we must continuously gather information on developments in the political and ideological struggle and on relevant research. Also, we must make what is sometimes a difficult choice, maintaining the balance between attention to new developments, which must be detected as early as possible, and concentration on the important thing.

All this means that the publishing house must frame its policy on

the principle of the greatest collectivism without reducing, however, the responsibility of those entrusted with decision-making. We greatly benefit from the experience of Central Committee departments and research institutions, such as the Marxist Research Center and the Maurice Thorez Institute, as well as from cooperation with Communist periodicals, from which, moreover, we receive many manuscripts. Using recommendations collected in this way the management adopts a six-month program (it takes a manuscript an average of three months to get into print). More often than not, this rhythm is due to the rapid development of the ideological struggle. Coordinating the activity of publishing houses and organizing the distribution of literature are the responsibility of the Publishing Commission under the Central Committee. Guy Hermier, member of the Political Bureau, has headed the Commission ever since the 20th Party Congress.

The number of titles produced by Editions Sociales is growing fast. Annual output has almost trebled in a few years, reaching nearly 100 titles. Two-thirds of these are new works brought out in editions ranging from several thousand copies (expensive scientific publications) to tens of thousands of copies (pocket books dealing with current political and ideological issues). There are also publications intended for mass distribution, such as the Program for a Democratic Government of Popular Unity adopted by the Party in 1971 (one million copies) or the Common Program of the Left.

The output of Editions Sociales can be broadly divided into theoretical publications and literature on political problems of the day. As a publisher of theoretical writings, Editions Sociales has left all other publishers far behind, which is admitted even by its ill-wishers, and ranks first as a publisher of Marxist-Leninist classics, an achievement we are certainly proud of. Our catalogue contains almost all the main writings of Marx and Engels, and Lenin's *Complete Works*, brought out in collaboration with Progress Publishers (Moscow). The demand for higher scientific standards that has been mounting over the past 10 years has prompted us to launch a bilingual series of the writings of Marx and Engels (in the original and in French). Similar editions of Lenin will soon start coming out. We also publish Plekhanov, Rosa Luxemburg, Gramsci, Dimitrov and, naturally, Maurice Thorez and Waldeck Rochet.

The 'Classics for the People' series brings to the working people our great cultural legacy in particular the writings of French democratic thinkers, and in some cases revives it. Each title in this series is supplied with an introduction to the author and a Marxist analysis of the work.

Mention should also be made of the series 'Problems' (essays on developing theoretical problems) and 'Economics and Politics' (publications of the Marxist Research Center and Thorez Institute). The deeply philosophical or historical treatises included in the series are evidence of fruitful Marxist analyses of various phenomena. The 'Discovery' series acquaints the reader with the more noteworthy pieces of Marxist research carried out abroad.

The publishing house participates in the political struggle against the monopolies and their power, for radical democratic changes in French society, for peace and socialism. Editions Sociales acts promptly, with the result that it often brings out a book in a matter of six weeks. Our pocket library, *Notre Temps* (Our Times), is engaged in a continuous political campaign, its books dealing with the working people's struggles over the past half of a century and their lessons ('History') and the battles of today ('The World'). Recent publications include *What Capitalism Brings to France*; *Women and Wage Labor*; *Culture, the Individual and Society*; and *Marxism and the Environment*. In keeping with proletarian internationalism, Editions Sociales tries to combine interest in the nation's life with attention to the struggles of other peoples. The series 'Our Time. The World' includes books telling about the condition of American workers, the events in Chile and problems of the developing countries.

The sustained campaign against the falsehoods and forgeries of the bourgeois press against socialist countries accounts for the 'Socialism' series, brought out in a large printing. Recently we published *What I know About the Soviet Union*, by Martine Monod, a Communist journalist and author. This book won the hearts and minds of numerous readers by countering anti-Soviet slander with the testimony of an eye-witness.

The great variety of the literature we publish gives rise to difficult problems. Evidently, it is one thing to work on a political book that must be brought out at the earliest possible date and sold at the lowest possible price and another thing to publish Marxist classics. Of course, the range of publications is not determined at will but depends on the conditions in which the political and ideological struggle is going on. Nor should it be forgotten that the general laws of the capitalist book market also apply to Editions Sociales, which can survive and expand solely as a going enterprise.

While it is true that we now publish more books than before, we do not yet entirely meet requirements as to quantity or range of subjects. There are several aspects to this problem, but I will deal with only some of them.

We have a staff of less than 30. To be sure, we get much help from many Communists, for example translators, but they have to carry out our assignments outside the hours taken up with professional or Party work. This often creates serious organizational difficulties. Distribution too, half of which is through private bookshops, comes up against all sorts of obstacles. These we overcome by expanding the Party's distribution network, notably by selling books at factories and door to door. Marxist book sale days, held once a year, are very popular.

In addition to technical difficulties, we have publishing problems, usually less conspicuous but more sensitive. One is the growing discrepancy between the fast-increasing opportunities to publish books and a demand for literature that is mounting faster still. (When, 15 years ago, Editions Sociales published Part I of Marx and Engels'

The German Ideology, we sold less than 200 copies per year, whereas today we sell as many as 25,000 copies.) The readership of Marxist literature has grown to such an extent, especially among young people, and the Party's ideas among the educated have spread so widely that Communists and non-Communists offer Editions Sociales twice or three times more manuscripts than it can publish. On the other hand, some fields are short of offers, so that we are compelled to solicit manuscripts, which is not always easy.

While in no way minimizing these difficulties, we may, nevertheless, regard all or almost all of them as growing pains. 'The well-earned prestige of books brought out by our publishing house is steadily growing,' said Georges Marchais, our Party's General Secretary, in his report to the 20th Congress. It is growing among Communists, who read, study and distribute them, and in society as a whole. This is seen in the favorable comments appearing in various publications more and more often. Even our opponents can no longer keep silent about our books, whose prestige is also rising internationally, with translations of them appearing in many countries, including Japan, the United States, and even Spain. Editions Sociales is proud that its publications on contemporary problems of the class struggle were translated and published in Chile from the very first year of people's rule. Pinochet, the Chilean dictator, had these books burned along with numerous others.

Our achievements of the last few years give us added hope that Editions Sociales will be able to cope with its mission still more effectively. It gives us confidence as we proceed to carry out our far-reaching plans, which include preparations for a systematised multi-volume edition of Marx and Engels. Not long ago the FCP Central Committee passed a resolution to support this undertaking, which will be carried out in collaboration with scholars of the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic.

Editions Sociales is a firm link in the long chain of the world's big and small publishing houses which do not see books as a commodity or luxury but as a powerful instrument of emancipating the masses.



New level of cooperation

A STATISTICAL REVIEW OF SOCIALIST INTEGRATION*

The purpose of the socialist five-year plans is to raise living standards through intensive industrial and agricultural development, and in 1971-73 all countries of the socialist system made a further advance toward that goal. Their progress is measurable by the growth of national income in these three years: Bulgaria 25 per cent, Hungary and the USSR 19, the GDR, Mongolia and Czechoslovakia 17, Poland 30, and Rumania 38. The figures for the CMEA as a whole was an annual 5.5 per cent average in 1971-72 and 6.5 per cent in 1973. And these are the figures for the growth of industrial output in 1973: Bulgaria 10.6 per cent, Hungary 7.2, GDR 6.8, Cuba 11.2, Mongolia 8.3, Poland 12, Rumania 14.7, USSR 7.4 and Czechoslovakia 6.4.

Living standards are steadily rising. Thus, in 1973, real per-capita incomes rose 7.9 per cent in Bulgaria and 4.5-5 per cent in Hungary; in the GDR net cash income rose 5.6 per cent; real wages increased 10 per cent in Poland, and 5 per cent in the USSR; cash income in Czechoslovakia rose 6.2 per cent.

Economic cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) has powerfully stimulated economic progress in each of its member countries. Their cooperation is now governed by the Comprehensive Program for expanding cooperation and promoting socialist integration adopted by CMEA at its 25th session in 1971.

The CMEA countries regard cooperation as a powerful factor in raising the effectiveness of production and accelerating scientific and technical progress. This implies adapting their production structure to active participation in international socialist division of labor. Many of the problems involved were resolved through coordination of economic plans for 1971-75.

Trade, that conduit of economic intercourse, is a fair gauge of the growth, both qualitative and quantitative, of cooperation between CMEA countries. Under long-term agreements trade turnover in the current 5-year plan will be in excess of 200 billion rubles, with an annual accretion higher than in the preceding five years. The CMEA

*This survey was compiled by workers of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the Socialist World System.

trade turnover increased by 20 per cent in 1971-72, and the preliminary figures for 1973 suggest a 13-14 per cent rise.

This is the trade picture (billion rubles):

	1970	1971	1972
All CMEA countries	57.2	62.0	68.4
Bulgaria	3.5	3.9	4.3
Hungary	4.3	4.9	5.3
GDR	8.5	9.0	10.0
Cuba	2.1	2.0	1.7
Mongolia	0.2	0.2	0.2
Poland	6.4	7.1	8.5
Rumania	3.4	3.8	4.3
USSR	22.1	23.7	26.0
Czechoslovakia	6.7	7.4	7.9

A large part of the trade, 62 per cent, is between CMEA members.

Soviet trade with CMEA countries increased from 15.5 billion rubles in 1972 to 16.9 billion in 1973 to account for 54 per cent of its total foreign trade, with the share of the developed capitalist countries being half, 27 per cent. The Soviet Union's major trade partners are the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Machinery and equipment hold a central place in trade between CMEA members, accounting for 42 per cent of the total in 1973, compared with 40.2 in 1971 and 37.2 in 1965, and the rate of increase here is much higher than in exports generally. In fact engineering goods are the most dynamic element in the exports of CMEA countries, as will be seen from the following figures of their percentage share in total exports for 1971: Bulgaria 30.5 per cent, Rumania 23.1 per cent, Hungary - up 8.0 per cent in the preceding year, and Poland registering an 11.2 per cent rise in exports of electrical engineering goods. These figures also show that CMEA countries are exporting an increasingly larger share of industrial goods, which is further evidence of the rapid growth of their industries.

In keeping with the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration the CMEA countries are concentrating on specialization and cooperation in the production of machines and industrial equipment generally. For a number of industries close coordination was achieved with the conclusion of multilateral and bilateral agreements. No less than 17 multilateral specialization and production cooperation agreements have been concluded in three years.

Such agreements in glass and ceramics will make it possible to supply all CMEA countries with necessary specialized equipment up to the end of the current five-year period. All in all, the agreements cover 93 items of basic equipment and components.

Another multilateral agreement, on automobiles, covers three groups of heavy trucks and envisages reciprocal deliveries up to 1975, in which year specialized production will account for about 36 per cent of all heavy trucks built by CMEA members.

In 1972, seven agreements on multilateral specialization and cooperation in machines, equipment, plant and components came into force, covering more than 790 items.

An important agreement was signed in 1972 by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia on cooperation in planning certain types of digital-controlled, metal-cutting machine-tools. This was the first agreement of its kind and it covers the most modern machines, envisaging a five-fold increase in their output and reciprocal deliveries in 1975 compared with 1970. Cooperation in research and designing will eliminate parallel production, helping to save about seven million man-hours.

Cooperation in consumer goods has been developing intensively. The USSR and GDR are cooperating on the production of automated plant for light industry. Two big knitgoods factories, at Kosino near Moscow and the Apolda combine in Thuringia, have a direct cooperation arrangement.

The USSR and Hungary, and the GDR and Czechoslovakia made an important contribution to integration by their agreement on specialization in the production of olefins and reciprocal deliveries of olefin derivatives. The beginnings have thus been laid for an integrated program in olefins, with coordinated construction of major ethylene facilities and reciprocal deliveries of ethylene and propylene.

The scope of specialization and production cooperation of CMEA members can be judged by the number of agreements concluded between them. Thus in the period between the 25th and 26th CMEA sessions, Bulgaria concluded 45 bilateral agreements, Hungary 43, the GDR and Czechoslovakia more than 60, Poland 38, Rumania more than 30 and the Soviet Union 57.

Socialist integration aims at evening out economic levels of the CMEA countries. And cooperation in many ways promotes scientific and technological progress and its economic value in all the countries. This entails major changes in the structure and coordination of investment, big outlays and far-reaching decisions on a multilateral basis, creating opportunities for tackling fundamental economic problems, such as assuring a stable supply of fuel and raw materials for the European CMEA countries.

For instance, the Soviet Union has agreements with Czechoslovakia and the GDR providing for their participation in developing its oil and gas industry; with Bulgaria on building new capacities in gas, timber, pulp and paper, and iron and steel; with Rumania on expanding Soviet iron ore mining; with Hungary on increasing output of cardboard, asbestos, phosphoriferous raw materials and fertilizers.

Plans are being drawn up for new capacities in copper and zinc in Poland and copper and nickel in the USSR, with the interested countries sharing in investment.

One of the outstanding examples of multilateral cooperation in raw materials is the agreement, concluded at the 26th CMEA session, for a huge pulp mill at Ust-Ilim in the USSR with an annual output

capacity of 500,000 tons to be built jointly by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania and the USSR.

The Peace power grid has proved of immense value, assuring the countries it serves a stable power supply in winter months. But more power is needed every year, and CMEA countries have taken measures to assure a bigger supply up to 1990. For instance, they will be jointly building a 750-kilovolt transmission line of 1,110 kilometres to assure constant exchange of power between the USSR European grid and that of the European CMEA countries.

Another important factor in increasing the energy supply is the program for development in nuclear power. Bulgaria and the GDR began building nuclear power plants (880 megawatts each) in 1971. For the GDR this will be its second nuclear power plant. Two similar plants are to be built in Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will be putting up its first atomic power station before the end of the current five-year period. In all these countries the plants are being built with the active participation of the USSR, which supplies technical specifications, equipment and expert personnel.

New forms are evolving in scientific and technological cooperation. There are already 49 multilateral agreements on joint work on the basic scientific and technological problems listed in the Comprehensive Program. The agreements provide for division of labor and cooperation in research, designing and experimentation.

In accordance with these agreements, there have been organized 33 coordinating centers, two international research teams, two international amalgamations and nine coordinating councils.

The accent is on fundamental, exploratory and applied research, including projects relating to production specialization and cooperation in various branches of the economy.

Special attention is devoted to environmental protection. The CMEA Committee on Scientific and and Technical Cooperation has drawn up proposals, in accordance with a decision of the 26th CMEA session, on measures to expand cooperation of member countries and Yugoslavia in safeguarding and improving the environment and in rational use of natural resources. The Committee has set up a working group, the Council on Environmental Protection and Improvement.

Formation of an international scientific and technical information system of CMEA countries began in 1971 and has been continued by an international center. The Comprehensive Program envisages the establishment of international economic organizations to work on scientific and technical projects. In line with this an international amalgamation, Interatominstrument, was started in 1972 and the statutes and draft agreements on three more such amalgamations, in textiles, atomic energy and electric power, were approved by the CMEA executive at its 65th session in December 1973.

Much has been done since 1971 to implement the Comprehensive Program provisions on improved currency, financial, credit and clearing arrangements. Proposals have been drawn up on the aims,

procedures, methods and terms of agreed exchange rates or conversion factors of national currencies.

Of major significance was the expansion of operations by the International Bank of Economic Cooperation. In 1973 the total accounts of the bank's member states reached 48 billion transfer rubles. Its convertible currency and gold operations amounted to the equivalent of 27.2 million transfer rubles. The bank does business with more than 300 banks in different parts of the world.

The International Investment Bank issued its first credits in 1971 to finance the building and modernization of industrial units in Hungary and Poland. In the three years since then the bank has financed 33 industrial projects to a total of 588 million transfer rubles, the credits being granted for terms ranging from three to 12 years.

Work began in 1971 to implement the 25th CMEA session decisions on improving organization of the community and its various agencies and permanent commissions. There has been a conference on the methodology and organization of prognostication of key economic indicators, also an exchange of views on long-range population growth and structure, social and cultural requirements and manpower prognostication as the basis for coordinating long-term plans. New agencies have been started too. For instance, a conference on inventions to prepare proposals for multilateral regulation of the legal questions involved in patenting and using inventions, reciprocal recognition of patents, etc., has been given permanent status as a CMEA agency.

The International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, founded by decision of the 24th CMEA session, is working on the theoretical aspects of promoting and improving cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration.

Successful fulfilment of plans and the positive results achieved in the first three years of the Comprehensive Program, enable the fraternal countries to look to the future with full confidence.

Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Founded on November 3, 1918 by merging Communist groups. The Party now has 20,676 members.

A CPA conference in February 1958 adopted a program document, 'Austria's Road to Socialism,' subsequently approved by the 18th Party Congress (1961). The latest, 22nd Congress (January 1974) sum-

med up the results of the Party's struggle for the working people's interests and set new tasks.

The basic party unit is the branch, industrial or residential. The supreme authority is the Congress and between congresses, the Central Committee.

The Party is stepping up its effort to bring more people, particularly young men and women, into its ranks. Of the new members admitted in 1973, over 50 per cent are under 30 years of age, 68.7 per cent are working people and 5.4 per cent students. Women make up 42.7 per cent of the membership.

The CPA has lately extended its influence in democratic labor organizations, notably on worker production councils, where the Communist-led 'Left bloc' won 41.5 per cent more votes and holds 50 per cent more seats than in 1968/69.

The Party devotes much attention to ideological and political training of its members. Since its 21st Congress it has held 15 weekly seminars and four fortnightly classes. It also runs a one-year Party school. Many of the students are members of the Communist Youth of Austria or Communist Students' League. More than half of those enrolled in Party training in 1973 were industrial workers and over 90 per cent of them were under 30 years of age. The Party sponsored four theoretical conferences which drew hundreds of people.

The CPA has a national daily, *Volksstimme* (The People's Voice), and a theoretical monthly, *Weg und Ziel* (Road and Goal).

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

Founded May 23, 1920. In 1926/27 the Party led a popular rising against Dutch imperialism. The uprising was crushed and the Party was forced to go underground and combine illegal with legal activity.

The proclamation of national independence on August 17, 1945, created a new situation. The CPI took part in the government and organized the masses to resist imperialist aggression and defeat home reaction's counter-revolutionary plots. Nevertheless, the reactionary forces of the compradore bourgeoisie were able to engineer the 'Madiun provocation' in September 1948. Numerous Party members, including leading cadres, lost their lives and once again the Party had to go underground. This blow against the vanguard of the revolution enabled the Dutch colonialists to attack and reoccupy the republic.

Working illegally, the Communists together with other patriots waged a guerrilla war against the invaders. In 1949 the aggressors were ousted.

Reconstruction of the Party began in 1951. The Fifth Congress (1954) targeted the Party on solving the key problems of the Indonesian revolution and strengthening its links with the masses. The number of votes cast for the CPI in the 1955 general election made it one of the country's four major parties, and a year later, in the local government elections, the CPI polled the greatest number of votes. The

party became the rallying point for anti-imperialist forces and its growing influence induced the national bourgeoisie to cooperate with it.

The Sixth Party Congress (1959) confirmed and carried forward the policy line evolved earlier. However, in spite of its decisions, there was inadequate resistance to opportunism, which had seeped into the Party and its leadership. Opportunism was the result of increased influence of petty-bourgeois ideology in the Party, the loosening of its class basis and the growing influx of non-proletarian elements. As a consequence, the Party began to lose its vanguard character. Its Special, Seventh Congress (1962) included some concepts of the national bourgeoisie in its resolutions and advanced the thesis that 'the national interest is above class interests.'

The Mao Tse-tung clique took advantage of the complicated situation in the CPI to gain influence. The Party departed from Marxism-Leninism and found itself isolated, both at home and abroad. When, in 1965, a group of young army officers succumbed to provocation by Rightist generals and launched an adventurist Left-wing action, a number of CPI leaders influenced by Maoism joined them. With the action defeated, there began an orgy of terror which resulted in enormous losses for the Party and forced it underground. Hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats are still in jail or concentration camp without trial.

Unlike the Maoists, who continue their former policy, the Marxist-Leninist forces of the CPI regard restoration of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as their main task. The Marxist-Leninists' position and line of action were explicitly defined in the documents, 'The Correct Road of the Indonesian Revolution' (1966) and 'Pressing Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia' (1969).

In spite of continuing repression and persecution, the CPI has reconstituted itself.

The Party carries on political work among the masses, primarily among the workers and peasants, and strives to organize their struggle against the reactionary military regime and imperialism. Strikes, peasant unrest, demonstrations by youth and students and other popular actions have become more and more frequent and widespread, involving more and more people. An urgent task is to form a national unity front around these struggles. The Party's aim is a national anti-imperialist, democratic government as the prelude to advancing to socialism.

From 1951 the CPI's legal national daily was *Harian Rakyat* (The People's Newspaper). At present it publishes a monthly magazine, *Tekad Rakyat* (The People's Will) in Indonesian and English.

DIARY

At the invitation of the Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus (AKEL), Rudolf Wettengel, representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on *World Marxist Review*, attended its 13th Congress.

A delegation from *World Marxist Review*, consisting of Comrades Pavel Auersperg, Executive Secretary of WMR, John Pittman, Member of Political Committee, CC CPUSA and member of the WMR Editorial Board, took part in the 50th anniversary celebrations of the theoretical and political journal of the CC CPSU, *Kommunist*. The delegation conveyed sincere congratulations on the occasion of the anniversary and the award of the Order of Lenin.

Naim Ashhab, Member of the CC Jordanian Communist Party and its representative on WMR, and Adel Haba, Alternate Member of the CC Communist Party in Iraq and its representative on WMR, attended the 11th Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization held in Baghdad recently.

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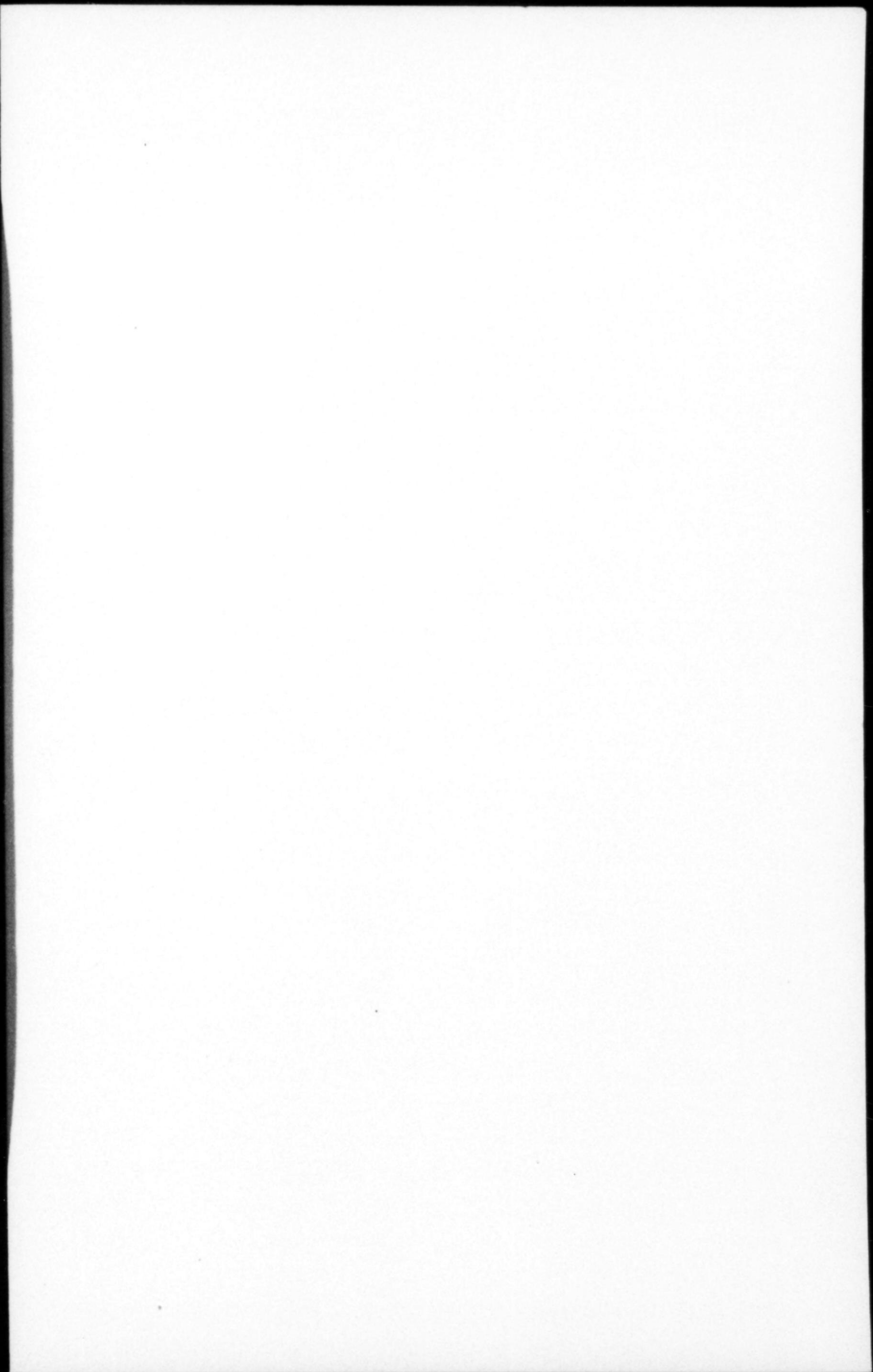
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