WORLD
Problems of
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July 1974, Vol. 17, No. 7 50¢

Letter from Chile /83

Proletarian dictatorship /64

International trade union movement /21

The struggle for a united front /29

'Quality of life' concept /76

The role of youth /47

Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Features

3 Thirty years of people's power
P. Jaroszewicz

14 Peaceful coexistence and class interests
A. Fantis

21 New developments in the international trade union movement
P. Gensous

The Party

29 The struggle for a united front
V. Bonev

37 Vanguard of the working class, organizer of the masses
R. Iscaro

47 Youth activity in society and the Communists
Theoretical conference

57 Party news

Theory

64 Notes on the history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship
V. Venetsanopoulos, V. Guliev, S. Zawadzski, J. Schmirgeld

76 The 'quality of life' concept, whom it serves
J. Schleifstein

Political panorama

83 Lessons and prospects of the revolution (Letter from Chile)
R. Castillo

95 The dawn of freedom
C. Mendes

99 The French presidential elections: political polarization
G. Waserman

102 FRG: new faces, continuity of policy
E. Weber

108 Stop the terror!
E. Pastorino

(Continued next page)

(cont'd)

110 Yugoslavia's growing cooperation with the CMEA
M. Aleksic

117 Arduous path of a new republic
H. Safari

121 Madagascar looks ahead
G. Rabesahala

Books and the press

127 For peace and prosperity
P. Naumov

130 Books in brief

135 Getting closer to the reader
S. Mitra

Data

137 Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties: CP Uruguay, People's Progressive Party Guyana, Puerto Rican CP

139 Vandalism in the country of Neruda
F.S.

141 Zoltan Komocsin
In memoriam

142 Diary

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feature

Thirty years of people's power

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Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the
Polish People's Republic

From the height of our 30th anniversary we can clearly see the significance of the turning point in the millennium-old history of the Polish people and state that occurred in the unforgettable days of July 1944. For it was then that the first ever worker-peasant government came into being on Polish land liberated from the Hitler occupation, and the management of public affairs was transferred from the propertied classes to the working class and the masses led by a Marxist-Leninist worker party.

The Communists, in alliance with other democratic forces, assumed power fully realizing their historic responsibilities for the destinies of the nation. They were guided by the conviction that the major national problems accumulated over the centuries could and should be resolved solely in terms of meeting the aspirations of the workers and peasants.

In the three decades of building the state and socialist society our Party has been guided by the great humanitarian ideals of communism and Marxist-Leninist theory. All our efforts have been motivated by the principal objective of socialism: the good of the working people, the makers of history and vehicle of social progress. The past 30 years of the nation's history have been an era of man triumphant, of victory of freedom over slavery, progress over reaction, enlightenment and culture over obscurantism, a victory of life over death, of peace over war.

It is with legitimate pride that we look back at the road traversed and our achievements. In a historically short period the efforts of Poland's workers, peasants and intellectuals have lifted her out of an abyss of social and economic backwardness and the untold ravages of war. They have built a strong, dynamic socialist state, nationally homogeneous and internally united, possessing a vast and steadily expanding economic potential. The security of our frontiers has been ensured and they are now recognized by all states as an unalterable fact. We have true and powerful friends with whom we share an identity of social system, ideas and goals, a similarity of social and national interests, and many years of expanding political, economic and

cultural cooperation. People's Poland, welded in an alliance with the Soviet Union and other brother socialist states, is in the mainstream of world progress, exerts increasing influence on international affairs, and enjoys growing recognition.

All this enables one to appreciate the farsightedness and correctness of our Party's political thinking which was instrumental in helping the Polish people to link their fate with socialism. We can state with satisfaction that the Party has justified the trust of the working class and popular masses and more than fulfilled the promises it made to the people 30 years ago in the historic Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

The present jubilee has special significance as a good opportunity to reflect on the experience gained in the struggle for People's Poland and her socialist development and draw the necessary conclusions and lessons for the benefit of the nation. This experience should first and foremost serve the future, promote a creative assessment of the accomplishments and prospects of socialist development and help solve the tasks we are setting in line with the instructions of our Party's Sixth Congress (1971). 'The Polish United Workers' Party,' the congress noted, 'is now opening a new chapter in our country's history, a chapter in keeping with the society's aspirations at the present stage and stemming from the development of the productive forces and growing material and spiritual requirements of the people.'

It was the requirements of this stage that the PUWP Central Committee had in mind when it set the ideological-educational tasks for the jubilee year at last February's 13th plenary meeting outlined in the plenum's theses, 'Thirty Years of the Polish People's Republic.'

Experience has reaffirmed Lenin's words that dialectical combination of the general laws of socialism with the cultural and historical peculiarities of the country, aspirations of the people, their requirements and possibilities, is a prerequisite of successful socialist development. The experience of People's Poland provides ample evidence of the viability and universal significance of the general laws of revolution and socialist construction enunciated by Lenin. Enriched and developed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they have been confirmed by many years of practice in all the countries building socialism.

Our Party has always been guided by these laws in all its work, in planning and carrying out the tasks of socialist development. The past 30 years belong to the history of the struggle for the establishment, consolidation and perfection of a people's state based on the principles of proletarian dictatorship, worker-peasant alliance and close ties of the working class with the intellectuals and all other working people. The PUWP strives unremittingly to strengthen the leading role of the working class in the society and the state, to strengthen the political leadership of the Party.

These have been years of sustained efforts of the working class and the masses to recast socio-economic conditions in town and country, socialize production, promote socialist industrialization, and develop a planned economy and productive forces for the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's

material and spiritual needs. They have been years of struggle for far-reaching democratization of the educational system, the spread and development of culture and its socialist transformation, for the assertion of socialist ideology in public and intellectual life.

Thirty years ago Poland, like a number of other European countries, received the historic opportunity of resolving her fundamental national problems. In the conditions of the great anti-fascist war, with the decisive participation of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, in the defeat of Hitler Germany and the liberation of the peoples of Europe, the Polish people's only hope of emancipation and restoration of a stable, independent national existence was to combine the national-liberation struggle with social revolution. This perspective, decisive for the destinies of the nation, was embodied in the program of the Communists, of the Polish Workers' Party. It was a program of national liberation based on alliance and comradeship of arms with the Soviet Union, a program of people's power and social change. The Party spearheaded the popular struggle, giving it the necessary forms and political orientation, concentrating the patriotic and democratic forces, leading to success the revolutionary workers' movement for the establishment of the power of the people.

The ideals of national liberation and social progress inspired the Polish armed forces organized by Polish Communists on the territory of the Soviet Union. Trained and armed with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union, they helped bring liberation closer on the decisive front of World War II, advancing toward Poland by the shortest battle route, cementing with jointly spilt blood the comradeship of arms with the Soviet Army.

The Soviet Army saved our people from physical annihilation, it brought us freedom, while the allied solidarity of the Soviet Union helped bring to fruition the aspirations of many generations of Poles and unite the Polish lands along the Oder, Neisse and the Baltic coast, once forcibly torn away and Germanized, with the motherland.

In the very first months of its existence the new popular state made great efforts to expand its contribution to the liberation struggle. Side by side with Soviet soldiers, two Polish armies totalling 400,000 men fought in the decisive battles of the final period of World War II. The participation of the Polish People's Army in the assault of Berlin, the battles along the Elbe River and in the liberation of Czechoslovakia crowned almost six years of Polish freedom fighting against Hitlerism. Alliance with the Soviet Union, the formation, as a result of revolutionary change, of a number of People's Democracies in Europe and the support of the world Communist and progressive forces made it possible for our revolution and popular state to develop in conditions of security and peace, and successfully resolve our problems, they shielded Poland from direct confrontation with imperialism.

These conditions, internal and international, created the opportunities for peaceful revolutionary change, and for strengthening our Party, facilitating the consolidation of patriotic and democratic forces on the basis of the program of the Polish Workers' Party.

The postwar boundaries became an important, inalienable factor of the revolution, doing away as they did with one of the major sources of former weakness, restoring the country's homogeneous national character, and at the same time creating the prerequisites of security and peace in Europe. This was a realization of the political concepts of the Party, which headed the national integration effort.

The popular state became an important tool, not only of national liberation, independence and security, but of revolutionary change as well. It successfully performs its functions of proletarian dictatorship, organizing the masses for the struggle to change the social system, liquidate the old, capitalist relations and go over to socialism; this is done on the basis of the political leadership of the working class and its Party, in alliance with the working peasants and intellectuals, in the conditions of mounting unity of the political forces of popular democracy and the labor movement – Communists and Left Socialists – with the progressive popular and democratic movement.

That is why our Party sees as one of its main tasks that of strengthening the socialist state, perfecting its functioning, and deepening socialist democracy as a lever of social progress.

We began building socialism in a country with low cultural standards and a backward socio-economic structure inherited from more than a century of national slavery followed by the rule of domestic bourgeoisie and landlords. Poland was devastated by the war, the occupation had stripped her of the fruits of work of many generations. More than six million Polish citizens had perished. The working class and youth suffered considerable losses, and the intelligentsia was decimated. Many people were scattered all over the world. The war left millions of cripples, starving and sick people, widows and orphans.

The extent of the damage is described in terms of 38 per cent of the national wealth destroyed, the ruins of Warsaw and many other cities, burned villages, 70 per cent destroyed industry and weakened agriculture. It is impossible to measure the value of irretrievably lost priceless objects of culture created in the course of the nation's thousand-year history.

The Party and the state shouldered the tremendous task of rehabilitating the country and reviving national life in all spheres. Only in the course of revolutionary social change, which gave scope to the patriotism, labor enthusiasm and creative initiative of the majority of the people, was it possible to cope with these stupendous tasks in a matter of several years. The agrarian reform met the age-old aspirations of the peasants to own land, liquidated the reactionary landlord class and created an unbreakable foundation of worker-peasant union. Realization of the just demands of the rural community was possible only under people's government, thanks to the political leadership and help of the working class.

Profound changes occurred in the cities. On their own initiative workers took over factories, iron and steel works, mines and transport and declared

them public property. This was legalized in January 1946 in the nationalization law.

The surge of mass energy drew the majority of the intellectuals into the national rehabilitation drive, linking them with the popular government and socialism.

Revolutionary change dismantled the old social structure and laid the social and economic basis of people's power, opening the road to socialist construction.

The Polish experience wholly confirms Lenin's words that the revolutionary transformation of society meets with the resistance of the old social forces pushed off the stage of history.

Although the internal and international conditions of the revolution favored the working class and the masses, the liquidation of the old social system involved a fierce confrontation with the class and political enemies of the revolution. In many parts of the country there were armed clashes with reactionary underground forces who had resorted to terror in an effort to unleash civil war and bar the road to progress. Several thousand Party members, worker and peasant activists, members of the public security bodies and militia and soldiers of the Polish army died in the struggle for Poland's socialist road of development. The scale and price of that struggle would have been much higher if not for the constructive program of the PWP and the people's government, if not for the policy of averting civil war, reducing tensions, consolidating the progressive forces and isolating reaction based on that program. Very soon the program of the working class and its Party received the active support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The history of the popular-democratic revolution in Poland points to the close interdependence of the rate and depth of social change and concentration and unification of the forces of revolution, their ideological consolidation on the basis of a specific program. The political education of the masses and development of their social consciousness progress with the revolution, resulting in qualitative changes which in turn become the basis for the consolidation essential for further advance along the socialist road.

The formation of the Polish United Workers' Party in 1948 eliminated the half-century split in the labor movement. The unification of the PWP with the reconstituted Polish Socialist Party produced a united Marxist-Leninist party, which multiplied its influence on the working-class society and its ideology. It was a victory for Marxism-Leninism in Poland that was of decisive significance for the nation's further development.

The progressive, radical trends in the popular and democratic movement interacting with the working class underwent a gradual evolution. The parties that emerged as a result – the United Peasant and the Democratic – recognized the principles of socialist development and the leading role of the PUWP, with which they constitute the political basis of the Popular Unity Front which unites the builders of the new society under the leadership of the working class Party.

Our Party has always been, and will continue to be, guided by the principle of uniting all popular patriotic forces around the program and tasks of socialist construction, the principle of joint action of Communists, members of other parties and non-party people, irrespective of education, trade, social status or religious attitudes.

Our development has not been an easy one. Socialism is built in conditions of class struggle, it is attacked by imperialism. Obstacles set up by the class enemies have to be overcome. There were also objective difficulties of development, and we had to rectify errors due to a temporary weakening of ties with the working class, shortcomings in the grasp of events or underestimation of the laws of social development.

The correctness of the general line of our Party, which uses Marxism-Leninism as a reliable compass and is supported by the political intelligence and maturity of the working class, made it possible to cope with difficulties successfully, take the right way at the right time and effectively channel mass experience and activity for further progress.

Today Poland has neither capitalists nor exploiters, domestic or foreign, nor landlords. The antagonistic class contradictions which racked the society have disappeared and relations between the classes and different sections have changed.

The numbers of the working class, the main, most dynamic socio-political and economic force of the people, have grown. Important qualitative changes have taken place within it, and today the majority is employed in big plants. Professional standards and qualifications are growing together with educational and cultural standards, and involvement in economic and political life.

The Polish village has changed markedly. The peasants' living and cultural standards have risen. Peasant children, like the children of workers, have unhampered access to education, science and culture. State farms have been set up and are developing successfully. Various forms of cooperation – production, consumer, etc. – open up new vistas of expanding production and improving the welfare of the rural population. The private farms that dominate in agriculture have been incorporated in the general economic system of socialist planned economy and are linked closely with it by annual and long-term contracts and the system of marketing and supplies. Growing production ties with socialist industry, modernization of the material and technical base and greater cooperation increasingly introduce new elements of socialist production relations in the countryside.

The proportion of the technological and creative intelligentsia, of scientists, teachers and cultural workers, has grown. The working class today has stronger and more numerous links with the intellectuals, most of whom have risen from the masses and are connected with them by work, common interests and socialist ideology.

Socialism has visibly reduced social imbalances and gone a long way toward providing all citizens with equal opportunities to realize their aspirations. It has done much to remove distinctions between different parts of the

country and between town and countryside. People are beginning to forget the time when there were thousands of unemployed in our towns and several million 'redundant' people in our villages. We rehabilitated and carried forward our country and raised Warsaw and hundreds of other communities from the ashes. Since 1950 we have built 2.5 million flats in the towns and one million flats in the countryside, as well as thousands of schools, theatres, cinemas, houses of culture, hospitals and medical centers, holiday and health homes. The population has grown by 10 million and is now younger, healthier, more educated and more adequately prepared for life than before. Illiteracy has been unknown for years now, over four million citizens have a secondary education and 730,000, a higher education. Poles now eat, dress and live better than in the past. They have at their disposal up-to-date facilities, such as a universal health service in town and country, social maintenance, holiday homes and maternity protection centers, have facilities for recreation, tourism, etc.

Socialist industrialization has greatly advanced the productive forces. Due to the 10-fold growth of industrial production and a twofold increase in agricultural output, Poland's national income has increased fivefold since 1950. Our share in world industrial production has doubled and Poland now ranks 10 in the world. We are drawing nearer to the most advanced industrial countries, with output doubling every eight years.

The achievements of the past four years are worthy of special mention. The way for them was paved by the important decisions of the Seventh and Eighth CC plenums and the Sixth Party Congress, decisions which the first All-Poland Party Conference carried forward in 1973. The Congress gave priority to measures to improve the material, social and cultural standards of life more rapidly and systematically through dynamic economic progress. Combining social and economic objectives stimulated public effort to achieve our goals and generated activity in production and the public affairs.

This policy is producing better results than original plans envisaged – indeed, the best results since the end of the war. In the first three years of the current five-year plan the national income went up by 32 per cent: 8 per cent in 1971, 10 per cent in 1972 and 11 per cent in 1973. Industrial output grew by 34 per cent (against 24 per cent under the plan) and agricultural output by almost 21 per cent (against 12 per cent under the plan).

Real wages grew by an average of 25 per cent in the same period. Real incomes in rural Poland increased at a comparable rate. These results are considerably higher than those achieved from 1961 to 1970. They enabled us substantially to reduce the social and economic imbalances that had developed earlier. At the same time the state increased budget appropriations for social needs, first of all for workers and working mothers. The rural population enjoys free medical care.

In January 1974 the 12th Plenum of the CC PUWP and the Sejm approved a wages and social maintenance program providing for pay adjustment and increases under the current five-year plan in favor of all citizens engaged in the socialized sector of the economy, for higher minimum wages, pensions

and family grants, greater assistance to students and, in the course of several years, a further increase of pensions. These measures will benefit primarily low-income families. To expand and update the material basis of our economy, we increased investments by unprecedented margins: 7.7 per cent in 1971 and roughly 24 per cent in 1972 and 1973, or a total of 64 per cent in three years.

Our investment policy gives priority to speeding the modernization of industry, in particular by importing up-to-date machinery and other technical facilities, including complete plants and production lines. In the case of many industries we import whole factories, which enables us to modernize production faster. We make a special effort to modernize industries assuring a substantial growth of output for the home and foreign market.

Our foreign trade is expanding and so is our economic, scientific and technological cooperation with other countries. Close relations with the economies of socialist, primarily CMEA, countries are the mainstay of our foreign economic relations. The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration opened a new stage in extending and deepening international cooperation.

Membership of the socialist community and increasing multilateral cooperation were an important factor for the progress of Poland and other socialist countries in the past 30 years. Our cooperation with the Soviet Union played the greatest stimulating role in the years of postwar rehabilitation, the period when we laid the groundwork for socialist industry, at subsequent stages of industrial development and in carrying out the program adopted by the Sixth Party Congress. Growing cooperation with the Soviet Union, our principal economic partner, will retain its special importance.

The results achieved to date, the strides made by the Soviet Union in building communism and the achievements registered by Poland in building socialism, show that cooperation between our two countries in the years ahead is bound to be dynamic and durable. It will be based on up-to-date forms of production specialization and coordination, scientific and technological cooperation and joint production and investment. All this will be closely tied in with closer coordination of national economic plans, a new pattern of contacts and forms of economic relations, and the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration.

Increasing cooperation among socialist countries affords Poland, like all other members of our community, vast opportunities for more rapid progress and assures new gains in the economic competition between the two systems. It demonstrates again and again the advantages of the new system which the Great October Revolution ushered in on a world scale and the Polish Committee of National Liberation on a national scale by proclaiming people's rule in July 1944.

Our Party has been working on a long-range program for building a developed socialist society, which will be carried out step by step. The principles of this program were outlined by the Sixth Party Congress and the First All-Poland Party Conference. They provide for building a Poland with

a high standard of productive forces and humane social relations, to make it a country with dynamically growing opportunities for development, a high standard of life for the working people and a varied cultural life, a country that will contribute to human progress in accordance with its traditions of liberation struggle and revolution.

Poland's future progress is specified in detailed programs and long-term plans drafted with the assistance of scientists, Party functionaries and other public figures, in consultation with workers' teams and the professional groups concerned, and with due regard to public opinion.

And our plans are realistic. They are backed by an economic potential brought into being in these 30 years, by socialist social relations, the policy of our Party based on the tested theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, and on the indestructible alliance and growing cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

We are learning to make better use of the time factor. In this era of rapid scientific and technological progress, it is necessary to think in terms of the future. The decisions we make today will shape the character of the country for decades to come.

Regular plenary meetings of the CC have adopted guidelines for social and economic development and programs for solving key problems of the country in the next 20 years, including comprehensive programs for housing, the reform of education and the expansion of medical care.

In the 20 years ahead, we will have to accomplish tasks exceeding all that was done in the past 30 years. To fulfil these tasks, we will have to impart an entirely new quality to our socialist social and economic development, with new material and spiritual values. Our targets can be judged by the fact that we plan to increase the national income fourfold and the national wealth more than threefold by 1990. We expect our investments in the economy between 1971 and 1990 to be five times as great as in the past 20 years.

'In the coming 20 years,' says the CC PUWP in its theses, 'we want to speed the development of industries using domestic raw materials as well as the joint potential of the CMEA countries. We will develop electrical engineering with special regard to the modernization of production technology, precision instrument-making automatic machine tools, transfer lines and other up-to-date technological solutions. We will continue to develop on a modern basis the iron and steel, automobile, ship-building and large-scale chemical industries as our contribution to specialization.'

The growth of the main productive forces will be accompanied by the extension of the infrastructure, communications and transport, both public and private, and the service industry.

The further modernization of agriculture through mechanization and chemicalization, should lead to not less than a twofold increase in output. Collective forms of farming will be promoted more vigorously while state farms continue to extend their positions. Agriculture will be consistently reorganized on the basis of progress in material production and in technology. In the next few years we will complete the electrification of the country

and score further important gains in expanding public utulities and setting up welfare facilities in rural communities. These measures will speed up the elimination of distinctions in living standards between the urban and rural population.

The housing program, which provides for 7.3 million flats by 1990, is being pressed forward, and we are developing on a comprehensive basis our towns, which will account for almost two thirds of the population, and our villages.

We have adopted a program for environmental protection which our socialist, planned economy makes feasible. Our Party sees one of its main obligations in providing every Polish citizen with proper opportunities for physical development. A National Health Fund was set up on the Party's initiative and we are carrying out a comprehensive program to improve public health and promote the sanitary service, as well as physical education, sports, tourism and other forms of active recreation.

Progress in material production under socialism is inseparable from the all-round development of the individual. We want the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, which so changes our life, to serve humanist ideals and the objectives of socialism. Socialism is the only system which makes possible the harmonious material and spiritual development of society and the individual and eliminates the causes of man's alienation in today's world, of chaos and disillusionment, of a situation in which human activity loses all meaning and has no future. Our Party strives to fully use the potentialities of our social, economic and political system. It gives special attention to problems of the family as the basic nucleus of society. We try to educate the youth on a comprehensive basis so as to educate people with high moral and ideological standards, genuine patriots of their socialist country and conscious participants in socialist construction.

We steadfastly remove from our life survivals of views and behavior inherited from the old system. We fight against manifestations of bourgeois ideology and principles alien to socialism, against nationalism and cosmopolitanism. In fostering new social relations, our Party spreads and builds up socialist patriotism, which is inseparable from solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole and with the progressive forces and working people of the world.

We are doing much to promote human relations in keeping with our system and to create a favorable climate for people who are devoted, industrious, capable and courageous. A key aspect of the Party's effort toward ideological education is to mould socialist man, a man with a high culture and morality taking an active part in public decision making. People are the main factor in our development and this means that social progress will depend on the extent to which we add to our people's merits, way of thinking, knowledge and skill.

To carry our intentions into effect, we must strengthen and perfect the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the vanguard of the working class and people. The role and functions of the socialist state, which controls the

national wealth, directs central planning and hence bears a special responsibility for the optimal utilization of the country's potential and the proper use of its manpower and material resources, are increasing at the new stage of development. 'Socialism,' Lenin wrote, '. . . can be implemented only *through* the dictatorship of the proletariat, which combines violence against the bourgeoisie, i.e., the minority of the population, with *full* development of democracy, i.e., the genuinely equal and genuinely universal participation of the *entire* mass of the population in all *state* affairs' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 25).

Our Party and state are translating this idea of Lenin's into reality through their policies. By systematically promoting socialist democracy, we strive to increase the influence of society on the country's economic and cultural activities. The recent reform of local government bodies was designed to increase the role, significance and influence of these bodies – people's councils – and extend their powers in solving major social, economic and cultural problems. It was intended to perfect the mechanism of socialist democracy by linking Party and non-governmental organizations, primarily workers' self-management bodies, with people's government bodies, and to improve the functioning of the executive apparatus by enabling it, as it operates under the control of the masses, to make prompt decisions and carry them out in the people's interest.

Socialist progress over these 30 years is a big contribution made by our people to the common cause of socialism and world peace. Our state is an important member of the socialist community. Its security is dependably safeguarded by alliance and unity with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, by the defense power of the Warsaw Treaty organization. The experience of People's Poland determines the fundamental principle of the political thinking and practice of our Party and state, which consists in strengthening the internationalist alliance, cooperation and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a guarantee of further progress, the security of the peoples and a lasting world peace.

Polish foreign policy, which is closely coordinated with the activity of the socialist community and guided by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, makes a substantial contribution to peace and security.

We are doing all in our power to consolidate and extend international détente so as to make it an irreversible process. This calls for sustained struggle against the cold war advocates and for constant vigilance with regard to the adventurist and bellicose elements, which still wield considerable influence in the world of imperialism and reaction. Peaceful coexistence is a field of political battle for new international relations, an arena of social and economic competition and a confrontation of ideas.

Poland seeks constructive development of relations with all countries of Europe and the World. We base these relations on the principles of mutual benefit and peace. We strive for positive solutions to international problems and resolutely support the forces of freedom, democracy and progress.

We are working to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and the

world Communist movement. We consider it advisable to begin preparations for a European and world meeting of the Parties and emphatically reject whatever tends to disrupt their unity, primarily the devisive chauvinist theory and practice of Maoism.

The CC PUWP theses for the 30th anniversary of People's Poland provide a picture of Poland as a country of developed socialism. The future is being built today, we are laying its foundations. The Polish people know this. They stint no effort in carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress and in laying the groundwork for the next five-year plan.

The principal motive of our people's joint effort is the conviction that, to quote the CC theses, 'the 20th century has seen two extremes in our people's history: at its early years there was slavery, hardship, backwardness, national and class oppression and no historical future, while its closing years will see a highly developed, wealthy, strong and happy Poland.'

By the end of this century, we want our people to be living in a mature socialist society with an economy and culture developing at a highly dynamic rate, and with lofty ideological and moral aspirations. The decisive achievements of the past 30 years are evidence that we can attain that goal.

Peaceful coexistence and class interests

Andreas Fantis
Deputy General Secretary,
Progressive Party of the
Working People of Cyprus

The issue of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, of the content and nature of the policy aimed at achieving it, is among the theoretical and practical problems facing scientific socialism today. The current trend of political development makes it ever more imperative fully to elucidate these problems from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. This is all the more essential as the most reactionary advocates of cold war and various 'Left'-wing dogmatists, including the Maoist leadership of the CPC, have in late years been fiercely attacking international détente, whose progress is fostered primarily by the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The peoples welcome the radical turn in international relations which we are witnessing and participating in. It is a crushing defeat of the policy of cold war, international tension, military confrontation, provocation, threats and brinkmanship. Pursued by imperialism after World War II, the policy poisoned the social and political atmosphere of the planet. At the same time

the policy of dialogue and serious negotiations, prompted by the need to settle disputes and conflicts by peaceful means and based on sober analysis of the situation, is winning recognition.

Détente is plainly gaining the upper hand in the contest between the old and the new in international relations. Looking back on events of the past three or four years, we may say that this policy is becoming the dominant aspect of world development. And it is important to note that the new principles of international relations are increasingly recognized as the only correct policy for all countries.

These favorable changes were made possibly by a consistent foreign policy and appropriate initiatives on the part of the socialist community and the peace forces generally, primarily of the mighty Soviet Union, the vanguard force. Needless to say, they did not come overnight. The field where these shoots are now sprouting was ploughed and sown for decades by millions of people engaged in an unprecedented struggle for a durable peace, against a new war. They were confident of succeeding but they could hardly have imagined that the 70s would see the conclusion of highly important treaties between countries with different social systems, treaties which are now known as the nations' new 'moral code' in the nuclear age.

The principles of peaceful coexistence form the content and essence of this code. They include full respect for the equality and territorial integrity of all countries, the right of nations to self determination, rejection of the forcible seizure of foreign territory and non-interference in internal affairs. It is agreed that social, economic, political and ideological distinctions should not prevent contacts and cooperation in various fields. These and other principles, which are in keeping with the Charter and objectives of the UN, are most consistently applied by the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, whose entire history refutes the allegation that they regard peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries as a mere tactical ploy.

To the Soviet people, said Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in receiving the International Lenin Peace Prize on July 11, 1973, 'active struggle for peace is by no means a temporary, passing task. It is our fundamental, consciously framed permanent policy, which we pursue in fraternal unity with all countries of the socialist community.'

The policy of peaceful coexistence championed by the Communists has a class basis. It embodies the greatest and noblest ideals of the working class and exploited masses, their desire for happiness and a world delivered from the scourge of war.

From time immemorial, peace has been a dream and ideal of the finest minds and foremost men on earth. However, it was only scientific socialism that dialectically defined the prerequisites of translating the dream of peace into reality, inseparably linking this process to the victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of a new social system, socialism. In contrast to the old society with its economic poverty and political folly, Marx wrote more than a hundred years ago, a new society is emerging whose international principle will be peace.

This principle found practical expression in the 'Decree on Peace,' the first legislative act of the Soviet state, written by Lenin.

It follows that the roots of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which various 'Left-wing dogmatists furiously assail, even invoking Marx, lie in scientific socialism. According to this doctrine, communism as both a world outlook and a social system sees its supreme aim in meeting the growing material and spiritual needs of society and providing the social requisites for the all-round development of the individual. Stepping up aggression and violence is contrary to the prospect of providing these requisites for the whole of mankind. According to the Communist world outlook, the policy of world war and destruction is criminally adventuristic.

And so, peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence are inherent in socialism and inseparable from the Communist ideology. They stress the humanist character of the new society. The pursuit of peace in the world arena is in line with the principles on which socialism and communism are being built and is therefore logical as far as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are concerned.

In a social system which has abolished class antagonisms, the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of one nation by another, there neither exist nor can exist social groups interested in war or war preparations. If the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are none the less continuously strengthening their defenses, it is because they are compelled to do so. Imperialism is still strong, nor has it given up its reactionary aims. Only a short time ago it brandished the sword of nuclear war over mankind. This being so, the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community could not, and cannot now, unilaterally renounce strengthening their defenses. Any other approach would have endangered both their gains and the interests of the working class of the world and the national liberation movement. The peoples fighting for national freedom, democracy and social progress would have fallen prey to imperialism.

Yet some contend that the principle of peaceful coexistence is a 'general compromise' between capitalist and socialist countries detrimental to the latter. This is far from true.

In following the policy of peaceful coexistence and striving to make it a standard of international relations acceptable to the whole world, the socialist countries proceed entirely in accordance with the philosophy which guides them in building their society. Imperialism, on the other hand, is out to exploit and oppress small and weak countries, using threats of force and war. Hence if the policy whose main content and key objective consist in ruling out force and war as a means of settling international disputes is a compromise, this applies to the side which is compelled for objective reasons to renounce its favorite principles and methods so as to adapt to new world realities.

Since the policy of peaceful coexistence is contrary to the nature of imperialism, it is fair to ask: why does imperialism accept the principles of this policy? Does it not realize that it is thereby making a concession and a

compromise? Or is it prompted by good intentions?

Certainly not. If imperialism compromises and makes concessions on these issues it is only because there are serious objective factors which it can no longer ignore.

The first and most important factor which imperialism takes into account is the *alignment of forces between socialism and imperialism*. Due to the growth of the economic and defense potential of the socialist community, first of all the Soviet Union, in the recent period and as a result of the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and the peoples' national liberation movement, *the alignment of forces between socialism and imperialism shows a decisive turn in favor of socialism, of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and progress*. In these circumstances, an eventual clash between imperialism and the forces of reaction and fascism, on the one hand, and socialism and the forces of progress and democracy, on the other, would end in a complete and devastating defeat of imperialism and reaction. Imperialism cannot afford to ignore this.

The second and equally important factor is the deep-seated and insurmountable contradictions both between capitalist countries and inside each of these countries, primarily the developed ones. The contradictions between the United States and the EEC countries, as well as Japan, which manifest themselves in every sphere – trade, economy, finance – and which occasionally take the form of full-scale economic war, the contradictions between the EEC countries, the irreconcilable contradictions between the peoples of developing countries and neo-colonialism, which these peoples are fighting, and lastly, the insurmountable class contradictions between labor and capital – all undermine the power of imperialism, making it incapable of pursuing its 'positions of strength' policy and imposing its will or resorting to violence and war.

The third factor is that powerful monopolies are interested in the expansion of economic and trade relations with socialist countries. Their business instinct tells them that this will pay off. Certain influential business interests in the capitalist countries, especially those uninvolved in military contracts, accept peaceful coexistence as a policy which is more in harmony with their economic requirements. The socialist countries, for their part, have always declared for extensive economic, trade, scientific and technological relations with capitalist countries with the proviso, of course, that no political or other discriminatory conditions shall be imposed on them and that these relations shall develop on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

In arguing against the policy of peaceful coexistence and trying to block it, 'Left'-wing dogmatists, Trotskyists and other elements uphold the concept of 'two superpowers,' equating the United States and the Soviet Union. This concept is primarily an invention of the Maoist leadership of the CPC, which repeats it over and over again. Its exponents allege that there is no difference between the United States and the Soviet Union and that the two 'superpowers' have identical aims and aspirations – they want to divide the world between themselves into 'spheres of influence.' What are the facts and

what bearing do they have on this concept, which the Chinese leadership uses as its 'heavy artillery' in trying to undermine the prestige of the CPSU in the international revolutionary movement?

The Soviet Union may indeed be regarded as a 'superpower' in the sense that its economic and defense potential is superior to the potential of 'ordinary' capitalist countries like Italy or Britain and that its armed forces have the most sophisticated weapons. Incidentally, this is a fortunate circumstance for the international revolutionary movement and the embattled peoples. The United States, for its part, is the leading capitalist and imperialist country in terms of military power.

However, every Communist, in fact anyone reasonably familiar with politics, will see that beyond this *quantitative* similarity in military terms there is a *qualitative* difference between the two, determined not by declarations of intent, but by real objectives stemming from the nature of the society.

Imperialism is based on the exploitation of man by man, on the oppression and plunder of peoples and nations, and constantly endangers peace, freedom and progress. To achieve its aims, imperialism needs powerful armed forces, which it uses as the most effective tool of its policy.

Not so the socialist system, which is opposed to all exploitation, to the oppression and subjugation of peoples and nations, and champions peace, freedom, democracy and progress – objectives which the armed forces of socialism serve.

To disregard the *qualitative* difference between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and those of the United States and put the two countries on the same level by calling them 'superpowers' means renouncing clear-cut Marxist criteria, explicit class positions and, indeed, common sense itself.

As the peoples and the whole of peace-loving mankind see it, the imperialist 'superpower' performs on a world scale the role of an advance post of militarism, of international monopoly, of the economic and financial interests which are out to plunder the peoples. World opinion sees the 'handwriting' of imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, on the pages of history recording fascist, reactionary coups against progressive regimes, as was the case in Greece, Chile and elsewhere, and the wars of aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East and Africa. The nature of imperialism is unchanged and the 'superpower' which has emerged within its framework is out to achieve goals typical of its social system.

The 'superpower' of the socialist community and international revolutionary movement, on the other hand, safeguards the interests of the peoples against the threat of imperialist plunder. It is on the side of the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and for national independence, democracy and social progress. It foils the man-hating plans of the most reactionary and bellicose militarist forces, plans that are fraught with nuclear war.

Anyone who approaches the concept of 'two superpowers' according to these class criteria and from these dialectical positions will immediately see its fallacy and reactionary nature, but the Maoist leadership continues to

harp on it. The purpose of the propaganda around it is to sow distrust among peoples, especially those fighting against imperialism and colonialism, in regard to the Soviet Union, to shake their faith in Lenin's great party.

There is ample evidence. Posing as 'friends' of the peoples of the Middle East and the Mediterranean, the Maoists circulate false rumors about 'collusion between the two superpowers' in this region. They try by means of their spurious concept to discredit the policies of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, keep up tensions in the area, and prevent a fair political settlement of acute problems. At the same time, the Maoist leadership is spreading the idea, overtly or covertly, that a stronger U.S. and NATO presence in the Mediterranean would be 'useful.' While opposing international détente, Peking declares, whenever it has a chance, in favor of reinforcing NATO, that imperialist military bloc. It hopes that the process of improving the political climate in various regions and throughout the world can be turned back in this way.

Détente as the main feature of international development constitutes a signal victory for the principles and policy of peaceful coexistence. It serves the genuine class interests of the international working class and all peoples for several reasons.

First of all, by drawing on the unfailing vigilance of the peoples and the growing might of the socialist community, it prevents a nuclear war which with today's weapons of mass destruction would lead to an unprecedented holocaust.

Secondly, it deprives the rulers of capitalist countries of pretexts to persist in their bellicose imperialist policies. These pretexts, such as the so-called external threat to national interests, were used to justify stepping up the exploitation of the working class and suppressing the working people's democratic rights and freedoms. Behind the smokescreen of militarist propaganda, the imperialists have imposed the most disgraceful system of economic and political exploitation and oppression on the peoples of their countries.

Thirdly, the policy of détente speeds the progress of the developing countries, enabling them to obtain greater aid without strings attached. The myth of a 'danger' to the developing countries is losing its hold, thus eliminating the alleged need for imperialism to 'aid' and 'protect' them. Détente is making it possible to speed the reshaping of economic relations between developing countries and developed capitalist countries. This is confirmed by the 'Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order' adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly. Spokesmen of the developing countries regard the Declaration primarily as an admission of the fact that economic relations based on imperialist monopoly plunder of their countries are outdated and need to be thoroughly recast on the principle of complete equality of all parties.

The turn in international relations can by no means result in reconciling two fundamentally opposed ideologies – Marxist and bourgeois. In the Communists' opinion, stopping the battle of ideas between the two systems, which goes on unabated, is out of the question. Their fundamental position

on this issue disproves the allegation that peaceful coexistence is a compromise between bourgeois ideology and the revolutionary ideology of the working class. Marxist-Leninists have never accepted this kind of compromise and never will. Every ideology is a reflection of the social system concerned and as long as there is a fundamental and irreconcilable contradiction between capitalism and socialism, an uncompromising struggle will go on between the bourgeois and the Marxist world outlook.

It follows that the principle of peaceful coexistence in no way amounts to abandoning the struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress or to refusing to support the peoples waging it. The gains scored in this field show that no such thing is implied.

Peaceful coexistence does not affect the class character of power in any country, and its conditions extend therefore to countries with different social systems. But they can be no obstacle to the peoples' struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress, a struggle which is a law and inevitable result of objective conditions, of the social and economic system of capitalism and imperialism. Since the revolutionary movement is a product of social conditions, no one can stop it, let alone regulate it through international treaties.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that *the policy of peaceful coexistence is an explicit class policy, a special form of class struggle between the working class of the world and capital, between socialism and imperialism. It accords entirely with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and serves the real interests of the international working class and the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and progress, the fundamental interests of mankind.*

That is why this policy is so fiercely attacked by both 'Left'-wing dogmatists and imperialist advocates of cold war.

The policy of détente and the progress achieved in making it irreversible have led to a radical change in international relations. As a result, there is a promise that peaceful coexistence will become a universally recognized standard of international relations. Such is the present trend. It would be childish, however, to imagine that this will not require more effort.

In the imperialist world there still exist forces, including very influential ones, which cling with fanatical obstinacy to the bankrupt cold-war and strong-arm policies and even contemplate nuclear war. No matter how much these forces lose ground and how isolated they become, all who cherish the ideals of peace, democracy and social progress must heighten their vigilance, must unite and constantly bring pressure to bear on the imperialist warmongers.

Only then can mankind be certain that peaceful coexistence will be imposed on imperialism definitely and irrevocably as an inviolable law of international relations. The peace forces have assumed this noble mission. We are convinced that these forces, in whose forefront are the countries of the socialist community with the powerful vanguard of socialism, the Soviet Union, at their head, will accomplish this great historic mission.

New developments in the international trade union movement

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Events over the past six months are bound to have a strong influence on the development, policies and practical activity of the international trade union movement.

1. Enough time has passed since the Eighth World Trade Union Congress (Varna, October 1973) to properly assess its significance. It is no exaggeration to say that it was one of the most important – perhaps the most important – event in the whole history of the WFTU and the world trade union movement. It was the most representative international trade union forum ever held, bringing together delegates speaking for 210 million trade unionists. That is an index of the high degree of working-class organization, the higher role of the trade unions and of the viability of the concept of a mass, class trade union movement.

Also these significant figures: of the 170 union organizations represented at Varna, 110 were not affiliated to the WFTU; since the preceding congress trade union membership increased by 60 million.

The distinguishing features of the Varna Congress were its *open character, freedom of discussion and the prevalent spirit of unity*. This enabled congress to chart a course that sets common goals for world labor and unites the workers in a joint effort to achieve them.

The Congress met at a time that imperatively demanded free and frank discussion and unity. For this is a period of progress toward international détente and of new imperialist maneuvers, of impressive achievements in the socialist countries and of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, of growing internationalization of production, aggravation of class contradictions, the rise of the workers' struggle for their demands and of the peoples' struggle for national liberation, independence and the sovereign right to dispose of their natural wealth, and, last but not least, of new opportunities for unity.

In this complex and rapidly changing situation, the Varna Congress was able to single out the new trends, set the movement on a right course, and

outline solutions for pressing problems. And these are numerous: economic and social development; expansion of economic and trade links in the interests of the peoples; the right to work and prosperity; the right to general and occupational training; the problems posed by the multinationals; working conditions and the environment; economic and political democracy, and trade union unity. Congress also suggested solutions for other problems, listed in the Charter and Policy Document. The discussion revealed important new developments in the trade union movement.

The months since the Varna Congress fully confirm the correctness of its analysis, particularly of the scope and aims of the workers' struggle against monopoly and government policy, and of the development of trade-union unity.

2. Irrespective of economic levels, all capitalist and economically dependent countries painfully feel the consequences of the aggravating crisis of capitalism. It extends to every sphere: politics, economics, finance and culture and is fraught with many dangers.

Naturally, it is especially painfully felt by the working people. It affects the nature of their struggle, the demands they put forward and makes for a higher level of consciousness.

The present mass actions are, of course, due to worsening working and living conditions – inflation, soaring prices and unemployment, often coupled with an onslaught on trade union rights.

Everywhere the workers are coming out against the policy of cutting back real wages and consumption. They are fighting for more than simply to prevent further deterioration of living standards and working conditions. Their demands are for more pay, measures to curb price rises, more employment, more extensive and guaranteed trade union rights. As always, these questions are very much to the fore, but today labor has set itself higher targets. There is an insistent demand for more representation, and a more decisive voice, on such matters as work arrangements, hiring and firing, promotion, company mergers, etc. And the unions are making more radical proposals on tax policy, the multinationals, energy, finances, culture. All this, in the final analysis, affects the very essence of capitalist exploitation and the social and economic policy of the monopolies and the state.

The growth of multinational monopolies, their fabulous profits, at a time, moreover, when the workers are asked to tighten their belts, was bound to boost the demand for democratic nationalization of monopoly assets. With the scandalously high profits of the oil monopolies, made from a combination of jacked-up prices and restrictive measures imposed on the population, that demand is rapidly gaining support. The situation is bringing home to the workers the need for anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist measures – even in the United States many influential unions are calling for nationalization of the top monopolies, something hitherto unknown.

In fascist-regime countries economic demands are increasingly combined with political demands, as part of the fight for democratic government. In the

underdeveloped countries, where the trade unions play a big role on social and political issues, economic demands are closely linked with the fight for national and political liberation. The events in Ethiopia and other countries are clear evidence of that.

Many are amazed by the scope of the present class struggles, from which no capitalist country is exempt. The movement has spread to the whole of the capitalist world, from the most developed to the economically weak countries, from fascist-regime to colonial countries. The universal and deep discontent of the workers finds expression in the aggressive character of their struggles.

The forms differ from country to country, but strike action is the prevalent one. And today strikes, many of them industry-wide, are distinguished for their militancy and mass character. Their duration depends on the degree of resistance by employers and government, but as a rule they are fairly long, testifying to the depth of the workers' discontent and the high degree of their militancy.

National strikes are no rarity now. Though usually of short duration, they are frequently repeated and often continued by a series of stoppages affecting one or more enterprises or whole industries. In some countries there has been a definite qualitative change in the strike struggle. This refers, in particular, to the so-called unofficial, or 'wild cat' strikes, which have always been expressive of the contradiction between worker militancy and obsolete attitudes by union leaders of the class-harmony school. Their policy is to resolve all disputes behind the workers' backs, but the intensity of the present strike struggles shows that this is no longer effective. It also shows the growing militancy of the workers and rejection of trade unionism based, to one or another degree, on class collaboration and authoritarian leadership. The fact is that the workers are increasingly taking over the leadership of the struggle, which benefits both union democracy and the movement as a whole.

Recent years have seen wider participation in the class struggle of white-collar workers, supervisory and technical personnel, and they have displayed remarkable militancy and staunchness in long and difficult strike battles. In some developed capitalist countries, the FRG for instance, civil servants have for the first time since the war participated in a general strike. Nearly everywhere the youth is very much to the fore in the strike movement, often setting an example of political maturity and fighting stamina.

3. Some brief remarks on the questions raised by the so-called oil or energy crisis. Apart from everything else, it has revealed the methods the monopolies and capitalist states employ and the reaction to these by the working class. The fact is that working class resistance has foiled, at least partially, a broadly conceived capitalist maneuver.

It should be perfectly clear that the crisis of capitalist society arose long before the present energy crisis, which has only aggravated it. But it is also perfectly clear that, for understandable reasons, the monopolies and

bourgeois governments have artificially inflated the energy shortage and its consequences.

Working to a definite plan, the monopolies took advantage of the partial oil embargo and higher posted prices to eliminate some of the more dangerous, for them, consequences of the crisis of capitalism (particularly growing working class resistance) and at the same time increase their profits. That aim, now obvious to all, was to have been achieved under cover of a clamorous campaign meant to

– blame the Arab peoples for the crisis, higher prices and unemployment;
– impose stringent restrictions as the 'only way to survive;'
– bring about a 'holy alliance' of the bourgeoisie and the people on a national, European or Atlantic scale, against the Arab countries.

To achieve that triple aim, the capitalist governments tried to create an atmosphere of panic. The media kept repeating that oil supplies were running short, factories were being closed, workers put on part time, oil rationing introduced, motor transport brought to a partial standstill. In short, it took only a few hours for the change from the 'economic miracle' and 'consumer society' to a 'moderation-and-restraint' society. And there were also attempts to exploit the situation for anti-Soviet propaganda, with talk in some quarters of a 'plot' by the socialist countries. This was attended by a racist campaign against foreign workers.

There were other aims too. The wave of nationalism was to be used to revive class collaboration, foment discord between workers in the developed capitalist countries and underdeveloped regions, especially the Arab people. Indeed, some trade union leaders took that attitude, but, fortunately, the realities of the class struggle put things in their proper perspective.

And the realities are that rising prices and inflation began long before the oil-producing countries imposed their embargo. That the position has deteriorated in recent months is due to speculative operations by the big monopolies to earn super-profits. It is no secret that the oil companies have made a handsome thing out of dearer oil. And it is no secret, too, that the oil producers were forced to raise their prices because of dollar depreciation and general currency instability. Workers in the capitalist countries know that the people of the oil-producing nations have every right to sell their product on the best terms. The monopolies unlawfully in possession of their natural wealth have for many years paid a low price for their oil and charged high prices for much-needed manufactured goods. On the other hand, workers in the developing world reject the contention that workers in the so-called rich countries share in their exploitation. The oil crisis, which is still far from solution, reflects the new world balance of forces, with producers of primary goods holding a stronger position and imperialism in a weaker position to pressure them.

The working class is fighting the monopolies, which exploit workers in all capitalist countries, from rich to underdeveloped. The workers were not misled – they distinguished between their friends and those responsible for the present hardship.

And so, active struggle by the working class and the sharpening crisis of capitalism have produced fresh opportunities for united action and militant solidarity of the working people of capitalist and underdeveloped countries. The 'oil-crisis,' the attempt by the international monopolies to create artificial oil shortages and drastically reduce consumption, has re-emphasized the need for a united international class front.

The present battles on social issues, which extend to the entire capitalist world, indicate that the working class and the working people generally are carrying the fight beyond national boundaries. Despite the vast importance of the fight at factory and national level, it is more and more being merged with the worldwide struggle against the monopolies and imperialism.

This strengthens proletarian internationalism and solidarity. National labor organizations are devoting much more attention to international issues. There is a definite process of renewal in the world trade union movement, now that it is faced with new and formidable tasks. It must adapt itself to the changing conditions and overcome the split. This is especially necessary to fight the multinational monopolies, particularly those within the EEC and similar economic groupings. And promising, though so far limited, progress toward that goal has been made.

The present struggle is expressive also of the fact that the theory and practice of class collaboration and reformism are steadily receding. At a time when state monopoly capitalism has to cope with mounting difficulties, there is little room for maneuvers by ideologists of class collaboration. Many of the demands now being advanced are a challenge to the capitalist system and call for a new type of society free of domination and exploitation and in which the workers are involved in drafting decisions that affect their factory, the national economy as a whole and the society they live in.

Indicative of this is the present face-lifting of theories the bourgeoisie injected into the labor movement more than a hundred years ago. Their purpose then was to complicate, impede and disorient the workers' economic struggle. Today, with the bourgeoisie having to reckon with an entirely new type of demands, these old theories are being refurbished to obscure the political perspective, which in most cases is a socialist perspective. The fact is that socialism is becoming increasingly popular, for the worker sees that the capitalist world is on the brink of new economic difficulties which will mean more hardship, whereas in the socialist countries the people enjoy increasing prosperity.

4. All these factors are accelerating the process of trade union unity. And unity, the worker knows, means better opportunities for successful struggle. Step by step, the unions are advancing, at a steadily faster pace, along the long road to unity. We can already say that there has been a definite break with the past. United after the second world war, the trade union movement was soon split, causing much damage to the workers' interests. Only after the protracted cold war was there a gradual renewal of contacts, and this has been especially marked in recent years.

The first major move came with the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid in June 1973. For the first time since the war representatives of the main trends in the world trade union movement discussed and unanimously adopted a common program against apartheid. Since then the effort for unity has made continuous progress. One of the most recent, and probably most important, developments was the meeting of leaders from 41 European trade union centers held in Geneva in January. There were delegates from 17 national unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 14 affiliates of the WFTU and 6 of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), and each of these international centers had its own representatives. Everyone agreed that this was a historic meeting: for the first time in 25 years Europe's trade union leaders (with the exception of Greece, Spain and Portugal) decided at their summit meeting that the time had come for unrestricted trade union cooperation.

Besides promoting an atmosphere of trust, the Geneva meeting adopted concrete decisions designed to advance and strengthen cooperation. It approved a recommendation to 'extend mutual consultations, exchange of views and experience in order to promote cooperation,' and 'hold a European conference toward the end of 1974 on ways and means of improving the industrial environment, especially safety techniques, healthy facilities and general prosperity standards.' This and similar efforts will clear the way to more ambitious united undertakings.

The Geneva meeting was a landmark in the world trade union movement. The large number of unions in Europe, with their long traditions, the role of national trade union centers – all this lends especial importance to the Geneva meeting both for the present and longer-term development of the movement throughout the world.

Mention should also be made of the fact that in Geneva the general secretaries of the WFTU and ICFTU met for the first time, and it was decided to continue such meetings in the International Labor Organization (ILO).

Unity, closer contacts and cooperation have become talking points in trade union circles. This should not be taken to mean that all the problems have been solved and there are no impediments ahead. In fact, there are still many difficulties to overcome, and the class enemy and opponents of trade union unity can be relied upon to create many more.

For all that, however, the developments described above have greatly stimulated the trend to unity. It finds expression in different forms: more meaningful bilateral contacts, the search for ways and means to assure unity on continental issues, in Africa, Latin America and, of course, Europe.

There is a stronger trend also toward organizational unity. Some ICFTU leaders suggest that the recently organized European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)* should be open to all, and this is supported by affiliates of the WFTU and WCL. There have also been bilateral agreements between

*Founded in February 1973, it united trade union centers affiliated to the ICFTU in 15 European countries – *Ed.*

national union federations affiliated to different international centers. And there is also more united action, with joint union committees set up in some of the multinational monopoly groupings.

The list can be continued: joint action by workers engaged on multinational projects (for instance, the British and French supersonic Concorde), unitarian international union committees catering to related occupations (for instance, the General Union of Engineers, Technicians and Administrative Personnel in France and the Association of Supervisors, Technicians and Managerial Staffs in Britain).

There is closer cooperation between unions in the International Labor Organization, UNESCO and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. Lastly, mention should be made of such forms of unity as active international solidarity with the victims of imperialist and fascist oppression, and increasing manifestations of international solidarity with strikers and participants in other labor actions.

Still another new development is more initiative for joint action. The unity trend is evident even in the leadership of international union organizations. The ICFTU found itself obliged gradually to revise its policy of no-contact with the WFTU and its affiliates. At first, it lifted the ban on contacts with WFTU organizations and later agreed to a measure of coordination with the WFTU in the International Labor Organization. It is no rarity to see representatives of the three international centers taking a common stand at ILO meetings against the employer and government representatives. A similar situation is developing in FAO and UNESCO.

Relations between the WFTU and the ICFTU are still at their initial stage. For our part, we are always ready to prod the process by closer cooperation on pressing issues, but the ICFTU has taken a hesitant attitude. However, there is no unity within the ICFTU on what policy to follow toward the WFTU. There have been appeals for an end to the cold war in the trade union movement and for more agreement and cooperation. In fact, such calls from national ICFTU centers prompted the reactionary leaders of the AFL-CIO to withdraw from the Confederation. Since then these calls have become more insistent.

The evolution of the WCL attitude has been rather ambiguous, even contradictory. It established contacts with the WFTU three years ago and at its last congress (September 1973) took a progressive stand on a number of issues. In particular, it accepted the class struggle and a mass, class trade union movement and called for a new, democratic society based on socialization of the basic means of production and exchange to replace capitalism. It called for an end to division and for unity of the *entire* international trade union movement.

Logically, this should have made for closer relations with the WFTU, which holds similar views, but in this case there is a wide gap between theory and practice. Since its congress, the WCL has not formed closer relations with the WFTU, though it has undertaken more measures jointly with the ICFTU. In fact, there is talk of a merger with it. That would be a contradic-

tory step, for ICFTU policy is far from identical with that of the WCL, as described above.

Its ideological wavering and inconsistency reflect its deep contradictions. To grow, or even to survive, the WCL must reckon with the sentiments of the workers, especially in the Third World, where anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist feelings run high. On the other hand, the WCL finds it difficult to break with the old, reformist unionism, and it clings to its anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. These two positions are incompatible and sooner or later the WCL will have to make its choice and follow a consistent policy.

To sum up. The class trade union movement is gaining in strength and scope; the working class is more actively involved in social and political battles and is strengthening its national and international unity. All this is the earnest of still greater success in future.

Participation by the working people and their trade unions in all the battles mankind has waged in this 20th century, their actions in behalf of peace, freedom and human rights, their role in promoting social and economic progress show that they will not tolerate the consequences of capitalist exploitation. More and more workers are joining the fight to eliminate the causes of the growing dehumanization of life and work.

In all the capitalist countries, the political and economic domination of privileged minorities, the big monopolies and financial oligarchies, has failed to provide the answer to any of the major problems of our age.

The trade unions, now uniting more than 250 million working people throughout the world, have to cope with new and bigger problems to assure better conditions of life and work for the exploited, a higher level of organization, and new and wider economic, social, trade union and cultural rights.

(From Charter of Trade Union Rights and Social and Economic Demands of the Working People of Capitalist Countries at the Present Stage.)



The struggle for a united front

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For the Communist and Workers' parties unity of the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-colonialist forces, democratic parties, organizations and social groups has always been a top theoretical and practical priority. It is crucial for the fight against capitalism and reaction, and for establishing and consolidating the socialist system.

This puts a premium on the experience of every Communist Party that has led the revolutionary movement of the working class and the laboring masses to victory – winning political power and building socialism. Drawing on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialist revolution and socialist construction, and also on the rich experience of the Soviet Communist Party, the ruling parties in the fraternal countries, and the Bulgarian Communist Party among them, have also contributed to the treasury of scientific communism, in particular to the theory and practice of the struggle for the unity of the laboring masses.

What are the BCP's principal achievements in the fight for freedom and socialism if viewed in the light of the situation and of the ideological and political clashes of the present-day world?

From the beginning, the Bulgarian Communist Party[1] has been a tireless organizer and leader of our young, barely established working class. Its strategy and tactics were based on proletarian unity as the decisive condition of success in the struggle against capitalism. Much of its efforts went into proving the fallacy of the Right opportunist trend, thus preserving the Party's unity. But in 1903 the Party[2] was left no choice but to expel the opportunists, who subsequently formed a Social Democratic Party (Broad Socialists). Though the SDP (BS) had little influence among the workers, the Communists sought to cooperate with it. But with only a few exceptions, their efforts were resisted by its Right-wing leaders.

Continuing the discussion on the Communist Parties' struggle for a broad alliance of democratic forces. See these in *WMR* Feb. 1973; articles by A. Delgado (No. 3), W. Karlsson (No. 4), P. Poperen (No. 6), S. Wickremasinghe (No. 7), R. Rao (No. 8), T. Sinuraya (No. 9), K. Zarodov (No. 10) – *WMR*, 1973; articles by G. Gensini, J. Blum, K.-H. Schroeder, J.E. Jackson and E. Gasperoni (all in No. 5) and A. Haba (No. 6) – *WMR*, 1974.

However, through the perseverance of the Communists, working-class unity was largely preserved. While rejecting the opportunist and revisionist ideas of the Social Democrats, the BCP sought contacts with them on the mutually acceptable basis of joint struggle against reaction and fascism.

But fighting for working-class unity, the Party also committed mistakes. Though accepting the Comintern Executive's united front thesis and setting the right objective 'to create a united workers' front with unorganized labor,' the Fourth Congress of the BCP (1922) overlooked the fact that some workers were members of non-Communist trade unions and the Social Democratic Party. Working-class unity, the Congress said, would be forged 'solely with the help of the masses from below, in spite of the reformist leaders and through struggle against them.'

Another mistake was the Left-sectarian leadership's view (1929-1934) that the SDP was a social fascist party and a pillar of the fascist dictatorship in our country. This attitude was an obstacle to a united front against the monarchy and fascism.

No substantial change aimed at working-class unity came until after the Seventh Comintern Congress. Addressing that Congress, Georgi Dimitrov objected to identifying social democracy with social fascism, the main social prop of the bourgeoisie, and regarding the Left Social Democratic groups as the main danger to the working class movement.

Accepting the Comintern viewpoint, our Party condemned the Left-sectarian attitude toward the SDP and (while noting its mistakes) suggested joint action. Important changes had also occurred in the SDP, which had been assaulted by the fascist military dictatorship. Its Left-wing had grown stronger, and a moderate trend had appeared, both of which advocated cooperation with the BCP. The Right-wing SDP leaders, who dominated in the leadership, managed to delay the negotiations offered by the Communist Party. But under pressure of the Left and center, and in view of joint action by the SDP rank-and-file and the Communists, the SDP leaders finally consented to united struggle.

In the mid-30s, the SDP youth organization accepted the proposal of the Communist youth league to form a united youth front. Later, the SDP Left-wing and its youth organization joined the Fatherland Front and participated in the anti-fascist struggle. Finally, in 1948 the Left forces in the SDP banished the Right-wingers and merged with the BCP.

In sum, the BCP succeeded in preserving working-class unity. It led the workers to victory, despite the generally negative attitude of the Social Democratic leaders.

In Bulgaria the question of allies in the revolutionary struggle was especially important. To be sure, in other countries it is still an object of debate between Communists and Social Democrats, between the real revolutionaries and members of various Right and 'Left' trends. However, the experience of the Bulgarian Communists shows how strong the alliance of the laboring masses can be when led by the Party. But before this was understood there had been many zigzags.

Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder of our Party, said during his St. Petersburg period (1879-1885) that 'urban workers must stand together with the peasants,' must conclude an alliance with them, 'creating an invincible force.' For successful struggle, he added, 'the working people and peasants should unite with those of the educated class who side with them, forming an alliance.' Later, following the founding of our Party, he wrote 'there are times in the country's political life when our Party, too, should take joint action with the opposition,' implying parties that were influential among the small urban and rural proprietors and the intelligentsia. Many times the BCP was joined in common action by non-proletarian opposition parties, chiefly the Popular Agrarian Union (PAU).[3] They took a joint stand in parliament, in the campaign against the country's involvement in the war, and on other issues.

All in all, however, Blagoyev, too, and the party leadership of that time opposed revolutionary compromises, underestimated the question of allies in an agrarian country and advocated independence in the class struggle. The Party had to repulse the attacks of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, disturbed by the continuously growing number of working people attracted to the BCP. This hindered us from working out the question of allies in fuller detail and from striving more consistently for united action.

From 1920 to 1923 the BCP was the country's second political force, and backed some of the measures of the then ruling PAU. But due to the anti-Communist attitude of the PAU government, which unleashed brutal reprisals against the Communist Party in late 1922, and likewise due to the Communists' mistrust of the Agrarian Union, no enduring unity resulted. The reactionary and monarchist elements took advantage of this and performed a coup d'état on June 9, 1923. After smashing the PAU, the fascist government mounted an assault against the BCP. The gains of the workers, peasants and small proprietors were wiped out.

The BCP drew the due lessons from the June 9 coup and in August began building a united front of democratic and anti-fascist forces. In an article on this subject, Blagoyev argued for a working people's alliance and joint action. Somewhat later, Dimitrov wrote a series of articles calling for the participation in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship of 'the entire laboring world – from workers, peasants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, civil servants and employees to doctors, lawyers, engineers, professors, officers and even generals of the reserve.'

The Communist Party proposed to the PAU, SDP, the Radical Party, the Artisans Party and a number of mass organizations to join efforts in winning democratic power. Despite the refusal of the leaders of other parties, the BCP and PAU formed a united front and launched preparations for an armed uprising. The world's first anti-fascist rising erupted in Bulgaria in September 1923.

For a number of reasons it did not succeed. But it was a lesson for the BCP and PAU, and also for the masses.[4] To win, the Party saw, the working class must have unity within its own ranks, and with its allies. This conclu-

sion is still valid. Furthermore, the September rising showed again that an independent peasant government was an illusion and that struggle against exploiters cannot be successful unless fought in alliance with the working class.

The working people learned that freedom and a better life could not be won without unity and active involvement. Before and during the September rising, the Communist Party had followed the right tactics, calculated to unite the working class and the anti-fascist movement. The united front directives issued by Blagoyev and Dimitrov provided the basis for a broad anti-fascist platform, and made a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of the world Communist movement.

While in other countries the Communist Parties worked for a united front of working class parties and organizations only, our Party forged united action with the Popular Agrarian Union, a party of peasants, the allies of the workers. Besides a large section of the intelligentsia and members of some of the parties whose leaders had refused to join the united front took part in the September rising. Not surprisingly, therefore, the lessons of the rising were repeatedly discussed by the Comintern.

In the years to come, the united front retained the allegiance of the members of these parties, as well as of the working people, who often acted as a united force. And this in spite of the Right-wing PAU leadership and the sectarianism that held sway for some time in the Communist Party.

The Seventh Comintern Congress worked out a new strategy and tactics, giving priority to anti-fascist and general democratic objectives. Its resolution called for redoubled efforts for working class unity and a popular anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front. The Congress urged the Communist parties to conclude joint action agreements with workers' organizations of different political leanings, and showed that broad coalitions would lead the masses to a socialist revolution through struggle for democracy.

Weighing the Seventh Congress decisions today, we are bound to be impressed by their relevance not only for the 30s, but also for the present, too. The Comintern's call for popular anti-fascist fronts was acclaimed by the Bulgarian Communist Party, which had by then ousted its sectarian leadership. It saw that compared with the united front conceived by the Comintern before the Seventh Congress, the popular front idea implied a far broader alliance against fascism and the danger of a new world war. For our country, it was in effect a continuation and projection of the united front. And the BCP lost no time in launching an intensive campaign for the new line.

The popular front platform drafted by our Central Committee contained vital political and economic demands – restoration of the Constitution, free parliamentary elections, repeal of the unconstitutional fascist laws, etc. We proposed to the PAU, SDP, the Radical, and the Democratic parties,[5] and also to some of the mass organizations, a popular anti-fascist front. Though their leaders rejected our offer, in many parts of the country members of the said parties agreed, by virtue of the earlier cooperation, to form Popular

Front committees, and took part in local actions.

As a result of the Party's perseverance and under mass pressure, the non-fascist parties joined the Communists in a number of actions – forming constitutional committees to press for the restoration of the Constitution, anti-war committees, and committees for Republican Spain; marking important events, honoring historic figures, and the like. A big breakthrough was made in the 1938 elections, when the BCP and seven of the parties that had long hesitated to work with it, agreed on joint candidates. A common platform was drawn up, calling for the restoration of the Constitution, for freedom of speech, the press and assembly, amnesty of political prisoners, repeal of the fascist government's emergency laws, dissolution of fascist organizations, a minimum of land for every peasant, higher prices for farm produce, a minimum wage, pensions and social insurance for the rural, as well as urban, population, etc. This represented the demands of the bulk of the people and was received by the masses with satisfaction.

Our Party worked diligently in the mass organizations – the trade unions, and economic and cultural bodies. And thanks to our systematic efforts, most of them came under the influence of the Popular Front.

The other big success of our Party's new policy was the founding of the Popular Youth Front in 1935, embracing the youth leagues of the BCP, PAU, SDP, and also the student organizations under their influence. Working in concert, they frustrated government attempts to form fascist youth organizations. They fought for the restoration of the Constitution, took part in the anti-war movement, and exerted strong pressure on the leaders of their parties.

New tasks arose with the outbreak of the Second World War. We had to unite all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces. The Fatherland Front program drawn up under Dimitrov's guidance in July 1942 gained a strong response among the nation's democratic forces. It was an anti-imperialist democratic program, uniting all patriots, the vast majority of the people.

Our Central Committee approved the program and appealed to the leaders of the PAU and the Social Democratic, Democratic and Radical parties, the Zveno political group,[6] the military and mass organizations, and all Bulgarians, to join hands in building the Fatherland Front. The relations wrought by the BCP with non-fascist parties and organizations during the united front, and especially the Popular Front period, helped us to establish Fatherland Front committees throughout the country.

By the end of 1942 over a hundred local Fatherland Front committees had sprung up, and in the autumn of 1943 the National Committee of the Fatherland Front was established, consisting of the Communist Party, and members of Zveno and the Left-wing of the PAU and SDP.

There were also regional and district committees, and committees in the army and the mass organizations. Partisan combat and sabotage groups became active, soon growing into an organized Fatherland Front army. The fascist authorities retaliated with reprisals, but were unable to destroy the resistance movement.

The Bulgarians rose up during the night of September 9, 1944. The Fatherland Front took power. The nation gave a rousing reception to the Soviet Army, the main force that liberated Europe from fascism.

The success was made secure by the consistent struggle of the BCP. It was the initiator and organizer of all actions uniting the people against reaction and fascism, which had tyrannized the country for 20 years. The United Front was formed under its leadership in 1923, the Popular Front in 1935-1936, and the Fatherland Front in 1942. Our Party suffered the biggest casualties, was the moving spirit of resistance, and the sole organized political force. Its prestige among the people was so high that it could have taken power alone. But seeing the necessity of preserving and strengthening the alliance of the democratic forces in the Fatherland Front, it kept its word and agreed to the participation in the Fatherland Front government of all parties and groups that had been active in the anti-fascist struggle.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria would have been inconceivable if the Communist Party had not armed the people. This, as I see it, is of universal relevance for the struggle for working class power. The BCP had wished to liberate the country from capitalism and fascism by peaceful means. But it knew that reaction did not surrender all that meekly, and anticipated resistance. It prepared the people for armed struggle, working in three directions.

First, by spreading socialist ideas in the army, and organizing Marxist circles in army barracks. Even in the early years, the scale of this work may be illustrated by an order to unit commanders dated 1894 to ascertain if there were Socialists in their units and to take action against them. Several young men were expelled from the Military School for their socialist persuasion, investigations were held in some units, etc. During the First World War, Party members, including parliamentary deputies, worked among the servicemen, explaining the imperialist nature of the war. In fact, Dimitrov was imprisoned for this. And following the October Socialist Revolution, military units fraternized with the Red Army. On the Southern Front, some units and their officers started the well-known Vladai mutiny in 1918. Many reserve and junior officers, and some army detachments, participated in the September 1923 rising. And after its suppression, the Party did not stop its work, forming underground groups in army units. Though the fascist government invoked the death penalty on a mass scale, we preserved our army organizations. This is borne out by papers of the fascist authorities, which had ascertained the existence of underground groups in 81 out of the army's 250 units in 1941-1943.

Second, by establishing contact with military organizations and winning progressive officers for the struggle against the fascist monarchist policy of national betrayal. The Party's course after the Seventh Comintern Congress persuaded many officers to change their outlook. The greater part were dismissed from the army, some were tried, and many were interned. In 1936, the Czar was compelled to dissolve the Army League.[7] The sound elements in the League launched underground activity. In 1942, when the

Fatherland Front was being formed, patriotic officers and the Zveno group were among the first to join its committees while leaders of other non-fascist parties still hesitated. And in 1943 General V. Zaimov, a patriot and friend of the Soviet Union, was executed for his courageous stand against fascism and the monarchy.

After September 9, 1944, Kimon Georghiev, a former Army League leader and head of the Zveno group, became the head of our government. This shows the importance the Party attached to winning the army's support for the revolution. After the revolution, the army was purged: pro-fascist officers were dismissed and replaced by anti-fascists – members of the partisan movement and combat groups, and former inmates of concentration camps. As a result of the Party's formidable efforts, the army staunchly supported the popular government.

Third, by arming the workers and other working people, and teaching them to fight for popular power and defend the gains of the revolution. The program adopted by the Party at its Constituent Congress of 1891 said that 'universal arming of the people' was necessary, and the 1904 program emphasized the importance of 'preparing the people for armed struggle.' At its 1919 Congress, the BCP resolved to form an armed force for a socialist revolution. 'Arms,' the resolution said, 'must be in the hands of the people, the workers and the indigent classes.' During the preparations for the September 1923 anti-fascist rising, Communist reserve officers taught workers and peasants to handle arms. And after the rising was defeated, the Party and the Left PAU forces continued to arm the working people. In 1941-1944 the BCP armed and trained combat groups and partisan units. These efforts paid off. Workers, peasants and the entire people participated in the 1941-1944 resistance. This assured the success of the armed September 9 rising.

To counter the threats of the deposed exploiting classes, the popular government distributed arms to the people, dissolved the fascist police, founded a people's militia, and thus assured peace and order. This helped us to cope with the fascists.

When Communist parties come to power, they face the task of establishing and consolidating the socialist state and expanding the democratic gains of the people. In Bulgaria this required a total popular effort. And the best way of rallying the people was through the Fatherland Front and its parties.

By a decision of its Second Congress in February 1948, the Fatherland Front was transformed on Dimitrov's suggestion from a political alliance of different parties and mass organizations into a single, socio-political organization with a charter and an individual membership on the principles of democratic centralism. This was historically necessary, the natural result of the mass popular movement, the most suitable organizational form for the fullest expression of popular unity. Once the coalition concept was eliminated, mutual confidence increased and the parties in the Fatherland Front came closer together. Accepting Marxism, the Social Democratic Party fused with the Communist Party. The Zveno and the Radical Party, being

small parties with aims coinciding with those of the Fatherland Front, dissolved their organizations, and their members remained active. The only other independent political organization in the Front apart from the BCP, was the Popular Agrarian Union.[8] The Fatherland Front thus became a mainstay of the Party and popular power, contributing to closer unity of the people and drawing them into socialist construction.

The April CC BCP plenum (1956) condemned tendencies to underrate the Fatherland Front, or belittle its part in the country's socio-political life. As a result, the Fatherland Front has become much more active promoting socialist education of the people, uniting them round the BCP, and drawing the masses into government.

The Fatherland Front is based on the alliance of the BCP and PAU. The joint struggle of the two fraternal parties confirms the vitality of the unity of Communists and PAU members. The friendship and cooperation between the two parties have become much closer during the building of socialism, and are a powerful factor in the development of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The Fatherland Front has a membership of nearly 3,800,000, of whom three million are not affiliated with any political party.

The 10th Congress of the BCP (1971) worked out the conception of the Fatherland Front, its character and objectives, in the stage of building developed socialist society. It will continue to be the broadest socio-political organization in the country. Its functions are far more extensive. It is authorized to control all bodies engaged in communal, social and cultural activity, in supplies and services. It has been given the right of legislative initiative and may organize nationwide discussions of projected legislation. Its joint activity with the People's Councils has become more diverse.

The women's movement, the peace committees and all other mass organizations have come within the system of the Fatherland Front. Its political work is centered on explaining to the masses the policy of the Party and measures pertaining to the building of developed socialist society. The Program adopted by the 10th Congress of the BCP says that it is 'the most massive public support of the Party,' which unites and directs the efforts of all working people toward the common goal.

The Communist Party knows that building socialism is not only a national, but also an internationalist duty. While invigorating national unity and fraternal ties with other Parties, it also promotes the further consolidation of the socialist community, the international Communist and workers' movement, and the anti-imperialist front. For our Party, the Fatherland Front and the entire people, friendship with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is a supreme national and internationalist duty, because peace, cooperation and progress are inconceivable without considering the Soviet Union's historic experience of building socialist society, without its consistent foreign policy.

History shows the vitality of the democratic and anti-imperialist alliance and its immense importance for the struggle against exploitation and inequality, national and social oppression, and for building socialism. Not

only Communists, but also broad sections of the people have a stake in this alliance. And the Communists have always been, and must be, its vanguard force.

1. The Marxist party known as the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) was founded in 1891. – *Ed.*

2. The 22nd Congress, held in 1919, renamed it the Bulgarian Communist Party (Tesnyak Socialists) and became the First Congress of the BCP (TS). – *Ed.*

3. The PAU was founded in 1900 as a peasant party encompassing poor, middle and rich peasants irrespective of their differing class interests.

4. For more details see the interview with Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, in *WMR*, September 1973. – *Ed.*

5. Following the second military fascist coup of 1934, the government banned all political parties, closed down their newspapers, and confiscated their property. With the exception of the BCP, which had worked underground since 1923 and had efficient organizations in the center and locally, the other parties lacked organizations. All they had were functionaries and followers on a local level.

6. The Zveno political group, formed in 1927, consisted of reserve officers and bourgeois intellectuals. It led the second military fascist coup of May 19, 1934, but after it was ousted from power and especially after the outbreak of the Second World War republican intellectuals and patriotic officers, who advocated cooperation with the BCP, gained dominance in the group. In 1942 the group helped in establishing the Fatherland Front.

7. Founded in 1919 by reactionary officers to back the monarchy and helped by other bourgeois parties, the League performed the 1923 military putsch and set up a fascist dictatorship. Later, elements connected with the Zveno group, who advocated limiting the czar's powers, assumed leadership. Following fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, members of the Army League who had contacts with the Communist Party, participated in establishing the Fatherland Front. – *Ed.*

8. See G. Traikov, 'The Alliance with Communists,' on the organization and objectives of the PAU, in *WMR*, August 1972.

Vanguard of the working class, organizer of the masses

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Once again, as many years ago, attempts are being made from Right or ultra-Leftist positions to deny or belittle the role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class. It is more important than ever now not only to uphold the theoretical theses of Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning the leading role of the Party, but to focus efforts on building the organization of that vanguard, which, in our conditions is the leader of the anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution that will open the way to socialism.

The interests of the working class and the objective laws of history imperatively demand a proletarian party of a new type, as conceived and founded by Lenin in Russia at the beginning of this century. Naturally, the specific circumstances obtaining in each particular country, and the different conditions of the political struggle set their imprint on the organization and change some aspects of this or that Communist Party. However, this national identity does not exclude the common features characteristic of the international Communist movement.

The major features of the party of the new type are determined by the social tasks which it sets out to perform – socialization of the means of production as the basis for the abolition of classes and of the social privilege and social injustice inherent in the capitalist system. Hence, the uncompromising opposition of Communist Parties to capitalism and their energetic fight for its abolition, and for the revolutionary remaking of society. Unlike the bourgeoisie which, when victorious finds that the elements of capitalist relations already exist, the proletariat, when it has conquered power and is exercising its dictatorship has not only to resist counter-revolution, but to achieve that most complex of tasks – the building of the foundations of socialism. This likewise makes high demands on the Party.

The revolutionary character of the Party determines its organizational structure, its unity, firmness of principle and flexibility of tactics, without which it cannot lead the working class and influence the other progressive sections of the population.

We continue the series Marxist-Leninist Parties of Our Epoch. See *WMR*, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 1974.

Naturally, the Communist Party and the working class are not equivalent concepts. The Party does not embrace the entire working class, but its class conscious section; the Party is the vanguard of the class. But the strength of communist organizations lies precisely in the fact that they are not isolated groups of professional revolutionaries, but parties of the working masses, and that they express the aspirations of those masses, represent them and lead them.

The Communist Party by its very nature is, above all, the Party of the working class, but it also has deep roots among other sections of the working people. Communists are not abstract beings, they are workers, peasants, intellectuals, men and women from the ranks of the people. They are distinguished by a high class consciousness, clarity of ideas and revolutionary spirit which enables them to overcome all obstacles in the struggle for the aims they have united to achieve. Their aspirations are those of the people and they are moved by the same common desires.

To do service to the masses and express their interests, having correctly conceived those interests, Lenin pointed out, the advanced contingent, the organization, must carry on all its activity among the masses, drawing from the masses all the best forces without any exception, at every step verifying carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact. 'In this way, and *only* in this way, does the advanced contingent train and enlighten the masses, expressing *their* interests, teaching them organization and directing *all* the activities of the masses along the path of conscious class politics' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 409).

The Communists devote great attention – and this is logical and natural – to non-Party mass organizations: trade unions, peasant leagues, cooperatives, organizations of intellectuals, students, professionals, women, young people and so on. They have an important social significance, and the Communists appreciate this, value their activities, cooperate with them and endeavor in every way to help them fight more successfully in defense of the working people's interests.

Lenin considered it very important to be able to find an approach to the politically least developed people, those farthest removed from our outlook, to be able to talk to them, to win their confidence, to work tactfully and patiently to raise them to the level of socialist consciousness, not turning our teaching into a dogma, into a quoting of formulas learned by rote, but educating these sections of the proletariat through their own experience in the everyday struggle.

However, to be clear as to the actual level of political understanding among different sections of the working class, does not mean adapting or sinking to the level of the backward sections of the class. The latter conception is typical of opportunism, and has nothing in common with Marxism.

The Party can lead and teach the masses if, while enlightening and training them, it learns from them, in other words, if it carefully studies the results of practical experience, if it absorbs the accumulated wisdom of the

people. To learn from the masses in order to teach them – that is the principle of Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The vanguard must not represent itself as an infallible teacher, but it must talk frankly to the people, directing their struggle, assimilating the experience of events, sowing and reaping. It is in the course of the revolutionary organization and revolutionary activity that the unity of the Party and the masses is achieved.

'Only the Communist Party,' wrote Lenin, 'if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass – only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in a final, determined and decisive struggle against all the forces of capitalism' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, pp. 187, 188).

A reminder of these major theses of the Leninist teaching concerning the Party is necessary precisely because they are called in question by the so-called ultra-Lefts, for whom the revolutionary vanguard does not exist, and allegedly has yet to be created, and also by the Rightists, who seek to persuade the masses that the working people need a populist party, as for example the Justicialist Party in Argentina.

All these groups, which try to exploit the mounting anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle of the masses and their militant spirit, are incapable of realizing the main thing: that in order to become the revolutionary vanguard, in order to attain that role in the struggle, it is essential to have a profound mastery of Marxism-Leninism, which scientifically analyzes socio-economic realities, indicates the paths of the revolution and the methods of struggle, and teaches how they need to be adapted to the prevailing conditions.

Some of these groups allot to the Communist parties of Latin America the role of mere helpers of those whom they persist in describing as an incipient 'new' and 'true' revolutionary vanguard. Of course, alongside the Marxist-Leninist Party there can be other contingents which wage a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic liberation struggle. In his time Lenin spoke of such contingents. However, the progressive, revolutionary role which they can play depends in great measure on whether they can free themselves of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist influence. One cannot be a revolutionary and at the same time an anti-Communist, an anti-Sovieteer. Precisely because they deny this incompatibility, many groups which represent themselves as 'vanguard' in the end turn to unprincipled adventurism, sink to anti-unity positions, objectively playing into the hands of the oligarchy and imperialism, that is, of those against whom the struggle for national liberation and socialism needs to be directed.

In our country there are attempts to represent the Peronist movement as a

party of the workers, on the grounds that great numbers of the workers sympathize with it. But does that in itself make a party a working class party?

In order to judge what classes or sections a party represents, it is necessary to analyze its program, its teaching, and its ultimate aims and see what sort of people predominate in its leadership and what is their social background. The working-class character of a party is determined not only by its working-class composition, but above all, by its ideology, its class program. As for Peronism, its leadership, predominantly bourgeois, advocates class conciliation as against class struggle and upholds private ownership of the means of production as against collective ownership, which is the basis of socialism.

Consequently, Peronism is a political force of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, who are out to win the working class to their ideology. Such a force may take up anti-imperialist and democratic positions and help bring about some social reforms – and to the extent that it carries out that program, the working class and progressive sections should support it. At the same time it is a mistake to believe that a multi-class party can be the real representative of the class destined by history to lead the profound democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution that paves the way to socialism.

The national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, whose interests lie at the root of Peronism, want to loosen the grip of imperialism and the oligarchy inasmuch as they hinder free development within the capitalist framework. But at the same time the bourgeoisie, by heading other sections of the people, wants to prevent the working class from achieving genuinely revolutionary change. Peronism's 'social pact' between the bourgeoisie and working class is only designed to realize the interests of the bourgeoisie and turn the working class into its faithful helper.

However, the bourgeoisie has had to make certain social and economic concessions to the working people. Taking advantage of the favorable situation for this, it accompanied these concessions by intense social demagogy and by depicting Peronism as a party of the workers. That demagogy met with a measure of success, for Peronism arose during the period of rapid postwar industrial growth. It was a time when the proletariat doubled in numbers, and the newcomers of peasant origin, lacking sufficient political schooling, again predominated over the workers of immigrant origin, who brought with them socialist ideas.

A substantial part of the working class believe that the Peronist or Justicialist Party is their party, their defender, their spokesman. That false conviction, as we have just shown, is historically understandable.

Peron declares that his party is a multi-class party. That means, he says, that there is room in it for everybody, from the workers and peasants to members of the national bourgeoisie and the landlord class. This party professes to establish social harmony, to reconcile the classes under the aegis of a supposedly impartial state. The party's heterogeneous composition coupled with this equivocal program, advocating abstract humanism and social justice, but ignoring class struggle, gives rise to the countless

contradictions behind the clashes between its Right and Left wings.

These contradictions between the so-called ideals of 'deliverance' from social evils and the actual policy, between liberation slogans and conciliation of the monopolies, between proclamation of reform and preservation of obsolete structures, are already causing a split. It may be expected that the workers, continuing the shift to the Left of recent years, will move away from bourgeois reformism and nationalism to genuinely revolutionary class positions consistent with the times.

Today, when the influence of the organized detachment of the working-class – the Communist Party – is growing immensely, this transition of the Peronist workers to revolutionary positions is, however, not enough. The vanguard must be able organizationally to integrate and direct this process and so give an impetus to the democratic and popular, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic socialist-oriented alternative.

The successes of the struggle in Argentina bear out the correctness of the Communist Party's political line and show what an important part our Communist organizations play in public life. At the same time, these successes confront us with new tasks, present new demands, which we shall be able to meet if we can build a still larger Party, double its membership, and raise its organizational and political level.

At present the Party has a membership of 126,000 and has set itself the target of 200,000 by an early date. The theses for our 14th Congress said: *'Doubling the present Party membership is a step on the way to the big mass Party we need. It is demanded by the new situation developing in the country, by the important changes taking place in the thinking of the working people as a whole. The target of doubling the membership of the Party is a bold but realistic one.'*

We consider it essential to have a large Communist Party with numerous and well-organized branches and closely linked with the big industrial plants where large numbers of workers are concentrated, with the peasant areas, educational establishments, workshops and working-class districts. That means that a strong Communist Party will establish itself and take root *precisely where Peronism predominates today*.

The last two recruiting campaigns show that the proportion of new members among workers in large-scale industry and among peasants, is low. This is due to special difficulties. The big enterprises have their bonus and overtime systems and their 10,11 and even 16-hour day. Workers have to travel enormous distances, taking as much as three and more hours a day. There is corruption in the trade union committees, the members of which are appointed by the employers and union leaders and encouraged to inform against militant workers. This barrack-type regime gives the capitalists virtually complete control over the workers. There are constant sackings, layoffs, and changes of personnel. All this and much else complicates the Party's work. As to the countryside, our work there is hindered by the feudal survivals and the enormous distances in a country with a vast area and low population density. However, we do not consider that these difficulties

justify our shortcomings. The record shows that with correct guidance and perseverance we can increase the membership and build a bigger Party.

Perseverance has produced splendid results in the big factories in San Nicolas, Pacheko, Quilmes and Santa Fe, and also at many big construction sites, sugar refineries and textile mills, in fact wherever there are strong industrial Party branches which issue factory newspapers. On this basis we have established relations of unity with other political elements and this has helped us to take part in the work of the factory trade union committees. The lessons of this experience will help to mobilize the masses to fight for the restoration of democracy in trade union life, and this in turn will help to win the labor movement for a class policy instead of a policy of class conciliation.

The formation and strengthening of Communist branches in the big enterprises involves a difficult struggle against the imperialist monopolies and the trade union hierarchy. In that struggle it is important to use the experience and lessons which the Party has learned over many years. This will help us to get a real grasp of the conditions at each enterprise, to know the workers' needs, and work out a detailed plan covering agitation and propaganda (meetings, conferences, posters, handbills, newspapers, magazines), education (courses, seminars, debates), selection of personnel, trade union, cultural and sports activities, in other words, covering everything that helps to bring together the workers in different sections of the enterprise. Nothing must be left to chance.

Whatever the difficulties, it is our duty to overcome them. Unlike the anarchists and their present-day successors, the ultra-Lefts, who think society can be remade by conspiracy, and unlike the social reformists, who dream of a welfare state based on class conciliation, to be reached by natural evolution – unlike both these, we Communists see the task of the revolutionary party in organizing the struggle of the working class and leading it toward the ultimate goal – the conquest of political power by the working class and the building of a socialist society.

We know, of course, that 'pure' revolution is impossible, particularly in our conditions, where we cannot set out to abolish capitalism without taking into account that the major factors of social and national backwardness follow from dependence on imperialist monopolies and the continued existence of semi-feudal latifundia. On the basis of combating them there can be a temporary alliance with all those who may have a stake in the abolition of capitalism and the building of socialism. Our Party strategy is designed to bring all these social forces together in a national democratic front, capable of winning political power, establishing a coalition government and embarking on major structural reforms. That strategy, underestimated by the ultra-Lefts due to political short-sightedness, is in reality the basis on which our country can move toward socialism.

But we must not allow this coalition of social forces to follow the lead of the bourgeoisie, which would use it for its own ends. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie inclines toward conciliation of the oligarchy and imperialism.

Nor must that coalition be allowed to be led by the ideologically unstable middle sections, though some people do demand leadership by intellectuals. The only guarantee that the coalition will perform its task of starting the anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution is the hegemony of the working class. But what hegemony can the working class exercise if the greater part of it is ideologically and organizationally influenced by the bourgeoisie, if its trade unions are in the hands of the Right Peronists, if propaganda of bourgeois nationalism continues? So it is essential to wrest the great mass of the workers from the hold of bourgeois nationalist ideology, win them for Marxism-Leninism, win them to the side of the Communist Party, which is *their* Party.

The ability of the Party to win the confidence of the workers follows from its progressive teaching, and depends on the correctness of its political line and the ability of its members to apply Marxism-Leninism in their practical activity. The people who accuse us of excessive theorizing and doctrinairism,of seeking to apply to our country ideas supposedly worked out exclusively for Europe and divorced from our reality, from our national identity, are either unacquainted with our analysis of the country's specific conditions, or want to condemn us to mere day-to-day practice devoid of any perspective. We are not dry theoreticians nor do we use imported recipes, but we do know that, as Lenin said, without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Accordingly, we study and analyze our country's complex problems in order to correctly understand them and find solutions. As far back as 1928, the Eighth Congress of our Party rejected naive revolutionism, a struggle against 'capitalism in general,' and indicated the actual causes of our country's misfortunes – imperialist domination and the existence of the latifundia. The Congress proposed bringing all the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces together to carry through an anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Those who accuse us of being orthodox and unable to see the new phenomena in social reality are attacking our correct political line without taking the trouble to compare it with that reality.

Our polemics on theoretical and political issues are now of a higher level. At the beginning of the century we polemisized with the anarchists, then we had to fight against all the varieties of reformism – social-democracy, syndicalism and economism – which denied the independence of the working class. In the postwar period the rise of Peronism with its overtones of popularism and bourgeois nationalism, which proved attractive to a young and ideologically inexperienced proletariat, impelled us to improve our polemical methods, to set to work patiently to convince the masses, to compare Justicialist 'theory' with its actual practice, to disabuse the minds of those who supported it, without hurting their feelings. Then, as a reaction against reformism and conciliation, Left extremism appeared. It has given rise to many trends and groupings, which have not, and have never had, any roots among the masses.

We are waging an ideological struggle against all these trends, while distinguishing between the real enemies and people sincerely holding different views, but who are persistently seeking the revolutionary path. Our main enemy is still imperialism, the oligarchy and the compradore bourgeoisie, pillar of an outdated economic structure and political superstructure out of keeping with the aspirations and needs of the masses.

The Rightists have done everything possible to dominate the trade unions, where, with the help of the leadership, they endeavor to keep the working class passive, and put through the 'social pact' with the bourgeoisie. Its purpose is to help the bourgeoisie, weather the crisis and increase its profits, by preventing strikes and halting all struggle for the workers' just demands. With a membership of three million, the unions could be a very sharp weapon of the worker and popular masses if class unity could prevail. That is why we attach particular importance to the fight for democracy in the unions. At the same time we are concentrating on activity among the workers right on the shop floor, where our influence is increasing, especially in the big enterprises.

Naturally, in organizing the workers we avoid lapsing into the restricted, economic type of trade unionism which depends only on day-to-day economic demands. The labor movement cannot isolate itself from other sections of the population. A movement that is exclusively proletarian in character ultimately separates the workers from other classes and sidetracks them from issues bearing on the struggle for power. A movement like that subordinates the working class to the bourgeoisie and, negating the relevance of ideological and political struggle, limits the workers' efforts to the achievement of partial gains, which can at best win them a better reward for their labor.

We also emphatically reject terrorism. Though outwardly terrorism is opposed to economism and reformism, actually it is akin to them, for it replaces mobilization of the masses for conscious struggle with action by isolated groups claiming to represent the workers and peasants. Both trends have in common the cult of spontaneity, springing from a so-called 'purely working-class movement' or from the emotions of radically inclined middle sections. This concurrence of reformism and terrorism, revealed by Lenin decades ago in the specific conditions of tsarist Russia, is now being borne out in Argentina. Though drawn from a concrete set of historical realities, Lenin's conclusions have universal value and are for us a source of knowledge, enabling us to analyze with still greater accuracy the realities of our own country.

We declare that our future is socialism and while not indulging in the naive illusion that socialism will be here any moment, neither do we condemn ourselves to inaction, relegating it to some indefinite period when some sort of hypothetical situation will arise. The way to socialism lies through democratization of the country's life and through, at first, elementary structural changes. For this we need a coalition government based on a strong national-democratic front in which the working class plays the lead-

ing role. By pursuing these common aims, we Communists give leadership to the struggle of the working masses for their demands, in every sphere of life.

The situation in our country and in the world gives us grounds to look to the future with optimism. The world positions of socialism are strengthening, while the positions of capitalism are weakening. In Argentina, the working people are gaining more and more political experience. This is the source of the shift to the Left whose symptoms the leader of our Party, Victorio Codovilla, analyzed over a decade ago and which is now much more widely based and profound than at that time. The wave of real popular revolt in the cities and communes, the occupation of enterprises in industrial centers, the peasant and student demonstrations, the action by intellectuals – everywhere and always the common denominator is not so much the demand for immediate improvements, but discontent with the socio-economic structure as a whole. This proves that the thinking of the masses has evolved towards opposition to the existing system and its supporters.

The shift to the Left must be used to organize united action and wherever possible to form a popular, national, liberation and democratic front. As united action develops, the masses influenced by bourgeois nationalist ideology will gradually free themselves of its influence and turn to Marxism-Leninism. This will strengthen our Party by bringing new members into it; more, it will help create a united party of the revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party's present tactics vis-à-vis Peronism, namely to isolate its Right wing and support the Left wing, to support the anti-imperialist and criticize the negative aspects of its government, are promoting this aim. And although the Right Peronists have seized the key positions, ousting the progressive and Left elements so as to inherit the power of the aged Peron, the masses are protesting against and turning away from the Right and coming closer and closer to the positions of the Communists.

The Communist Party shows the working class more clearly than any other party the path to well-being and progress, through vital economic and social changes. But obviously it is not enough to have an irrefutable teaching and a correct political line. Only when the masses themselves see the Party as their trusted leader and recognize its authority can it be a real political force and perform its leading role. That is what we are striving and working for. We are working for a Party of 200,000 members, and we will not stop there. Such a Party will be able to work effectively in determining the country's future, and it will also make a big contribution to the international Communist movement.

Youth activity in society and the Communists

Theoretical Conference

A theoretical conference on the subject in the title, sponsored by *World Marxist Review* in Prague May 6-8, was attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 41 countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the GDR, the FRG, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, the USA and the USSR.

The opening report was made by Konstantin Zarodov, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief. The three-day discussion at full sessions and panel meetings provided the opportunity for an exchange of views on a number of topical theoretical and practical problems: the youth's place in the contemporary world, its role in the revolutionary process and building a new society, the sources, character and general features of youth activity, winning over the youth to the Communist movement, forms and methods of Communist work among the youth, the role of youth organizations. There were more than 90 contributions in the course of the exchange, which reaffirmed the great attention the fraternal parties attach to problems of the younger generation. The conference took place in a friendly, businesslike and creative atmosphere. Its materials will be printed in *World Marxist Review,* commencing with the report of K.I. Zarodov, which follows.

This is not the first international discussion of Communist work among the youth sponsored by our journal: there was one in 1961 on 'Communists and the Youth,' and one in 1971 on 'New Aspects of the Youth Movement in Capitalist Countries and the Communists;' there were several more joint discussions. In 1973 alone *World Marxist Review* dealt with the subject in seven issues.

The journal's attention to youth problems is in keeping with the place they occupy in the work of fraternal parties and at international Communist forums. A little more than a year ago representatives of European Communist parties met in Moscow to discuss work among the youth. Among other things, they suggested that *World Marxist Review* take a closer look at the youth movement.

The Editorial Board and Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* were

guided by all these considerations in deciding to call such a representative theoretical conference. The idea was for our discussion to commence, so to say, 'from the level achieved.' There is no questioning the importance of working among the youth or its role in the world. Suffice it to say that more than half the world's population are under 25, and in some countries the percentage is closer to 60 or even 70. The active part young people take in building up the new society in socialist countries is well known. Ample demonstration of this was provided by the recent congress of the Soviet Komsomol. In capitalist countries young people increasingly feel the consequences of the crisis of bourgeois society. They are joining the class struggle in growing numbers: from 1966 to 1973 the number of young strikers more than trebled. And in countries of the Third World there is not a major social movement that does not involve the active, often decisive, participation of the youth.

All this is well known. Lately, however, there has been such an upsurge in youth activity that Marxist-Leninists are duty bound to give careful study to the new trends in the youth movement.

Allow me to dwell on some questions which, we think, are of major theoretical and practical importance.

First, *what are the distinguishing features of the youth as a social group, what is its place in society and in the revolutionary process?* The relevance of this question is accentuated by the changes taking place within the youth itself and by the youth debate.

The young people of today have entered or are entering life in the epoch of powerful revolutionary upheavals and the worldwide confrontation of capitalism and socialism. The competition between the two systems, the two ways of life, and the class and liberation struggle inevitably draw young people into fundamental social processes. This leaves an imprint on their social and moral attitudes, their ideals, actions and quests. Young people react more emotionally than the elder to the major political events of our time, but they are also more influenced by them.

The scientific and technological revolution is moulding and changing the very social structure of the youth, its aspirations and opportunities, its social attitudes. Scientific and technological progress has objectively necessitated higher educational standards of the working class, making for its more dynamic interaction with the technical intelligentsia. The scientific and technical revolution has had an impact on the peasants and all other social strata as well. The processes involved differ in countries of socialism, capitalism and the national-liberation zone, but it all affects the youth, first of all the youth, placed as it is literally at the very hub of social change.

Various conclusions are drawn from these new developments. Bourgeois ideologists have taken great pains to represent the youth as an independent class, all but 'the most advanced class' of modern society. And although in the last few years the debate over these issues has become rather muted – as indicated, in particular, by an apparent decline of interest in the ideas of Herbert Marcuse – they have lost none of their topicality or practical

significance; they must be examined to gain a clearer idea of the revolutionary potentialities of the rising generation.

Marxists see the youth as a relatively independent social group with its place in the 'system of generations.' Among its characteristic features sociologists of different countries list a certain community of perception of the world, energy, enthusiasm, romantic fervor and even appearance. These are general qualities of young people associated in one way or another with age characteristics. But a scientific characterization of the youth which would show its role in the life of society and reveal the factors that contribute to its greater activity is possible only when age characteristics are related to the *objective conditions of its social, economic and political existence*. Hence, for us any analysis of the place and role of the youth in society can be approached only from Marxist-Leninist, class positions.

It must be said that even in socialist society the youth is not a homogeneous group, comprising as it does representatives of friendly classes – workers, farmers and working intellectuals. To be sure, the extant class and social boundaries and distinctions between the young generations of workers, farmers and intellectuals born and bred in conditions of victorious, to say nothing of developed, socialism are less pronounced than, say, between the generations of working people only just beginning to build the new society. But they are there, reflecting the social structure of society at the present stage of development.

In the non-socialist world the youth bears the imprint of all the class-antagonistic contradictions of society as a whole. Hence under capitalism the youth and its movement are, in the final analysis, bound to develop in the mainstream of class conflict and that the fundamental goals and needs of the younger generation can be met only in the fight against imperialism.

The experience of the national-liberation movement also refutes the abstract approach to the youth as some special homogeneous stratum. True, at times of an upsurge in national-liberation movements young people often act as an entity, but when the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution is carried out and the fight for national liberation increasingly evolves into a struggle against exploiter relations, the class differentiation of interests becomes more pronounced.

In assessing the youth's place in society Marxist-Leninists oppose two extremes: absolutization of social stratification and ignoring the common features of the youth as a relatively independent entity, on the one hand, and the exaggeration of common features, the myth of the youth's social autonomy and its independence of class divisions, on the other.

A correct, class assessment of the place of the youth in society makes it possible, we think, to raise the problem of correctly posing the question of the *general features of youth activity*.

Under socialism youth activity is based primarily on national movements headed by Communist and Workers' parties, and on an objective stake in building up the new society. In capitalist and newly free countries the ups and downs of youth movements, in the long run, coincide with the surges

and recessions in the working-class, general democratic and national-liberation movements. This, of course, does not preclude a situation in which progressive young people may act as the primers of an emergent social movement, usually within the framework of the class or social group to which they belong.

Thus, we can rightly claim that one of the laws of youth activity is its relationship to fundamental social processes and main political currents.

This, of course, is not to say that young people necessarily are active in progressive movements. In the socialist countries we find, along with genuine labor heroism and a high civic spirit, philistine attitudes, parasitism, disrespect for work and mindless 'time-killing.' In bourgeois society, along with youth activity on the side of revolutionary forces we find young people taking part in various anti-Communist, fascist movements. Even progressive young people often display a penchant for avante-gardism and illusions that the progressive ideals can be achieved at once, for attempts to 'accelerate' the course of history and 'skip' the necessary stages of development. We also know instances of 'reverse activity,' demonstrative dropping out of society finding expression in drug addiction, alcoholism and crime.

The class struggles of the 20th century knew many political movements whose representatives refused to see the contradictions of youth activity and, in their efforts to use it, relied on what they saw as the 'revolutionary exclusiveness' of the younger generation. For instance, at the time when the foundations of socialist society were being laid in the Soviet Union, Trotskyism staked on just such youth 'exclusiveness,' counterposing it to the proletariat and peasantry. Such an approach must inevitably lead to failure as it is foolish to imagine that youthful ardor can provide a greater revolutionary incentive than basic class interests. Historical experience teaches us that the youth movement is capable of achieving results only when it becomes a force to be reckoned with, when it links its destinies with the main revolutionary stream of the time. Otherwise the most spectacular actions will at best yield nothing and at worst, as has happened all too often, play into the hands of reaction and counter-revolution. We can, I think, list this among the regularities.

It is also important to discuss the question of whether there are any laws governing the social and political content of the forms of youth behavior inherent in it as an age group.

It is, for instance, conventionally accepted that young people take a more critical view of things. This quality is often interpreted in the purely biological or psychological, but not social, sense. Let us see how things really stand. In socialist society this 'critical attitude' usually finds expression in intolerance of all that clashes with the ideals of socialism and communism. Although youthful romantic fervor sometimes gives rise to declarations and actions in no way conducive to overcoming real shortcomings and difficulties, on the whole young people direct their efforts at strengthening and developing the socialist and communist system.

The reasons are obvious, for after all, the primary, fundamental charac-

teristic of the youth of socialist countries is that it is part and parcel of the working people and is linked in all its attitudes and aspirations with the ideals and principles of the society that has done away with the domination of private property relations and exploitation of man by man. Whatever the forms and manifestations of the peculiarities of youthful consciousness and behavior, on the whole the youth is a force of creation, progress and assertion of the new system. It is, one can confidently maintain, a revolutionary force, too. For in the broad perspective its labor and creative activity and the basic features of its way of life represent a weighty contribution to the strengthening of world socialism and its successes in the confrontation with the bourgeois system.

Youthful 'criticism' under capitalism is, naturally, of a contradictory character. If we take the progressive youth movements of protest which increasingly go far beyond demands to correct this or patch up that, the point of departure of such critical moods is the objective character of capitalism as a society based on exploitation, alienation, material and spiritual robbery of the individual and manipulation of social consciousness. More and more young people reject the very principles on which capitalism, its economic and social system, way of life, ethics and culture are based. The degree and content of this 'criticism' is determined by the broad public dissatisfaction bred by the rule of capital.

Consequently, in speaking of the laws which govern youth activity in society one can draw the conclusion that the actions of the younger generation, their content and trend are directly linked with concrete social conditions.

Now on the Communists' *efforts to win over* the youth. This is also a major problem, not only practical, but theoretical as well.

Lenin, as is known, regarded active participation of young people in revolutionary and Party work as an important prerequisite of the Party's ideological and political influence on them. He insisted on boldly drawing young people into this work. At the time of the first Russian revolution he stressed: 'we must, with desperate speed, unite all people with revolutionary initiative and set them to work. Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development; all we have to do,' he wrote, 'is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 146).

'The youth,' Lenin wrote, 'the students, and still more the young workers – will decide the issue of the whole struggle' (*Ibid.*). As we see, Lenin specifically *emphasized the role of young workers*.

Work among the younger generation of the working class is especially important and strategically promising, because it does two things at one time. First, it brings up the rising replacement of the working class, heightening the latter's consciousness and sense of organization and strengthens its ranks. Second, through the working youth the Communist Party establishes enduring ties with the youth as a whole. That there must be the closest

contact with young workers follows, therefore, from Lenin's general theory of socialist revolution and its driving forces.

This does not detract from the importance of the fraternal parties' work with other sections of the youth. Whichever way you look at it, this tightens the unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces. Provided the job is handled skilfully, the Communists have every reason to expect that they will be understood and supported not only by young workers, but also by other groups of the working youth, particularly and especially the peasant youth.

Propaganda and political work among servicemen and young officers is also gaining importance. The armed forces are in a revolutionary ferment, and not only in the countries of the Third World, as the recent events in Portugal have shown. It was the young people – the soldiers and officers – who played a big part in the overthrow of the rotten fascist dictatorship and the victory of the Portuguese democratic movement. There are, however, many examples of an entirely different order, when the army acted as a counter-revolutionary force.

Of late, many fraternal parties are devoting much of their work to students. This is as it should be. In some of the developed capitalist and quite a few developing countries progressive students took a conspicuous part in the democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle, in anti-war movements, and in the fight against racial and national oppression, in the latter half of the 60s. And not everywhere, or not at once, was this heightened political activity matched by Communist strength among the students. It is understandable, therefore, that the fraternal parties should want to eliminate the disproportion and improve their work on the campuses. And I need not mention their successes.

The Marxist-Leninists have precise quality and quantity criteria. They do not belittle the students' revolutionary potential, but are also aware of their limitations when the struggle passes from its general democratic phase into the socialist.

The special point is that the leading role in generating the revolutionary potential of the students and youth is played by the working class, its political activity. This is easily explained. The international working class stands in the center of our epoch. It determines the epoch's main content – the transition from capitalism to socialism – and the ways and perspectives of human progress.

The Leninist class conception of the youth can and should be seen in the general context of the postulate that the working class is the leading force in socialist and communist construction and the hegemon in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and in conjunction with the teaching on the workers' allies.

The fight for the youth is a fight without compromise. Its progress, too, must therefore be assessed without compromise. The successes are obvious, but it would be a mistake to overlook the faults.

In the socialist countries, the youth is with us in spirit. The vast majority is united in Communist-led organizations. It would be folly, however, not to

draw the due conclusions from what happened in some of the socialist countries, where there is evidence of deficient class maturity and political instability among part of the youth. It would be wrong to ignore the fact that there are apolitical, socially inert young people, who stand aloof from our movement. And in capitalist countries a large part of the youth is under the influence of bourgeois parties, even fascist organizations.

How to explain this?

There are some objective reasons. In the case of capitalist and developing countries this state of affairs may be traced, among other things, to the predominance of the bourgeois ideology and system of education, and the consequent political immaturity of substantial sections of the youth, which has to start almost from scratch in its development, overcoming viewpoints imposed on it by the dominant class. Furthermore, in fighting for the youth we face a very strong opponent with enormous resources and a powerful propaganda machine, who resorts to tested methods of falsification and demagogy. But negative factors also exist in the socialist countries.

The subjective factor, first of all the organizing and political activity of the Communists, has always been tremendously important in the struggle for the youth. I should like to cite the following historical fact. Analyzing the situation in 1935, when fascism became a reality in Europe, Georgi Dimitrov said: 'We have not paid enough attention to the revolutionary education of the youth. Fascism has exploited this quite adroitly, enticing a large section of the youth in some countries, particularly Germany, to take the anti-proletarian way.' This is a splendid example of the deep sense of responsibility felt by the Communist parties for the orientation of youth activity in society. It is a reminder that active influence on the youth is a necessary element of our struggle.

Speaking of the *ways to fight for the younger generation,* three points merit special mention, because they imply not simply more intensive work, but also a new quality.

The first point: there may arise a contradiction between the propaganda of the ultimate aims of the Communist movement and the present-day requirements of the youth, influencing its consciousness and social behavior. Communist ideals may be presented (and sometimes are presented) to young people as abstract schemes unrelated to their troubles of today, to the acute problems of our time – as purely academic conceptions which the young mind is not yet trained to absorb. As a result, the ideal may lose some of its attraction and appear feasible only at so remote a future that it will not mobilize either for struggle or constructive labor. On the other hand, inept attempts to make the ideal concrete sometimes tend to depreciate it, to reduce it to the level of commonplace needs. In this case, the ultimate aim does not look lofty enough and worth fighting for at the price of hardship and sacrifice.

Certainly, the problem is different in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries. Take socialism. In its early stages, the accent in the propaganda of the future society was on the material conditions of life under

communism. This is understandable and in a way justified: to people who had suffered privation, and in many cases abject poverty, all their lives, it was clear that such a future was worth fighting for. But if now our propaganda would harp exclusively on the idea that 'under communism everything will be free of charge,' it will not inspire the young people, because though they may not be completely satisfied with the level of life achieved, they are by now prosperous and developed enough to know that man lives not by bread alone. For all the importance of the material aspect, we must not (speaking of the criteria of the competition between the two systems) confine ourselves to comparisons of just the degree of material consumption. These criteria, we know, include the ability to develop democracy, to satisfy the moral needs, and provide conditions for the all-round development of the personality.

Whether we speak of conditions in the socialist, capitalist or developing countries, the revolutionary ideal should evidently be concrete and in keeping with the new scientific knowledge of the future, the youth's new level of consciousness and, of course, the specific social conditions of the respective countries. Incontestably, this is a difficult thing, but it has to be done. Questions arise about 'aligning' the future scientifically predicted by the Marxist-Leninist classics with the youth's present level of consciousness; scientific forecasting of the future, study and moulding of the youth's requirements in accordance with the headway made toward the revolutionary ideal; the ability to keep the main aim within the field of vision without departing from the present-day facts, the ability to withstand the pressure of transient interests and momentary needs. Seen from this angle, the theoretical substantiation and clarification of questions related to the stage of developed socialism is of the utmost importance. So is the Marxist-Leninist conception of the dialectics of the general democratic and socialist stages of the revolution in the capitalist countries, and the ways and forms of the transition of developing states from national to social liberation.

With the peaceful coexistence principles taking root in international affairs, some aspects of the ideological struggle for the youth assume a new dimension. Meetings between national youth organizations are more frequent and more representative. Direct communication between young people is broader. And the highly positive significance of these contacts is obvious. The Communists are active in promoting such ties, because they are a condition for the further spread of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and for the propaganda of the existing socialism. Naturally, the reactionary imperialist quarters want to use the new international situation for their own class aims. 'Free exchange of people and information' is being urged in order to open the floodgates for the bourgeois outlook, morality and culture to penetrate into the countries of the socialist community, and to propagate the 'convergence' of the opposite social systems. Various anti-Communist, Right-opportunist, Maoist, Trotskyite and other groups have become more active. Our ideological opponents are making a special bid to destroy the revolutionary ties between different generations of workers, are trying to

contrapose the generations. Special importance is therefore attached to moulding the class consciousness of the rising generation on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and to assure a harmonious balance of the patriotic and internationalist principles.

The second point: the youth and organization. No social movement or purposive mass action is conceivable without organization. Happily, the youth is beginning to understand this. It is also true that the youth is inclined to shake off the restraints that come with organization, and especially to shake off supervision. This, too, is not a novel problem. But today it arises in a largely different focus. The bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the 'Leftists,' on the other, are actively peddling what I'd call quasi-organizations for the purpose of either containing revolutionary action or exploiting the youth's rebellious temper for adventurous actions. Ultimately, the one and the other produce disenchantment, and all too frequently abhorrence of the very idea of organizing. Isn't this a reason why the youth's social-political activity is outstripping its rate of organization, and why spontaneity still prevails over consciousness? In socialist society, the youth may be disappointed in organization principally when we fail to provide the right kind of guidance and do not consider its interests, needs and degree of maturity. Hence, the approach to organizing the youth is of especial importance.

It is therefore highly relevant to harmonize the independence of youth organizations with skillful and sensitive guidance. That is not a simple thing, but the Communist parties have rich experience in this field. The Sixth Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party, for example, defined the objectives and principles of working among the youth, and resolved, among other things, that the Party's interference in the working youth's organizational activity should not be in the nature of supervision; the Party's objective, it said, was for the working youth to have independent organizations not organizationally subordinate to the Party but linked with it in spirit. This fundamental guideline is still consistently followed by the CPSU and other fraternal parties. 'The YCL, all young men and women, have unlimited opportunities in our country to apply their creative energy and initiative,' L.I. Brezhnev said at the 17th Congress of the Soviet YCL. 'It has always been a tradition for Communists to show trust in young people, to rely on the youth's intrinsic enthusiasm and lofty desire to work for the common good and, also, to help the youth to get its bearings in life, to equip it with knowledge and the experience of the older generation. And the Party will continue to consolidate these traditions.'

Every movement, whether social-democratic, religious or trade-unionist, has its own methods of working with the youth. The Communists' methods have some fundamentally distinctive features, such, say, as influencing the youth by considering its interests, but combining this with active moulding of its demands and eliminating shabby, anti-social requirements; outspoken directness in the dialogue with the youth, no evasion of acute problems, and no stereotypes and methods the youth has already outgrown. It is evidently important to consider whether or not we are always stronger and more

skillful than our opponents in organizing the youth. Do we show the essential skill in considering the specific traits of the youth, and making contact with it? Is it not true that sometimes even young Communists behave like 'young old men?' And, last but not least, is all this one of the reasons why the natural disparity between generations becomes inflated, creating the danger of a rift even when the ideals are the same?

The third point: consideration for the interests of different sections of the youth and struggle for unity of action.

The class approach to the younger generation's activity in society is bound to lead us to the conclusion that we need a correct line in relation to the youth as a whole, and also to its various groups. The approach to different social strata must be differentiated, but must at the same time unite the youth and promote united action, which, in the final analysis, will win the youth as a whole for the socialist cause.

It stands to reason that every fraternal Party devises its own forms and methods of approach to different sections of the youth, depending on the concrete situation. For example, it would be wrong to underestimate the importance of distinctive action programs for young workers and young farmers, for students, young white-collar workers, and soldiers and young officers. In the case of the socialist countries that is the way (rather than by abstract slogans) to promote the youth's participation in building the new society. In the capitalist countries, too, it will help to win over those sections of the youth which are still in the thrall of bourgeois ideology and morality, the Church, social-reformism, and Left extremism. Far from depreciating the significance of the Communists' struggle in, say, the socialist countries, this adds to the importance of exercising an active and meaningful influence on the convergence of different strata of the youth, and eliminating the distinctions between them. As for the capitalist and developing countries, it is probably superfluous to speak in detail of the immense significance of united action by the youth and its organizations in the context of the Communist parties' struggle for class and political alliances, for united anti-imperialist popular fronts.

In conclusion, K.I. Zarodov pointed out that we are witnesses and participants of an unprecedented battle for the youth between the two main social forces, social ideas, and social systems – a fight whose outcome will in many ways determine the future of humanity at the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium. We are firmly convinced that the future is with us, he said, because the laws of history work for us. And by theoretically substantiated, purposeful and dedicated struggle for the youth we can bring this cherished future closer.

A REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE

Nicolas Chaoui
General Secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party

The agrarian program recently published by the Lebanese Communist Party offers, for the first time in the nation's history, a comprehensive, scientifically sound and rational solution of a fundamental and complex problem of vital concern to the overwhelming majority of the population. The Communists were the first to show the national character of the problem; now they have been the first to offer a realistic alternative to the grave situation prevailing in the countryside. We hold that such an approach – presenting a concrete program – is immeasurably more effective than simply criticizing the existing situation. It enhances the Party's prestige among the masses and demonstrates its statesmanship.

The program took several years to prepare, from the Second Congress which adopted the Party's Political Program and Constitution. A special commission of leading functionaries of central bodies and regional Party organizations and agricultural experts was set up to study the problem and draft the program, which was submitted to Party members for discussion shortly before the Third Congress.

However, in view of the complexity of the problem and the fact that the membership had not had sufficient time to discuss the program, the Congress suspended judgment on it and instructed the newly elected Central Committee to convene a special Party conference.

The debate on the agrarian problem continued after the Third Congress and now the final text of the program has been adopted. The Party is doing much to popularize the program. It has published a variety of materials addressed to different sections of the population. The Central Committee held a press conference which was widely reported, helping to acquaint people with our stand.

We are sure the agrarian program will become a powerful tool for Communists and peasants in their drive for pressing demands, improving the rural situation and building up democracy in the countryside, for the right of farm workers to set up their own militant trade union, for giving all workers

and farmers the opportunity to freely set up their mass organizations. The Party's agrarian program opens broad opportunities for cementing the unity of all Lebanese progressive forces.

INFORMATION STANDS

Fritz Noll
Board Member,
German Communist Party

A plain table and next to it a billboard with color posters and slogans. That's our information stand which you can see on a lively main street, in a square, at factory gates, at the Sunday market, in front of a technical school or university. A passer-by stopping to look at the stand can buy the newspaper *Unsere Zeit,* Marxist books and pamphlets, or get answers from Communist Party members to questions concerning the Party's policies. This form of work holds an important place in the Party's propaganda activities.

The usual practice is to have a stand deal with one topical issue. At stands calling for greater anti-imperialist solidarity with the Chilean people Party activisits collect signatures. The information stands were instrumental in promoting the Party's campaign in favor of the treaties between the FRG and socialist countries. Hundreds of them were set up long before the arrival of L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and they contributed in no small measure to the success of his visit.

Party activists explain the Communist position on local issues. In Munich, for example, stands dealing with tenants' rights are especially popular. Young Communist lawyers offer legal advice on how to oppose rent rises, and explain Communist policy on housing. The information stands naturally play a big part in election campaigns.

The stands are the responsibility of local Party branches, factory or residential. They work out plans and individual assignments. Members of the Party leadership regularly take turns at the stands of their local branches.

Many branches have a permanent plàce for their stands, which are usually set up on Saturdays or in the first part of the day when the streets are full. Our activists thus become known in the area, and this helps them to involve people in political discussions, learn their interests, examine their reasoning and gauge the convincabiility of our own arguments. The information stand thus becomes a kind of proving ground for our line of argument, a focal point for a small meeting, a small demonstration or debate.

Party propaganda work in the streets is already being accepted by the people as something natural, customary and necessary. Of course, there are the occasional provocations by vocal anti-Communists, but we can deal with them. Today it would be difficult to conceive of the Party's political activity without these information stands, those effective and responsive propaganda tools.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS

MEXICO

BUILDING THE PARTY

The 16th Congress of the Mexican Communist Party adopted a political resolution devoting much attention to Party development. The resolution calls for building a Communist revolutionary vanguard of the forces which champion the democratic and socialist alternative emerging in the country. To accomplish this vanguard role, the resolution says, the MCP must not only work out its new program, strategy and tactics correctly, but concentrate on 'problems of building the Party and on overcoming its mistakes in this field, particularly its organizational weakness.'

The Congress considers that it is particularly important to form Party organizations among the working class, apply the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party with due regard to the country's distinctive conditions, generalize the experience of building a proletarian party in Mexico, and precisely formulate the conception, tasks and methods of building the Party so as to spur its development.

With the situation at home characterized by lack of democracy and by repression against revolutionaries, especially Communists, the resolution notes, we must learn to use the most diverse forms and methods of work if we are to perserve the Party's links with the working class and other working people and safeguard it against police blows and infiltration by enemy agents.

The Congress considers that more than ever before, it is the duty of every Communist to be disciplined, show a keen sense of responsibility and greater organization, carry out Party decisions, support and uphold Party unity and respect the standards of democratic centralism. The Congress urges the membership to combat all factional and divisive activity.

TUNISIA

FOR A PROGRESSIVE POLICY

The Tunisian Communist Party has published a pamphlet entitled *For a New Progressive and Democratic Alternative*. In evolving their program, it says in the preface, Tunisia's Communists took into account the positive and negative aspects of past experience and proceeded in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism.

Tunisia's Communists see it as their primary task to rehabilitate the very

idea of progress in the eyes of the masses. The sad experience of the 60s* undermined the faith of numerous people in progress. The TCP regards it as its duty steadfastly to publicize the positive aspects of the new alternative and explain the nature of past mistakes.

In the economic field, the new alternative provides for a system capable of promoting the country's economic and political independence and gradually improving the standard of life. The important thing is to find appropriate forms of survival for small handicraft and industrial enterprises and for their cooperation with the public sector of industry without allowing capitalism to gain ascendancy.

The agrarian reform should restrict the holdings of big landowners and provide for the transfer of surplus land to poor peasants. The Communists' slogan is 'The land for those who till it.' They also emphasize the problem of cooperative farming. The setbacks of the 60s prompt them to show a certain restraint in advocating cooperative farming and refrain from attempts to impose it on the peasants, who should decide for themselves whether to set up cooperatives.

The TCP declares for a broad front of workers, peasants, intellectuals and students and the anti-imperialist section of the petty bourgeoisie. As the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism goes on, these forces could be joined by a section of the middle bourgeoisie.

The pamphlet demands respect for constitutional guarantees, specifically freedom of speech, assembly and the press. Tunisia's Communists insist on lifting the ban on the activity of their Party and on extending trade union rights.

IRAN

WE ARE FIGHTING ON

Khosrov Rouzbeh was a man who became a legend.

'I have chosen the road of the People's Party of Iran in response to the call of my heart, which urges me to serve the Iranian people,' Rouzbeh told the military court before his death sentence. 'I consider this road sacred with all my heart and my very being. I am flesh of the flesh of this Party. I dearly love socialism and am sincerely devoted to it. I may not live to see the triumph of socialism in Iran but I am certain that times will soon change and capitalism will be swept away.'

The People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) has declared May 10, when Rouzbeh was shot, a day of solidarity with political prisoners.

Following is a letter from one of the prisoners.

'Comrades, I wish, first of all, to give heartfelt thanks to you and all the friends who raised their voice to defend us Iranian Communists.

*The reference is to the conception and practice of the Destour Party's 'special' socialism as opposed to scientific socialism – *Ed.*

'Ever since my friends and I were arrested, we have been doing our best to fulfil our Party duty by behaving as the Party's soldiers should.

'After arrest we were clear about the subsequent course of events. Well knowing of the brutality of Savak* men, we realized that there were torture and possibly death in store for us. We had no illusions because we knew that a difficult struggle requires sacrifice. Each of us came to this conclusion on his own and was ready to give his life for the Party and the working people.

'We have all gone through Kizil Kale prison. The cells there – two metres by two – are for solitary confinement. Half of a cell is taken up by a stone bench covered with a dirty mattress and a shabby blanket. No sunray ever reaches the cell. Kizil Kale is a hell for its inmates, political prisoners. It is a torture center: the interrogations and beatings begin there.

'This prison is described as a "school of education" for those who have "strayed from the right path." The methods used in it are intended to create an atmosphere of fear and to make Communists choose betrayal. But they fail. Where violence and baseness, on the one hand, and courage and staunchness, on the other, stand face to face, every fair-minded person sees with his own eyes what the enemy, who talks hypocritically of "defending freedom," is capable of. Here we see more clearly than ever how deep-rooted are the evils of society and convince us anew that we have chosen the right path.

'Even before being tried by the military court of the first instance which sentenced us to death, and after the Court of Appeal, which commuted the sentence, our jailers tried to make us repent, or dissociate from the Party leadership, as they put it. But we decided to die rather than repudiate our convictions. We know that the people put special hopes in our Party.

'To lose courage in the harsh conditions of imprisonment means taking the road of betrayal. We are fighting on even here. When we protest against the ban on visits the answer is torture, and when we go on hunger strike the answer is forcible feeding and beatings.

'Life in jail is hard, particularly for us who have been imprisoned for life. But we are not giving in. After all, the cells where we are being held today have seen other Communists, those who set out on their last journey. They were atrociously tortured but they preferred to die rather than become traitors.

'Here we met many veteran Party members who have been behind bars for 10 to 20 years or even longer. You know them. . . . Nothing could break their will and they are as loyal sons of the Party as ever.

'Comrades, we have heard about the Maoists' foul actions. They wanted to stab our Party in the back in this hour of trial, to split it. How sad, what an infamy. Even here in prison we realize what a blow they have dealt our movement and our people's struggle. And so we have good reason to insist on severely condemning these traitors who have taken an anti-Leninist stand.'

Kave

*Security and Information Organization of Iran. – *Ed.*

BRIEF REPORTS

FRG

The German Communist Party had 12,000 members in 1969, when it held its Essen Congress. Its membership today is close on 40,000.

Denmark

A record sum – 75,000 crowns – was collected during the April campaign to raise money for the guarantee fund of *Land og Folk,* the Communist newspaper. The trade unions have lately been making an increasing contribution to the *Land og Folk* fund. In April large amounts were contributed by the unions of dock workers, builders and metalworkers.

India

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has resolved to carry out the regular annual exchange of Party cards and raise funds for the Party.

According to data released by the National Council, the CPI has 355,526 members. The membership mostly young, has trebled over the past 10 years and consists chiefly of industrial and agricultural workers and poor peasants.

Iraq

A new section of the Iraqi Communist Party was formeed in Ba'quba, Diyala Province. At present the ICP has over 10 sections operating in big cities.

Cuba

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CP of Cuba, addressed a meeting on Peasant Day, the 15th anniversary of the Agrarian Reform Law. The meeting was held in La Plata, in the Sierra Maestra mountains, Oriente Province, where the leader of the Cuban revolution signed that law on May 17, 1959.

Fidel Castro pointed out that the Cuban revolution has been gaining strength in the past 15 years and is now stronger than ever. The revolution today is led by a well-organized and disciplined Marxist-Leninist party.

Peru

The Peruvian Communist Party has launched a campaign to strengthen and expand the Party. The campaign is devoted to the 80th anniversary of the birth of Jose Carlos Mariategui, founder of the PCP, author and public leader. The political maturity and organizational unity of the Communists, says the PCP in an appeal to the working people, is an earnest of effective struggle by the working class against reactionary subversion, in defense of the important revolutionary changes brought about in the country.

Finland

The ever more manifest transformation of the Democratic Youth League of Finland into a Communist youth organization is a very important political development, and all Communists and democrats can rightly regard it as a major victory, said Taisto Sinisalo, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, at a seminar on the 30th anniversary of the legal activity of the CPF.

The Central Board of the League has resolved, T. Sinisalo said, to continue work on the draft fundamental program so as to make the League – from the point of view of its nature, tasks and principles of activity – a Marxist-Leninist, Communist youth organization and a reserve of the Communist Party working under its leadership. Activity on the basis of the most influential ideology, scientific socialism, will considerably strengthen the League and extend its possibilities and influence. A valuable example of this is the development of another youth organization of Finland, the Socialist Union of Students.

theory

Notes on the history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship

Vasilis Venetsanopoulos,
Representative of CP of Greece
on the journal
Vladimir Guliev,
Head of Sector,
Institute of State and Law,
Soviet Academy of Sciences
Sylwester Zawadzki,
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Jaime Schmirgeld,
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The issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat is highly relevant today, for it concerns the task of establishing the political power of the working class (directly or through a series of consecutive stages), using this power to consolidate the victory over the overthrown exploiting classes and effect socialist changes, carrying forward socialist statehood and democracy in building a socialist society, and lastly, the destiny of the state under developed socialism and during the transition to communism.

The tasks now being carried out in various countries in accordance with specific conditions are, from the point of view of the historical development of proletarian dictatorship, successive stages of one constructive revolutionary process. In other words, the present-day conception of the proletarian dictatorship is the result of evolution throughout the history of Marxist-Leninist thought. An understanding of this evolution and of the legacy of the classics of scientific communism and the documents of Communist and Workers' parties generalizing the vast experience of the revolutionary movement give us a clearer insight into the present-day tasks both in the struggle for working-class rule and perfecting the socialist state.

Just as the discovery of the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value transformed socialism from a utopia into a science, so the idea of proletarian dictatorship gave the working class a scientifically authentic direction of advance from capitalism to socialism through the intri-

This article was written by an international team after a discussion at the Warsaw University.

cate maze of class struggles. Referring to his contribution to social science, Marx wrote: 'What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 528).

These discoveries, which are central to Marx's political theory, are the quintessence of the doctrine of the class struggle and the creative function of proletarian power. The experience gained by the Communist and working-class movement over more than one century shows that these key tenets are the only basis on which a strategy and tactics can be evolved expressing the fundamental interests of the working class and hence providing an ideological earnest of the success of its struggle.[1]

The term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' dates from the June 1848 rising in France, when the Paris proletariat launched the revolutionary slogan: *'Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!' (Op. Cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 226). It was this slogan that Marx and Engels raised in their writings to the stature of a cardinal principle of the dialectical materialist doctrine of the state. Ever since then, the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat has implied that the political rule of the working class is a requisite of reorganizing society on socialist lines.

The idea of proletarian dictatorship was evolved by the founders of Marxism in three stages.

First, they put forward and proved the validity of the thesis that to accomplish its historic mission, the working class must win political power and use it for transforming society on the principles of scientific socialism (1840s). In 1844 Marx advanced the thesis that the proletariat's interests coincide with those of all the exploited, of the vast majority of the people, and that it will therefore play an emancipating role (Karl Marx, *The Holy Family*). In 1845-1846 Marx and Engels formulated in *The German Ideology* the idea that the proletariat must win political power. The *Communist Manifesto* (1847-1848) stated that the first step in the historically inevitable proletarian revolution is 'to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class' and win 'the battle of democracy.' It also listed certain creative functions of proletarian rule.

The second stage saw a further social and economic substantiation and development of the idea of proletarian dictatorship and its acceptance in the international Communist movement.[2] Research carried out by Marx in the 1850s and 1860s produced scientific proof that as a result of the economic, social and ideological development of capitalism – development leading mankind to the threshold of a revolutionary transformation of society – the political power of the working class logically succeeds bourgeois rule and, moreover, is a necessary transitional stage to the elimination of class antagonisms. The conclusion that the bourgeois machinery of government

must be smashed, a conclusion drawn by Marx from the experience of the revolutions of 1848-1851 (see Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) and confirmed by the experience of all subsequent revolutions, including those of the present epoch, was particularly important in carrying forward the idea of proletarian dictatorship.

After the Paris Commune came the third stage when the principles of the proletarian type of state were evolved and when Marx and Engels elaborated, in particular, the idea of a period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In this context they outlined the superstructure in this period and emphasized the significance of proletarian democracy. The social, economic and political content of the period of transition from the capitalist to the communist formation (as well as the main characteristics of the lower and higher phases of the communist formation) was set out by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875), as fully as could be done at the time. It sums up the political conclusions from his years of work on *Capital*, on the one hand, and his study of the lessons of the Paris Commune, on the other. Supplying scientific proof that between capitalist and communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter, Marx showed that corresponding to this period 'is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*' (*Op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 26). The Paris Commune, the first concrete historical form of proletarian dictatorship, the founders of Marxism stressed, showed that the proletariat has a genuine interest in democratizing society and strives, therefore, not merely to take over a state machinery ready for use, but to replace it by an apparatus of political leadership and management which can with the support of the masses break the resistance of counter-revolutionary forces and effect social and economic changes. Underestimation of this fundamental Marxist conclusion had tragic results for numerous revolutionaries both in Marx's day and at subsequent stages of history.

Marx and Engels revealed the developing, concrete historical character of the political system of proletarian rule. Marx pointed out in his article 'Political Indifference' that the workers 'impart a revolutionary and transitory form to the state' and that the dictatorship of the proletariat, being a necessary stage on the road to socialism, has, nevertheless, very definite social and economic bounds – from the provision of the political prerequisites for direct socialist changes, to complete realization of the tasks of the transitional period. Hence the indivisibility of the struggle for socialism and for working-class power. Historical experience reveals the utter untenability of reformist illusions to the effect that socialist changes can be brought about outside and independently of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under an improved bourgeois democratic system. On the other hand, every arbitrary 'restriction' or 'extension' of the concrete historical framework of proletarian dictatorship results in deforming the political system and the very foundations of existing socialism.

In the new conditions – the imperialist epoch, the victory of the October

Revolution in Russia, and the transition from capitalism to socialism – the idea of working-class political power to lay the foundations of the new society was comprehensively developed in Lenin's writings. In his many references to the idea of proletarian dictatorship Lenin revealed its specific tasks, forms and functions, and, following Marx's method, examined its various facets. Lenin wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an inevitable stage in the political history of mankind, an important landmark in man's overall progress, and that it is the power of one class, the industrial proletariat, and at the same time a form of its class alliance with the peasantry and other working people, a continuation of the class struggle in new conditions and new forms, a state which is democratic in a new way (for the working people) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie and exploiters generally), a definite organizational system of political power which comprises the working people's government and non-governmental organizations and is aimed primarily at using their revolutionary gains, and so on.

The vast variety of Lenin's definitions and descriptions of proletarian dictatorship was born of the epoch itself, of the revolutionary practice of the masses, of the need to evolve the strategy and tactics of the class struggle and to plan socialist construction. Lenin investigated the dictatorship of the proletariat, added new scientific definitions of it, creatively assimilated and complemented the ideological heritage of Marx and Engels and translated it into reality as an outstanding theorist and leader of the three Russian revolutions, as the leader of the world's first socialist state and of the international proletariat.

The Marxist idea of socialist statehood, which sums up the research into the historic role of the proletariat systematically carried out by Marx and Engels over many years, was developed by Lenin into a comprehensive theory encompassing an immense range of problems. In accordance with the subject of this article, we will only call attention to some characteristics of the further evolution of the idea of proletarian dictatorship.

We mean, first of all, Lenin's elaboration of the problem of the social structure of the new, socialist type of power. While defining the dictatorship of the proletariat as class struggle against a bourgeoisie that has been overthrown but not yet eliminated, Lenin stressed that for a long time after they are overthrown in a country the exploiting classes remain stronger in a certain respect than the proletariat. This alone makes it necessary to give the new power a social structure ensuring the realignment of class forces in favor of the working class and the latter's political supremacy by subordinating the exploiting minority to the will of the vast majority of the people.

The social structure of the proletarian dictatorship has the following main components: guidance of society by the working class headed by the Marxist-Leninist party, and the workers' class alliance with the laboring peasants and other sections of working people. This alliance, Lenin showed, is not confined to political blocs, including at government level, of parties representing the interests of working people. Decisive are state and public

organizations encompassing the entire laboring population and exercising the will of the proletarian power on the basis of the worker-peasant class alliance.

In Russia, these organizations, set up on the initiative of the masses, were the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. Underestimation of politico-organizational work among the masses, aimed at establishing new bodies of power, has been and still is one of the principal reasons for defeats of the revolution. Whether or not the revolution conquers, whether it retains power and the people's social gains are consolidated and developed, depends on the success of the Leninist strategy of class alliances.

The class orientation of the new revolutionary power is rooted in the guiding role of the working class, headed by its Party. 'If we translate the Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical term "dictatorship of the proletariat" into simpler language,' Lenin wrote, 'it means just the following. Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system and in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes' (Vol. 29, p. 420). It follows that precisely by virtue of the leading role of the working class, revolutionary power is able to perform its historical tasks and assure the vital interests not only of the workers, but also of all working people. The changes it makes are the material basis for consolidating the class alliance, and also the leading role of the working class.

A new and essential advance in the development of the idea of proletarian dictatorship was Lenin's substantiation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the system of revolutionary power. 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' Lenin pointed out, 'would not work except through the Communist Party' (Vol. 32, p. 199). This does not mean that proletarian dictatorship rules out participation in government by other parties. The substance of the matter is not one-party or pluralistic government, but the fact that the leading role of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, is that feature of the proletarian dictatorship which determines the class content of power. It is not the name of the ruling party that matters, but whether or not it promotes through its political, organizational and ideological activity the scientifically conceived interests of the working class. Lenin warned against the grave dangers of making concessions to the petty-bourgeois elements, to opportunism. These may alter the Party's social essence and the entire system of political power.

The social structure of the proletarian dictatorship is shaped by the identity of the vital interests of the working class and the laboring masses which it leads. Hence Lenin's conclusion about the unity of the content and form of the new revolutionary power: the unity of its class essence and its inherent democratic form. The proletarian essence of state power is the main condition for the existence and development of socialist democracy as a

form of state, in the absence of which democracy loses its socialist quality and works against the laboring masses.

Socialist democracy is real exercise of his rights by the working man himself. Lenin stressed that in substance socialist democracy is a unity of political rights and their socio-economic guarantees, assured by the conversion of the means of production into the property of the whole people. The conception of political freedom first of all 'means the freedom of the people to arrange their public, state affairs' (Vol. 6, p. 368). Lenin rejected pharisaical talk about 'absolute freedom' and the 'supra-class' substance of democracy. Political freedoms, he said, should be seen from strictly class positions, adding that proletarian dictatorship meant democracy for and by the working people. He opposed all impingements on the democratic rights of working people, and violations of socialist legality. When in 1918 Kautsky tried to identify 'dictatorship' with 'destruction of democracy,' Lenin opposed his interpretation (Vol. 28, p. 234).

In pursuance of its great and humane goal, the working class selects the appropriate means of struggle. However, revolutionary force is a necessary element of proletarian dictatorship. Its scale depends mainly on the resistance of the deposed exploiting classes. The lessons of revolution, including those of the recent past, show how important it is to defend the revolutionary gains, to be ready swiftly to change the forms of struggle, and to oppose counter-revolutionary force with revolutionary force. Revolutionary reconstruction generates active resistance by the exploiting classes, which are affected by it. It is therefore necessary to chuck the reactionary forces in order to stamp out counter-revolution once and for all.

The proletariat's political power strives first and foremost to release the creative potential and initiative of the masses, and to stimulate their constructive energy. 'The essence of proletarian dictatorship,' Lenin stressed, 'is not in force alone, or even mainly in force' (Vol. 29, p. 388). Force is not the main element of the dictatorship of the proletariat because, among other things, force alone is not enough to assure final victory over the deposed exploiting classes. For this it is necessary to refashion the social-economic pillars of society and create a socialist economy, thereby removing the causes that breed exploitation of man by man. Force is not the chief element also because the very *raison d'être* of proletarian dictatorship is to organize the masses for creative and constructive work in the economy, culture, education, and public health. 'The basic meaning of proletarian revolution, its passion,' L.I. Brezhnev said on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution (1967), 'is creation and building the new life. . .'

Lenin's study of the creative social function of proletarian power, the main instrument for building the new, socialist society, is an important highlight in the history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship. The Second International opportunists had for many years advocated 'socialism maturing in the womb of the capitalist system.' Socialism, they held, must come to the light of day in already final form, like a chick from the shell of the egg. Countering these views, Lenin proved the necessity of *building* the new

society as a purposive creative process encompassing all spheres of life.

History has shown that by its constructive work the proletarian dictatorship facilitates an ever fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the vast majority, of all working people. Its main objectives are: moulding a qualitatively new system of social-economic relations, building the material-technical basis of socialist society, and steeply raising the culture of the masses. Fulfilling the state's traditional function of defense of the existing system, the proletarian dictatorship strives to develop the economic, social and cultural initiative of the people, that determining factor in building the new society, and improving socialist democracy.

The further history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship is associated with its creative development by the Communist parties. Its enrichment and development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was facilitated by the world Communist and working-class movement, the selfless struggle of the peoples against fascism between the two wars and during the Second World War, the postwar victory of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions, and the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. As a result,

– Lenin's thesis relating to transitional stages, phases, and means of approach to proletarian dictatorship, has been made concrete;

– so has Lenin's thesis concerning the variety of the political forms of state power during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism;

– the concept has been worked out of the socialist state of the whole people succeeding the proletarian dictatorship in the conditions of developed socialist society.

Lenin's concept of the democratic revolution growing into socialist revolution was adapted to the new conditions of the class struggle during the inter-war period. In his book, 'The Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,' written at the turn of the century, Lenin showed that in Russia the socialist revolution would be preceded by the stage of democratic revolution, enabling the proletarian party to implement its minimum program of destroying the autocracy and feudal exploitation. Following this, and not before, the way would be open for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the maximum program, that is, elimination of all exploitation, and the buidding of socialism. The subsequent experience of the three Russian revolutions has confirmed this beyond a shadow of doubt.

Giving concrete form to Lenin's conception in face of advancing fascism in many European countries, the Communist International in the 1930s formulated the slogan of broad popular fronts to unite all democratic forces for the struggle against fascism and the subsequent forging of working-class power. Speaking at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935, Georgi Dimitrov said that the united front governments in some countries might become one of the forms of transition to socialism.

During the Second World War, the anti-fascist movement in the occupied countries built up into a national-liberation struggle. While they did not abandon the perspective of struggle for socialism, the Communist parties

advanced general democratic, national-liberation, and anti-fascist aims as the basis for the common program.[3] And this was perfectly justified. The strategy of the world revolutionary movement, the new historical situation resulting from the crushing military defeat of the fascist powers, and aid by the Soviet Union led up to the victory of people's democratic revolutions in Europe and Asia.

The transition that followed in some of the countries from the stage in which general democratic tasks predominated to the stage of socialist objectives meant that the people's democratic revolution had entered a higher phase of development. The growth of the people's-democratic into socialist revolution, which was in most countries relatively peaceful, confirmed the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the establishment of proletarian dictatorship is not necessarily connected with civil war, especially if preceded by general democratic transformations and the forging of broad popular fronts uniting diverse political forces and parties round common national aims. Broad and enduring bonds with the masses, and consideration for the real balance of class forces and for the degree of the public's political consciousness, are necessary conditions for the success of the revolution. The tendency to leapfrog some stages necessitated by the objective conditions may lead to a loss of opportunities and defeat of the revolution.

The tactical and strategic guidelines of the postwar class struggle in the capitalist countries were amplified by the experience of popular fronts and people's democratic revolutions. In their strategy of struggle for democracy and socialism in the developed capitalist countries, the Communists take into account that present-day capitalism is state-monopoly capitalism which adapts to the coexistence and struggle of the two social systems.

They also take into account the changes in the structure of bourgeois society and the organization and functioning of the monopoly political system brought about by the scientific and technological revolution. The character of the main class opponent in the democratic stage of the revolution has changed: it is not autocracy and the landlords as it was in Russia at the turn of the century, but the most reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie, the monopolies opposing the majority of the society: not just the working class, the working farmers and intellectuals, but the petty-bourgeoisie and even non-monopoly middle sections of the bourgeoisie. This makes for a broad and steadily expanding social base for uniting all democratic forces, including the middle sections, against this class enemy. In the new conditions the tasks of democratization of society find embodiment in the concept of anti-monopoly democracy.[4] This implies struggle for limiting and undermining the economic and political might of the monopolies, for a radical expansion of the social rights and freedoms of the working people and democratization of administration in all spheres of public life on this new social basis.

'The question is to undertake thorough-going democratic changes,' states the Political Declaration of the Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Western Europe adopted last January. '. . . These

changes, which will take account of the conditions peculiar to each country, will be aimed at limiting and then breaking the monopolies' domination of the nation and at democratizing political and social life in general.'

The important thing is that, although the specific content of the general democratic program changes with time – today it is anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist in intent – its realization, as stressed by Communists in the developed capitalist countries, has been and remains a stage on the road to establishing working-class power in alliance with all working people as an essential perrequisite for the socialist transformation of society.[5]

Thus, the idea of anti-monopoly democracy in no way overrides the more general strategic issue of dictatorship of the proletariat.

The program documents of Communist parties in both developed capitalist and developing countries specifically emphasize their commitment to the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat, of the political power of the working class in alliance with other working people, aimed at, and capable of, overcoming monopoly resistance and carrying out social changes. Special attention is given to expounding the creative functions of proletarian dictatorship and its role in building the new society.

'During the stage of socialist reconstruction of society,' stresses the Program of the Communist Party of Greece adopted at its recent Ninth Congress, 'the working class will continue to foster unity with as many as possible of the social forces with which it had collaborated during the democratic, anti-imperialist stage. . . . As the vehicle of socialist change, the working class, relying on this alliance, will set up its own state, the state of proletarian dictatorship, which represents a higher form of democracy than any preceding one. It is directed only against the exploiters, while creating all the material and social conditions for the people to exercise their rights. It guarantees the widest participation of the working people in running the state and building socialist society. At the same time, it is a form of government neutralizing any reactionary attempt to restore the exploiter system. Socialist democracy ensures the free existence and activity of every party speaking for the interests of working people, recognizing the leading role of the working class and contributing to the building of socialism.'

The Program of the Communist Party of Argentina confirmed by its 14th Congress in August 1973, states: 'The Communist Party of Argentina unswervingly works for its ultimate goal, a social system based on public ownership of the means of production. The march of history has confirmed that the present epoch is one of inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism, whatever forms and ways it may follow. This transition is so powerful and decisive that it has already involved our America, starting with the victorious Cuban revolution. History is thus inexorably advancing toward the realization of the ideal of a communist society, a society without classes or state coercion. But to achieve this goal it is necessary to pass through a transitional socialist stage characterized by the power of the proletariat capable of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes and thus establishing, through dictatorship, a socialist democracy

infinitely superior to the most advanced bourgeois democracy.'

It should be noted that the scientific concept 'dictatorship of the proletariat' may be expressed in terms of working-class 'rule' or 'political power.' The important thing is to take into account the specifics of historical development and the political consciousness of the masses. Bourgeois propagandists and opportunists peddle the idea that, regardless of its class content, 'dictatorship' is the antithesis of democracy. This is not true; nor is it a question of semantics, Communists point out in explaining the real meaning of the political ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They draw the line between unequivocal recognition of the idea of the political power of the working class – dictatorship of the proletariat – and the semantic contortions of the opportunists.

Today the question of the type of power, the kind of state that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, no longer belongs to the realm of pure theory: the answer to it has been given by the actual building of socialist society. The experience of developing socialist statehood is cardinal in determining the correct historical perspectives in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the postwar years the socialist countries, while preserving the common features in the main, fundamental issue of the character of power, evolved specific institutions of popular government, contributing to the common experience of setting up and developing the state machinery and the whole system of the political organization of society.

The class struggle and building of the new society has enriched socialist statehood, based on the concept of proletarian dictatorship, with new forms; socialist democracy and the political structure of the society are being perfected in different ways.[6] As pointed out by the 1969 International Meeting, 'following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions.'

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries tackling the tasks of transition to developed socialism pay great attention to the question of blending the features of proletarian dictatorship with the gradually emerging government of the whole people. A common characteristic of the contemporary evolution of political and legal institutions in the fraternal socialist countries is their dynamically expanding and advancing democratism. The institutions of representative and direct democracy and forms of their combination are becoming increasingly diversified. An active quest is on for ways and means of deeper involvement of citizens in managing the affairs of the society and the state at all levels of decision-making and implementation in the economic, political and cultural spheres. Promotion of democracy is inseparable from the development of the material and cultural base of socialist society in each country. Stable economic growth rates create conditions for complementing the material content of civil rights, expanding them and consolidating their real guarantees. The interaction of economy and democracy is most vividly seen in the social sphere. The material

welfare of the working people, their all-round cultural development and improvement of the quality of life are key objectives of both the system of social production and the political system of socialist society.

The experience of state, public and political life in the countries of the socialist community shows the deep dialectical interconnection between the main characteristics making for the assertion and development of socialist democratism: the level of social and economic development, the political consciousness of the masses, the ideological maturity of the working class and the effectiveness of Party work. The Communist parties not only lead the masses, they also learn from them, taking account of their views, summing up experience; this enhances the prestige of state and public organizations. Socialism and communism cannot be built without Communists, but nor can they be built by Communists alone. As Lenin stressed, '. . . we can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of. Unless we do this the Communist Party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses. . .' (Vol. 33, p. 304). Socialist democracy derives its effectiveness from the conviction and political consciousness of the members of society, from the creative activity of the working-class state.

The development of the socialist state is a continuous creative process. The ripening of objective social and economic conditions and the Parties' purposeful work to perfect political institutions and legislation lead to a natural and gradual evolution of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the whole people, with the working class remaining the leading force. The CPSU has elaborated the theory of this state on the basis of the experience of its own country, defining its class character and functions. 'The state of the whole people,' to quote the theses of the CC CPSU on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, 'represents a further development of socialist statehood in the direction of public communist self-government. It continues the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat – building communism – and jointly with other socialist states carries on the class struggle against imperialism on the international scene.'

The state of proletarian dictatorship and the state of the whole people constitute a single historical type of state, the socialist state. Their organic continuity is expressed in the fact that in the conditions of developed, mature socialism the inherent basic features of socialist statehood attain a higher level. These features are: the leading role of the working class and the leadership of the Communist Party, alliance of the working class with the peasantry and all working people, socialist democracy, the principles of democratic centralism, proletarian internationalism and socialist legality in the formation, organization and functioning of the whole state mechanism, based, as before, on the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Of course, the state of the whole people no longer performs the function of suppressing the resistance of exploiter classes, since there are none, but it remains a class political organization with the task of building communism and expressing the interests and will of the working class and all working people, who share

its social and political positions. The Soviet people, that new historical community, are brought together in a state of the whole people. In international affairs this state retains and promotes its class-oriented role as the bulwark of all anti-imperialist forces.

A study of the history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship, the core of Marxism-Leninism, demonstrates the profound dynamism of this scientific concept. It is constantly enriched by new theoretical definitions and reveals ever new aspects stemming from the concrete revolutionary experience of the masses and the development of the socialist state. The concept of proletarian dictatorship will be continuously elaborated and advanced on the basis of the fundamental postulates of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the experience of existing socialism, and in connection with the new tasks of the international Communist and workers' movement.

1. In *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,* a pamphlet published in 1918 and sharply criticized by Lenin, Karl Kautsky alleged that the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was something oa an 'insertion' in Marxism. This 'insertion,' he argued, had never been analyzed specially or proved valid and it was only under the pressure of development that the Bolsheviks had recalled that 'little phrase,' *the dictatorship of the proletariat,* used by Marx only once, in a letter written in 1875 (Karl Kautksy, 'Die Diktatur des Proletariats.' Wien, 1918, S. 60).

One still comes across bourgeois 'Marxologists' and revisionists who repeat that allegation. S. Hook, an American anti-Communist philosopher, contends that the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is absent from all major works of Marx and was used by him only twice in his correspondence (S. Hook, Marx and the Marxists. Toronto-New York-London, 1955, p. 34). W. Theimer, a German neo-Kantian, affirms for his part that the passages in Marx's writings concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat hold no 'noteworthy place' in Marx's works (see W. Theimer, 'Lexikon der Politik.' Bern, 1962).

The actual circumstances in which the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was conceived and developed in Marx's and Engels's teachings show that these contentions, whose sole aim is to dissociate the idea of proletarian dictatorship from Marxism and eliminate this cornerstone of Marxist political theory, are absolutely unfounded.

2. The idea of proletarian dictatorship was incorporated as the central idea in the fundamental documents of the First International. The 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' read: 'To Conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.' In combating opportunism, Lenin's Bolshevik Party and then the Comintern upheld this idea and made it the common patrimony of the Communists of the world.

3. 'In a democratic state,' the Polish Workers' Party said in its program declaration of 1943, 'the working class and the laboring masses will strive to pass to the socialist system in order to put an end to the exploitation of man by man, and eliminate the source of imperialist wars, in order to open a new era in the nation's life.'

4. This idea is also expressed in terms of 'renovated' or 'advanced' democracy, which indicates the difference between the new power and the bourgeois-democratic regimes based on state-monopoly capitalism.

5. The question of creating the political prerequisites for a future transition to socialism is also being raised in countries with revolutionary-democratic regimes. Marxists give considerable attention to the prospects of this transitional form of statehood. Their investigations help to define more concretely the Marxist-Leninist position concerning transitional stages and the ways leading to the establishment of working people's power headed by the working class.

6. The idea of proletarian dictatorship has also been enriched by the experience of developing the socialist state in conditions of the transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The 'quality of life' concept, whom it serves

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The 'quality of life' concept circulated by bourgeois and social-reformist theorists and politicians is gaining increasing prominence. In the FRG it has become the ideological banner of quite a number of Social Democratic leaders. Speaking recently in Hamburg, Social Democrat Hans-Jochen Vogel, Minister of Justice, described it as the 'central idea of democratic socialism.'

On some questions the 'quality of life' concept links up with other fashionable bourgeois theories, such as 'zero' and 'restricted' economic growth,[1] and with contentions that the world's destiny hinges on ecology, rather than economics. Though the slogan is being overworked, it associates in the minds of people with certain positive ideals and exercises a visible influence also on part of the working class and other progressive elements.

A fairly good idea of the range and nature of the problems encompassed by the concept may be gleaned from a conference on this subject held in Oberhausen in 1972. Minister Erhard Eppler, a Social Democrat, listed the problems that have to be tackled: the persisting air pollution and increasing noise, garbage dumps, declining supplies of pure water, people's growing irritability, the accumulation of harmful and toxic substances in the human body, and the increasing incidence of traffic accidents.[2] A. Wedgwood Benn, a minister in the present Labor government, amplified this list with work environment, big income differences, job-keeping worries, professional training, and human dignity.[3] And Sweden's Prime Minister Olaf Palme referred to the environment, harmful working conditions, and limited reserves of natural resources. He called for a definition of 'the social aims of development and qualitative guidelines,' adding that the mechanism of the 'market economy is insufficient' to achieve them.[4]

What are the origins of the 'quality of life' concept and what functions is it assigned in the present ideological clash of classes and social systems?

Its social origins

To begin with, the concept (introduced several years ago by the U.S. liberal bourgeois economist J.K. Galbraith) attempts to explain the crisis phenomena in the economy and infrastructure of capitalist countries. Its exponents criticize the truly serious problems of the developed capitalist

states. Spurning uncritical veneration of consumption and economic growth, and urging a more rational use of natural resources, they plead for an environment and labor conditions worthy of human beings.

This leads up to a conclusion which the exponents of the concept are not likely to accept: it *admits,* in effect, that despite the postwar spells of rapid production growth and despite the scientific-technical progress, imperialism in the highly developed and richest capitalist countries has not been able to resolve, or even outline a solution for, the fundamental problems related to the social, health and cultural conditions of life. We might say, therefore, that the concept is, in its way, an admission of defeat in a broad area of human existence. By criticizing the infra-structural crisis and urging 'new guidelines,' its proponents acknowledge in fact that the capitalist system, reposing on the maximum profit motive, has not directed enough investments into those areas of reproduction that are crucial for public health, education, housing conditions, etc., and cannot do so.

On the other hand, in the FRG the concept has been a reaction of the Right-wing Social Democrats to the distinctly anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist sentiment prevailing in SDP ranks since the end of the 60s. For many years, the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership in the FRG clung to the illusion that anti-capitalist tendencies in the Party had been overcome for good. But the mounting difficulties in different spheres of the infrastructure, coupled with crisis phenomena in the economy, have revived among Social Democrats the formerly condemned critical trends, directed against the power of monopoly capital. The greater the impact made by the critical situation in education, public health, transport, housing and ecology on the minds of the workers and other working people, the more of an issue the 'quality of life' became in social and political struggle. In fact, it gained unprecedented prominence. In the FRG and other capitalist countries, the youth and the trade unions are spurred by the crisis to make anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist demands.

To contain this tendency is, in fact, the main political motive behind the 'quality of life' slogan. West German Social Democratic and liberal ideologues and politicians are using it to dress up and substantiate social-reformism from a new angle. And they pursue their purpose not only by criticizing some aspects of capitalism, but also by admitting its impotence to resolve the listed problems, i.e., improve the 'quality of life,' with the usual mechanisms of the capitalist system. Yet they avoid the conclusion that a real improvement of the quality of life is prevented by the social-economic structure, the logic and power relations obtaining in capitalist society. Rather than alter the foundations of capitalism, they urge 'greater intervention by the state and a 're-orientation' of public investments. They portray the problem as a consequence of the abyss between 'private wealth' (meaning not big capital, but 'excessive' public consumption) and 'public poverty.' They contend that the gap can be narrowed through greater state interference and by invoking more effective state measures, steering clear of any radical social change. All that is needed, they aver, is to concentrate

attention on the formerly neglected areas of life. In other words, the acute problems bedevilling the developed capitalist countries are to be solved without reference to the fundamental social alternative: capitalism or socialism, monopoly domination or anti-monopoly democracy.

Who is to pay for it?

The absence of vital infrastructural reforms has, indeed, created an abyss between what is socially necessary (the needs of the population) and what has been and is being done by the Social Democratic government. As time goes on, official data shows, more and more money is required to close the abyss. And to assure the functioning of state-monopoly capitalism as a whole, the government is compelled to allocate more funds for this than before. But from *where* are these funds obtained? *Who* must bear the burden? The answer offered by the 'quality of life' concept is favorable to big capital. Like the theorists of 'zero growth,' most of the 'quality of life' advocates are urging the people to cut down on *consumption,* suggesting higher direct and indirect taxes, and pleading with the trade unions to keep their wage demands within 'reasonable' limits. The exponents of the 'quality of life' theory, at least those in our country, have sought from the outset to oppose the 'improvement' slogan to the union demands for higher wages and a bigger share for the working people in the national income created by their labor. They portray the union demands as 'narrow,' calculated merely to increase personal consumption, and as ultimately contrary to the interests of the people.

Contrasting 'quantity' and 'quality' demands, they overlook the fact that for the masses in the capitalist countries the *quality* of food, housing, education, leisure and recreation is directly related to the *quantity* of their individual and family incomes. Trade unionists have become aware that the contraposition of the qualitative and quantitative aspects may be very easily turned against the working class. In the fight for a higher standard of living, the working class and its organizations have always been compelled to make 'quantitative' demands (which are now alleged to have lost significance), such as higher wages, more leisure, slower conveyors and automats, wider admission to kindergartens, and cheaper housing. The workers know, of course, that these 'quantitative' demands largely determine the 'quality' of their life. In the social and political confrontation the 'quality of life' concept is directed against the vital social demands of the working class, and certainly does not in substance question capitalism as a system culpable for the deficient quality of life.

It stands to reason that not all who accept the concept are champions of capitalism. As we have already said, the points raised by its exponents really do reflect many vital social needs. This makes it difficult even for critics and opponents of capitalism to see the true function assigned to it. Yet the trade unions, which in the FRG traditionally occupy themselves with wages and working conditions, cannot help seeing that in recent years the living standard of the working class has depended increasingly on factors outside

the sphere of wage policy, chiefly on the policy and investments of the *state*. This is why the unions are demanding larger government allocations for education, health, public transport, and environmental protection. To promote this objective, some FRG unions are calling for a reduction of the military budget and higher taxation of large capitalist enterprises and propertied interests. As seems also to be the case in other capitalist countries, the 'quality of life' exponents in the FRG government are unable to re-direct investments to vital public spheres, because they lack the courage and will to infringe upon the interests of industrialists and bankers.

The social democratic and liberal government of the FRG has promised to set 'new priorities' and transfer investments to meet the needs of society. Yet such a transfer is impossible until investments in the private monopoly and private capitalist economy are reduced. At one time the Social-Democratic ministers and politicians even referred to the necessity of 'controlling investments.'[5] But fear of prejudicing the interests, profits and power of big capital continuously calls into question the qualitative improvement of the conditions of life. As a result, the faults of the infrastructure increase.

A bourgeois economic institute estimated that real government investments must rise 10 per cent annually over a long period for the FRG to begin eliminating infrastructural difficulties. The growth of government investments is far below that level. More, the trend is in the opposite direction. Statistics show that due to the inflationary price increases of 1971 and 1972 real government investments have *gone down* as compared with previous years. Furthermore, in the framework of state-monopoly economic regulation the government has again and again subordinated its investments for general social needs to the momentary requirements of big industry. As a result, the repeatedly promised reforms are continuously shelved in the interest of big capital. The facts prove that even the slightest progress in spheres that the 'quality of life' exponents regard as crucial, involves radical economic and political power issues affecting the *system* as a whole.

Some bourgeois sociologists and economists doubt that the environmental and infrastructural problem can be solved on the basis of capitalist relations of production. U.S. economist R.L. Heilbroner said at the aforementioned conference that in all probability it would be necessary already in the lifetime of the present generation to subject the volume and structure of production to social controls that will far transcend anything existing in any capitalist country today; and it is questionable, to say the least, whether the basic institutions of the capitalist mechanism, private ownership of the means of production and the market as the key instrument of distribution, would survive such strong pressure.[6]

How do the Communists answer the questions raised by the 'quality of life' concept?

The crucial point

To begin with, the Communists take a fundamentally different view of the *causes* of the critical phenomena, and this is naturally important for defining

the correct way to combat them. The wide rift between private and public consumption and neglect of 'social investments' even in the richest capitalist countries are so obvious and have generated such crying contradictions that now even some apologists of capitalism are advocating reform. But the causes of the crisis in so many spheres of the infrastructure, especially those that do not directly serve the process of capitalist production, are rooted in the system itself. They derive from capitalism's tendency to put capital principally into fields yielding the greatest profit. Nor does government intervention nullify this tendency. On the contrary, state regulation is instrumental in channelling government funds into the big concerns in the form of subsidies, tax exemptions, export premiums, credit privileges, and the like. Intervention of this kind has become vital for the existence of present-day monopoly capitalism. The profit drive is *perverting* the structure of demands, creating many artificial, imagined demands, making many items of consumption dependent on the absurd succession of fads and fashions, and improving the quality of products not to the limit of technical capacity, but purely for sales purposes. Lastly, a disproportionately large part of the public funds is spent on armaments.

Under a system that subordinates everything to capitalist interests, to the profit drive, all progress in raising productivity, all scientific and technical progress, is bound to be highly contradictory. The slow improvement of the life of the masses is achieved by exceedingly tortuous means, through hard and persevering class struggle. And since the reformists deny the intrinsic causes of the infrastructural crisis, which is rooted in the system, they evade the *crucial point*. As a result, their concept is but a new type of apology for capitalism, calculated first and foremost to dampen (and if possible totally eliminate) anti-capitalist sentiment among the Social Democrats. The optimism of the Social Democratic politicians and ideologues concerning the capitalist system and the infrastructural and environmental problems is questioned not only by Marxists, but also by many bourgeois scholars. Speaking of capitalism's relation to collective social requirements, Swiss economist Kapp, for example, sakd: 'The market system does not encompass these problems; for this reason we cannot rely on any self-regulation by the system. On the contrary, the ''rationality'' of the market promotes self-destructive tendencies.'[7]

Alter the tax policy

As Marxists we cannot help seeing that bourgeois and social-reformist advocates of the 'quality of life' concept use it to fight the economic demands of the trade unions and restrict individual consumption (by working people) on the pretext of boosting social investments. In a society where, as we have stressed, the quality of living is substantially dependent on the quantity of individual and family incomes, these proposals militate against the workers. Marxists will not accept a mechanical contraposition of the quantitative and qualitative aspects. Nor will they accept the contention that funds for the urgently necessary investments in various sectors of the

infrastructure should be obtained by new tax impositions on the laboring masses. On the contrary, being consistent champions of the working class and all working people, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries demand higher taxes on profits and big estates in place of tax privileges for capitalists and a bigger tax burden on the masses. How far removed the exponents of the 'quality of life' concept are from reality may be illustrated by the following fact: in the FRG state revenue from the income tax and other taxes is growing steadily, and not only in physical terms, but also compared with taxes on capitalist profit. And this under a social democratic and liberal government. Naturally, the progressive forces must work against this tendency.

Limit monopoly power

The difference in standpoints concerning the long-term, *fundamental* approach to the problem, is still greater. Our opponents refuse to accept the fact that there is a barrier – capitalist ownership of land and means of production – to deep-going changes in education, environmental protection, public health, public transport, and town-planning. The refuse to accept the fact that really effective changes in all these fields are impossible without substantial interference in the distribution of profits, without limiting monopoly power. The course of events shows that their hope of directing and 'controlling' investments, and thereby resolving the social problems, is futile if divorced from anti-monopoly reconstruction. Take these two examples typical for many capitalist countries.

First, the critical state of urban transport. The predominant opinion is that a sweeping expansion of public transport will lead to the necessary positive changes. The railwaymen's union in the FRG has estimated that if part of the funds spent in recent decades on *autobahns* and highways had been used to expand public transport, the country would today have had splendid transportation, and, moreover, could have offered it to all citizens free of charge. Yet enormous sums are being allocated for the maintenance and expansion of private transport facilities to the detriment of public transport. One functionary of the transport and municipal workers union described this policy as 'a continuation of the auto industry's profit policy by other means.' He added: 'Those who want a change, must conduct an anti-monopoly structural policy.'[8]

The second example: housing in the urban areas is being drastically reduced due to chaotic building by banks, insurance companies and firms of skyscraper palaces, department stores, and the like. The need for a new land law has been discussed for many years, but the social democratic and liberal government has long since given to understand that, while prepared to take some measures against land speculation, it cannot solve the vital issue of lowering land prices, though this is absolutely necessary for the municipal authorities, especially to build cheap council housing. And this because the government is reluctant to take any steps damaging to the big real estate

interests, though the country's Constitution provides all the legal instruments.

A *critical examination* of the 'quality of life' concept shows conclusively the deep-going contradictions between its avowed aims and the means it suggests to resolve the vital problems. And since its exponents have no intention to act against, and even slightly restrict or overcome, the economic and political power of monopoly capital, their 'reform policy' is bound to founder. There is only one way to improve the quality of life – to improve the material, social, health, cultural and moral conditions of the life of the masses: consistent struggle against monopoly power.

1. Bourgeois concepts advocating artifically slowed up, or even unchanging, rates of economic development.

2. Erhard Eppler. *Die Qualität des Lebens,* in: Aufgabe Zukunft – Qualität des Lebens, IV Internationale Beratung der Industriegewerkschaft Metall der BRD, Bd, 1, S. 86, Oberhausen, 1972.

3. *Ibid.*, S. 28 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, S. 105 ff.

5. Erhard Eppler in *Frankfurter Rundschau,* December 31, 1973.

6. R.L. Heilbroner, 'Hat der Kapitalismus eine Zukunft?' in: *Aufgabe Zukunft – Qualität des Lebens,* Bd. 1, S. 157.

7. K.W. Kapp, 'Ökonomie der Umweltefährdung und des Umweltschutzes,' op. cit., Bd. 4, S. 25.

8. Hubert Resch, Diskussionsbeitrag in der Arbeitsgruppe Verkehr, op. cit., Bd. 3, S. 145.

political panorama

Lessons and prospects of the revolution

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World Marxist Review has received two letters from Chile. Written specially for us, they travelled a long route from the Chilean underground to our offices. The first letter, presented here, analyzes the reasons for the defeat of the Popular Unity. The second, which will appear in the next issue, is an account of the struggle for an anti-fascist front in Chile.

The military-fascist coup of 11 September 1973 which overthrew the popular government of President Salvador Allende came as a profound shock to progressives everywhere. The powerful worldwide campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people is one of the most vivid manifestations of internationalism in the history of the workers movement. It was given added impetus by the wave of unparalleled savage repression with its toll of tens of thousands killed and arrested and hundreds of thousands blacklisted. The conscience of mankind revolts at the sight of such atrocities and the voices of democrats throughout the world merge in a mighty chorus of protest.

There is another reason why the solidarity movement has attained such proportions: the universal interest in the Chilean experience, in the successes of the working-class and popular movement, which won the 1970 elections, formed the government, and had paved the way to power without resorting to arms.

The international working class, millions of people, were deeply interested in the success of the revolutionary process in Chile. The Chilean experience was not, of course, an example to be blindly emulated. Yet it showed for all to see that in our time the working class, the people can advance to power within the framework of the bourgeois state, even under a reactionary regime. But only if there is a powerful revolutionary movement capable of acting in alliance with different sections of the society and bringing about the democratization of political life, consolidating democratic freedoms and achieving a balance of forces capable of preventing reaction from obstructing the revolution by armed violence.

The revolutionary process in Chile struck a responsive chord among revolutionaries and democrats throughout the world, especially in Latin

America. Which is just why imperialism did everything to doom it to failure and halt it. Against a background of expanding Yankee monopoly aggression aimed at perpetuating their domination in what they considered their Latin-American 'back yard,' Chile became the target of specially fierce attacks. As far back as 1970, a 'working group' of the National Security Council was set up in Washington to draw up detailed plans of aggression against our people.

Imperialism gave its all-out support to the putsch or, to be more precise, to the numerous coup attempts against the Popular Unity government. The purpose of this support became apparent from the vicious reactionary press campaign that followed the overthrow of the popular government.

The *El Mercurio* newspaper, mouthpiece of imperialism and the big monopolies, repeatedly emphasized the international significance of the Chilean people's defeat. Voicing the thoughts and plans of the reaction, it wrote: 'The coup has worldwide implications, for in Chile it proved possible to reverse the Marxist revolutionary process, which is, as a rule, irreversible. Communism has suffered a defeat . . . it has been crushed on its second strategic front: on September 11 the legal path failed in Chile.'

A curious argument! The self-proclaimed champions of 'law and order' boast of destroying democratic institutions. They are in ecstacy over the bloodbath they unleashed; for them, the tragedy has paid off.

The events in Chile are certainly a bitter, if temporary, defeat. It is only natural, therefore, that a number of questions arise which revolutionaries must answer. What did the people and revolutionary leadership do to avert the coup? Why was the fascist dictatorship able to consolidate in a few days while the armed resistance, justified and necessary at the time, proved ineffective? Does the Popular Unity's defeat mean that the premise that power can be won without armed conflict is invalid in general or, at any rate, for Chile? These are but a few of the questions. To supply the answers signifies not only readiness to assume responsibility for what has happened (which is the duty of revolutionaries to our people and the world working-class movement), but also to analyze and chart the course to our main objective today: bring down the fascist dictatorship and eradicate fascism in our country once and for all.

Of course, no critical analysis will ever be final. New facts and viewpoints will continuously appear on different questions. That is why these contributions are not meant to conclude the debate, which is of such importance to the revolutionary movement.

The Chilean people's victory in 1970 was the culmination of an intense period of mass battles on all fronts of social struggle. And the victory was possible because the people had rallied behind a policy which correctly defined the nature of the Chilean revolution and singled out the main enemies: imperialism, the monopoly and landed oligarchy. That was the main line of the attack. The working class formed a socio-political front, the Popular Unity alliance. It promoted a correct overall policy which at decisive junctures helped win the cooperation of other social forces against

reactionary plans. This policy made it possible to form the government, that is, win the most dynamic and important element of political power. From this vantage position, in a situation marked by bitter confrontation with the former ruling classes, the popular movement launched a process of revolutionary change in Chilean society. The changes had been stipulated in the Popular Unity program in accordance with the character of the specific stage of the revolution: the prime need was to overcome backwardness and poverty and eliminate foreign domination and oligarchy rule.

This required the broadest unity and at the same time, provided the basis for cooperation with forces outside the Popular Unity bloc, for their forward movement. At the end of 1970, CPC General Secretary Luis Corvalan defined the prospects as follows:

'The priority task now is to strengthen unity of the people, which can and should become an invincible force in advancing the Chilean revolution and the interests of the various classes and sections of the population, isolating reaction, thwarting its subversive plans, preventing foreign interference, rebuffing imperialist pressure and building up wide support for the new government. This is a crucial task, and it has to be accomplished in the very near future.'*

Such measures as nationalization of the big copper mining industry, creation of a public sector through nationalization of big monopolies, turning the banks into state agencies, reactivation of the agrarian reform, redistribution of incomes in favor of the working people, progress in housing, public health and education, an independent foreign policy and, especially, broad popular participation in shaping the nation's future through a stronger and united trade union movement, and enterprise, supply and price councils, etc. – all this is testimony to the profoundly national, popular and revolutionary character of the administration headed by Salvador Allende. Despite the temporary defeat, these achievements are an invaluable heritage of the Chilean people. And though wiped out now by the junta, they will forever serve as an example and inspiration to the working people and the nation.

Why did this process, objectively so in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the majority of the people, suffer defeat?

Firstly, because to foreign capital and the local oligarchy, which had enjoyed every imaginable privilege for more than 150 years, anything short of halting it would mean loss of power and wealth forever, a prospect they refused to accept.

The events in Chile fully confirm the Marxist position that moribund classes do not relinquish power of their own free will. Quite the contrary, they will fight tooth and nail. Nor does the fact of the working class winning a part of political power by unarmed struggle alter that. We must never forget what Lenin wrote in his *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* of the efforts of reactionaries who have suffered defeat: 'For

*'Chile: The People Take Over,' (*WMR*, December 1970).

a long time, . . . the exploiters inevitably continue to retain a number of great practical advantages: they still have money. . . ; some moveable property – often fairly considerable; they still have various connections, habits of organization and management; knowledge of all the ''secrets'' (customs, methods, means and possibilities) of management; . . . incomparably greater experience in the art of war (this is very important) . . . . The international connections of the exploiters are enormous. . . . After their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters – who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it – throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the ''paradise,'' of which they were deprived. . .' (*Collected Works,* Vol. 28, pp. 253-254).

This fully applies to our country. Matters were further complicated by the fact that the reactionaries held strong positions in the state apparatus, parliament, the judiciary and the mass media.

Taking advantage of all this, they launched an all-out war against the popular government, a war to the bitter end. Their use of different means of struggle is most instructive for our people and, we hope, other peoples. Here are some examples.

The reactionaries opposed the popular forces, especially the Communists and Socialists, under the banner of freedom and democracy. But as the class struggle gained in intensity they rode roughshod over all democratic institutions that clashed with their interests. If such institutions allowed the people to take over the reigns of government or win a part of political power, they were railed and vilified by their erstwhile defenders. The bourgeoisie may denounce terror 'on principle' when in power, but it readily invokes terror, makes it its policy, when this fits its purpose.

The Chilean experience convincingly demonstrates that only the working class and the people are capable of preserving and developing the democratic institutions. In our time revolutionary processes, the advance to socialism, are the only genuine guarantees of political democracy. The struggle for democracy is inseparable from socialist development.

When power is won without armed struggle the ruling classes naturally seek to take advantage of 'legality' in their fight against the revolution. But this is the same 'legality' which justifies the revolutionary government in the eyes of broad sections of the public. It becomes a factor in facilitating, to a certain degree, revolutionary change and the marshalling of forces. Insofar as this is a transitional stage, the old government institutions are temporarily retained. But the revolutionary movement should not lose sight of the fact that the democratic institutions inherited from the old system are of a class nature, and democratic development inevitably entails changing the class character of the state. That is the only way to assure the advance of the revolution. The enemy tries to exploit the situation by using government institutions where he still dominates to do away with those which no longer promote his class domination. This is where our government made a number of mistakes, which enabled the reactionaries to take advantage of democratic

freedoms to create conditions for a fascist coup d'état, doing away with democracy altogether. Idealistic notions of freedom and an approach to problems without reference to the class struggle were a major negative factor. As a result, the fascists were spurred on by our tolerance of their activities.

Ideological confrontation is of special significance in a struggle involving the winning of a part of the political power in the framework of a bourgeois state system. The ideas of the outgoing classes continue to influence, more, to dominate, the masses. In addition, the reactionaries have the means of propagating their ideas: the press, radio, television, cinema, schools. All this is a powerful weapon of bourgeois restoration. If they are to succeed, the popular forces must crush the enemy on this front too. We were unable to eliminate the disproportion between the reactionary and progressive mass media. Moreover, we did not make proper use of the opportunities at our disposal, whereas the enemy was quick to launch a campaign of slander and vilification, and mislead broad sections of the people.

From the moment the working class and the people take over, economic policy and activity are decisive in strengthening and extending their positions in the struggle for power.

The reactionaries, on the other hand, having lost political power, do everything to plunge the country into chaos. Thus, the monopolists and landlords immediately launched a campaign of economic sabotage, undeterred by the harm this would cause the country and, in fact, their own interests (which to them are more important than those of the country). The aim was to create difficulties for the government at every step.

The economic problems inherited from the past (a huge foreign debt, backward agriculture and underdeveloped infrastructure) were aggravated by these reactionary maneuvers. As a result of the revolutionary process, demand, especially for consumer goods, formerly determined by capitalist relations and the corresponding distribution of income, increased, largely due to the increased needs of the society.

The revolutionary leadership has the task of improving living conditions for the laboring people, boosting production and labor productivity and fostering conscious labor discipline in the working class. The solution of these problems makes it possible to repair the damage caused along with reactionary resistance, by boycotts, sabotage, speculation and black marketeering, and, what is most decisive, improve the conditions of the masses.

In such an economically backward country as Chile these problems were especially acute, and we proved unable to resolve them successfully. Internal and external reaction managed to cause chaos and provoke a grave economic crisis, which was aggravated by our mistakes and weaknesses. This to a large extent explains our defeat.

The reactionaries used every means at their disposal to combat the popular government. Two opposing centers of power became clearly defined on all fronts of the class struggle and the bitter fight to gain the upper hand.

For the people to win in this confrontation it was essential for the working

class to step up its revolutionary activity and at the same time show a greater capacity for allying with other forces. Whatever the political circumstances, the prime need is to win over the overwhelming majority of the people and thus isolate the main enemies. This is borne out by the experience gained in the revolutionary process, the experience of victories actually won.

The success of 1970 should be seen in a broader light than just victory at the polls. The Popular Unity alliance actually won 36.3 per cent of the vote. This made it the major force in the society, especially in view of the limitations of bourgeois democracy, which prevent the broad participation of the working class and the people in political life. But it was still only a plurality.

The election victory was consolidated in the bitter mass battles of September and October 1970 which ensured that Salvador Allende, who had amassed the largest number of votes, could be sworn in as President of the republic. Relying on national democratic traditions and taking advantage of contradictions between various bourgeois groupings, the Popular Unity alliance achieved joint action with other democratic forces, notably the Christian Democrats. In these battles the popular movement managed to tip the scales in favor of the revolution and rally the majority of the population against the main enemies. This made it possible to foil the attempted coup d'état of October 22 in which the Army Commander-in-Chief, General Schneider, was assassinated.

Thus, the 1970 victory was a triumph of the majority, and not only because the Popular Unity represented, and stood for, its interests (which is, of course, true of every working-class, popular movement), but also because that majority identified itself with the political objectives of the Popular Unity in the specific conditions and helped achieve them. Without this victory would have been impossible.

To win the majority for ensuring the success of the Chilean revolution meant rallying broad public sections around the working class, whose alliance with the peasants is decisive in any revolutionary process. But although acceleration of the agrarian reform contributed substantially to the alliance (always rather a weak one in the history of Chile's class struggles), its strength remained insufficient in the struggle for power.

In the conditions prevailing in our country it was also necessary to rally broad middle sections around the working class, in one form or another winning over various non-monopoly bourgeois groups, notably the middle and petty bourgeoisie. And when we succeeded in achieving unity with these sections or their majority, bringing them together on the basis of concrete slogans or actions, we were able to win decisive revolutionary victories. The first of these was the inauguration of the popular government.

By that time, however, there were contradictory assessments of the situation. This prevented proper leadership of the popular movement and, in the end, became a determining factor in the defeat of September 11.

The Popular Unity parties and movements believe that the defeat was due mainly to the absence of a united leadership pursuing a principled policy and

avoiding the pitfalls of 'Left' and Right opportunist deviations. In this respect solid unity of Socialists and Communists is decisive. It is the guarantee of the monolithic unity of the working class and the political front as a whole.

In Chile, Socialist-Communist unity goes back 20 years. It was steadily strengthened in the three years of popular government and is today stronger still. But, of course, there were difficulties. And there were gaps. Before the popular government they were bridged without serious damage to the movement, but in the crucible of the class struggle that followed the people's victory, they made themselves more painfully felt, for there were harder problems to tackle and the enemy took every advantage of our differences.

Both parties bear responsibility for the insufficient solidity of their unity. We do not deny our shortcomings, the sectarian evil within our ranks, notably in our local branches. This prevented fraternal discussion of problems and agreement on many questions. The class character of our Party, its better organizational facilities, imposed a greater responsibility on us in the face of the sectarianism displayed by our opponents.

The Communist Party of Chile is a working class party. However, our leadership of the proletariat and the people and the fulfilment of our vanguard role presuppose cooperation with the Socialist Party, which likewise has important positions among the working people. This is a correct orientation, expressive of the unity of the revolutionary forms of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. And there are ample facts to bear this out. But this should not have precluded a more or less open statement, when and where necessary, of the fundamental views of the working class. We discussed matters at leadership level and explained our class position. But we were not doing enough at local branch level, among the people. And yet such work could have prevented the spread of petty-bourgeois revolutionism which militated against Socialist-Communist unity and the revolutionary process as a whole.

A factor that worked against united leadership was the ceaseless subversion of the ultra-Left elements against the Socialist-Communist alliance and the Popular Unity. Their aim was to create an avowedly anti-Communist 'revolutionary pole' to replace the 'reformist leadership' allegedly imposed by our Party. And their views met response among some Socialist Party members.

Petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary groups propagated the dogmatic concept that he who is not a proletarian or semi-proletarian is an enemy. The bourgeoisie, all of it without exception, was denounced as the 'ruling class.' This ignored the very real fact that the monopoly and agrarian bourgeoisie, those allies of imperialism, played a dominating role in Chilean society. They placed an oppressive burden on the proletariat, but also on definite groups of the bourgeoisie and on broad sections of the urban and rural middle strata. This dogmatic concept also disregarded the dependent character of Chilean capitalism and the concentration of capital. Yet both one and the other are distinctive features of imperialism and produce the social con-

tradictions the working class must always take into account in charting its political course and choosing its necessary and possible allies.

These ultra-Left concepts did grave damage to the popular movement. More, they became the basis for a primitive ultra-Leftist policy vis-à-vis the government. Everywhere they provoked clashes with small and middle entrepreneurs and instigated the seizure of factories and real estate of no real economic importance. They fostered a sectarian attitude toward the intermediate strata. As a result, the working class was gradually forced into isolation and the intermediate strata became, objectively, allies of the country's main enemies. In the fight for power there thus developed a balance of forces unfavorable for the Popular Unity.

Politically, the ultra-Left rejected all compromise and alliances. Typical of their activity and views was their patently distorted picture of the Christian-Democrats, a mass party which in the 1973 elections polled about 30 per cent of the vote (with 85 per cent of the economically active population going to the polls). The Christian-Democrats represented many classes, their influence extending to part of the proletariat and peasantry and also to part of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The party was strong among the middle strata. Nonetheless it was treated as a solid reactionary mass. This eminently suited the reactionary bourgeoisie and its leader, ex-President Frei, helping them unite the party around a confrontation with the popular government. This, in turn, helped the putschists, with whom Senor Frei and his group were openly cooperating in the hope of regaining at least part of their lost power.

Another manifestation of ultra-Left sectarianism was persistent rejection of alliance with the patriotic section of the army that remained loyal to the Constitution. This weakened its position and made it easier for the fascists to win over the officer corps and, in the end, block all resistance within the armed forces.

Ideologically, dogmatism found expression in virtual disregard of the gains of popular rule. The Allende government was branded reformist and there were calls for mass struggle against it. In fact, a section of the working people were drawn into it by a propaganda cocktail of banal economism and pseudo-revolutionary phraseology.

It has to be said, however, that some problems – pertaining to education, for instance – were wrongly approached. This complicated the government's relations with the Church, whose most influential spokesmen took an objective stand and were sympathetic to the government's social reforms – a fact that has immense importance.

We know from history that such actions are bound to produce a receptive soil for opposition sentiments and for fascization of part of the petty bourgeoisie and other middle strata.

The Chilean experience has reaffirmed anew that ultra-Leftism is a boon for imperialism and reaction, which assiduously cultivates it as a means of defeating the people. The opportunist essence of the 'Peking Leftists,' too, stood out in Chile in all its ugly nakedness – even in the eyes of the

petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionists. The Leftists ended up by extending a hand of friendship to the fascist putschists.

The shortcomings of leadership mentioned above gave elbow room not only to ultra-Leftism, but also to manifestations of Right opportunism. In fact, both of these ideological deviations often came from one and the same social and political center.

One of the most pronounced features of the Right deviation was economism which sank deep roots among the more politically backward groups of working people. Speaking for our Party, its General Secretary declared that, with a people's government in power, the well-being of the workers depends not only, and not so much, on the success of actions in support of their demands, but on the destiny of the Popular Unity government, on the achievement of its goals.

The bourgeois parties egged on the workers to put forth excessive demands in the hope that this would erode the government's social basis. Worse still, the ultra-Left – and indeed elements in the Popular Unity itself that had succumbed to their influence – were working in the same direction. The demands were couched in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology. The forces behind them were concerned solely for their narrow party interests and for extending their influence. Little did they care that by inciting some groups of the working people against the government they were abetting the putschists.

They refused to acknowledge the necessity of subordinating the fight for economic demands to the struggle for power. As was only to be expected, the response came chiefly from the politically immature workers of small and medium enterprises, with little or no militant traditions. And so, various forms of economism helped to alienate the intermediate strata.

All this affected the attitude of these groups of workers in the battle for more production and higher productivity. And that was a battle the government had to win to strengthen its position and resolve the issue of power in its favor. But the ultra-Lefts were telling the workers that 'economic problems and production should not take precedence over the class struggle' and that 'the big capitalists should see to the growth of production.' In this induced atmosphere of boycott and sabotage, the Leftists urged the masses to abandon all efforts to resolve this crucial problem which, in the final analysis, would determine the country's future. They would have nothing to do with the major tasks we had set. Their sole concern was to win a cheap popularity by flattering the masses. And so, ultra-Leftism and Right opportunism merged.

The Chilean revolutionary process was harmed also by manifestations of bureaucracy, survivals of a non-proletarian attitude to the state apparatus and lack of faith in the people. There was a definite trend to 'assimilate' the part of the state apparatus we took over following the 1970 election victory: use it without making any changes whatsoever. This conflicted with the attempts to restructure the government machine notably by giving the people a bigger part in running it.

Needless to say, no previous Chilean government had allowed the working class and the people anything resembling the opportunities we provided for planning and controlling the affairs of society. Without going into the shortcomings, we must ask to what extent fulfilment of this task accorded with the demands of the revolutionary process and the pace of changing the class character of government institutions.

Bourgeois government begins and ends with bureaucracy. We revolutionaries possess tremendous reserves for multiplying our forces and making our work more effective. These reserves are the working people, when they are enlisted to perform the functions of government and to set up an 'extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people' (Lenin, Vol. 27, p. 241).

Consistent accomplishment of these tasks called for deep faith in the masses and for class firmness. To eliminate bureaucracy, the Communists made it a point that government officials should not enjoy any privileges. Our officials were paid a modest salary and everything above that went into the exchequer. We also introduced stringent rules to prevent corruption or any propensity to draw advantages from one's official position. Hundreds of workers were placed in executive posts and we did everything to give the working class and the people a bigger share in running the country.

However, the results were anything but satisfactory. We committed mistakes. Take, for instance, the system of worker participation in management, which operated parallel with the trade unions. It had originated with the workers, but was meant for another, and to a certain degree, contradictory function. This slowed down the real involvement of workers in management and gave rise to a harmful tendency within the trade unions. Their role was now reduced to advancing economic demands, and they had no part whatever in management. We began to set things right, but only after the damage had been done.

In sum, all these varieties of 'Left' and Right opportunism exerted a definite, in some cases a decisive, influence on the popular movement, and weakened the positions won in the battle for power.

Our Party said in its first appeal to the people after the fascist coup: 'The Communist Party is absolutely confident that its policy of unreserved defense of the Popular Unity government, its steps toward mutual understanding with other democratic forces, especially at basic level, its efforts to inspire confidence in the middle strata, its indefatigable struggle against the danger of civil war, its striving to direct the main blow against the main enemy, i.e., imperialism and internal reaction, its perseverance in strengthening the alliance of Communists and Socialists, unity of the working class and mutual understanding of the Popular Unity parties, its struggle to increase production and raise productivity, to put state-run factories on a paying basis, its campaign for higher labor discipline – all these were

components of a fully correct general policy.'* But this should not be taken to mean that there were no shortcomings and errors.

Though our policy won wide acceptance and though a substantial part of the working class and the people worked with dedication to achieve the goals of the revolution, we were not able to unite the whole popular movement on this basis.

Indeed, the Popular Unity was unable to prevent isolation of the working class or to win over the majority of the population, whose vital interests were inseparably linked with the success of the popular government. This predetermined the victory of counter-revolution in the battle for power. We suffered both military and political defeat (military defeat was due mainly to our political defeat). We were defeated because the working class was isolated from its allies.

Working in close contact with President Allende and consistently promoting unity of all participants in the Popular Unity, our Party made every effort to resolve the issue of power without recourse to armed struggle. We were working on the premise that, in all cases, the path to power presupposes active mobilization of the masses. The success of the revolutionary process is inconceivable without struggle. It takes the strength of the masses to suppress the resistance of the reactionary forces that always confront the people and are always working to achieve its aims. It takes the strength of the masses to prevent violence by a real or potential body of reactionary power. The possibility of success on the non-armed path to power (sometimes referred to as the peaceful path, but that is not always an accurate definition) implies the masses' ability to detect and check attempts to unleash reactionary armed violence. That possibility emerges in a definite set of historical circumstances, and increases if the relation of forces becomes more favorable for the people and if the reactionary forces are increasingly isolated.

And we can look back on major victories in working toward that aim. It will be recalled that after Dr. Allende's election imperialism and the oligarchy tried to prevent his inauguration. When this failed they tried to overthrow his government. For three years the Chilean people thwarted the plots of the CIA and ITT (October 1970), of Major Marshall (March 1971) and of General Canales, the truck-owners' strike, the strike of shopkeepers and members of the liberal professions (October 1972) and the abortive coup of Colonel Souper (June 1973). In all these cases the people's victory over the plotters was possible because the alignment of social forces created by the activity of the government, the parties and the masses favored the Popular Unity.

In contrast, the September 11 coup was possible because imperialism and internal reaction had built up a broad anti-government front. This was its *class composition:* the monopoly bourgeoisie and agrarian oligarchy made up its core and it included the vast majority of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, most of the middle strata, the backward elements of other social

*Appeal of the CP Chile, October 1973.

groups. Its *political composition:* the putschists had won over (besides the reactionary parties) most of the Christian Democrats led by Frei, and the right elements that had broken with the Radical Party. The *military makeup:* the putschists were able to involve the vast majority of servicemen and police and prevented practically all action in defense of the democratic government.

This became clear a few hours after the coup was launched. At first there was organized popular resistance in many places. Many members of the Communist and other Popular Unity parties fell in this heroic struggle, fighting with whatever weapons were at hand. But the working class and the people, the leadership of the revolutionary parties and President Allende realized that it would be madness to bring all our forces and reserves into this unequal battle.

The President told the people of his decision and the reasons for it: 'In this great ordeal I will pay with my life for loyalty to the people. Force is on the side of the enemy and he can win. But neither force nor criminal action can halt social processes. The people must defend themselves, but they must not commit suicide. The people cannot allow themselves to be trampled upon and destroyed, but neither can they allow themselves to be humiliated. This grim and bitter hour will be survived by others. I am confident that I am not giving my life in vain.'

It is hardly necessary to comment on the dignity of these words and the revolutionary devotion expressed in them. But it is important to understand that the President regarded the political situation as extremely unfavorable for the popular forces.

And it is in this sense that we assess our defeat primarily as a political one and only after that as a military one. The isolation of the working class from its allies enabled the reactionaries to launch their coup. Isolation ruled out the *possibility* of the working class and the people taking up arms. We officially state that there could have been such a possibility, but only if it were not tantamount to mass suicide.

The tragic outcome of this stage of the Chilean revolution requires an analysis also of our attitude toward the armed forces. The September 11 coup showed that the putschists had compelled the Chilean armed forces to break with their long-standing tradition of non-interference in politics and to betray their professional duty and loyalty to the democratic institutions.

The popular movement relied on these traditions when it made its choice of revolutionary path. And we followed that path when the new government was in power, endeavoring to enhance the army's democratic traditions and strengthen its institutional character to foil fascist attempts to turn the military into running dogs of reaction.

We relied heavily on the army's professionalism, its respect for the elected government and we endeavored to bring the armed forces into the work of economic development without in any way impairing their defense preparedness. At times of crisis we worked in alliance with the patriotic part of the army faithful to the Constitution, and this played a decisive role in

suppressing the October 1972 conspiracy. This alliance could have developed, were it not for the spread of ultra-Left conceptions.

Meanwhile the putschists continued their plotting. Officers true to the popular government were retired and by a series of treasonous acts reactionaries were installed in key command posts. The reasons why they succeeded are partly objective. They were able to carry out their plans, using the reactionary ideology injected into the armed forces, chiefly as a result of imperialist penetration, and the class composition of the officer corps. These factors grew as the isolation of the working class from its allies increased. The subversion was long and systematic, geared to an operational plan the carrying out of which, according to recent admissions by Pinochet, began in 1972. All this culminated in the fascist coup.

We were not able to build up an adequate support base among non-commissioned officers and privates who, by virtue of their class origins, gravitated toward the popular government. To a certain degree there was a contradiction between our efforts to enhance the professional character of the armed forces and our work in explaining to servicemen what the Popular Unity government was all about.

Then, too, there were many illusions about the army's devotion to its professional duty and the Constitution. As a party we committed one of our most serious errors in overestimating the democratic nature of the government system and not taking timely steps to reorganize it. This applies also to the armed forces.

Such are some of the lessons of the tragic events in our country.

The dawn of freedom

Catarina Mendes
Representative of the
Communist Party of Portugal
on *World Marxist Review*

After the exuberant demonstrations and euphoria of the first days of freedom, Portugal has got down to tackling the tasks facing her as a result of almost half a century of fascist rule.

And they are formidable tasks. A stagnating industry, a crisis in agriculture and runaway inflation. The sorry state of education, social security and public health demands immediate action. More than 1.3 million have left the country in search of work. An empty treasury, depleted by military expenditures which swallowed half the annual budget. Forty thousand killed in a criminal war unleashed by the colonialists, the longest and bloodiest ever waged in Africa. The lowest living standard in Europe and the highest

illiteracy rate and child mortality. This is Portugal's inheritance from the old regime.

On May 25 the Provisional Government passed a number of important decisions. A wage minimum of 3,300 escudos has been set, meaning a wage raise of 18 to 20 per cent for more than half the work force. Steps have been taken to curb prices of a wide range of commodities and services, including rents. Grants to big families have been increased. A new system of social security providing for higher minimum old age and disability pensions is being drawn up. All of which will make life better for many working people, especially in the lower-income brackets.

A commission has been set up to draw up an electoral law for next spring's elections to a constituent assembly, which will have to revise the Constitution, to be followed shortly by presidential elections.

The quest is on for a solution to the colonial problem, one of the gravest facing the government, and on which there is still no consensus. 'As the Communist Party sees it,' Alvaro Cunhal said, 'the only desirable and possible solution is full independence for the peoples oppressed today by Portuguese colonialism.' The program of the National Salvation Council takes a much more vague and cautious approach. Some have suggested a federal system which would in practice give Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau equality with Portugal, with Lisbon retaining control over defense, foreign policy and finances.

As the situation demands the unity and cohesion of political leadership, the dominant view is to single out the fields in which opinions coincide, namely, the need to seek a political solution. The removal of all the governor-generals of the colonies was a first step. Ceeasefire talks have begun between representatives of the Provisional Government and leaders of the national liberation movements, with the promise of then discussing the future of the African colonies.

The government has given itself a month's time to pass laws governing the status of trade unions and employers' associations. For almost 50 years Portuguese workers were denied the right to have militant organizations of their own. They were forcibly drawn into government unions, and repression was the only reply of the authorities to their demands. Now the government has recognized the right to form trade unions.

Preparations are on for the first national congress of working people, to be held in September or October. It will be of key importance in reconstructing organized labor in a spirit of unity. The Communist Party pays much attention to the reorganization and strengthening of the trade union movement in line with the new situation. A key role here belongs to the Intersyndical, which unites two amalgamations, the trade unions of the north and south, a total of 56 organizations.

The unions are, naturally, duty bound to reflect the will of the workers and uphold their demands vis-à-vis the employers. But the workers must understand that the employers may sharply increase wages with the aim of causing economic difficulties. The strike, that powerful weapon of the working

people, can be used by reactionaries to their own ends (one can recall the tragic experience of Chile). This warning to the people was issued by the Communist Party in connection with the strike of municipal transport and bakery workers. 'We are witnesses,' the Party stated, 'of maneuvers by the most reactionary elements, not yet removed from their posts by the April 25 movement, who, with the deliberate or unintentional help of adventurist groups calling themselves "Leftists," are attempting to push the country toward economic chaos and destroy the democratic gains already won.' The Party has called upon the workers to be vigilant and nip in the bud the maneuvers of fascist provocateurs. Similar appeals were issued by the Socialist Party, the Portuguese Democratic Movement and the trade unions.

The government has decided immediately to dismiss all state administrators and representatives on public organizations, as well as government delegates at enterprises and companies, appointed before April 25. This is because their actions contributed to industrial conflicts at enterprises.

The Communist Party has a very important part to play in this difficult situation. In the more than 50 years of its existence, 47 of them in illegal conditions, the Party has become a decisive force of the democratic opposition. It has a well-functioning national organization, its ranks are growing rapidly, and it is becoming a mass political organization of the working people.

It is not accidental that two Communists hold important ministerial posts in the Provisional Government: General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal and Avelino Goncalves, a trade union officer and former bank clerk in Oporto, who was able to organize a Communist dominated trade union of bank employees, under the very noses of the secret police.

Communist participation in the Provisional Government is a token of recognition of the role the Party played in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, an indication of genuine involvement of the people in charting Portugal's destinies. It also indicates that solution of the stupendous tasks of rebuilding the nation's political and social structure requires communist participation in the work of government.

'If someone had asked several months ago in what West European country Communists were most likely to enter the government,' said Alvaro Cunhal at a press conference on May 17, 'Portugal would evidently have been listed as the least likely place. But look how it has worked out. The revolutionary process is a complex one.'

Our Party stresses the limited nature of the Provisional Government's objectives, maintaining that the country's future will depend on how specifically they will be met. The government can and should enact a number of reforms and take sound urgent measures, the newspaper *Avante!* wrote on May 17. But to expect such a widely based administration to pursue a popular-government policy or, as some would like, a 'socialist orientation' policy, would mean disregarding the real situation. It would only cause friction between the component parts of the present alliance, leading to its split and disintegration, which would open the way for counter-revolution.

However, of no less danger is Right-wing opportunism, with its tendency to forego the basic aims of the democratic movement.

More than 70 political organizations have sprouted on the ruins of Caetano's one-party state. The newspapers can hardly keep up with the printing of their programs and manifestos. Most of these documents speak of a desire to do away with the past once and for all and pool the nation's efforts in the struggle to overcome the Salazar heritage in the economy and politics, in the mentality and psychology. But new reactionary organizations are also appearing, proof of the fact that the Right have begun a regrouping of forces in an attempt to adapt to the new situation.

Important steps have been taken to dismantle the fascist machinery of government, but the roots of fascism have not been destroyed. Its direct allies, the bosses of Portugal's economy, the big monopoly owners, both domestic and foreign, are still very much in the saddle. And there are still many who fail to see the true significance of the role played by ultra-Left groups. The salutary purge of the civil service and the army has not yet been completed. Many agents of the former political police, PIDE, and the 'Portuguese Legion' are still at large and engaged in subversive action against the new regime. The dazed reactionaries are recovering from the dictatorship's rapid collapse and beginning to think of a comeback.

To keep the danger of a counter-coup from becoming a real-life tragedy we need not only caution and vigilance, but active efforts in the political and economic spheres as well. The nation's future depends on how swiftly and effectively the progressive forces make use of the present moment.

The main guarantee of the freedoms already won and the establishment of a nationally elected democratic regime in Portugal is greater unity of the working class and the democratic movement, greater unity of the masses and the armed forces. 'The alliance with the Armed Forces Movement is growing stronger,' declared CC Secretary Rodriguez Pato in an interview with a Lisbon correspondent of the Bulgarian news agency. 'Our Party holds that the preservation and strengthening of this alliance is of tremendous importance for the final victory. A breakdown of the alliance would open the way to counter-revolution.'

The long night of fascism is over. An uneasy dawn has broken over Portugal. My hope is that my country faces a fine day.

May 1974

The French presidential elections: political polarization

Gilber Waserman
French journalist

Everybody in France and abroad recognizes that the situation in the country has radically altered since the May pre-term presidential elections when the united Left candidate obtained a near absolute majority, 49.19 per cent of the vote. In this article, written hard on the heels of these events, we can only touch on some aspects of the recent momentous political battle.

From the very outset, the French Communist Party worked for one Left candidate in the first round of the elections. This was in line with the Party's political strategy over a number of years. More than 10 million supported the common government program of the Left in the March 1973 Parliamentary elections. From then on the aim was to win it still greater support. Increasing inflation, soaring prices, and the resultant decline in purchasing power, plus the threat of mass unemployment, were some of the factors that were uniting the people in the face of the crisis of the system and the policy of the country's rulers.

Of course, had the Communist Party put forward its own candidate this would in no way have conflicted with its strategy either. But it was quite obvious that the time had not come yet when the majority would support a Communist for President of the Republic. To have put forward two Left candidates would have encouraged Rightist maneuvers, attempts to sow division on the Left, and this could have denied the popular forces a candidate in the second round. On the other hand, a single candidate in the first round created more favorable conditions for strengthening the alliance based on the common program.

The decision of the Communist Party's Central Committee to work for a single candidate immediately won popular support, with telegrams, resolutions and petitions pouring into the headquarters of the Communist and Socialist parties. Three days later, the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals, who signed the common program, agreed to nominate a joint candidate, François Mitterrand, First Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Following the General Confederation of Labor, other representative bodies of the working class and democratic movement, such as the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Federation of Public Education and the United Socialist Party, none of which had previously supported the common program, now decided to join the battle on the side of the united Left.

The campaign of the Left started in an atmosphere of unity, clarity of purpose and calm confidence, in sharp contrast to the Rightist camp in the first round. After some in-fighting and the nomination of a number of minor, vote-splitting candidates, the former majority decided on three candidates: Jacques Chaban-Delmas, the UDR; Valery Giscard d'Estaing, National Federation of Independent Republicans; and Jean Royer, Mayor of Tours.

The conflict between the various reactionary groups was over how best to conceal the deplorable consequences of their rule, to hide their bankruptcy and evade responsibility. But there was agreement on one thing: stop the united Left candidate, keep hold of power and continue, even intensify, their previous policy. However, the desire for change was so widespread that every candidate of the Right was compelled to declare in its favor, and between the first and second rounds the Right deluged the country with promises.

The election campaign was exceedingly tense. Our Party organizations and members mobilized all available forces. While taking part in joint activities with the other parties backing the program, which culminated in the magnificent rally of 100,000 in Paris, our Party conducted its own campaign to increase support for the common program by explaining its points still more fully and on a still wider scale. Our campaign was also meant to rebuff reaction, which was using its powerful propaganda machine to whip up anti-communist hysteria in an attempt to make the electors reject the Left candidate. Thus, our Party campaign was designed to remove obstacles on the path to the victory of the popular forces.

In the first round our efforts were highly successful: with 43.36 per cent of the vote, Mitterrand was far ahead of the other candidates, and compared with the 1973 parliamentary elections, the common-program parties received almost one million more votes. Giscard d'Estaing came second, with about 33 per cent, and the Gaullist candidate Chaban-Delmas trailed behind with less than 15 per cent.

The reason for Chaban-Delmas's defeat was that the electors wanted change, and that many of them, quite rightly, laid the main blame for the present situation and their difficulties at the door of the ruling Gaullist Party, the UDR. The monopoly bourgeoisie reacted by backing Giscard d'Estaing.

The two candidates who ran in the second round presented a rare example of clear-cut political polarization: François Mitterrand, the candidate of the alliance of workers, democratic and national forces, and Giscard d'Estaing, the candidate of the reactionary forces who, after the UDR had joined in, was at the head of a motley coalition covering all the Right elements, from the reformist and centrist to the fascist.

The election campaign was hard fought, especially in the second round, with over 87 per cent of the voters going to the polls, an all-time record for France.

Anti-Communism was the sole factor uniting all the Right forces in their bid to stop the candidate of the Left. That is why the focal point of the campaign, along with unscrupulous distortion of the common program, was

the question of Communist participation in the government (six or seven ministerial posts in a government of some 20 members). Actually, the electors were invited to vote on this issue, which made our success all the more significant.

In the second round some of the Gaullists who had voted for Chaban-Delmas, defied the instructions of their party, the UDR, and refused to vote for a man who, in their view, supported a pro-Atlantic policy, enjoyed the sympathy of the Vichyites and was ready to sacrifice national independence. These persons, including some of General de Gaulle's former ministers, voted for Mitterrand. Again, proof of the deep disarray among the Gaullist section of the electorate.

In the second round, on May 19, Mitterrand polled nearly 13 million votes, two million more than in the first round. This was a notable success. Never before had the united Left achieved such massive politically significant results. We are justified in assuming that, were young people between 18 and 21 years of age entitled to vote, Mitterrand would have won. Most of his support came from the working people and the youth. In other words, France of the future cast its vote for the united Left.

According to the opinion polls, 75 per cent of the workers, 52 per cent of the white-collar workers and middle-ranking technicians, and about 60 per cent of the younger people voted for the united Left candidate. Giscard d'Estaing obtained his majority of 1.6 per cent through the votes of pensioners, housewives, professionals and higher managerial staff.

Also this: the candidate of the Right had all the facilities money and power could provide. He used demagogy and falsification to mislead the electorate, and even then he was elected by a slim majority. He will rule relying on a motley and disunited coalition unable to solve a single one of the various problems confronting the country. He will have to take into account the fact that the working people will without a doubt remind him of his many election pledges. All the indications are that the monopolies have only gained a respite.

The French Communist Party, for its part, will, as its Political Bureau stated the day after the elections, 'continue in an atmosphere of confidence and growth of its strength to fight persistently in defense of the interests of the working people and the popular masses, for political changes to make possible the fundamental reforms which alone can lead the country out of its state of crisis.

'It will exert every effort to persuade French men and women who do not yet venture to declare for genuine change, to join the powerful popular movement now developing.'

The Political Bureau has decided to launch a mass drive for new members and the building of new Party branches under the slogan 'Alliance of the People of France for the Victory of Democracy.' Our motto is 'Unity and the Fighting Alliance of the French People.'

May 1974.

FRG: new faces, continuity of policy

Eberhard Weber
Press Representative
of the German CP

CAUSES BEHIND BRANDT'S RESIGNATION

Early May in the Federal Republic of Germany was marked by feverish political activity. On the night of May 6-7 Chancellor Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, tendered his resignation. Ever since 1969 he had led a government that did not include the conservative Right-wing CDU and CSU. Shortly after Brandt's resignation, a new coalition government was formed under Helmut Schmidt, Vice-Chairman of the SDP, and ex-minister of finance. The big bourgeoisie's Free Democratic Party is the other coalition party as previously. Its representative was entrusted with the post of Vice-Chancellor. The government retains its Bundestag majority of 271 seats to the opposition's 225.

The change of leadership in Bonn raised numerous questions in Federal Germany and, indeed, throughout the world, about the real causes of these events and the likely course of further development. After all, Willy Brandt had led a government which took a realistic stand on important foreign policy issues and helped to set up in Europe a system of treaties formalizing the results of World War II under international law.

The more reactionary and aggressive quarters of monopoly capital and their spokesmen in the CDU/CSU engaged in anti-Communist speculation, as did the Right-wing SDP leaders. To arouse anti-Communist suspicion, they alleged that Brandt had 'thrown in the towel' because an 'agent' had been exposed on April 25 in the Federal Chancellory. However, the inflated spy affair was merely a pretext, as many admit today, for the removal of Brandt, a step planned long before at the instigation of the more aggressive section of monopoly capital and Right-wing leaders of the SDP.

To establish the truth about the main reasons for Brandt's resignation and draw proper conclusions so as to continue the fight for peace, democracy and social progress, we must look into a number of contradictions and conflicts having their roots in Federal Germany's internal evolution in recent years. Among these are growing signs of the crisis affecting the capitalist system, difficulties within the ruling SDP and frictions with its coalition partner, the FDP, as well as the dangerous anti-Communist plots of the unholy alliance

of the more reactionary quarters of monopoly capital, ultra-conservative press syndicates and instigators from the CDU and CSU.

When, on October 28, 1969, the first government under Brandt stated its program our Party welcomed the removal of the CDU/CSU and the formation of the SDP/FDP government. However, the GCP stressed that the government would inevitably have to choose between meeting the people's expectations and yielding to the pressure of big capital and the CDU/CSU. It pointed out the new slant given in the government declaration to certain foreign and social policy problems. But even then our Party warned that Brandt was reluctant to come out against the forces which for 20 years had adamantly blocked every new political orientation and all democratic progress, helped to preserve the old property and power relations and pushed the republic to the right. These forces, the GCP stressed, would certainly go on using their power against every fundamental change in foreign and domestic – economic and social – policy.

The new alignment of international forces, the stronger positions won by peace and socialism, the socialist countries' constructive peace policy and the struggle of the West German democratic forces made it possible in the early 70s to bring about important changes in Bonn's foreign policy. This considerably reinforced the government's position and helped to beat off all ultra-reactionary attacks on the policy of normalizing relations with socialist countries. But while the Brandt government made significant headway in foreign policy despite some indecision, its home policy was widely and increasingly criticized by public opinion, first of all by the working people. At home, the government constantly gave priority to the interests of monopoly capital, to its drive for maximum profit. As a result, the reforms of education and public health demanded by millions of people were never carried out, no measures were taken against environmental pollution, nor was the right of labor and its unions to participate in management legislatively formalized. The government did nothing to curb the tyranny and arbitrary practices of big and military-industrial capital.

From early 1973 on, with the concentration of capital continuing, the West German economy was all but stagnating. On the eve of 1974 Brandt said the FRG could only expect 'zero growth.' Bourgeois economists forecast a negligible growth rate of production. Some industries are plainly affected by a cyclical crisis.

These past years have witnessed inflation and an uncontrollably rising cost of living. Prices in 1973 went up by seven per cent and this year they are expected to rise by another 10 per cent. Unemployment has doubled as against last year, with 2.6 per cent of the labor force out of jobs. Hundreds of thousands of people are working part-time. The closing of enterprises and bankruptcies have become a common occurrence. The UN classes Federal Germany among the most 'expensive' countries of the world. Our working people find it ever more difficult to maintain the standard of life they have won, or even to make ends meet. As a consequence, a substantial proportion of the employed population shows increasing concern and dissatisfaction.

In the FRG, as in other capitalist countries, the early 70s have been characterized by intensifying capitalist contradictions. The new phase of the general crisis of capitalism hits the working people's interests hardest of all and leads to ever more violent class conflicts between labor and capital. Rightists are alarmed by the fact that the forces seeking social change are strengthening their positions.

On coming to power, the Brandt government promised to ease the working people's condition by stopping inflation and the mounting cost of living. Actually it did nothing to counteract the monopolies which dictate prices. Nor did it take any steps when, at the close of last year, the oil companies created an artificial energy shortage to put up the prices of petrol and crude oil. While monopoly profits keep growing (along with government spending on armaments), the working people's tax burden is becoming heavier. In fact, taxes in the FRG are among the world's highest.

All this led to growing class struggles for higher wages and social, economic and political rights. Strikes became more numerous and the unions had to resist recurrent attempts by the government and big business to keep down wages and so stabilize the economy at the people's expense. Disillusion spread as people saw the government siding with the capitalists and rejecting labor demands.

The government's anti-labor policy came up for increasing criticism in the trade unions, the Social Democrats' traditional mainstay. Nevertheless, Right-wing leaders of the SDP persisted in their policy, They were unwilling to fight against reaction; in fact, they stepped up their attacks on left, progressive forces and virtually proceeded to interpret the SDP's notorious anti-Communist decisions banning cooperation with the Communists as a prohibition of Leftist views and criticism of the prevailing system among SDP members. This was an impediment for the much-publicized verbal 'offensive' against the CDU/CSU.

It was this situation that enabled the big business parties, the CDU and CSU, to launch a demagogical campaign against the government. Electoral reverses of the SDP became inevitable. The Social Democrats sustained telling losses in the five election campaigns which took place early this year. They lost 11 per cent of the votes in the elections to the Hamburg city assembly, six per cent in the communal elections in Rheinland-Palatinate and eight per cent in Schleswig-Holstein. The Party lost 11 per cent of the votes in the communal elections held in some northern districts of Hesse, and 10 per cent in the Saar.

There was a growing controversy among both the rank and file and the leadership of the SDP. Some argued that the Chancellor was not strong enough as a leader, too much of a dreamer and negligent of home policy. In March von Dohnanyi, former SDP Minister of Education, proposed appointing a deputy Federal Chancellor for domestic affairs. Von Ertzen, SDP Chairman in Lower Saxony, insisted for his part on 'easing the burden' of Brandt. Heide Wieczorek-Zeul, Chairman of the Young Socialists, stressed that the Party's electoral losses were indicative of a 'conflict with wage

workers.' Lastly, it was rumored in leading SDP quarters that Brandt wanted to become Federal President. Jochen Steffen, SDP Chairman in Schleswig-Holstein, said in an article published in March that Helmut Schmidt should be Federal Chancellor.

It must also be borne in mind that a section of the big bourgeoisie was increasingly concerned about Federal Germany's inner political development. It was perturbed by the fact that international détente was providing more favorable conditions for the working people's struggles. It saw with alarm that the demand to curb the arms race and use the means released as a result for social and cultural purposes met with vast support and that the call for social change and for granting the people real democracy and freedom enjoyed great popularity, above all among the youth.

This section of the monopoly bourgeoisie held that Chancellor Brandt could no longer help as head of the government in keeping the working class, especially the youth, in the imperialist system of exploitation, or preserve SDP influence over the masses in the interest of 'partnership' between labor and capital.

The Presidium of the GCP Executive states that 'the Federal Chancellor's resignation is an expression of increased crisis phenomena born of the capitalist system of profit which have lately been more and more marked in every public sphere. In these circumstances, the sinister alliance of the reactionary quarters of big and military-industrial capital and its political spokesmen in the CDU, CSU and key government agencies – an alliance whose plotting was made easier by the anti-Communist and anti-democratic action and intrigues of Rightist SDP leaders – launched attacks on the policy of détente, on democracy and the workers' demands. The result was an open government crisis and Brandt's resignation.'

These are the main, decisive causes of Brandt's resignation and the formation of a new government under Schmidt.

The GCP warned emphatically against the ultras' attempts to swing the FRG farther right and use the change of government as a pretext for stepping up its campaign against the prevailing trend of détente in Europe and the world, and against democrats at home.

It must be said that the present change of government is not in itself expressive of a sharp swing to the right. The alignment of forces in and outside the Bundestag has not changed in favor of reaction. There will evidently be no fundamental changes in big capital's methods of domination or in government policy. Nevertheless, we should not discount the possibility that, with crisis phenomena becoming more acute, the dominant quarters of big and military industrial capital will try hard to effect a swing to the Right in the economic, political and social sphere, as well as in the policy of the parties in the Bundestag.

This conclusion is suggested, in particular, by the government declaration which Federal Chancellor Schmidt made in the Bundestag on May 17. The new government plans to continue the policy of the Brandt cabinet on all important issues, under the watchword of 'continuity and concentration.'

Speaking of foreign policy, Schmidt promised to leave the government position on all key issues unchanged. At the same time his government said it was ready to contribute to 'European unity,' remain a member of NATO, maintain the alliance with the USA and build up armaments. On the other hand, it declared, it was in favor of good relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The government promised to take a constructive stand on the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and the Vienna talks on armed forces and arms reduction in Central Europe. The new cabinet intends to implement the treaty on the principles of relations with the GDR although, clinging to a cold war position, it affirms that relations with the GDR are of a 'special character.'

But whereas the government may be expected to carry on the the foreign policy of the previous government, it shows in home policy an even greater readiness, as its declaration suggests, to submit to big capital's bid for more power and more profits. Now the talk is not of major reforms but of the need to 'tighten one's belt,' of 'moderation in meeting the working people's demands' and of 'austerity' – at the expense of millions of working people.

'What is sacrificed to the ends of stabilization,' wrote *Die Zeit,* the big bourgeoisie's weekly newspaper, on May 24, 'is not only the plans for reform entailing large expenditures, such as the education reform, but all projects bearing on the economy, such as the "property formation"* or the reform of the apprenticeship system.' In Bonn there is already talk about raising taxes on consumers and passing a law to safeguard the budget and cut government spending on the working people's needs.

The GCP attitude to the new Federal government is clear. In line with the decisions of its Düsseldorf and Hamburg congresses, it will gauge the policies of the new cabinet by the degree to which it meets the working people's pressing demands. Earlier, our Party supported every step of the Brandt government serving international détente and lasting peace. It supported every measure leading, if only in part, to the satisfaction of the working people's demands. On the other hand, the GCP emphatically condemned every step running counter to the interests of the workers and other working people and hampering détente.

'In supporting the demands which the working people put to the new Federal government,' said Herbert Mies, Chairman of the GCP, speaking at the Third Plenum of the Party's Board, 'we will invariably continue and step up our fight against big capital and the CDU/CSU.

'The trouble is that though it is the working people of the Federal Republic who create all the values, the greater part of them is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The trouble is that the overwhelming majority of the people have too little influence while several multi-millionaires have too much.

'We will fight against this state of affairs as consistently and resolutely as

*The reference is to various projects to draw on working people's savings to finance production. – *Ed.*

against the CDU/CSU, that agglomeration of the most reactionary Right-wing forces in our country, against their attacks on the trade unions, against their social and nationalist demagogy, and their attempts to exploit developments for their own ends.'

In this situation, the GCP proposes that all wage and salary earners, all Social Democrats and trade unionists, all young people and women, should strive in common to stop the growth of the cost of living and keep it under control, resist monopoly price increases and uphold their standard of life and real wages.

West German Communists are campaigning for a tangible reduction of taxes levied on the working people and on small and medium incomes, and for higher taxes on the profits of banks, monopolies and speculators. Our Party is against the Federal Republic being left to the mercy of profit-hunting multinational monopolies. It demands immediate nationalization of the oil companies under democratic control and the transfer to the state of the munitions industry, the companies dominating the market, and the big banks and insurance companies. To check the crisis trend in the economy, ensure that priority is given to providing jobs and not to profits, and resist Rightist attacks on democracy more effectively, the GCP calls for joint struggle in defense of democracy in the enterprises and for freedom to pursue one's profession. The Communists insist that wagé and salary earners and their unions be entitled to participate on an equal footing in the management of enterprises, the economy and society, and in government.

While the new government intends to shelve all draft reforms relating to education and vocational training, the GCP advocates the creation of 250,000 places for students, the introduction of a new, progressive system of vocational training, the lifting of restrictions on admission to institutions of higher learning, and guaranteed democratic rights for students.

With the new government in office, there is a growing danger, as has already been said, that the available opportunities for further détente will not be fully used and that more billions will be spent on the dangerous arms race. This prompts the GCP to insist on scrupulously implementing the treaties with socialist countries, cutting armaments and making a constructive contribution to the successful completion of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. Communists urge all democrats to fight in common against the omnipotence of international companies in Western Europe, for the loosening of the fetters binding our country to U.S. imperialism and NATO. Our Party demands better relations with socialist countries and greater economic, cultural, scientific and technological cooperation with them.

GCP policy and practice are geared to the needs of the working people. The Party fights for the satisfaction of the people's vital interests. It advocates radical social changes and socialism. In striving for these goals, the GCP seeks unity of action between the Communists, Social Democrats, non-party working people, religious and non-religious groups.

At a time when the antagonisms and crisis phenomena inherent in the

capitalist system are growing, when the monopolies are stepping up their attacks on the working people's interests and the Right is closing its ranks in the Bundestag parties, the road which Federal Germany will follow in the period ahead depends in decisive measure on how strong the German Communist Party will be and how it will influence the working class and youth.

Stop the terror!

Enrique Pastorino
EC Member, CC Secretary
CP of Uruguay

Developments over the past few months are evidence of a marked increase in reactionary activity in Latin America. The imperialist monopolies, local oligarchies and their agents are trying to check revolutionary processes so as to preserve and bolster their positions.

The news from Uruguay is alarming. The reactionaries are marking the first anniversary of their coup (June 27, 1973) by a fresh wave of terror and anti-Communist hysteria. The National Labor Convention has been outlawed, democratic organizations and parties disbanded and all freedoms trampled underfoot. The repression is spearheaded against the working class and its political vanguard, against the Broad Front and all genuine patriots and democrats.

Bordaberry, Cristi and their ilk want to outdo Pinochet in Chile. No atrocity and no crime seems to be too brutal for them to commit in an effort to crush all resistance to their dictatorship. As in Chile, torture has become part of political life. The authorities deal summarily with patriots, as they did at the trial of General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front.

Although he was very ill and had been in jail without trial for several months, Seregni made a courageous speech refuting the false charges trumped up by the secret police.

Reactionary violence reached its peak in May with the arrest of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party. He was imprisoned in barracks in Montevideo along with several other Communists.

Rodney Arismendi (says an appeal circulated by Uruguay's Communists) is a prominent political leader and scholar, a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist, staunch fighter against imperialism and resolute champion of the social rights and demands of the working class and people of Uruguay. He has devoted his life to the struggle for the unity of his people and the peoples of the world, to unrelenting struggle against imperialism and capitalism, those enemies of progress, peace and the happiness of mankind.

The whole country knows (the appeal says) that the Communist Party, led by Arismendi, has become the pivot of this struggle. A component of the Broad Front, the CPU is the vital force of the resistance movement which, sooner or later, will defeat the hated oppressors.

Arismendi is a veteran of the Uruguayan Communist movement. From his youth he has been in the thick of the people's struggle. While taking an active part in the formulation of revolutionary strategy and tactics, he has at the same time been among the working people, especially in the meat-packing industry, who make up a major part of the country's working class. Risking police persecution, he was always with them, discussing their problems, planning their struggles, explaining the situation in Uruguay and the world. And to Arismendi must go much of the credit for building labor unity.

Arismendi could be seen everywhere, in the ranks of the long protest marches and on the parliamentary rostrum. His scathing speeches inspired fear in the reactionaries. They covered a wide range of problems – child-protection laws, the struggle for national independence, wages and salaries, Uruguay's economic advancement, and many more. And there was an underlying humanism in his forceful exposures of exploitation and injustice.

Uruguayans call him the working class and people's MP, and as such he is hated by the nation's enemies, the domestic oligarchy, the imperialist monopolies and their underlings.

After the reactionary coup Arismendi worked with the Party in the new, trying conditions. The ideas of the Party and the Broad Front inspired the participants in the heroic 15 days' general strike called by the National Labor Convention. It was the Uruguayan workers' answer to the June 27 coup. The new dictatorship survived only with the aid of the Brazilian 'gorillas,' who supplied Uruguay's reactionaries with food, fuel and electric power.

The working class of Uruguay, educated by the Communist Party, steeled in class battles and free of sectarianism, is continuing its struggle with the support of all political trends opposed to the dictatorship and the domination of oligarchy and imperialism.

Last February (February is the month of lay-offs) there were eight mass demonstrations in the main street of the capital. As well as demanding an immediate solution to economic problems, the demonstrators insisted on the restoration of democratic freedoms.

In March came the anti-wage-freeze demonstrations; one of the biggest, in Montevideo, lasted a whole day, despite repeated police attempts to disperse it. The people also observed the third anniversary of the Broad Front.

The April anti-dictatorship actions culminated in impressive May Day demonstrations in the working-class districts of Montevideo despite official bans and warnings. The demonstrators carried slogans condemning the government and backing the outlawed National Labor Convention.

We have every reason to affirm that the atmosphere in urban and rural Uruguay is one of hatred for the regime, of strong dissatisfaction with the

dictatorship's policies, which injure the working people's interests. Living costs are rising, real wages are declining and social gains are being nullified.

Increasingly large sections of the population are joining the battle against the dictatorship. This is evidenced by the scale of preparations for popular actions on the anniversary of the reactionary coup. They involve the National Labor Convention, the Broad Front and parties opposed to the dictatorship and 'Chileanization.'

As this is being written, the workers and other working people of Uruguay are wrathfully protesting against the regime's arbitrary policies and the arrest of Arismendi and other Uruguayan patriots. Their protest is merging with the worldwide movement of solidarity with the victims of reactionary terror in Chile and other Latin-American countries.

The Central Committee of the CPSU emphatically has protested against lawlessness and arbitrary rule in Uruguay, against the persecution of patriots and democrats. Its statement 'calls on all the democratic and progressive forces of the world actively to come out in defense of all the democrats of Uruguay and prevent violence against, or murder, of Rodney Arismendi.'

Similar statements have come from the Communist Party of Argentina and many other fraternal parties. This gives us the confidence that, by joint effort, we shall stay the executioner's hand and secure the release of the prisoners of reactionary regimes – Luis Corvalan, Rodney Arismendi and other outstanding fighters for the liberation of Latin America. Our strength lies in unity and solidarity!

May 1974.

Growing cooperation

Milan Aleksic
Director, Institute of
Foreign Trade (Belgrade)

In three decades since it set out to build socialism, Yugoslavia has made considerable progress by radically changing the economic and social structure. The progress was made in exceedingly difficult and complex conditions. The socialist social and economic system based on the new character of socialist relations of self-management and social ownership of the means of production played a decisive part in overcoming difficulties. We established new forms of management in production and distribution and gradually transferred all important functions involved in economic social reproduction to the producers themselves. Our enterprises were enabled autonomously to establish mutual links and sign agreements on various forms

of cooperation with economic organizations of other countries with due regard to the general conditions prevailing in our social and economic system. The economic reform initiated in 1965 helped to consolidate qualitatively new aspects of management, made for more efficient use of the market to achieve a higher degree of integration inside the country and gear the economy to a closer share in the international division of labor. The new Constitution, adopted in February 1974, completed the elaboration of the social self-management system, and the direct producers came to play a decisive role in controlling extended reproduction and distributing its results.

Here are a few data speaking of Yugoslavia's rapid economic progress. The social product has grown by 380 per cent, or 260 per cent per capita, since the end of the war. In the 20-year span coinciding with the period of development of social relations on the basis of working-class and social self-menagement, it grew by an annual average of 7.7 per cent, which enabled Yugoslavia to take its place among fast-developing countries.

Production growth is due mainly to the high development rate of the social sector of the economy, especially industry, which supplies the bulk of the social product – nearly 40 per cent in 1972 as against 18 per cent in 1947. Industry has become the most dynamic sector of the economy and the decisive factor in changing the country's economic structure. The share of industrial production in exports rose from 59 per cent in 1952 to 85 per cent in 1972. Industrialization meant not only expansion of traditional industries, but also organization of new ones: chemicals, automobiles, electrical engineering, shipbuilding. The new industries became a factor for rapid technological progress. All this means that, industrially, our economy has attained a sufficiently high level. After 1966 the range of industrial products was renewed by almost 20 per cent, and their quality improved. Industrialization brought about substantial changes in the pattern of home and foreign trade. From 1947 to 1972, exports increased roughly 13-fold and imports almost 15-fold. Foreign trade has been particularly brisk over the past decade, industrial products accounting for 80 per cent of it. Industrial and other forms of production, business, scientific and technological cooperation has been developing along with trade and there has been steady expansion in tourism and transport.

Development today tends to enhance the role of technology, making it necessary for the economy to keep abreast of changes on the world market, demanding stimulation of the growth of industries and services that can give us a bigger share in the international division of labor. This and constant technological renewal are important aspects of our socialist social and economic relations and self-management. A major problem now is on what principles and in which forms Yugoslavia's economy and organizations of associated labor* can be brought into the world division of labor. To be

*According to the 'Glossary of Expressions and Concepts' appended to the 'Platform for the Elaboration of Positions and Decisions of the 10th Congress of the LCY,' the organization of associated labor comprises several branch organizations. The branches are the 'basic form of associated labor in which the workers

specific, it is a question of searching for ways and means of joining in world economic processes that will not affect the foundations of our self-managing socialist society. With due regard to the content of our society and its policy of independence and non-alignment, we resort more and more to new and long-range forms of economic cooperation with other countries. Our country does not want economic relations with other countries to be restricted to simple forms of trade but wants its organizations of associated labor and the enterprises of other countries to establish long-term economic relations in both production and production financing.

Participation in the international division of labor at this stage means including our economy in a complex market system behind which there are numerous intertwining regional and national spheres differing from each other economically, socially and politically.

Yugoslavia promotes economic relations with all three main economic zones of the world. Its active participation in international economic relations is expressive of the requirements of its social and economic development, which influence the trend, forms and stability of its international economic relations. Our active foreign economic policy is aimed at intensifying and enriching economic cooperation and at fostering economic relations and exchange with all countries on an equal basis. It is prompted by the desire to remove or lessen obstacles to international economic relations. Accordingly, we cooperate actively with all regions of the world and with numerous international economic organizations, while at the same time conducting intensive bilateral economic and political cooperation. Thus we promote economic relations along with political relations as a contribution to universal peace and progress and the economic advancement of all countries, especially the underdeveloped countries and territories.

Yugoslavia has worked out a system of foreign economic relations which helps to achieve these economic and political objectives in various parts of the world. We make a special effort to promote economic relations with the developing countries so as to speed mutual economic progress. On the other hand, with regard to developed countries of the West, we strive through economic cooperation in various forms to keep peace with technological progress and to raise the efficiency and competitiveness of our industry.

Needless to say, Yugoslavia attaches special importance to economic relations with socialist countries, in particular with the CMEA countries, whose steadily growing share in our exports and imports already exceeds one third of our foreign.

As well as furthering bilateral economic relations with socialist countries, Yugoslavia devotes much attention to multilateral economic cooperation within the CMEA. The groundwork for such cooperation was laid by the 1964 agreement with CMEA establishing the general institutional terms of cooperation. Experience over the past decade has proved the effectiveness of

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exercise their social, economic and other rights directly and on an equal footing, according to the principle of self-management.'– *Ed.*

the legal framework set at the time covering a wide area of interests. The Yugoslav economy was interested in cooperating with the CMEA in numerous fields and in diverse forms. Proposals for definite long-range objectives were put forward by both sides and complemented each other. As regards the results achieved in various fields, they are already considerable, and we can expect further mutually beneficial progress.

Cooperation with CMEA countries, which for a number of years was chiefly in trade and services, has lately extended to other forms, while trade has continued to grow. These forms increasingly stimulate more extensive economic relations in the direction of the division of labor, a distinctive form of international economic integration. These relations have three important components. First, traditional trade whose growth is fostered, in step with economic progress, by a reciprocal desire to adapt to the volume and pattern of exports and imports. Second, the credit and financial relations that are part of the policy of extended reproduction. Third, production cooperation and specialization which make it possible to develop long-term horizontal and vertical relations throughout the system of labor division.

Statistics attest to a steady growth of trade. However, trade is only one manifestation of intensive cooperation, for in present-day conditions new forms are gaining in importance. A notable feature of mutual trade is the high growth rate, which in 1965-1973 averaged 11.7 per cent. As a result, Yugoslavia's trade with the CMEA countries in 1973 was worth $2,000 million, or 140 per cent more than in 1965. All CMEA countries are major trade partners of Yugoslavia. Prominent in our foreign economic relations is the Soviet Union, which accounts for 12-15 per cent of our total trade and for about 40 per cent of our trade with the CMEA region.

The rapid growth of our trade with the CMEA countries is also facilitated by our common long-range interest in consolidating the material basis of socialism and raising the living standards of the people.

Structural changes in the economies of Yugoslavia and the CMEA countries have made for closer reciprocal trade. Yugoslavia exports investment capital, chemical products and industrial consumer goods and imports semi-finished products, fuel, raw materials, machinery and plant.

The size of the CMEA market and the prospects of reciprocal long-term deliveries and good marketing conditions encourage Yugoslav exporters. Importers appear less active, due largely to inadequate knowledge of the market and of technical specifications of prospective commodities. Inadequate use of the possibilities of importing certain industrial products from CMEA countries was, on the other hand, a consequence of the increased activity of Western competitors, the more favorable terms on which they agreed to finance certain projects, and, in some cases, the specifications of certain machines and plants offered by them.

One of the factors that are bound to influence imports from CMEA countries in the period ahead is the financial facilities, in particular credits, to be granted to Yugoslav customers. Substantial credits have been approved by the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries and, furthermore, our

relations with the International Investment Bank of the CMEA are making satisfactory progress, which makes for multilateral cooperation in financing.

Of late, the accent has been on joint undertakings. Indirectly, this tends to sustain the dynamics of the commodity exchanges, but, most of all, provides additional stimuli for mutual economic ties and augments the interest and responsibility of the producers in completing the joint projects. Activity in this field is steadily growing, and doubly so because specialization and cooperation in production, like financial cooperation, have taken root as the basis for all long-term international division of labor undertakings.

Specialization and cooperation in production, as we see it, facilitates rational use of mutual resources on a long-term basis, assuring stable and lasting international economic relations. The prevailing interest in machines and equipment as the main object of the mutual-commodity turnover shows that long-term specialization and cooperation is the right way to promote mutual interests. Some branches of the Yugoslav economy have already begun to establish ties with CMEA member-countries. Over a third out of about 50 existing agreements were concluded in 1971 and 1972. The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration that is being implemented by the CMEA countries (it was adopted in 1971) has stimulated efforts to improve the existing, and find new, forms of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the CMEA, particularly forms based on specialization and cooperation. Much of the Comprehensive Program centers on multilateral agreements, especially in engineering, though other fields are not excluded. Since multilateral actions help expand all forms of economic relations, Yugoslavia wants cooperation of the most concrete kind, with consideration for the specificality of its resources and requirements. Yugoslav economic organizations are associated with some of the multilateral agreements for international cooperation and specialization, particularly in engineering. By now we have put our signature to four such agreements, envisaging joint production of machine tools, ships, building machinery and equipment, and to an agreement on cooperation between nuclear energy and high-voltage research laboratories. This has brought in a phase of operational participation by Yugoslav economic bodies in the multinational division of labor within the CMEA. The Yugoslav associated-labor organizations wish to participate in the drawing up of new agreements for the manufacture of equipment for atomic power stations, of textile machinery, machines and equipment for the manufacture of building materials and for production of tractors, agricultural machines and heavy-duty trucks.

Bilateral organizational and institutional solutions are gradually being enriched with specific multilateral forms of cooperation. This is a new stimulus for exchanges and ties on a broad material, technical and financial basis. Our experience in such cooperation is as yet meagre, but cooperation is likely to become one of the most dynamic factors of future Yugoslav economic relations with CMEA member-countries.

The complicated economic relationships marking the development of the at first vertical and then also horizontal division of labor, making the most of the achievements of separate countries, have posed a number of new problems. To begin with, solutions must be found in running the economy, including agreed criteria for computing prices in the various currencies, which is of social-economic as well as practical significance.

The institutional framework of bilateral social-economic relations has so far tended to steadily increase the mutual exchange of commodities. But since more flexible relations in this sphere would probably facilitate broader multilateral ties, we are studying variants better suited for complex forms of industrial cooperation and multilateral financial cooperation in production.

Some of the forms of cooperation envisaged in the Comprehensive Program had been used by Yugoslavia before – through CMEA's permanent commissions and other bodies. In the common interest and in conformity with the 1964 Agreement, Yugoslavia participates in 14 CMEA bodies active in foreign trade, currency and financial relations, engineering, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, radio and electrical engineering, oil and gas, scientific-technical cooperation, electric power, transport, statistics, water management, and others. Recently, cooperation has begun in planning, to assure mutual information. There is also reciprocal readiness to expand cooperation in town planning, consumer industries and agriculture.

It is safe to say that the 1964 Agreement regulating Yugoslavia's relations with the CMEA, and likewise the provisions of the Comprehensive Program envisaging third-country cooperation with the Council in concrete areas of mutual interest, are opening up new opportunities that will, depending on needs and resources, be translated into practice and bolstered with new action.

Special mention should be made of our country's scientific-technical cooperation with CMEA members. It is more diversified and effective in the case of applied, as well as fundamental, research. Take the cooperation between the Mikhailo Pupin Institute of Belgrade and Moscow's Institute of Management Problems, and between the Energoinvest Research Center in Sarajevo and its Soviet counterpart. Yugoslavia is prepared to participate in 14 research projects, six of which are under the Comprehensive Program. Like the other basic fields of economic cooperation, the growing scientific-technical cooperation with CMEA member-countries accords with all the partners' cardinal needs.

The existing relations, which constitute an extensive base for CMEA-Yugoslav economic cooperation, are sure to expand. The development of the politico-social relations within Yugoslavia, particularly following the amendment of our Constitution, has invigorated the already existing orientation of the Yugoslav self-managing economic organizations on effective economic activity and intensive participation in the international division of labor; it has also made more specific the long-term orientation of the Yugoslav economy as a whole in production and investments. In the social

sphere, which is influenced by the new Constitution, the Platform for the 10th Congress of the League of Communists and the documents of the Congress, Yugoslavia is accentuating broader planning of self-management, which has acquired a new institutional foundation through the constitutional provisions for self-management agreements and public contracts.* This new social mechanism is resulting increasingly in horizontal and vertical integration and in the creation of economic amalgamations. Also, it facilitates a more rational division of labor inside the country, and thereby more effective participation in the international division of labor. The associated labor organizations will thus make their economic relations with enterprises of the CMEA countries more effective, stimulating forms of cooperation that will gradually characterize the stage of mutual economic integration.

The founding of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance 25 years ago opened a new chapter in international economic relations. It stood for a new approach to complex aspects of the coordinated economic development of countries that had opted for socialism and an international policy of peace in the interest of the working people of the world. This has been the basis of the CMEA's principles of socialist economic cooperation throughout its 25 years, expanding the base for the new international division of labor and economic integration of the continuously growing number of countries that have embarked on the road of socialism as a world system.

*The self-management agreements envisaged in the 1974 Constitution are concluded between associated-labor organizations, communes and other self-managing organizations and groups, regulating their interests in the fields of labor division and social reproduction, creation of new associated labor organizations, and establishment of criteria for the distribution of profits and personal consumption funds, etc. (Articles 120-123). The parties to the public contracts are organs of the state (principally representative), associated labor organizations, economic amalgamations, trade unions, and other socio-political and public organizations. These contracts regulate the socio-economic and other relations of interest to society and the parties concerned (Articles 124-128).

Arduous path of a new republic

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On July 17, 1974 Afghanistan will celebrate its first anniversary as a republic. It would be interesting to know what caused the fall of the monarchy and what reforms or other measures the republican regime has carried out to date. Mohammed es-Sahraoui (Algeria)

The development of Afghanistan, one of the oldest Asian states, was for a long time held up by a feudal monarchic regime. A military coup on July 17, 1973 overthrew the monarchy, and Afghanistan was proclaimed a republic.

The coup was bloodless and caused no serious domestic complications. In all 29 provinces, the population welcomed the change of government as a promise of a better future.

There were both objective and subjective reasons for the ease with which the monarchy was brought down and for the lack of serious reactionary resistance to the republican forces.

For all that it abounds in natural resources and has adequate manpower, Afghanistan is still among the 25 least developed countries of the world. Annual per capita income does not exceed $70. Farming provides about half the GNP and accounts for over 80 per cent of the economically active population. Due primarily to the low level of the productive forces and the domination of archaic production relations, only 4.5 million of the country's 8 million hectares of cultivable land was actually tilled. Yet over half a million peasant families had no land. Poverty and hunger were the ordinary peasant's lot.

The economy was stagnant. Government and private investment in industry decreased year after year, no effective steps were taken to advance agriculture, and foreign monopoly capital enjoyed unlimited privileges.

The latest two five-year plans were not fulfilled. The economy virtually marked time for 10 years (1963-1973). The royal government made no effort to solve the problem of accumulation and freely resorted to deficit financing. By early 1973 the external debt stood at $600m.

Inflation, an inevitable consequence of this economic policy, led to steadily rising prices and forced an already low standard of life still further down. Unemployment (nine per cent of the workers were jobless in 1972) and partial employment bred sharp social conflicts. On the other hand, industrial capacities were used very inadequately.

Ninety-five per cent of the nearly 17 million inhabitants are illiterate. Infectious and other diseases are widespread. Almost half of the new-born died before reaching the age of one year.

Reaction reigned supreme and laws were flouted. Parliament, composed of members of the clergy and the feudal and tribal nobility, delayed reforms, and corruption and bribery were rife in the civil service. Government quarters had a hand in smuggling, primarily in narcotics traffic.

Although the 1964 Constitution provided for democratic freedoms, progressives were fiercely persecuted and suppressed. Violations of legality were the rule everywhere. After the fall of the monarchy the press reported that in prisons of Kabul Province alone, about 1,000 inmates had been awaiting trial for years. Feudal monarchic reaction fomented strife among the various ethnic groups.

A grave economic situation, a low standard of life and the monarchic regime's refusal to effect pressing social and economic reforms caused deep dissatisfaction among the people.

The activity of the illegal People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), founded in 1965, contributed noticeably to the growth of the Afghans' political consciousness and activity. Early in 1966, *Halk,* the PDPA newspaper banned after the appearance of its fifth issue, carried the Party's program calling for changes to pave the way for social progress and for a national democratic government that would meet the working people's interests. In response to the Party's appeal, thousands of people held meetings and demonstrations in Kabul. They demanded guaranteeing the democratic freedoms announced in the Constitution, carrying out economic and social reforms and improving the people's life.

The regime was criticized by 'independent,' actually opposition newspapers around which progressive intellectuals were grouped. These papers condemned the lack of democratic freedoms and laid bare the corruption common among officials, especially in the ministries entrusted with implementing economic projects and distributing foreign aid.

Along with progressive intellectuals, the emerging Afghan working class joined more and more in political struggles. In 1972 and 1973 strikes mostly for economic demands, acquired definite political characteristics. In 1973, for example, strikers demanded not only higher pay, but social and economic reforms and legalization of political parties and trade unions. The authorities were particularly disturbed by student, working-class and, more recently, peasant action.

Developments were hastened by political and social changes, first of all by the growing erosion of the feudal monarchic system, and the mounting impact on the domestic political situation of tremendous changes in the world in favor of socialism and the vast scale of the national-liberation movement.

The fact that there was an organization to lead the overthrow of the feudal monarchy order played a very important part.

The July 17 coup was carried out by a group of progressive and patriotic

army officers seeking radical changes in the people's social and economic condition. The group was led by Mohammed Daoud, a leading statesman.* The overwhelming majority of the armed forces backed the new regime at once by establishing control over government offices and industrial enterprises. State power was taken over by the Central Committee of the Republic of Afghanistan composed of officers who had played an active role in planning and carrying out the coup, and of military men and civilians advocating republican government. Most of these men are of petty-bourgeois origin and have little experience of political activity.

On August 23, 1973 Daoud* announced the government program, which sees the main tasks in 'consolidating the foundations of the republican system and achieving complete security and legality in order that the Afghan people may attain lasting democracy without any discrimination whatever.'

The program also provides for a developed national economy based on planning, an agrarian reform and other changes in agriculture in the interests of the majority of the people, labor legislation protecting the rights of the workers and peasants, free elementary education and a reform of secondary and higher education. It also calls for creating the prerequisites of an alliance of the country's ethnic groups based on equality, fraternity and friendship.

The program states that the government will base its foreign policy on the principles of positive and active neutrality, non-alignment with military blocs, firm support for the liberation movement, promotion of friendly relations with all peace-loving nations and of economic, technological and cultural cooperation with them with due regard to the national interest.

During the year since it came to power, the government has carried out a series of measures. It began by strengthening the army, reorganizing the civil service, abolishing all hereditary titles and privileges, and establishing control over the mass media. All elementary, secondary and higher schools were transferred to the state. A labor law was enacted introducing a 45-hour working week and a minimum wage. Wage and salary earners were granted the right to a pension and partly free medical care. Landless and poor peasants are being allocated plots out of government land (3,000 families have obtained land over the past year).

However, the government has yet to announce a comprehensive program for social and economic reforms, including the far-reaching agrarian reform promised a year ago and measures to develop a planned economy. Nor has it fully defined its foreign policy.

The government's program of reform and, above all, its early measures met with resistance from hostile forces. The anti-republican opposition comprises big feudal landowners and industrialists, part of the Moslem

*Mohammed Daoud (b. 1908), cousin and brother-in-law of the deposed king, headed the government from 1953 to 1963. The first five-year plan was launched on his initiative. His government followed a policy of positive neutrality and extended economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

*At its first meeting, July 18, 1973, the CC of the Republic elected Daoud Head of State and Prime Minister.

clergy, politicians associated with home reaction and imperialist powers, and small 'Leftist' groups leaning toward Maoism.

The Progressive Democrats group, which speak for the exploiting classes, demanded legality for the opposition. Its leaders said they supported the republic but in reality they tried to take advantage of their professed loyalty to secure key posts in government and defense and block implementation of the government program.

Shoaleye Javid (Eternal Flame), a Left extremist group, is an active opponent of the regime. It contends that since the head of state, Daoud, is a member of the royal family, nothing has changed in the national leadership. It says the revolution is not a people's revolution and the group will therefore go on fighting. The group misrepresents the meaning and objectives of Soviet foreign policy and tries to discredit Soviet economic and technological aid to Afghanistan.

The leadership of the republic and progressive forces firmly uphold the new regime. An anti-republican conspiracy was uncovered and stamped out late in September 1973. 'A reactionary group planning the abolition of the revolutionary patriotic movement and threatening national security was active in the country for some time,' the official communique said.

The proclamation of the republic threw its enemies into disarray. The imperialists fear that the Republic of Afghanistan may extend cooperation with the socialist community and relations with the national liberation movement. The imperialist press resorts to slander and outright falsehood to discredit the regime. Peking and reactionary quarters in Iran and Pakistan, which had expected to bring monarchic Afghanistan into the aggressive CENTO bloc, have joined in this unsavory campaign and accuse the Soviet Union of complicity in the events of July 1973.

Mohammed Daoud refuted this slander. The Afghan revolution, he told a correspondent of the Indian weekly *Blitz,* was conceived and accomplished entirely and solely by Afghan patriots. Interviewed by *Le Monde* later on, he said: 'The Soviet Union has always come out as a sincere friend and we greatly appreciate the aid it extends to us in every field. Afghanistan is a small country but it will accept no diktat from any power.'

The Soviet Union, which steadily pursues its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, coupling it with full support for the national-liberation movement, and which is loyal to the traditionally friendly, good-neighborly relations with Afghanistan, was the first to recognize the republican government. The head of the Afghan state expressed his deep gratitude to the Soviet leaders for the step. Afghanistan was the first country, the *Kabul Times* commented, to extend official recognition to the newly established Soviet state in 1919. Today the Soviet Union was the first to have officially recognized the Republic of Afghanistan.

New Afghanistan is passing through a difficult stage of its history, for the old order is being destroyed as new political and social institutions and new social and economic relations come into being. Reaction at home and abroad tries to prevent this. But the new republic, backed by the sound forces of the

nation and the sympathy of progressives all over the world, is advancing with firm step along its chosen path.

Madagascar looks ahead

Gisele Rabesahala
General Secretary,
Independence Congress Party
of Madagascar (AKFM)

The new government was faced with formidable problems when it took over in May 1972, following the overthrow of the Tsiranana regime.[1] After 65 hard years of colonial oppression and another 12 of neo-colonial domination, the country was fully dependent on foreign, chiefly French, capital. The investment code introduced by the Tsiranana regime allowed foreign companies factually unlimited repatriation of profits.

They had a virtual monopoly of foreign trade, and even now control 70 per cent of imports and exports. The annual trade deficit was about 10 billion Malagasy francs. The new government inherited that, plus a top-heavy foreign debt.

The position in agriculture, the backbone of our economy, was going from bad to worse. Not so very long ago Madagascar grew all the rice it needed, but in the past few years it has had to import as much as 50,000 tons a year – which has meant more profits for foreign export-import companies.

Wages were frozen for nearly 10 years. Unemployment became a national scourge: in the capital, Tananarive (population 400,000), 41.2 per cent of the active population were registered as unemployed.

The Ramanantsoa government had to act quickly and energetically and enlist the help of progressive political parties and public organizations.

The June 1972 emergency congress of Malagasy democratic organizations, attended by 1,100 delegates from the AKFM, the trade union federation, Democratic Youth Association and the Madagascar Solidarity Committee, adopted a program of political, economic and social measures; their immediate implementation would have strengthened national unity, normalized the situation and given the country a democratic foundation.

The Congress resolution said: 'The country is in such a sorry state and the roots of the evil are so deep, that the vitally needed changes can be made, and a new and stable structure built, only if we adhere to democratic principles.' And the congress emphasized the important role of political parties in organizing the people and giving them a better understanding of the affairs of

state. In this context, it criticized the initiators of the so-called May Movement,[2] who maintain that political parties and trade unions are superfluous. The Congress also exposed the adventuristic Leftist plan to call an unelected, open-to-all 'National Congress,' which would proclaim itself a constituent assembly and take over all legislative and executive power. Under cover of talk about democracy, the Leftists were actually planning to plunge the country into a state of chaos and anarchy.

With the support of democratic organizations, the Ramanantsoa government held a national referendum in the autumn of 1972 on its five-year plan to rebuild the economy, reshape political and administrative structures and strengthen the country's independence. The plan was approved by 96 per cent of the voters. It was supported by the AKFM and its allies, by all the political parties with the exception of the Social Democrats, by all trade unions and other mass organizations. As for the much publicized 'National Congress,' which met shortly before the referendum, it closed without adopting any decision on the government program.

What has been achieved in the first 18 months of its operation?

The most noticeable changes have been in foreign policy. The government is following a firm anti-imperialist course. It has rejected the celebrated 'dialogue' with racist South Africa and has broken off relations with Israel. Closer links are being formed with African countries fighting for genuine independence – Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Tanzania and others. We were among the first to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Madagascar now subscribes to the principles of non-alignment.

Contacts are being formed with international democratic organizations. Two government-supported international conferences were held last summer – one organized by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the other by the World Peace Council. The government sent an observer and a message of greetings to the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

Last year public opinion concentrated, naturally, on negotiations with France for revision of the 1960 'coopefation agreements' designed to harden Madagascar's neo-colonialist dependence. The negotiations were not easy, for the imperialists are well aware of the island's strategic position on the 'oil route' from the Persian Gulf to Europe. They realize, too, that the anti-imperialist transformations in Madagascar tend to further isolate South Africa, that bastion of racism and apartheid, and help the national liberation struggle. Shortly after the new government came to power, the Paris *Journal du Dimanche* (May 21, 1972) wrote: 'If General Ramanantsoa . . . demands revision of the cooperation agreements with Paris, *the whole French strategy in the Indian Ocean (Madagascar, Comoro Islands, Reunion) will be jeopardized*. . . . And Madagascar might become another Cuba. . . .' (My italics. – *G.R.*)

However, the Ramanantsoa government took a firm stand and in this it was supported by virtually the entire people. District and regional AKFM committees and all democratic organizations sent letters and telegrams to

our negotiators expressing the hope that they would uphold the national interest.

That hope has been justified. Sovereignty and independence, for which we had fought with such energy and perseverance, are now a reality. The new agreements provide for the dismantling of the French military bases. Henceforth Madagascar alone will be responsible for its defense.

The French negotiators demanded guaranteed free export of capital and profit. This would mean continued imperialist control of our economy and currency. The AKFM warmly welcomed the government's decision to reject these demands and withdraw from the franc zone.

An important decision, but one that entails deep-going changes in the orientation and structure of our economy. The AKFM emphasized in a special statement that the government must take over banking and insurance, foreign trade, energy, natural resources, air and sea transport. It must carry out a democratic agrarian reform, democratize taxes and wages, reform education and occupational training, exercise the utmost economy. These measures should be integrated in an economic development plan.

The government has already ordered a state rice monopoly, the return to the state of all major foreign concessions, state control of foreign trade, and has limited the flow of money abroad.

The rural administration has been restructured to give the people a decisive share in planned economic development. Accordingly, the *fokonolona* (community) committees, which have replaced the old bureaucratic rural councils, are now democratically elected, giving the peasants, who make up 85 per cent of the population, an opportunity to pronounce their judgment on all matters of government.

The government has repealed the colonialist poll tax, has raised the minimum wage by 15 per cent and annual paid holidays in private industry from 18 to 30 days, and annulled the cattle tax.[3]

The political climate, too, is improving. Previously banned organizations, such as the MONIMA[4] Party and the Medical Students' Association, are functioning again. All the opponents of the former regime who were imprisoned or placed under house arrest are now free. There is genuine freedom of the press, assembly and association, and 18-year-olds now have the vote. In a speech late in August 1973, President Ramanantsoa outlined plans for further development in line with the principles approved by all the democratic parties and organizations. They envisage making industry rather than agriculture the mainstay of economic development. The state, which will play the decisive part in industrialization, will retain the key economic positions: banking and insurance, foreign trade, transport, energy and mining. The state sector will also include the pharmaceutical industry and cinematography. The government plans provide for Malagasians to hold responsible positions in foreign companies, in which national capital, the state, and local government bodies will have a share. From now on their head offices must be in Madagascar, where they will be obliged to reinvest a considerable portion of their profits.

The local authorities will be responsible for supplying the population with essential goods and tools. There will be strict regulations governing property rights, particularly landownership.

All this has aroused the bitter opposition of the reactionaries, notably the Social Democrats, the former ruling party, and its leader, ex-president Tsiranana. Toward the end of 1972 and in the beginning of 1973, irresponsible elements provoked a number of anti-government demonstrations and tried to inflate tribal differences. A plot, engineered abroad, to foment conflict between the Malagasians of the coastal and mountain areas was discovered in July 1973. Hostile elements do not hesitate to incite sabotage and subversion and disrupt the normal supply of rice to the towns.

Fearing to lose its privileges, foreign capital is helping Malagasy reaction. Some employers even sabotage their own equipment and encourage workers to take anti-government action. Despite the new labor code, foreign employers continue to lay off workers or put them on part time. In short, everything is being done to provoke industrial chaos and put the blame on the government.

The saboteurs who are working to create difficulties and discredit the government internationally are, in effect, helped by those who, while not openly rejecting the government's socio-economic program, criticize its implementation. That applies to the Catholic Right and the Leftist MFM, which accuses the government of a multitude of sins, among them – of all things – defending the interests of the compradore bourgeoisie.

The Malagasy Socialist Union (MSU)[5] at first claimed it held a 'centrist' position, and tried, unsuccessfully, to bring together all political parties, including the AKFM. However, it soon came out in opposition to the government's stand in the negotiations with France and challenged its economic policy. Its Central Committee declared in September 1973: 'We are incapable of economic independence. . .' Its policy is now close to that of the PSD and in March the two parties merged to form the New Malagasy Socialist Party, with Tsiranana as President and Resampa as General Secretary.

The attitude of the different groups to the government program (and this is the political watershed) reflects the struggle of two trends: the people's determination to consolidate and extend the initial victories over French neo-colonialism, and imperialism's determination to retain its position in Madagascar and regain what has been lost.

Our Seventh Party Congress (July 1973) emphasized that imperialism was still the main enemy. The present stage of the class struggle in Madagascar is primarily a national struggle for liberation from imperialist domination, and this is precisely what the Ramanantsoa government is striving to bring about. Any underestimation of the contradictions between our country and imperialism would put the liberation movement on the wrong road. To avoid that, Congress re-stated and explained the motives prompting AKFM's attitude to the government, dismissing all accusations of 'blind support.'

Congress again re-affirmed AKFM's readiness for a dialogue with all

organizations willing to cooperate on a clear program of national unity for economic independence and progress. That was the program on which AKFM fought the elections to the National Popular Development Council (NPDC) last October.

Officially, the Council is 'a temporary consultative body where the people's representatives democratically discuss and propose for government consideration suggestions for the country's economic and social development in line with the aspirations of the people and national needs.' The NPDC consists of 144 elected[6] and 18 appointed members.

Contrary to the opposition's claims that 'the people are disillusioned' with President Ramanantsoa's rule and show little or no interest in elections, the Council elections took place in an atmosphere of increasing activity by public and political bodies and were genuinely popular in character. They clearly reaffirmed the results of the October 1972 referendum, i.e., the people's resolve to work for national development. The 'Leftists'[2] appeals to boycott the elections had no effect: 86 per cent of the electorate went to the polls.

AKFM emerged very much stronger, winning all the seats in the capital, in the towns of Majunga, Andapa, Ambohimahasoa, Ihosy, Andilamena and in many sub-prefectures. With 34 seats in the NPDC, the party and its allies are the strongest organized group. This despite the 'Leftist' campaign 'against parties in general' and anti-Communist propaganda. The loudmouths of the MFM affirmed that the people allegedly 'reject' our Party because of its critical attitude toward the leaders of the May Movement, that it has, allegedly, become 'a bourgeois party' 'responsible for all the country's misfortunes.' The voting, however, proved that the people listen to us and that, on the contrary, the Social Democrat Party and its partners in the Malagasy Socialist Union suffered a decisive defeat, although they boasted of their dominant influence in the rural districts. The majority of the elected members of the Council support the government.

The formation of the NPDC is an important step on the way to renewing the political and socio-economic structure of Madagascar. In these circumstances a heavy responsibility lies on the AKFM, steeled in the experiences of the last period. Our Party must show the broad masses the concrete ways in which the economic, political and social program can be achieved and the country put on the path of non-capitalist development, the earnest of complete independence and continued success in the struggle against imperialism.

1. See 'Madagascar Revolutionary Democrats' by Gisele Rabesahala in *WMR*, September 1972.

2. The name adopted by the Leftist organizations that emerged at the height of the May 1972 events. The most active of these at present is the 'Little People's Power' (MFM). Its leader, Manandafy Rakotonirina, has admitted: 'We accept the epithet *Maoist*. . .'. – *Ed.*

3. A very important measure for Madagascar, which has about nine million heads of zebu cattle.

4. The initials stand for 'Madagascar for the Malagasians.' It organized a peasant revolt in the south of the

country in April 1971. The Party's Chairman Monja Joana, arrested in 1971, has now been elected a member of the National Development Council.

5. Founded by the former SPD General Secretary Andre Resampa after his release from prison; he had been sentenced by the former regime on a conspiracy charge.

6. One member for each of the 93 sub-prefectures (rural administrative units) and the 44 urban communes, plus seven members from the capital.

OFF THE PRESS

A Select Bibliography of

TIM BUCK

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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books and the press

For peace and prosperity

Pavel Naumov
Editor-in-Chief,
New Times magazine (USSR)

This latest, fourth volume of Comrade Brezhnev's speeches and articles covers a period that will hold a prominent place in history. For the CPSU and the Soviet people it has been one of concerted effort to bring to reality the far-reaching program of economic, social and cultural development adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, and of unflagging effort for enduring peace and international cooperation. It has been a period, too, of rapid dissemination throughout the world of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the growing influence of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties, and of closer unity of all the forces of peace and progress. All these developments are discussed in this volume, which inspires optimism and unswerving faith in the final victory of socialism and communism.

The book provides a vivid picture of the titanic ideological and organizational work of the Soviet Communist Party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau. It shows also the vast personal contribution made by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, his services to the Soviet people and the whole of peace-loving mankind, services that have rightly won him the Lenin Peace Prize..

His discussion of internal affairs is indicative of how the Communist Party is tackling and solving the increasingly complex problems of the new stage of Communist construction. 'Only through raising the effectiveness of our economy,' L.I. Brezhnev has said, 'can we produce the resources needed to assure, at one and the same time, a substantial rise in prosperity standards, rapid economic expansion and a proper level of defense capacity' (p. 90).

Comrade Brezhnev discussed the cardinal problems of Soviet economic development last March, when the country was celebrating the 20th anniversary of cultivation of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals and the Volga region. In a speech on that occasion at Alma-Ata he reviewed the central problems of the Communist Party's agrarian policy. One of the main goals here is stable and sustained growth of agricultural production by industrializing operations on collective and state farms.

L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course, Speeches and Articles,* Vol. 4, Moscow, Politizdat, 1974. 488 pp. Contains Brezhnev's speeches and articles of 1972-1974 and is the fourth volume of the series, *Following Lenin's Course*.

All Party activity centers on promoting the interests of the people, assuring continuous growth of their prosperity. 'Our aim is maximum improvement of the people's conditions within the shortest possible time' (p. 82). And Soviet reality is convincing proof of how much is being done toward that goal.

Unity of the entire people around the CPSU, the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy, the friendship of all nations and peoples are intrinsic features of Soviet life. There is closer rapprochement of classes and social groups to form a socially homogeneous socialist society, with the working class retaining its leading role. This volume provides a vivid picture of the Soviet, socialist way of life based on collectivism, mutual assistance, a new attitude to one's work, genuine democracy, humanism and respect for the rights and individuality of each citizen.

The growing role of the Communist Party, an objective law of building communism, is clearly brought out, as is the Party's close attention to the theoretical aspects of communist construction. The reader will find an analysis of all the main theoretical problems of our time, such as the means and methods of building the material and technical basis of communism, merging the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economy, the main features of developed socialism, and the main trends of the present stage of world development.

Inner-party life is still another aspect dealt with by the CPSU Central Committee. Since its 24th Congress the Party has grown and its composition has improved, primarily due to the increased percentage of industrial workers. It consistently abides by the Leninist norms and principles of Party leadership, is improving the quality of Party work, encouraging initiative and a creative approach by all organizations and members.

Much of the book is devoted to international problems, for the past few years have seen energetic efforts for world peace – the socialist peace offensive – by the USSR and other members of the socialist community. The book brings back to mind Comrade Brezhnev's visits to Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, the GDR, FRG, Hungary, India, Poland and the United States, his negotiations, together with other Soviet leaders, with the heads of state and government of many countries during their visits to the USSR, and the conclusion of treaties and agreements that have an important bearing on the world's future.

The outstanding development of the period covered by this volume has been the changeover from cold war to détente, mutually-advantageous cooperation and peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. This, Comrade Brezhnev emphasizes, 'is an undoubted success for our Party's Leninist foreign policy and its consistent realization of the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program. It is the result of united action with fraternal countries of the socialist community, the Communist and Workers' parties and all the progressive forces of the world, and, of course, it is the result of the realism manifested by the political leaders of a number of capitalist countries' (p. 458).

This collection of Comrade Brezhnev's speeches and articles is indicative of the CPSU's firm and consistent effort for a better political climate in Europe, notably through the European Security and Cooperation Conference. It is indicative also of what the Soviet Union has done for disarmament, to prevent and stop military conflicts, bring about the victory of the Vietnamese people, and toward a durable and just peace in the Middle East. The reader will find cogent proof of the Soviet Communist Party's fidelity to proletarian internationalism, in accordance with which the USSR supports all fighters for national and social emancipation and renders disinterested assistance to the progressive development of the young national states.

The book contains a profound analysis of the international situation, of the social, economic, political and ideological processes in the capitalist countries and of the continued aggravation of capitalism's general crisis. The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that international relations are of a class character and that peaceful coexistance is, and will be, a form of the class struggle. This implies that there can be no peaceful coexistence in ideology. Comrade Brezhnev has made the CPSU position on this crystal clear: 'The CPSU holds that the class struggle of the two systems, the capitalist and socialist, will continue in the economic, political and, of course, ideological sphere. Nor can it be otherwise, for the philosophy and class aims of socialism and of capitalism are irreconcilable opposites. But we will see to it that this historically inevitable struggle will follow a course free of the threat of war, dangerous conflicts or an uncontrolled arms race' (p. 81).

Comrade Brezhnev's speeches show how much the CPSU is doing to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In keeping with the policy drawn up by the 1969 Meeting of fraternal Parties, the CPSU has in every way facilitated the work and struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties and all the anti-imperialist forces. It is combating Right and 'Left' opportunism and the subversive activities of the Chinese leaders, regarding this struggle as a necessary condition for unity of the world revolutionary movement. L.I. Brezhnev declared on July 11, 1973, when he received the International Lenin Peace Prize: 'We want to assure our friends that our policy will always combine the national interests of the Soviet Union with those of the working people of all countries, with the interests of all who stand for peace and independence, democracy and socialism' (p. 202).

Expressed in these laconic words is the very essence of Soviet policy, and the central theme of this book.

Books in Brief

K. MARX, F. ENGELS. *Etudes philosophiques* (Eşsays in Philosophy). Paris, Editions sociales, 1974.

A collection of basic works, some in excerpts, including 'Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right,' 'The Holy Family,' 'The German Ideology,' 'The Poverty of Philosophy,' 'Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy' and 'Anti-Dühring.' The book provides a chronological picture of the development of the Marxist philosophy.

A. BAUER. *La mujer en el socialismo* (Woman Under Socialism). Buenos Aires, Ediciones SILABA, 1974, 133 pp.

Discusses the family, marriage, women's education, etc. Personal observations during visits to the socialist countries and documents and statistical data enable the author convincingly to demonstrate the full equality women enjoy in socialist society.

FIDEL CASTRO. *The Cuban Revolution, National Liberation and the Soviet Union*. Introduction by Gus Hall. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1974, 39 pp.

Contains two speeches by Fidel Castro, at the Fourth Non-Aligned Summit in Algeria and on the 20th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. Castro exposes the anti-Soviet substance of the 'two superpowers' concept and examines the role and place of the Cuban revolution in the international working-class struggle for peace and socialism.

M. MATOUS. *Fronta bez primeri. Ceskoslovensko v boji proti ideologicke diverzi* (Struggle Without Truce. Czechoslovakia in the Battle Against Ideological Subversion). Praha, Svoboda, 1974. 360 pp.

Using documentary evidence, the author exposes the forms of ideological sabotage against socialist Czechoslovakia from 1968 to our time.

S.P. TRAPEZNIKOV. *The Social Sciences, A Powerful Ideological Potential of Communism,* Moscow, Politizdat, 1974, 143 pp.

Deals with topical problems of the social sciences at the present stage of communist construction, notably the Party's fight for the purity of revolutionary theory, against its distortion and falsification by anti-Communist and revisionist ideologists.

G. HYDE. *The Soviet Health Service. A Historical and Comparative Study*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1974, 365 pp.

The first fundamental study of the socialist health services to be published in London. Draws a comparison between medical care in the USSR and in Britain.

F. SCHUSTER. *'Sozialpartnerschaft' oder Klassenkampf?* ('Social Partnership' or Class Struggle?). Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blatter, 1974. 154 pp.

A Marxist-Lenninist exposure of 'Social partnership' as a weapon of monopoly capital. The author traces the development of class conflicts in the FRG and the involvement in them of the various parties, trade unions and employer associations.

A LIVING AND DEVELOPING SCIENCE

This collection, 'Lenin and Scientific Practice,'* is a summary of a discussion arranged by the French Communist Party Marxist Research Center, in which philosophers, jurists and economists participated. It analyzes the role of Leninism in present development of scientific thought and the social and natural sciences, singling out the more topical aspects of all the problems discussed. Thus, in analyzing the relation between basis and superstructure the emphasis is on the nature of the monopoly state and the prospects of transition from capitalism to socialism. In his report and article, Lucien Seve, Central Committee member of the French Communist Party, examines the nature of antagonistic contradictions and in this context gives a critical analysis of Mao Tse-Tung's article 'On Contradictions,' showing that it is a distortion of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and that the form of contradictions should not be identified with their content.

Contributors stress that the study of fundamental philosophical problems posed by modern natural science helps to further develop Lenin's idea of alliance between representatives of Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences. And many contributors stress the need to find the most effective forms of interaction of the two (research by mathematicians, physicists, biologists, etc.) in the context of the scientific and technological revolution. Such interaction will advance the natural sciences, which, in turn, will enrich the Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Though the participants represented different fields of research, the summary shows that all were moved by a spirit of collective endeavor. They assess their practical activity in the light of the overall political perspective, from the standpoint of its bearing on the French people's struggle for democracy and socialism. *G.W.*

**Lenine et la practique scientifique*. Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Marxistes. Paris, Editions sociales, 1974. 601 pp.

INEFFECTUAL WEAPON

This book,* published simultaneously in Moscow and Berlin, is the result of a joint research project. Its subject is criticism and exposure of anti-Communism, which the authors say, is the 'basic condition for the success of the genuine democratic and communist movement' (p. 4). A scientifically substantiated and closely argued rebuttal of anti-Communist concepts helps to bring new forces into the anti-imperialist movement and largely vitiates capitalist attempts to weaken the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties.

The overall conclusion the authors draw is that 'anti-Communism has, from the very outset, been an historically doomed attempt to prevent the revolutionary working class from discharging its great mission of grave-digger of the old, capitalist and builder of the new, socialist society' (p. 6).

The study deals with the following aspects of anti-Communism today:

– anti-Communist activity in the political and economic fields and in social psychology, history and other disciplines;

– the strategy and tactics of imperialism against the working class and its allies, the intelligentsia and petty bourgeois strata and the progressive forces of the national movement;

– anti-Communist agencies and their methods, an analysis of the main anti-Communist centers and of 'leading' Sovietologists.

Much of the book exposes the slanderous attacks on existing socialism. 'Anti-Sovietism,' the authors say, 'continues to be the main, underlying feature of anti-Communism and is directed against the CPSU, the leading force of Soviet society,' (p. 164). That thesis is central to the analysis of anti-Communism. The economic achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries have compelled the anti-Communists to maneuver and adapt to the new conditions. And anti-Communist propaganda is becoming more flexible, subtle and insidious. With the growing strength and influence of the socialist world system and the spread of socialist ideas, capitalism finds itself compelled to shift to a more realistic foreign policy. But the men who speak for imperialism are looking for new ways and means of undermining the forces of democracy and socialism.

This analysis and exposure of the methods and strategy of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism lends the books a very topical significance.

Dr. Klaus Franke

*Contemporary Anti-Communism, Politics and Ideology. Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya, 1973, 511 pp. Der gegenwärtige Antikommunismus-Politik und Ideologie. Berlin. Dietz Verlag, 1974. 513 S.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS THAT HELP US UNDERSTAND OUR TIME

Dr. Günter Hennig
Director of Dietz Verlag

Dietz Verlag, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany publishing house, has been putting out Marxist-Leninist literature for nearly 30 years. The demand for the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin is very high: every year we publish more than 50 titles in a total printing of over two million copies. This includes complete works and also selected works in six, three and two-volume editions.

At present the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC CPSU and its counterpart in Berlin, the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC SUPG, are preparing a complete edition of the Marx-Engels works. It will include their entire literary heritage in the original languages, a total of about 120 volumes, of which the first should be out in 1975. The reader will have not only the full text of *Capital,* but also the preliminary drafts, the Marx and Engels correspondence and letters addressed to them. Each volume will be supplied with the necessary reference data.

Our aim is to give readers books that help them understand our time and its problems. To do this we are putting out works by leading political personalities, books on the history and current problems of the international workers' movement, biographies of German working-class leaders, the latest two being of Wilhelm Pieck and Hermann Matern.

Books on history, philosophy and political economy hold a prominent place in all our plans. Instructors at the Karl Marx Higher Party School and the CC SUPG Institute of Social Sciences, are preparing, in cooperation with other collectives, a popular series on dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of socialism and the political economy of capitalism. They will be put out in large editions. Work is progressing also on a fundamental study of socialist realism in its historical and theoretical aspects.

'AVANTE!' ONCE AGAIN IN THE OPEN

The central organ of the Portuguese Communist Party, *Avante!* is now published legally, a development enthusiastically welcomed by the progressive press throughout the world.

For many years the paper, appearing illegally, fought on behalf of the Portuguese working people. Many Communists gave up their lives to bring the paper to the people, to make the voice of the Communist Party heard throughout the country. Neither prison nor torture could stop the men and

women who contributed to *Avante!* and distributed it. They courageously fulfilled their duty, explaining to the people the country's political situation and helping to organize and unite them.

The paper contributed in no small measure to the overthrow of the fascist regime by helping to build up the powerful popular movement for the far-reaching changes that have followed the April 25 coup and for the legal publication of *Avante!*

The new *Avante!* appeared on May 17. Its first 300,000 copies had scarcely come off the presses when they were eagerly snatched up, and another 200,000 were printed that same day. The paper's readiness to give a lead on the problems of the working class and the Communist movement, as well as its constant alertness, is a sterling example for the Communist press everywhere.

In its first editorial, *Avante!* said that the primary task for Portuguese Communists was to strengthen unity of the democratic and progressive forces, assure further democratization of politicai life, and put an end to the colonial war. There can be no doubt that *Avante!* will discharge its mission with honor.

Manuel Oliveira

NEW JOURNAL

The New York *Daily World* has announced the publication of a new quarterly journal of the U.S. Communist Party. It will voice the Party's anti-racist views and report the African and Afro-American national-liberation struggle. It will combat attempts to resurrect the myth of white superiority, will show that narrow-minded nationalism plays into the hands of the ruling class, will expose the neo-colonialist machinations of U.S. imperialism in Africa and its support for apartheid and racism in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia.

Elsie Dickerson, Party organizer in East Pennsylvania, said 'the launching of the journal is a most important step forward.' Ishmael Flory, Party chairman in Illinois: 'Never in the long years of struggle for African and Afro-American liberation, dignity and political equality has an organ or voice like the journal been so sorely needed. Its projection of dealing searchingly with scientific, ideological and theoretical questions affecting the liberation of nationally oppressed peoples of African descent and the liberation of the working class is most welcome. Such a projection cannot but include the idea of proletarian internationalism, which is most essential in the struggle for the liberation of all who are oppressed.'

Nick Parker

Getting closer to the reader

Sarada Mitra
Member, National Council,
Communist Party of India

Since August 1973 the Communist Party of India has been putting out *World Marxist Review* in two languages: English and Bengali. This undertaking was in line with the decisions of our Party's Ninth Congress, which stressed the importance of stepping up ideological work. The theoretical and information journal of the Communists of the world can be of considerable help to this end. The growing popularity of the journal among Party cadres is reflected in the steady growth of its readership: in only 10 months its circulation reached 5,500 (deliveries from London had never exceeded 1,700 copies).

From the outset we decided that we would be guided by two principles in respect of circulation: Firstly, that the journal come off the press exactly on schedule, and secondly, distribution should be on a subscription basis, with the number of free copies reduced to a minimum. For the last few months the English-language edition has been appearing on sale in India in the 15th of the month, and the Bengali edition (which is translated from the English) on the 25th. We hold that, with minor organizational effort, both editions could appear earlier.

We have already passed the initial stage of work, when on-time publication was our principal concern. The main thing now is to boost circulation.

Potential readers can be classified in two categories: Party members and sympathizers, and non-Party educational and scientific workers, as well as members of other political parties.

At present the main effort is aimed at attracting readers in the first category. For this the Party press regularly carries *WMR* advertisements. The opportunities for such publicity are considerable. The Party publishes seven daily newspapers, 21 weeklies, and several fortnightlies and monthlies put out in several Indian languages, both by the National Council and Party organizations in the states. We hold advertisement to be an effective means of popularizing the journal among Communists and sympathizers.

At the end of the year our Party will hold its 10th Congress. It will be preceded by conferences in all state Party organizations. This will provide an opportunity for a *WMR* promotion drive among the Party functionaries taking part in these conferences. We plan to set up small stands in the conference lobbies. During the Party congress an exhibition of all the

language editions of *WMR* will be organized. We also use leaflets, pamphlets, etc., to promote the journal.

We have not yet begun enlisting subscribers among the second category of potential readers. True, we have already sent free copies of the journal, together with subscription forms, to all major libraries, universities and research establishments in India. The response so far has been encouraging. It should also be mentioned that some progressive Indian publications occasionally reprint digests of *WMR* materials. To promote sales of the Bengali edition, we have decided to call a conference of distributor agents operating in Eastern India.

An agreement has been reached with the leadership of youth and student organizations to launch a subscription campaign among young people with the aim of increasing the number of subscribers to 2,000 by the end of the year. Young readers will be offered a 50 per cent discount.

India is a country of many languages, many more than the 14 official ones. Millions of people speak them. Instruction at schools of all levels is predominantly in the local language. Even university graduates refrain from speaking English. This is a fact to be reckoned with in our promotion drives. Obviously, publication of *World Marxist Review* in all of India's languages is far beyond our possibilities. We are doing the next best thing: translating one or two articles from every issue for publication in the local language weeklies or monthlies published by the Party organizations of different states. The objective now is to spread this practice and make it a regular feature.

Since the majority of India's population speaks Hindi we are doing everything to launch a Hindi-language edition. Until then we shall be publishing at least half the journal's materials in Hindi every month.

Our goal in 1974, declared Circulation Year by the brother parties, is to produce three editions in an aggregate printing of 8,000.



Brief information about Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

Founded September 21, 1920, by the Left-wing of the Socialist Party. Today the CPU has 50,000 members, more than 70 per cent of them industrial workers.

The latest, 20th Congress, was held in December 1970 when the Party still operated legally. It was attended by 780 voting and 178 non-voting delegates, 50 per cent of them industrial workers and 15 per cent women. Of the 75 persons elected to the Central Committee, 31 were elected for the first time.

In February 1971, the Broad Front was formed in Uruguay as an alliance of anti-imperialist, democratic forces, including representatives of the Communist Party. In the 1971 elections the Broad Front won 304,000 votes, ranking as the nation's third political force. The reactionaries, worried by the scope of the mass movement, resorted to fascist methods in an effort to suppress popular action and launched fierce repressions against all democrats and patriots.

On May 8 this year the reactionary military perpetrated a new act of violence: on that day Rodney Arismendi, the Party's First Secretary, outstanding statesman and senicr member of Parliament, was arrested.

The reactionary onslaught has been stepped up since the ruling circles, together with the Right-wing of the armed forces, engineered the coup d'état of June 27, 1973. Parliament has been dissolved, the National Labor Conventing banned and General Liber Seregni, chairman of the Broad Front, arrested. In December 1973 the reactionaries committed a new crime when they banned the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and 11 other political parties and organizations, including the Federation of University Students. The Communist Party headed by its Central Committee was forced to go underground.

Last year the Communists and National Labor Convention headed a heroic general strike which paralyzed the country for 15 days. Despite the fact that for the past year Uruguay has lived in an unprecedented atmosphere of persecutions, arrests, tortures and killings, mass demonstrations and

solidarity meetings with the Chilean people were held, an extensive propaganda campaign was carried on in the streets, and underground literature was distributed.

The Bordaberry dictatorship and its army accomplices closed the Communist Party's central organ, the daily *Popular,* which had a circulation of 40,000, and the theoretical journal *Estudios*. Uruguayan Communists have begun putting out an illegal weekly, *Carta semanal del Partido Comunista*.

The Party is continuing to work extensively among the people and is heading working-class action. The Party's exposure of corruption and analysis of the situation, coupled with its concrete activity in the new conditions of illegality and persecution, have brought many new workers into its ranks and into the youth organization.

Uruguay is going through hard times. However, as noted in a statement of the CC CPU, the people have faith in their strength, in the working class and its Party, confident that in alliance with all democrats and patriots, including patriotically-minded servicemen, positive changes can and will be brought about in the near future, albeit not without the difficulties inherent in every great struggle.

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF GUYANA

Founded in 1950 by a group of Marxists.

The Party's supreme authority is congress, convened every other year. It elects the General Council which handles the Party's current affairs and to which all other Party organizations are subordinated.

The 16th Congress (September 1970) gave the final official endorsement of the PPP as a Marxist-Leninist party and reaffirmed its loyalty to the principles of democratic centralism.

The latest, 17th Congress (September 1972) restated in its decisions: the Party solemnly and without reservation reaffirms its position that only a socialist system based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism can free the people of Guyana from poverty, hunger and unemployment. The Congress approved a program of action aimed at drawing the masses into the struggle for fundamental social and economic change, for democracy and socialism, against imperialist monopoly domination.

The Party's central organ is the newspaper *The Mirror*. The Party also publishes a theoretical quarterly, *Thunder*.

The PPP runs a Party school which also has correspondence courses.

In the 1968 parliamentary elections the PPP polled about 40 per cent of the National vote despite the reactionary machinations and fraud and all reactionary attempts to undermine the Party's influence. The Party boycotts the present parliament, as well as all other official government bodies.

PUERTO RICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Founded on September 23, 1934.

The Program adopted by the First Congress (1934) proclaimed the Party leader and organizer of the workers' revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. The Rules were adopted by a special congress in 1946, and the Fourth Congress (1954) approved a new Program.

Working in an atmosphere of repression and persecution, the PCP fights steadfastly for the people's political and economic demands, national independence, and abolition of its allegedly free association with the United States.

The Party is organized on a residential and place-of-work basis. Branches are united in territorial organizations led by municipal committees. The Party Congress, held every five years, elects a Central Committee, which in turn forms a Political Commission.

Social composition of the PCP: wage-earners 70 per cent, peasants 5 per cent, salary-earners 20 per cent, other categories 5 per cent. Women constitute 15 per cent and members under 30 years of age, 60 per cent.

The Party monthly paper, *El Pueblo* (The People), has a circulation of 3,000.

Party organizations run political classes to raise ideological and theoretical standards.

Vandalism in the country of Neruda

In July progressives will mark the 70th birthday of the great Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda. He is no longer with us. He died several days after the putsch, his ailing heart unable to survive the orgy of violence and terror into which the fascists had plunged his native land. Neruda's personal archives were destroyed, his home plundered, all the books about his life and work were burned. This vandalism was the opening act in the junta's war against culture.

Here is a far from complete list of facts, showing the scale on which thought and culture are persecuted in Chile.

Burning of books. In October the fascists announced a list of books to be burned. It included the works of Dostoyevsky, Jack London, Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorky and other humanists. At the University of Antofagasta the book *Revolution in Cybernetics* was burned only because of the word 'Revolution' in the title. World opinion was stunned by the 'auto-da-fé' in Concepcion, where Sergio Izquierdo, a mechanic in the police, was burned alive on a heap of Marxist books.

'The bonfires of books in Hitler Germany 40 years ago,' says a statement of the second meeting of representatives on Latin American art in Havana on October 16, 1973, 'have been re-lit in the brother republic of Chile. Not the works of poets and writers alone are being burned. The flames are meant to destroy the contribution of Chile's men of letters to the activities of the popular government.'

Educational 'reform.' The rectors of all universities, including the Vatican-run Catholic University, have been removed. They were replaced by army overseers. Police control has been established in the lyceums. Pupils' visits to army barracks have been made part of the curriculum.

At the University of Chile and the University of Concepcion the teaching of sociology has been banned, and subjects such as political economy, psychology, anthropology and journalism have been declared 'irrelevant.'

The student body has been decimated, with 25,000 out of a total of 130,000 expelled. Enrolment is slashed by 5,000 in 1974. One of out every three departments of the University of Chile has been closed. On 3 March, 1974, *El Mercurio* published a list of vacancies to the faculty which filled several pages in small print.

Repressions against students and teachers. During the coup the State Technical University in Santiago and the University of Chile's teachers' college were bombed and shelled, and hundreds of students were killed. On the pretext of 'snipers,' 95 per cent of the provincial institutes of higher learning were attacked and damaged.

Osciel Nunez, leader of the Technical University students' federation, was subjected to savage treatment. Professor Enrique Paris, an eminent psychiatrist, professor of the medical and philosophical departments of the University of Chile and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, died under torture. Luis Sanguinetti, professor of sociology at the same university, lost his mind as a result of torture. In December the army raided the University's psychiatric clinic. The director and many of the staff were arrested and subjected to electric shock torture. The ministers of education in the Popular Unity Government, principals of the University of Concepcion and the Technical University, and some 200 teachers of the Catholic University are held in concentration camps.

Even professors who had opposed the popular government are being persecuted.

Attacks against art. The fascists have murdered Victor Jara, the folk singer and composer, Jorge Pena, director of a musical school and conductor of a children's symphony orchestra, and popular comedian Hugo Goodman. The popular folk singer, Angel Parra, has been arrested, while his La Pena de los Parra group is dissolved. Performances of the Chile rie y canta dance group have been banned. Folklore, so popular in Chile, is outlawed, and folklore departments of universities have been closed.

Persecution of journalists. The fascists have ransacked the offices of five newspapers, seven magazines and two publishing houses. The directors of the newspapers *El Siglo, El Nacion, Pure Chile,* and *Clarin,* and the

magazine *Punto Final*, workers of the Luiz Emilio Recabarren and Magallanes radio stations and the Technical University were arrested, tortured and sent to prisons or concentration camps. By the end of 1973 more than 500 Left-wing journalists were arrested. Hundreds of newspaper and magazine workers have been sacked, and some 20 journalists are taking refuge in foreign embassies.

The rape of culture and persecution of its champions continues. But culture cannot be destroyed. It will outlive the frenzied attacks of the savages, just as world civilization outlived the barbarity of nazism.

F.S.

Zoltan Komocsin

In Memoriam

Comrade Zoltan Komocsin, prominent worker of the international communist movement, died on May 28, 1974, after a severe and long illness. He had been a member of the Political Bureau and a secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a deputy of the State Assembly, chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee, and editor-in-chief of the central Party newspaper *Nepszabadsag*.

Zoltan Komocsin was born into a working-class family on April 18, 1923. As a youth he became active in the anti-fascist struggle, joining the illegal Hungarian Communist Party in 1938. He was organizer of the youth movement in southern Hungary. After Hungary's liberation from fascism Zoltan Komocsin was entrusted with responsible Party work. During the counter-revolutionary uprising in October 1956 he was among the first to come out firmly in defense of socialism and against right and 'left' revisionist and reactionary elements. In June 1957 Komocsin was elected an alternate Political Bureau member; in 1962 he became a full member of the Political Bureau of the CC HSWP. From 1965 until his untimely death he worked as a secretary of the CC, dealing mainly with questions of inter-Party relations, the world communist and workers' movement and international affairs.

Zoltan Komocsin was an untiring fighter for the workers' cause, for unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers' movement. He was also well-known as a Party publicist and ardent propagandist of Marxist-Leninist theory. He took part in various international conferences and meetings, including those held by *World Marxist Review*, to which he had contributed frequently from the time of its inception.

Communists will always remember Zoltan Komocsin, a firm and consistent internationalist, a man of wide culture, great modesty and consideration for others.

DIARY

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party a delegation of representatives of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties on *World Marxist Review* visited Bulgaria in connection with the coming 30th anniversary of the socialist revolution.

Members of the delegation visited the Pervenets agrarian-industrial complex, a computer factory in Sofia, the Devna industrial complex and the Kazanlyk Rose, Essential Oils and Medicinal Plants Research Institute. They also attended a folk pageant held in Sofia to celebrate the day of Bulgarian education and culture, the Slavic alphabet and the Bulgarian press. The delegation placed a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum.

The delegation had meetings and talks with leading Bulgarian Party and government personalities.

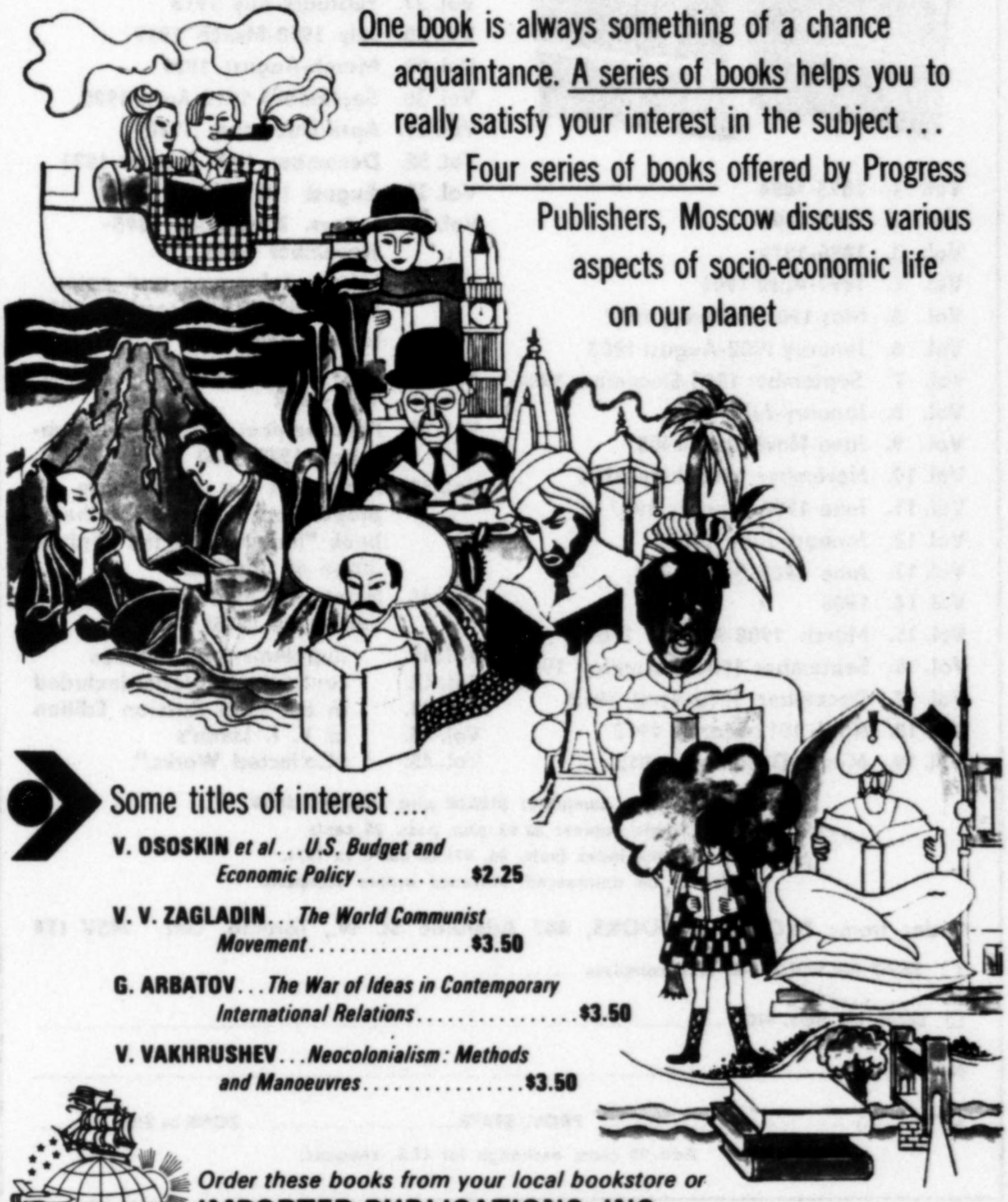
A conference on the subject 'Alliance of the Socialist World System and the National Liberation Movement' sponsored by *WMR* and the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq, was held June 5-7 in Baghdad. It was attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from Asia, Africa, Latin America and countries of the socialist community, representatives of other progressive parties and national-liberation movements and public figures from several Asian and African countries.

The conference took place in an atmosphere of creative debate. A joint communique was adopted in conclusion. Its materials will be published in subsequent issues of *World Marxist Review*.

The *WMR* editorial office was visited by Jorge Kolle, first secretary of the CC CP Bolivia. He had a talk with the Editor-in-Chief during which they discussed questions of expanding mutual cooperation.

During a stopover in Prague, Cleto Souza, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the People's Party of Panama, had a meeting with the *WMR* Commission on Latin American National-Liberation Movements during which he spoke of the special features of the revolutionary process and current political situation in Panama.

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