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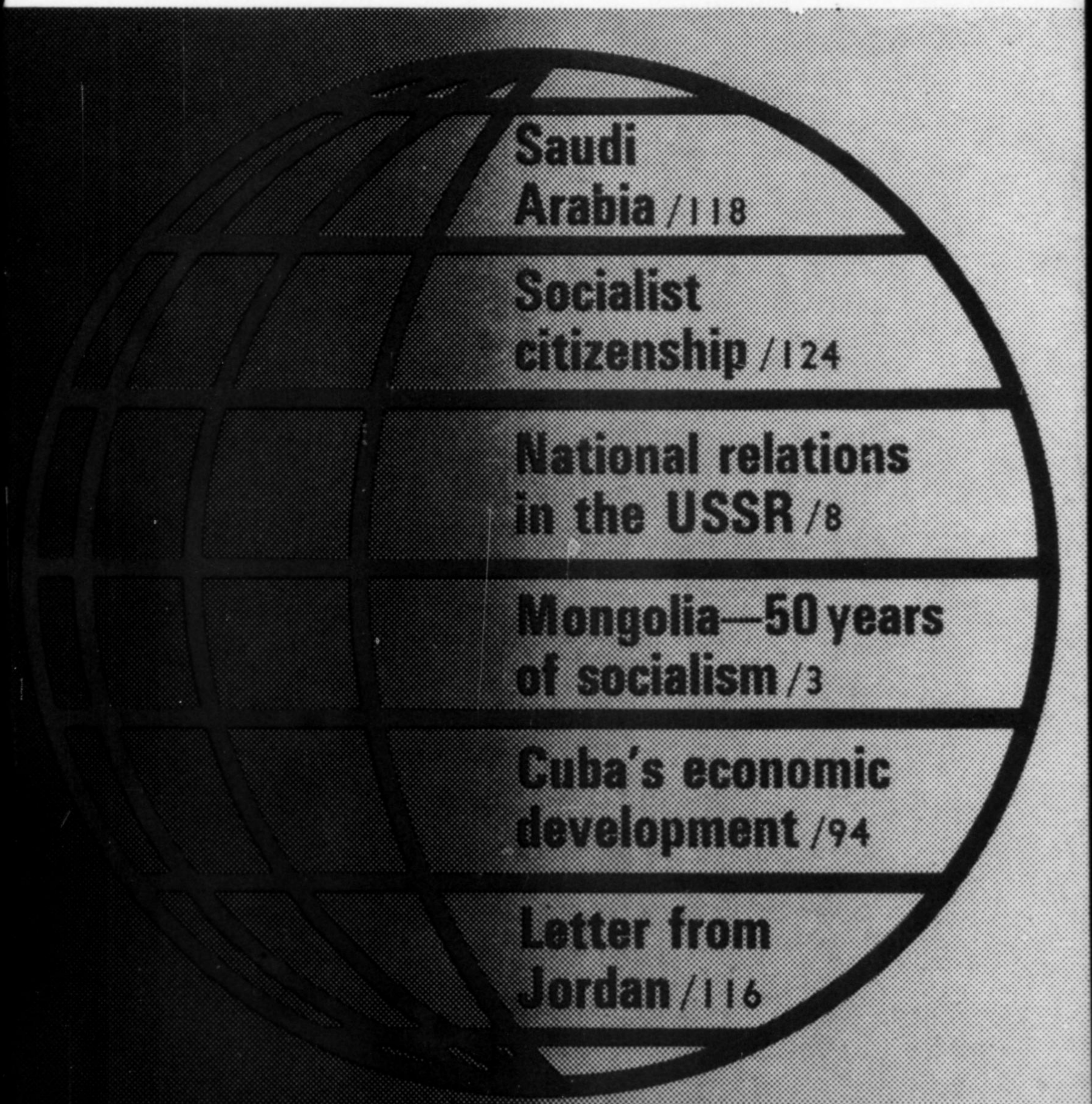

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

November 1974 Vol. 17, No. 11

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feature

The instructive lessons of Mongolia's progress

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of the Great People's Khural,
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Mongolia will celebrate two important jubilees this November – that of the People's Revolutionary Party's Third Congress, which set our country on the non-capitalist course, and the proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic, which formalized the transfer of power to the people 50 years ago. Shortly before these anniversaries, a *WMR* delegation visited our country to see the life of our people, their economic, social and cultural achievements, and the Mongolian Communists' experience of building socialism in what was once one of the most backward countries of the world.

Sharing our internationally significant experience with representatives of fraternal parties, we are always conscious of our responsibility to the revolutionary movement, and it is therefore farthest from our thoughts to conceal any of the difficulties or minimize any of the problems involved in fulfilling the present MPRP program of constructing full socialism.

Surveying the achievements of the Mongolian people, who took the non-capitalist way half a century ago, linking their future with that of the Soviet Union and subsequently with that of other socialist countries, we go back again and again to the Third MPRP Congress decisions adopted in the complicated situation of the early post-revolutionary period. Mongolia's prospective development was one of the red-hot issues at that time, August 1924. Many people in the Party doubted the program of non-capitalist development could succeed in our extremely backward country (99 per cent of the people were illiterate; we had no industry, and our agriculture amounted to primitive nomadic cattle-breeding). Some tried to put Mongolia on the capitalist road. But guided by the Marxist teaching on the development of backward peoples and following the great Lenin's advice, the

Congress rebuffed the doubting Thomases and opportunists, and adopted the general line that assured the victory of the socialist system.

For the Mongolian people, the Third MPRP Congress decisions were a guide to action for several decades. To them we owe all our tremendous gains, substantiated by dozens of indicators and comparisons. In 1921, for example, the few then existing artisan workshops produced 100,000 tugriks worth of goods, while the 1974 industrial output target is 2,500 million tugriks.

Nothing could illustrate our progress more strikingly in less than the lifetime of one generation. With the fraternal assistance of the great Soviet Union, the Mongolian people have built a modern industry, reconstructed agriculture along socialist lines, ended the reign of lamaism and obscurantism, and overcame the apalling cultural backwardness and the wholesale illiteracy that, to use Lenin's expression, is one of the most dangerous enemies of the new system.

Our achievements are many. But much remains to be done to reach the objectives of the present stage of socialist construction set in the MPRP Program and the decisions of the Party's 16th Congress (1971). We must complete the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, raise the standard of living, advance social relations, and assure the communist education of the people.

No material or technical preconditions of socialism were left us from the pre-revolutionary times. We had to begin from scratch. And the time it took us to build the foundations for socialist production was therefore necessarily longer than in some of the other socialist countries. Besides, by 'full socialism' we do not mean 'developed socialist society,' but just the completion of the material and technical basis of socialism. This is not quite the same as building developed socialism, a process now under way in socialist countries with a higher technical, economic and social level than ours.

There is no better way of marking an anniversary, Lenin once said, than to concentrate on the still unsolved problems. It is in this spirit that I shall now dwell on a few topical aspects of our economic development. As regards industry, we are working to reduce cost per unit of output, still too high as compared with the highly-developed countries. Also, we are working to improve the often not good enough quality of Mongolian goods, and to heighten the proficiency of our workers, not always up to present standards. It should be remembered that the class of hereditary workers has only now begun to form and that in our country the question of skill has a somewhat different dimension than in the other CMEA states. I could also list some agricultural problems. In the case of crop-farming, we are working to control soil erosion, improve farming techniques and irrigation. And

in the case of cattle-breeding, the main job is to expand our fodder resources, irrigate pastures and build barns for our livestock.

The people's efforts in these directions are yielding gratifying results. All economic and cultural sectors are making good headway. The 50th anniversary of the Third MPRP Congress and the proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic are being highlighted by new labor achievements.

The experience of the MPRP and the past 50 years have confirmed the viability and great transformative potential of popular power. This amounts not only to rapid industrial progress and high economic growth rates. When everything is said and done, these are not the exclusive monopoly of the new system. The same was achieved in certain periods by some of the capitalist countries. What is no less important is that the consciousness and psychology of the working people have changed radically under the beneficial effects of the non-capitalist, socialist development.

It is not so very long ago that the Mongolian people were benighted and ignorant, and drifting toward extinction. The revolution breathed new life into them. Their political consciousness grew rapidly, and they began to seek participation in government, denied them for many a century. The proclamation of the People's Republic by the First Great People's Khural in 1924 and the adoption of the first, truly democratic, constitution, formalizing the people's revolutionary gains, had been preceded by three years of meaningful development. The new power structure provided for broad popular participation in the administration of the state.

The composition of the country's first popular legislative body – the First Great People's Khural – was indicative in this respect, for out of its 77 delegates as many as 71 represented the *arats* (herdsmen), mostly propertyless or poor. These people, who had taken power from the feudals, were learning the art of government and economic management. They developed steadily as statesmen in step with the consolidation of the new system, whose popular and democratic character gained depth and whose influence on society increased. By now, many thousands have gone through this college of political and economic administration. And we can say with legitimate pride that now there are able and experienced organizers in all fields – men and women from the midst of the people, linked closely with the people, and capable of truly great things in the interests of the people.

The changes of the past 50 years have altered the social structure. A new social class, the workers, has risen through the growth of industry, building, transport and communications, and has become the leading force in our socialist society.

For the CC MPRP consolidation of the workers' leading place is

indeed central to the development of socialist democracy. This development, as we see it, should amount to a further expansion of the labor and political activity of thw working class, all working people. The Party welcomes and encourages the initiative of people in industry and agriculture, and gives impulse to the activity of work collectives, whose educative function it regards as an important lever for perfecting social relations.

But our conception of socialist democracy is not confined to just greater rights of participation in government and production. Dialectically, broader socialist democracy is inconceivable without a high level of public awareness and discipline, strict observance of civic obligations, and growing responsibility to the state and society. We are therefore taking steps to tighten socialist legality, state and labor discipline, and are increasing the responsibility of Party, government and public organizations in enforcing the law.

The radical changes in the country's productive forces over the past 50 years have tremendously improved the living standard and cultural level of the people. The national income is growing steadily. In 1971-1973 alone, real incomes went up 18.2 per cent, the average wages and salaries have risen considerably, and so have the cash incomes of cooperative farmers.

One of the important objectives of the MPRP is to gradually raise Mongolia's economy to the level of the other CMEA countries. And the situation is certainly favorable for this in the present stage of our socialist construction and economic cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community.

CMEA's comprehensive socialist integration program envisages special measures to help us catch up with the fraternal countries in some of the principal socio-economic fields. This will mean a dual process of punctual fulfilment of commitments by our integration partners, on the one hand, and ourselves, on the other. We take this into account, and consider not only domestic needs, but also the essential development trends of the entire community.

Cooperation with countries of the socialist community, first of all the Soviet Union, is one of those decisive factors without which – if we took a retrospective view – there would be no modern Mongolia, and, speaking for the present and future, the program of completing the building of socialism would simply prove impracticable. Take the development of natural resources, of no small importance for our plans of accelerated economic growth. Considerable deposits of a wide range of minerals have been found in our country. But on our own we would scarcely manage to organize their industrial development. We lack the means, technology, and manpower. So the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are helping us.

Our ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are growing in all spheres. The Party and the government are consistently expanding ties with all the countries of the socialist world system, contributing to its unity, and assuring its greater international weight.

We wish to emphasize in this connection that we oppose and will continue to oppose the hegemonic and chauvinist aspirations of China's Maoist leadership, which persists in its annexationist policy toward the Mongolian People's Republic. The makers of China's present policy are stoking up tension on the frontier (of more than 4,000 kms), engineering incidents and acts of provocation, and spurning all our proposals for improving inter-state relations.

At first the Peking splitters had hoped to pry us loose from the socialist community, make us quarrel with the Soviet Union, and hitch Mongolia to the motley bandwagon of anti-Sovieteers. When their plans failed they changed to saber-rattling tactics, trying to intimidate our people. But this, too, will fail. There is calm in our country, and deep confidence in the home and foreign policy of the People's Revolutionary Party. Our people know that we have secured a far superior living standard than that of the Chinese people. They also know that the air of tranquility and labor in our country is in sharp contrast to the hysteria of the diverse 'cultural revolution' style campaigns, during which no person can feel secure. This tranquility, the people's inviolable unity with the Communists, are the fruit of the Party's constant policy of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. It is this unbreakable alliance that guarantees our program of completing socialist construction, and the stability of our position in the world.

International significance of national relations in the USSR

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Two years ago, in reviewing the Soviet Union's first half-century, the Communist Party was fully justified in declaring that the national question, left to us from the past, had been solved and that its solution was one of the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people.

To Lenin must go the credit for working out the Communist Party's theory, program and policy on the national question. Lenin was the architect of the world's first multinational worker-peasant state. The Communist Party creatively developed his heritage and applied it in building socialism and communism. The resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress and L.I. Brezhnev's report on the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are outstanding documents of scientific communism and have enriched Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question. They contain a profound analysis of the development of national relations in conditions of mature socialism and important theoretical postulates regarding the rise of the new historic community, the Soviet people, and the dialiectic interconnection between the development and closer association of socialist nations and nationalities. Our experience in solving the national question, the creation of a fundamentally new system of relations between nationalities and related CPSU activity have attracted worldwide attention. The theory and practice of building the multinational Soviet state is an inexhaustible source of ideas, forms and methods in refashioning national relations to accord with the interests and aspirations of all peoples.

Cardinal problem

In the world of today, national relations are complex and multiform. In Lenin's words, they represent 'without exaggeration a world prob-

lem.' The past few decades have seen visible progress in the development of nations and national relations. A fundamentally new pattern of relations between nationalities and states has emerged in the large part of the world comprising the socialist community. It is the forerunner of the supreme form of relations for all mankind. Imperialism's colonial system has collapsed. Many new independent states have taken their place in the world. The collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal was the death knell of the world's last colonial empire.

But, obviously, the national question still awaits consummate solution. That is plain from the international conflicts and from conflicts within states, nations and national groups. The imperialist powers are anxious to keep hold of what remains of their colonial possessions. They are imposing new forms of exploitation on the newly-liberated nations and are using neo-colonialist methods of plunder. The colonial heritage is especially painfully felt in Africa and Asia. The racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are historical anachronisms and a challenge to progressive opinion throughout the world. There is a dangerous seat of tension also in the Middle East, the result of Israel's aggression against its neighbors and the zionist policy of denying the Arab people of Palestine their national rights. In the United States, the very citadel of capitalism, the problem of racial and ethnic minorities has lost none of its sharpness. In Canada, the age-old problem of the French-Canadian population comes alive in periodic conflicts. Even in Western Europe, where the formation of national states was in the main completed more than a century ago, national conflicts are not a thing of the past. Suffice it to point to the tragedy of Northern Ireland, the Fleming-Walloon tension in Belgium, the Franco regime's suppression of national rights in the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia.

The causes for this should be sought not in some inherent feeling of racial or national superiority, or in some inferiority complex, as bourgeoisie ideologists would have us believe, but in the very nature of modern capitalism. The national equality proclaimed in the constitutions of a number of bourgeois states is not backed by firm guarantees and is frequently violated. As Lenin remarked, though class antagonisms have in bourgeois countries relegated the national question to the background, it can reappear 'in the foreground of the political drama.'

National enmity and tension are in most cases associated with the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. And not infrequently it deliberately fans this enmity to camouflage its reactionary class aims. We know, for instance, that definite imperialist circles have over many years been assiduously building up tension between the Greek and

Turkish communities on Cyprus as part of an attempt to subvert the island's independence and make it a tool of NATO. When the Greek military junta encroached on the constitutional government and legitimate rights of Cyprus, leading to hardship and bloodshed, the same imperialist circles tried to exploit the problem of national relations to conceal the real causes of the trouble and impose a solution that would serve their aims.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism proved – and this has been borne out by the march of history – that capitalism has no solution for the national problem. But in this day and age complex national problems and conflicts are not an ordained inevitability. Mankind can and must resolve them. But to do that it must destroy exploitation of man by man and eliminate the social causes of national strife.

The building of a socialist society in our country provided practical proof to the world that genuine equality and fraternity of nations are feasible. There need be little doubt that in the years to come the peoples will draw on Soviet experience in solving the national problem.

Laboratory of historical experience

Ours is a multinational country and the national question was therefore central to the overall strategy of the fight for socialism. In fact, throughout the revolution, the civil war and imperialist armed intervention it was an integral part of the political struggle waged by all the peoples of former tsarist Russia. United around the working class and its internationalist ideology, they fought the many factions of the national bourgeoisie.

One of these was the Ukrainian national bourgeoisie. It used the slogans of a 'democratic' republic of 'independence' to cover its anti-national policy, its dependence on the Allied powers, on German imperialism or some other external force. And all of them exploited the people's ingrained hatred of the tsarist autocracy to sever the Ukraine from the new, Soviet Russia. Why did the laboring masses follow the Bolsheviks and support their policy of a united multinational state?

First, because the Party of Lenin combined solution of the national question with the aims of the workers' and peasants' class struggle. The Marxist-Leninists were guided by the belief that national liberation of Russia's oppressed peoples was impossible without social liberation, without socialist revolution. And the Ukrainian working people learned from their bitter experience that they could expect nothing good from the bourgeois nationalist parties. They realized, too, that the socialist revolution could triumph only given unity of the working people of all the nations of Russia.

Second, because the Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin, stood for a democratic solution of the national question, a solution in the interests of the working people of all nations. They stood for the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of independent states. They stood for a voluntary union of nations based on full and genuine equality.

Third, because the Party of Lenin had proved by its policy and actions that it was a dedicated and consistent fighter both against the imperialist oppression that was part of pre-revolutionary Russia and against the forces using the slogans of 'democracy,' even of 'socialism,' to divide the workers of this multinational country. 'This is undemocratic, Citizen Kerensky!' Lenin declared on behalf of the Bolsheviks in exposing the chauvinistic policy of the Provisional Government 'democrats' toward the Ukraine, and he called on the working people 'never for a moment, on any issue' to trust the Russian or Ukrainian bourgeoisie and to cherish and strengthen the internationalist alliance of the revolutionary forces.

The founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a direct continuation of the Great October Revolution. For the first time in history several nations united in a single state not by coercion, but by their free will. The peoples' age-old longing for an international fraternity was brought to reality. The prediction of the founders of scientific communism that abolition of class antagonisms would put an end to national enmity was conclusively confirmed.

Naturally, the new type of national relations took shape gradually, stage by stage, culminating in the emergence of their united state. First there was a military alliance of the Soviet republics, then a joint foreign policy, and then joint economic management, and finally, formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That was not the consummation but rather the beginning of their national statehood. In 1922, when the USSR was proclaimed, there were four constituent republics, now there are 15, and they include 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas.

Born in the crucible of the October Revolution, the unity and brotherhood of all our nations and nationalities was steeled in their common effort to implement Lenin's plan of building socialism. All of them shared in the great projects of the early five-year plans and in forging the country's economic and defense potential. Each republic was working for the whole country and the whole country was working for each republic. It was this concerted effort that made possible industrialization, collective farming and the cultural revolution.

The Great Patriotic War was a grim ordeal, a test for our multinational socialist state. Our victory was evidence of the durability of the socialist system and the strength of the Leninist friendship of the

peoples. It convincingly demonstrated that only in close union could they uphold their revolutionary gains, their freedom and independence.

The experience of the Soviet Union shows that political equality is the first step in the socialist development of nations. But socialism cannot stop at that, political equality must be supplemented by economic and cultural equality. Upon solution of this problem depends realization of the other elements of socialist internationalism: closer unity of nations and their all-round prosperity, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, friendship and internationalist unity in the joint endeavor to build a classless society. The crucial force in all these epochal social and economic changes, including socialist solution of the national question, is the working class led by its Communist vanguard. Its distinctive feature has always been supreme internationalism and a keen feeling of social justice and responsibility for the destinies of socialism.

The abolition of class and national oppression, the building of the new society and promotion of internationalist unity of the working class and the working people generally, were attended by the Communist Party's intensive struggle against every variety of bourgeois nationalism and great-power chauvinism. In the 20s, the Communist Party of the Ukraine exposed and ideologically defeated A. Shumsky, N. Khvylievoy and other representatives of the nationalist deviation that sought to undermine the freindship of the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples and disrupt the building of socialism. Unscrupulous specualtion on deliberately distorted and false interpretations of national feeling were countered by the Lenin doctrine on the national question and by the clear-cut internationalist position of the working class and its socialist ideology of fraternity and cooperation of the peoples.

The economic, social, political and cultural changes in the former nationality outlands were possible only thanks to the all-round assistance of the more developed nations, notably the Russian people and its heroic working class. A whole class, a whole people, made a Herculean effort in the name of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

This unity and mutual assistance are measurable in terms of material production, Mutual assistance and close cooperation of all nations made for a leap-like economic advance of all the Soviet Republics, with the once backward nationality outlands advancing faster and catching up with the more industrialized regions. Whereas industrial output in the USSR in the 50 years since its founding increased 320-fold, it increased 600-fold in the Kazakh Republic, more than 500-fold in the Tajik and Armenian republics and more than 400-fold in the Kirghiz Republic.

However, that should not be taken to mean that the jointly-managed economy benefited only the once underdeveloped regions. The industrial areas were equally interested in their economic progress as part of a single economic complex with vast resources and capacious markets. We know, for instance, that the severance from this complex of the relatively industrially developed Baltic Republics largely paralyzed their economic development between 1919 and 1940. In contrast, the Ukrainian people, working in close association with the other Soviet Republics as part of a single community and relying on their assistance and support, were able to bring all their talents and abilities to bear and find ample scope for their constructive energies.

Today the Ukraine produces the equivalent of more than twice the industrial output of the USSR in the prewar year 1940. Its industrial potential has increased 10-fold. Prosperity and cultural standards are substantially higher. Before the revolution, more than 70 per cent of the population were illiterate; now illiteracy is a thing of the distant past, with two-thirds of the gainfully employed population having a secondary or higher education, and with nearly four million college-trained specialists at work in the economy. The student body in higher and specialized secondary schools now numbers about 1,600,000. The Soviet Ukraine's achievements in science, literature and the arts are known and recognized abroad.

The Ukrainian people are now in the golden age of their history, and from their own experience they have learned to appreciate the creative strength of the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party and the benefits of proletarian internationalism. In contrast, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have proved politically bankrupt. Their anti-socialist ideas were rejected and they are a wretched group of demoralized emigrés working hand-in-glove with imperialist subversion agencies.

In our country the right of nations to self-determination is a living reality. Each nation has its own socialist statehood. Economic standards have in the main been levelled out. There is factual equality in all spheres of public life. In short, there are socialist nations free of social and national antagonisms and sharing a common social structure. The Soviet people is made up of friendly classes and social groups, of nations united by a common economic, political and cultural life, common aims and a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism. All Soviet citizens, regardless of the republic they live in, are the sons and daughters of a common socialist homeland and ardent Soviet partiots. The Ukrainian is proud to be part of the great Soviet people. And the Ukrainians cherish above all their friendship with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, a friendship that made possible all their momentous achievements.

Supreme type of national relations

Experience has shown that national relations acquire specific features at every new stage in the building of socialism and communism. The Soviet people make up a new historic community which is a living and dynamic organism. National relations are a reality which undergoes constant development and poses new problems and tasks.

Ever closer association of nations and nationalities is a cardinal feature of Soviet society. This process will, with the development of socialist society, gradually obliterate national differences and produce features common to all Soviet people and expressive of the finest traits of their national character.

The Party is opposed to prodding this process, for it is an objective process of social development. And, of course, Communists must follow the Leninist principle of maximum attention to the interests and development of each nation. But the Party is against attempts to hold back the process, just as it is against attempts to harden national exclusiveness. That would be contrary to the interests of the country and of each of its republics, could militate against communist construction and our internationalist ideology.

Closer internationalist ties and consistent strengthening of the economic foundation on which they rest is characteristic of mature socialist society and makes for full unity of the international and national. Guided by the overall interests of the Soviet Union, and with due account of the development of each of the constituent republics, the 24th CPSU Congress expressed the will of the Party and the people unswervingly to continue the Leninist policy of strengthening the USSR and developing its integral economic complex.

The USSR economy, the sum-total of the economies of all the republics, develops according to a single plan. It is in the interests of each republic to join with others to attain the Soviet Union's economic goals. More extensive division of labor commensurate with the potentialities and requirements of each republic, comprehensive specialization and production cooperation, wider cooperation and mutual assistance – these are part of an objective process following from the socialist character of production and the scientific and technological revolution.

The Soviet people are now laying the material and technical basis of communism, merging the achievements of the technological revolution with the advantages of socialism and substantially raising prosperity standards. All this requires still greater internationalization of the country's economic, political and cultural life. And the Party is working toward that goal, so as to assure more rational distribution of the productive forces, better use of the country's diverse resources and maximum coordination.

Evening out economic levels still holds an important place in Party policy and activity. That they are being evened out is evidenced by progress in the western part of the Soviet Ukraine, where a modern industrial structure has been built, a working class formed and expert personnel trained. Economic progress in these western areas is above the average for the republic as a whole. Again the figures: in the past three years the Ukraine's industrial output increased 22.2 per cent, but in Ternopol Region the increase is 43.3 per cent, 35.3 in Rovno Region, 30.9 in Ivano-Frankovsk Region and 25.5 in Lvov Region. The record of achievement in these western areas extends to science, culture, education, health and every other sphere.

Socialist internationalism permeates every aspect of public life. New, common features typical of the entire Soviet people are emerging in the national culture. Cutlural values created in each of our republics are the property of all of them. The Russian language has been voluntarily adopted by all nationalities.

The multinational character of work collectives, particularly in industry, is a factor in strengthening our internationalist community. For it is in the process of production that the Soviet character, of which internationalism is an integral part, is formed.

Every republic is, in effect, multinational. Ukrainians make up two-thirds of the population of our republic, but there are also people of more than 100 nations and nationalities. There are many nationalities in the Transcarpathian Region, but everywhere there is friendship and mutual respect, and all of them are represented in government bodies at all levels. You will find Ukrainians, Russians, Hungarian, Moldavians, Rumanians, Germans, Slovaks, Jews, Bulagrians, Poles and representatives of many more nationalities in the district, city, and regional Soviets of Transcarpathia. Habits and customs common to all Soviet people are becoming part and parcel of the life of these many nationalities. There are close ties with work collectives in other regions of the Ukraine. In the schools, tuition is in Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian and Moldavian, which are also used in television, broadcasting and the press.

With the emergence of the socialist world system, proletarian internationalism acquired a new ideological, theoretical and socio-political content and wider scope. It is now a key factor in the economic and cultural development and in the general way of life of the peoples of the socialist community.

Now, with the USSR building the material and technical foundations of communism and fraternal countries building a mature socialist society, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation within the framework of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration acquires very special importance. Coordination

of current and long-term plans, permanent contacts in basic branches of the economy and intertwining of economic agencies are accelerating progress in each socialist country and the community as a whole.

Naturally, all this lays a definite imprint on the work of organization and education in each of the Soviet republics. In the past a Ukrainian factory, say, would be guided not only by the interests of the republic, but of the USSR as a whole. Now it has to take into account also the interests of the socialist community. And the Ukrainian people are doing everything to carry out the decisions of the April 1973 CC CPSU Plenum on wider Soviet participation in socialist integration.

The Communist Party's class, internationalist foreign policy is designed to strengthen the unity of the socialist community. Addressing the 24th Congress, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized: 'We want to see the socialist world system a close family of nations jointly building and defending their new society, enriching one another by their experience and knowledge – a closely knit and strong family in which people throughout the world would see the prototype of the future world community of free nations.'

The national question and ideological struggle

The national question is one of the most acute issues in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. The CPSU firmly adheres to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism in all its theoretical and practical work and in its home and foreign policy. It wages a consistent irreconcilabel struggle against reactionary bourgeois nationalism, for proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism represent mutually opposed ideologies and policies.

One might recall Lenin's postulate that the nationalism of an oppressed nation contains democratic elements directed against oppression. Our Party has always supported the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle.

However, we have always to remember that the reactionaries exploit narrow nationalism and separatism to divide the anti-imperialist forces and undermine their unity. Parties and classes anxious to keep alive the old, historically doomed world are increasingly using bourgeois nationalist slogans. In fact, they have been taken·up by the most reactionary imperialist and militarist forces, including the Chilean military junta.

The imperialists and their bourgeois-nationalist followers try to isolate the national question from other social issues and from the class struggle, maintaining that it stands above class conflicts. That interpretation is meant to obscure and conceal class antagonisms, divide the working class and prevent its international unity, veil and justify imperialist policies, and hold back the development of the national-liberation struggle.

It is hardly a secret that the imperialists and their ideologists are exerting every effort to erode our society, distort Soviet reality and the Leninist national policy of the CPSU and sow the poisonous seeds of discord. Indicative in this respect is the fact that all the forces hostile to communism are coming closer together on a common platform of anti-Sovietism and nationalism. In fact, the more reactionary imperialist faction is using a collection of new-fangled doctrines in what might be described as an exercise in ideological and political camouflage.

Anti-communism is also using rabid nationalism in its attempts to spoil relations between socialist countries. It smuggles in nationalist ideas, and one of its latest subterfuges is the advocacy of 'national communism.' But there is the proof of experience that socialism cannot be built in national isolation. Any attempt to do that is sure to rebound, first of all, on economic progress, for it leads to the squandering of social labor, lowers growth rates and, in the end, makes the country dependent on the capitalist world. Politically, too, it is both reactionary and dangerous, for it tends to divide the peoples, nurtures bourgeois-nationalist tendencies and can lead to the loss of the country's socialist gains.

The anti-communists exploit nationalism also in attempts to weaken the socialist community and divide the international communist movement. As the ideological struggle becomes more acute, there is closer fusion of nationalism and revisionism. The fallacious theory and practice of Maoism has clearly shown that nationalist slogans can lead a country very far away from its real national interests. Maoism is a blend of revisionsim, nationalism and great-power chauvinism. This has produced a situation in which Chinese and imperialist propaganda are practically indistinguishable in their attempts to substitute for class analysis theoretically fallacious and politically harmful geopolitical concepts. The Maoist leaders have taken the path of undermining the revolutionary gains of the Chinese people, the path of anti-Sovietism and unprincipled blocs with the reactionary imperialist forces.

Internationalism is the consistent expression of the proletarian, socialist postion on the national question. Far from ignoring the interests of nations and the national problem – as bourgeois ideologists maintain – the Communists are the most irreconcilable opponents of oppression in whatever form and the most consistent and staunch patriots. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized: 'Marxists-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness, and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Com-

munist Parties – the Parties of the working class and all working people – are the standard bearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests.'

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union continues to grow and develop on the internationalist foundation laid by Lenin. It unites the finest representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals, the sons and daughters of all the nationalities comprising the Land of Soviets. The CPSU has always regarded itself a contingent of the international communist movement. It builds its relations with fraternal parties on unswerving adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The CPSU is an internationalist party in its ideology, composition, activity and organizational principles. It includes the Communist parties of the Union Republics, but it is not a federation of national parties – it is an integral party for the whole of the USSR with a single Program and Rules. The CPSU is the directing political force uniting the multinational people of the Soviet Union in a single internationalist family.

Code of conduct for millions

Once the ideal of a small group of Communists, internationalism has become an ingrained conviction and a code of conduct for millions of Soviet people of all nationalities. The result of the revolution in the people's thinking, this is one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Communist Party.

Today, too, the Party and all its republican and regional organizations are focussing attention on developing relations between the nationalities in a mature socialist society, on educating the people in a spirit of friendship and proletarian internationalism. The celebrations of the Soviet Union's 50th anniversary played a big part in promoting internationalist education. We are building on that experience and continuing and developing the work begun in the jubilee days, thereby enriching all aspects of our social life. The questions involved in this were discussed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine at its meeting last May. It set out the tasks of all Party organizations in further improving ideological work in the light of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions.

Our Party organizations are consistently and purposefully carrying out a series of coordinated measures to intensify internationalist education, using all available means and forms – Party study classes, the press, television and radio, and all our cultural facilities. The arts and literature, socialist in content and internationalist in spirit, play a very big part too.

This system of internationalist education is organically linked with

all other aspects of our ideological work, including the cultivation of socialist patriotism. Next year we shall be celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Union's epochal victory in the Great Patriotic War. An important preparatory stage was the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine. Popularization of the Soviet people's heroic effort on the battlefield and on the home front is a major component in cultivating Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The communist outlook is formed under the impact of Soviet reality. And the Party believes it is of fundamental importance for all our ideological activities to be closely tied in with the concrete tasks involved in building communist society.

Socialist competition between work collectives in the different republics has become a tradition. One example is the socialist competition between the miners of the Donets Basin in the Ukraine and the Kuznetsk Basin in the Russian Federation, another is the competition between the farmers of the Crimea and the Kuban.

In common with all Soviet people, the Ukrainians have an active part in the socialist emulation movement, now concentrated on attaining higher quality and efficiency standards. Since the beginning of the present five-year plan, the Ukraine has produced more than five billion rubles worth of industrial output over and above its target figure. Agriculture, too, is well within the five-year targets. We have grown a good harvest of cereals and technical crops. The Republic is keeping pace with the assignments for the fourth year of the current five-year plan in economic and cultural development.

There is no place in internationalist education – as in all ideological work – for formalism and crash campaigns. It requires constant attention, especially to new phenomena in social life, constant perfection of forms and methods and, of course, ability and tact. Applied in combination, they help to foster the feeling of belonging to one great internationalist family and inculcate internationalist ideas which, to use the words of Marx, become 'ties which one cannot sever without severing one's heart.'

The Communist Party's Leninist policy of accentuating the internationalization of all spheres of public life presupposes inculcating intransigence toward all manifestations of hostile ideology. The objective causes of conflict and antagonism between national groups have been eliminated long ago, of cours. But nationalist survivals die hard; they linger on in the thinking of politically immature individuals and can at times lead to exaggerated or distorted expressions of national sentiments, or to national narrow-mindedness or arrogance, or idealization of patriarchal and parochial customs and habits. Party organizations take full account of all this in their work of internationalist

education. For all such survivals of a rejected past are alien to the socialist way of life, with its optimism, humanism and its collectivist pattern of relations.

The CPSU attaches special importance to ideological cooperation with fraternal parties and countries. For internationalism is the cement of the socialist community. There is no place for all manner of 'exclusiveness' doctrines or national 'models' of socialism that disregard the common laws of building the new society. Ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties enhances the effectiveness of their struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism.

Contacts and friendship with the working people of fraternal socialist countries are part and parcel of Soviet life. Many regions of the Ukraine maintain close contact with regions in other socialist countries. For some time now we have been cooperating in ideological work with local Party organizations, particularly in the border areas of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania. And we are firmly convinced that knowledge of one another's achievements and experience in solving the national question is proof of the viability of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet Union's immense experience in solving the national question and in promoting closer relations between the nationalities is convincing evidence that CPSU theory and policy rest on a solid scientific foundation. Proletarian, socialist internationalism has in our time become a cardinal ideological and politcal factor in the successful building of socialism and communism, in furthering the world revolutionary process and accelerating mankind's social progress.

The October Revolution and the revolutionary practice of today

Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez
General Secretary,
CP of Argentina

For us Communists it is a time-hallowed tradition, a part of our Party life, to celebrate the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Not only in tribute to the unforgettable feat of the workers of Russia, and not only in admiration of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Nor is our emphasis on the ideas and gains of the October Revolution a mere asseveration of the scientific facts of history. It is also the practical interests of our present and future revolutionary activity that make us look back to the lessons of that first victorious proletarian revolution.

1. The question of historical orientation is crucial for any political movement, and doubly so for a revolutionary movement aspiring to profound social transformations.

Present-day Latin America is in ferment. Large masses are joining hands to resist imperialism, to fight against imperialist oppression. The battle for national and social emancipation is expanding steadily.

To shape current policy there must be a concrete and realistic assessment of current tendencies in the individual countries, of the current relation of social forces, their interaction and contradictions. But this is not enough in the case of a revolutionary policy. The implications and effectiveness of the day-to-day actions that make up the revolutionary struggle must also be checked against dependable criteria that direct the march of world history and progress.

In recent years we witnessed a struggle of immense political importance, which has substantially altered international relations. New factors have come into the picture, strongly influencing the conditions and objectives of the revolutionary struggle. We may, therefore, speak of a turning point in modern history. In the case of Latin America, for one thing, there is the shift on the political scene brought about by the Cuban revolution and the struggle of the masses, of

broad sections of society. A still greater impact, of course, on all the main socio-political processes and ideological trends of our time was made by such world-shaking events as the emergence of the socialist world system and the collapse of the colonial empires under the onslaught of the national liberation forces. These are the kind of events that change the face of the world, and must be closely considered in settling the question of our historical orientation.

Such events are not dissociated. They are interactive to an extent that, in the final analysis, permits us to define them as the content of the epoch. And the Marxist-Leninist knows that he must rise to this overall vision of the contemporary period, because that alone will show him the chief and objectively conditioned direction of social progress, its distinctive features and laws of development. That is the approach which enabled the world communist movement to assess our times as the epoch of a worldwide revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. And need I add that this assessment is the cornerstone of our strategy.

It was the October Socialist Revolution in Russia that imparted this specific character to our times felt with increasing impact over the past nearly 60 years. It put an end to imperialism's supremacy and introduced a new, socialist social system. The world split into two opposite orders. And now their struggle is the axis of international affairs, influencing the political and ideological climate in all countries. The balance of world forces is steadily tilting in socialism's favor, to the detriment of imperialism. One-third of the world population has deposed the power of capital. The colonial and semi-colonial system is in its death-throes and disappearing fast under the onslaught of the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is no longer imperialism, but socialism that determines the march of history.

We never forget that the development and colossal strength of the socialist world system in all fields is the cardinal feature of our times. We never forget socialism's tremendous influence on the peoples of our continent. We never forget the huge importance of this for the present and future of the revolutionary struggle, the struggle for liberation. The facts prove us right. Yet the process will not be understood in its full historical dimension unless we also remember that its starting point goes back to October 1917 in Russia. It is one thing to register the changing relation of economic strength, the military potentials and political influence of already existing states with different social systems. It is a different thing to note the fact that originally one of the sides entered the contest as a force that was still to create its state structures and economic patterns. Here we find truly incontrovertible proof that socialism as a social system is inconquerable, and that the struggle for it, however long and difficult it may be, is bound to triumph.

The October Revolution is the first revolution in world history that irreversibly turned over all power to the working people. True, there are now other examples. The revolutionary gains of many European, Asian and Latin American peoples have shown that government is not the exclusive privilege of the exploiting classes. But in their case, too, we should not forget that it was the October Revolution that gave a new quality to the proletariat, the masses in general, as the chief makers of history. Not only did the workers and peasants of one country, Russia, become the helmsmen of society; the working-class movement across the world, too, rose to a new, higher level. The idea of reconstructing society and ending exploitation through active revolutionary participation in political struggle, and not by reform, by 'improving' capitalism and waiting for its imminent downfall, has taken firm root among its advanced, politically conscious sections.

This class will of the workers, conceived in a new light as a result of the October Revolution, impelled the appearance of Communist parties in dozens of countries, and their dissociation from all opportunist trends. Our movement has become the highest form of concentrating and organizing the revolutionary energy of 20th century society. It has become the truest bearer of the proletariat's class ideals and interests. And again, our conviction in this political and social mission assumed by the Communists derives first and foremost from the October Revolution. The following two of its lessons have never been more relevant than now. First, the present-day revolutionary movement cannot be effective and victorious, unless it takes its orientation and support from the working class, the class in the center of the epoch. Second, this class cannot fully generate its revolutionary potential, unless it is led by a militant political vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party.

II. We Communists follow the only scientific doctrine that encompasses the dialectics of the general and particular in revolutionary development. It is not enough to say, therefore, that all we derive from the October are the universal laws of revolution. It is also a lesson in the correct and effective use of specific circumstances in a concrete historical and national situation. The immense gains of the October Revolution stemmed undeniably from the existence of a proletarian party guided by a scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism. But there was also another crucial factor behind its victory: the Bolsheviks, wisely led by Lenin, took due note of Russia's peculiarities, of the various alternatives of the revolutionary process at its different stages, and were able to correctly assess the correlation of strength in the country. At the same time, they took note of and used the rich experience of struggle against oppression in other lands.

On the surface it may appear that the matter centers on the pos-

sibilities of using *foreign* experience. This is how it is often put. And, of course, if we stay within the limits of accepted notions, everything happening in another country, is foreign. But the scientific dimension of thought requires a more profound view of things, and, accordingly, a more critical choice of terms. In this case, as we see it, it is wrong to speak of *foreign* experience. Since we regard ourselves as an organic constituent of the worldwide revolutionary working-class movement, the October Revolution is *our* experience or, perhaps more precisely, the basis of *our* experience in history, subsequently enriched by the practice of many other detachments of fighters for social liberty, and for socialism and communism.

This puts the problem of using the experience of the October Revolution into its right focus, conforming with the international essence of our movement, the singleness of its strategy, proved correct by the October Revolution and confirmed by the many later gains of the revolutionary proletariat.

It is a strategy directly derived from Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, of which October 1917 was the first great triumph. Some doctrinaires assume that its sphere of application is limited to situations verging on a revolutionary explosion. In their view the revolution boils down to the act of seizing power. Yet, as Lenin proved, and as the Bolsheviks, the working class and the masses confirmed in practice, the socialist revolution is a more or less lengthy process, and far from 'pure' as regards the crystallization and differentiation of the social forces involved in it.

The struggle for Argentina's national liberation is part of the great liberation movement shaping in scale and depth across Latin America. In one way or another, peoples, countries and governments have been drawn into this great battle against monopoly, and for national liberation. Non-proletarian forces, too, are coming into the anti-imperialist movement: professionals and military, the church, large sections of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie.

In this complex political process on the continent, including Argentina, we must hold up our general principles and also make the most of the opportunities for extending the liberation movement. This means that we must strengthen the positions of the revolutionary forces, increase the political experience of the masses, isolate the rightists, and conduct a concentrated offensive against imperialism, oligarchy and big capital, the chief enemies of our national and social emancipation.

Lenin stressed, and this before the October Revolution, that the socialist transformation of the world 'will consist of many years of fighting, of several periods of onslaught with intervals of counter-

revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 899). He opposed the notion that a social revolution is conceivable 'without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc.' (Vol. 22, p. 355). This is why the practical experience of the October Revolution is so vitally important to us today, for it is a model of the fusion of diverse class, democratic and liberation movements in the revolutionary struggle under working-class leadership.

In my country it is of crucial value. Our Party supports the democratic process of liberation that began in Argentina in 1973. The present task is to prevent domestic and foreign reaction from scuttling it. Reaction is trying to close the breach made by the liberation forces and create all kinds of difficulties for the present government, which (despite its weaknesses and flaws) is not the kind of regime the oligarchy and monopoly want in the saddle. Thre rightist danger, of which there is evidence in some important areas of government and also outside the administration, is very big. The democratic forces are deeply disturbed. The oligarchy and monopoly, still in control of important heights in our national economy, will continue to cook up conspiracies against the nation and imperil the stability of the present government so long as the levers of power they still control are not wrested from them.

The present government, our 14th Party Congress declared, is a government of the national-reformist bourgeoisie, but the Communists have no interest in, and no intention of, toppling it. They will campaign for realization of the positive points of its program, criticize its negative aspects and clearly set out their own position on all issues that influence the orientation and political thinking of the masses.

The present government has promised legislation which, though not providing fundamental solutions, would seriously affect the interests of the oligarchy and the monopolies.

We know that only a powerful upsurge of mass activity can decisively influence fulfilment of these promises and continue the process now begun in the country.

The reforms now being carried out by the bourgeoisie in power are the result of the struggle waged by the masses and some sections of the urban and rural petty and middle bourgeoisie against the monopolies and the oligarchy. The working class should use this as a *means*, as a lever to prod the process of national and social liberation with the help of the masses and thus change the alignment of forces. We are always mindful of what Lenin had in view when he said that

the only path to deep-going reforms was through hard-fought class struggle.

Rampant terror, with its escalation of criminal actions and its toll of the democratic forces, is part and parcel of the all-out offensive planned and organized by the monopolies, big capital and the landed oligarchy to regain their political domination. To do that they are working to create the most favorable conditions for the forces bent on removing from power the progressive anti-imperialist trends and halting the liberation process, or provide a pretext for the putschist elements longing for a Pinochet-style coup that would put an end to constitutional government.

This is causing a good deal of anxiety among the democratic forces, including circles associated with the government. Our task – besides communicating this feeling of anxiety to the broad masses – is to prepare and organize the masses so that the progressive forces will not be caught unawares under any circumstances and in any area in which the enemy might strike.

The patriotic forces of our continent must draw the necessary lessons from what the Pinochet gang has done in Chile.

There are in Argentina considerable democratic forces and large reserves to suppress the reactionary plot now being hatched. But we must work perseveringly to translate these vast opportunities into broad, organized united action.

In this serious situation, especially after the death of the leader of Peronism, the Communist Party and spokesmen for many of the political forces, democratic movements and groups have publicly announced their readiness to achieve maximum mutual understanding in defense of the constitutional order, democratic rights and freedoms and continued development of the now threatened process of national liberation.

It was customary for representatives of eight political parties, including the Communists, periodically to meet with General Peron and members of his government to discuss problems of common interest. Continuing that custom, the Vice-Chairman of the Peronist Party, acting on instructions of President Maria Estela Martinez de Peron, early in August arranged a meeting of representatives of all political parties and various mass organizations and public movements. Taking part in this meeting, which was of immense importance and which adopted the policy decisions mentioned above, were representatives of all the political parties, the General Confederation of Labor, the General Confederation of Employers, the National Encounter of Argentinians movement, and other organizations.

The right Peronists are sabotaging the effort to harmonize policy viewpoints and are thus hampering the achievement of closer united

action against the maneuvers of the reactionaries, who are now preparing a coup and the abolition of constitutional government.

In this situation, our Party has proposed the formation of a national coalition government of the democratic anti-imperialist forces. There are weighty arguments in favor of that proposal, for the conditions exist for a broad patriotic national-liberation front.

It is only natural that there should be class contradictions and ideological differences within the framework of the unity now taking shape. Our Party retains its full independence, both in relation to its positions and views. We are firmly convinced that such independence is of fundamental importance if we are to pursue a fruitful political dialogue with other parties and public forces, and if our cooperation with them, based on discussion and agreement, is to be effective.

Would it be right to say that what we are now doing is but a temporary exigency in expectation of the revolution? No, we firmly believe that in the present situation we are directly engaging in revolutionary work, for the aim is political activization of the proletarian masses, unity of the democratic forces and extension of the anti-imperialist struggle. And there is the experience of the October Revolution to show that without this we stand no chance of building up the popular majority which alone is capable of performing a deep-going social revolution.

III. Faced with a real danger of losing their power and privileges, the exploiting classes redouble their resistance. That law of social development was conclusively confirmed by the October Revolution.

Revolutionary Russia had to contend with the abortive Kornilov putsch, the White Armies, counter-revolutionary risings and imperialist intervention. The frenzied resistance of reaction found its continuation in the Hitler Reich, the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the atrocities of the Chilean junta. And always the Communists have been the first victims of this policy, merciless with regard to all the institutions of democracy and national freedom, to all democrats and patriots. The fate of our comrades in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay and other countries is a bitter reminder that reaction will stoop to all manner of savagery to keep the exploiting classes in power.

We are dealing with a dangerous adversary, one with immense resources at his disposal. He will stop at no crime to hold back the revolutionary process. We must always remember that there are many obstacles in our liberation struggle, and many difficulties, complications and contradictions. The earnest of our success and of our strength lies in the ability to mobilize and organize the masses and all social groups which, in the most diverse forms and at different levels, are drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle.

Of course, the reactionaries' use of violence complicates the revolutionary struggle. But that should not lead to despair. CIA-instigated reactionary activity arouses the anger of the people. It should be our task to channel it into conscious action in defense of democracy and make the struggle against extreme reaction a factor of national unity, a school of political education of the working people.

Our immediate aim is to foil the reactionary plot through mass action, strengthen the position, inside the outside the government, of the forces committed to national liberation, and unite all the patriotic elements around common democratic ideals. But we know that winning this battle will not solve all our national and social problems. As in many other Latin American countries, sharp class antagonisms are inevitable in Argentina with its intermediate level of capitalist development. This objective factor, which we have always to consider in policy-making, defines the division between us and all reformist, opportunist trends.

It should be emphasized that since the October Revolution reformism has acquired much greater value for the imperialists. Many of their influential ideologists and politicians maintain that the chief and only reason for the revolution in Russia was its relative economic backwardness and the poverty of the mass of the population. And from this they conclude that revolution can be 'bought off' by material concessions.

Obviously, this imperialist policy has no future and its underlying doctrine is intrinsically fallacious. Revolution is born not of economic backwardness or of the poverty of the masses. It is born of sharp social antagonisms, and these are not moderated but, on the contrary, aggravated by capitalist economic development. Indeed, Russia became the first country of socialist revolution not because it was the epitome of backwardness, but because rapid capitalist development brought class and other conflicts to breaking point.

Though a policy based on bourgeois-reformist illusions is doomed to failure, it is nevertheless dangerous. It can, and does, mislead substantial sections of society, including part of the working people. It can win them over by false slogans of 'social partnership.' It can obscure their genuine interests by absolutizing immediate but temporary economic gains. It seeks to create a climate unfavorable to the fight against exploitation. Exposure of bourgeois reformism and trenchant criticism of kindred opportunist trends among the workers is for us just as important a task as the fight against opportunism, in preparation for the October Revolution, was for the Bolsheviks.

Attempts to split the revolutionary movement figure prominently in imperialism's global strategy and in the policy of its abettors in the various countries. And the imperialists and reactionaries rely heavily

on nationalism. Their tactic is to obscure the class contradictions that permeate public life in the non-socialist world. But mindful of socialism's great attractive power, imperialist propaganda is prepared to speak favorably of revolution and socialism – but only of 'native' ways of revolution and 'national models' of socialism.

Practice has shown that imperialism and reaction have learned to exploit adventurist sentiments and actions by groups infected with petty-bourgeois revolutionism – those who count on the effect of rash and risky actions and on individual or small-group terror. These ultra-left groups are discrediting themselves, isolating themselves from the great struggle of the working class, the peasants and the broad masses. Their concepts, for all the verbal fireworks, are based on counterposing the national-liberation movement to the countries of the socialist community.

All this emphasizes anew the importance of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting that 'it is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.' And not only should we counterpose this theoretically correct thesis to the incorrect concepts designed to split the revolutionary movement, but, more important, we must pursue an appropriate policy in practice. The Argentine Communists, for instance, are working to demolish the barrier the imperialists have erected to seal off our country and the whole of Latin America from the Soviet Union, other members of the socialist community and fraternal Cuba. Our successes in this are cogent proof that the strengthening of Argentina's national independence and extension of its contacts with the socialist lands are interconnected aspects of one and the same process.

In all its activity our Party is guided by the understanding that, whatever our concrete tasks that follow from the specifics of the political situation in Argentina, and no matter how independent our decisions are, our Party was and remains a contingent of the world army of Communists. Our struggle is inseparable from the revolutionary struggle of other Latin-American peoples and from the worldwide revolutionary movement.

The continued and firm assimilation by the world revolutionary movement of the principles of internationalism, the continued strengthening of the unity of the international working class and the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces – are all essential conditions for our successful advance on the road opened by the Great October Revolution.

The strategy of cooperation

Mieczyslaw Jagielski
PB Member,
CC Polish United Workers' Party,
and Vice-Chairman,
Council of Ministers

The emergence of the socialist world system, an entirely new community of states and peoples, made it necessary to evolve a pattern of political, economic and cultural relations between states in which the people and its leading force, the working class headed by its Party, had come to power.

From the very outset these relations took the form of close fraternal cooperation based on identity of fundamental aims and interests, political and economic system and ideology.

The common ideological basis of the Communist and Workers' parties of our countries is Marxism-Leninism, with its doctrine of proletarian internationalism, international solidarity and unity of the world communist and workers' movement, common objectives in the struggle for socialism and communism. Lenin wrote, emphasizing the importance of proletarian internationalism and close alliance of the working class of different countries in the battle for socialism: 'Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood is needed' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293).

That is equally valid after socialism's victory, and also in our time of rapid development and impressive achievements of the world socialist system in the struggle for peace and progress, in competition and confrontation with capitalism, and in relations between the fraternal countries.

The alliance of states and peoples based on proletarian internationalism acquires a new meaning in the years of socialist construction and rapidly changing international economic relations. Lenin foresaw that the growing productivity of social labor would be decisive in the competition of the two systems. And to maximize that growth we must make full use of the achievements of the scientific

and technological revolution and combine them with the advantages of socialism and the mechanism of the new social system. This lends added importance to economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the socialist community, and to rational division of labor.

International socialist division of labor accords with the basic principles of the socialist mode of production, its planned character and objective economic laws. That is why, from the very early years of the socialist community, our Parties and governments have devoted so much attention to these problems. In 1949 they founded the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

This was at a time when the young European socialist countries had launched out on a grand program of industrialization and socio-economic change and the Western powers were stepping up the cold war. In this situation unity of the socialist countries became a pressing need.

Much of the credit for founding and developing CMEA as an organization of socialist economic cooperation belongs to the Soviet Union. The world's first socialist state, it shared with fraternal countries not only its vast political and organizational experience, but also its material resources and technological achievements.

Like every social and economic process, socialist international division of labor passes through various stages of development. Experience has shown that its scale and intensity depend on structural changes in the national economies and on the level of productive forces. Consequently, the stages of socialist construction in the CMEA countries determined the scope and forms of their economic and technological cooperation. But it should be emphasized that, notwithstanding changes in form and scope, this cooparation has consistently been a cardinal factor in the development of each CMEA country.

The history of their cooperation can be divided into two periods. The first was the period in which the foundations of socialist industry were laid.* Quantitative growth was then the main factor of economic development. The second period has seen the building or growth of developed socialist society in most CMEA countries. Now the accent is on intensive, qualitative-growth factors. Of course, there is no hard and fast division between the two; in some countries they overlap. And the scale and pace of structural economic change, too, differ from country to country depending on the level at which industrialization was started, availability of resources, use of development potentials, etc. But this has to be stressed: unlike cooperation of capitalist

*It has been rightly pointed out that even countries with a more or less developed industry under capitalism (GDR, Czechoslovakia) had to restructure their material and technical basis to adapt it to the building of socialism.

countries, this process leads to the evening-out of economic levels.

In the 60s, the economies of European CMEA members reached a level that necessitated increasing use of intensive-growth factors also in their international economic contacts. This, in turn, necessitated modification in the volume and forms of economic cooperation. It also called for a more complex requirements of socialist international division of labor following from changes in the production, economic and technical fields.

In production, these changes follow from the vast increase in the volume of output and from industrial concentration. Production units are much bigger, use more powerful equipment and produce a wider variety of goods, shift to new lines of production as a result of advances in science and technology. And all this develops so rapidly that even the most experienced organizations, with flexible technical policies, are often caught unprepared. The changes extend both to producer and concumer goods. All-purpose machines are being replaced by highly productive specialized units. The same in consumer goods – a much wider variety is required as the market becomes more amply supplied.

Technical progress powers mass production in many small and medium countries far in excess of national demand. There is also this factor: mass production is profitable because of low production costs, but it requires large capital outlays and these are not always feasible in countries with relatively small economic potentials. For them the only solution is international cooperation by pooling their facilities and means to extend production for a much bigger, international market. The CMEA market already has over 360 million potential buyers and presents favorable conditions for mass production.

High growth rates in manufacturing, plus a much wider variety of goods, mean a bigger demand for raw materials. Synthetic materials have so far only partially solved the problem – witness the rapid growth in steel output over the past few years, both in developed and developing countries. The uneven geographical distribution of natural resources has tended to increase international ecxhange in raw materials and fuel, and this, too, calls for closer cooperation of CMEA countries.

Technical progress plays a very special role in economic integration. And it is important to accelerate it through cooperation, especially through integration of fundamental and technological research. Concerting the efforts of many countries is an objective necessity. For small and medium economic organisms cannot cope with the problems that arise in such fields as, say, electronics or nuclear energy. There is ample evidence to show that in no single country can science effectively develop in isolation.

The rapid development and increasing complexity (inherent in the very nature of research) of the problems posed by science and technology make it necessary to concentrate the efforts of a huge army of scientists, engineers and technicians. And if this concentration is to produce the desired results, it must go beyond the confines of a single country. The socialist countries must therefore achieve closer integration in research and technology on the basis of an agreed policy setting out the main direction of scientific and technological progress. Of special importance in this context is cooperation in research and designing and in joint projects in selective fields. It is no great exaggeration to say that broad and comprehensive integration of science and technology in the CMEA countries is the very backbone of their economic integration. And it is progress in this area that will largely determine the social and economic development of our countries.

Scientific and technological cooperation based on the principles of integration is the best foundation for our production contacts. For a joint research and designing program brings a new dimension into production, influences the character and structure of economic contacts and makes for more stable and long-term cooperation. Such close ties in technology and production cannot be as easily changed as in the case of trading arrangements.

Intensive development of production makes active and increasing participation in international division of labor not only necessary, but objectively inevitable. Socialist economic integration thus becomes the most reliable prerequisite for dynamic economic and technical progress. It makes for concentration of production, which means effectively using investments and thereby raising productivity.

In combination, these factors make economic integration a basic development law of our community. And economic integration is understood as a process in which available facilities and means are pooled to solve common economic and scientific-technical problems and assure rapid and effective progress in building socialism. As distinct from the early stages of cooperation, which was mainly through trade, economic contacts are now determined by bilateral and multilateral measures in production, the services and research. The process goes back to the 60s, when the first international organizations were formed for cooperation in a number of industries: Intermetal, Ball-bearings Agency, Freight-Car Pool, CMEA Power Grid, Friendship Oil Pipeline, and also arrangements for cooperation and specialization in the manufacturing industries.

The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration adopted by the 25th CMEA Session in 1971 was the answer to the rapidly growing significance of problems that can only be solved through greater participation in the international division of labor. It

embraces all fields of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, sets the long-term aims, and specifies the mechanics of integration. In sum, it opens a new stage, blazing new trails and imparting a strategic character to cooperation.

The long-term trend set in the Comprehensive Program puts planning, the basic principle of socialist economic development, into the focus of practice. Projected into international economic relations through the coordination of the CMEA member-countries' economic plans even in the earlier period of CMEA, planning is expanded and becomes more detailed. Certainly, the complex character of integration, its broader scale as compared to previous periods, requires closer coordination of plans, more distinct organizational frameworks, and more effective methods. A new body has been formed – the CMEA Committee for Cooperation in Planning. It supervises all activity related to the planning of integration measures, coordinates cooperation in the key economic fields (first of all raw materials) over periods longer than the five-year plans, organizes joint planning of selected production, and conducts extensive joint forecasting projects to pinpoint development trends in economy, science and technology. This latter is highly useful for shaping concrete ties in the coordination of plans.

Specialization and production cooperation in the manufacturing industries has been put down in the Comprehensive Program as one of the essential forms of cooperation. There is an accent on up-to-date means of production decisive for technical progress, and equally on consumer goods, whose larger production will expand the market. The Program defines cooperation objectives in raw materials, including joint investments in individual countries to meet the needs of other CMEA members. This is clear evidence that socialist integration assures rational use of the natural resources and manpower of individual countries in the interests of each and in the common interest of all.

The Program also envisages closer cooperation in agriculture, where plan-regulated collaboration of the fraternal countries began some years ago. This cooperation is in sharp contrast to the present chaos in the Common Market's agriculutural policy.

The current progress of integration shows that the principles and objectives of the the Comprehensive Program have been correctly understood by all concerned. Although relatively little time has passed since its activation, economic, scientific and technical cooperation has already become much more lively. The trade turnover between the CMEA countries has grown. Its rate of growth is higher than in the preceding five years, and the volume fixed in long-term agreements has been quite considerably exceeded.

Visible advances have been made in programming and expanding international specialization and production cooperation. Many bilateral and multilateral agreements have been concluded, dividing up production assignments and defining mutual delivery of specific parts and products for 1971-1975, and in some cases also for 1976-1980. Poland, for example, is a party to more than 150 such agreements. Some are highly important for the country's manufacturing industry, especially automobiles, aviation, shipbuilding, and engineering.

Now we can make the most of the advantages of international specialization and cooperation, and develop production on an economically effective scale permitting use of advanced technology. The agreement to supply the Soviet Union with electro-magnetic clutches for machine tools enabled us to organize their production on a scale second only to that of the United States. Another example is the joint Soviet-Polish development of an all-purpose transport plane, with production starting soon, and also the manufacture of construction and road-building machinery, growing dynamically and winning worldwide recognition. Poland's participation in specialization agreements covers our needs in modern computer technology and a variety of machine tools and metallurgical equipment we do not produce ourselves. The Soviet Union's specialization in aviation, which reposes on that country's immense scientific, technical and production potential, meets the CMEA countries' demand in airliners. This list of examples could be considerably extended.

Still deeper specialization and cooperation will result from the coordination of the CMEA countries' economic plans for 1976-1980. Recent CMEA decisions, designed to improve cooperation methods in planning, will certainly stimulate this trend. The joint coordinated plan of economic integration, now being drawn up under a decision of last year's CMEA session, will provide the basic guidelines. It will coordinate the multilateral measures more closely with the plans of the individual countries, and anchor international specialization and industrial cooperation to agreed investment programs.

This, we are sure, will enable us to launch new types of production, with more enduring and effective links. Deeper ties in selected fields of electrical engineering and chemicals are now being wrought by international industrial agencies in such fields as power, textile machinery, atomic energetics, chemicals and synthetic fibers. Their purpose is to organize joint technical measures and production based on close industrial cooperation.

The initial results of integration in science and technology, too, give evidence that cooperation in these fields is gradually building up to proportions it has been assigned in the Comprehensive Program. International centers have been set up, coordinating joint research.

Fundamental research projects have been launched in such promising fields as biophysics, genetics, the world ocean, and also applied researches in fields decisive for technical progress. A single program of research has also been started in environmental protection. The results achieved so far show that the part played by scientific-technical cooperation as a lever of social and economic progress in each CMEA country and the socialist community as a whole – an especially important sphere of competition with the capitalist world – will increase steadily.

The results in fuel and raw materials are especially salutary. The timeliness and impact of cooperation in this sphere, as defined in the Comprehensive Program, were accentuated by the present situation in the rest of the world. Agreements on joint investments in cellulose, asbestos and concentrated iron ore production in Soviet territory, and the joint construction of a pipeline to supply Soviet natural gas to other countries, are eloquent proof of the advantages of socialist economic cooperation. They are also evidence of the internationalist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, designed to meet the needs of the socialist community.

New measures were worked out at the latest 28th CMEA session to develop the energy resources of the community and to gradually create a single power grid for the European CMEA countries. This will make for full satisfaction of fuel and energy requirements.

The listed progress does not cover all the ground we have made in implementing the Comprehensive Program. We could cite many other examples to illustrate the growth of socialist economic integration. But an overall assessment would probably be premature, because the CMEA countries have only come to the opening stages of their long-term projects. However, the results achieved so far are sufficient proof that our path is correct, and confirm the objective character of the criteria and premises underlying the principles, forms and directions of socialist economic integration.

Our decisions and the resulting progress are for us convincing evidence of the superiority of socialist economic integration, based on the advantages of public ownership of the means of production and on economic planning. Comparison with capitalist economic integration, which is subject to the egoistic laws of capitalist property and the diktat of international monopolies, demonstrates this superiority beyond any doubt. The capitalist type of integration is aimed at strengthening the domination of the highly developed capitalist states and is, furthermore, incapable of counteracting economic convulsions and social antagonisms. The comparison yields important conclusions concerning the diametrically opposite motives and aims of the two, socialist and capitalist, types of economic integration.

CMEA principles and mechanisms assure respect for the interests of all its member-countries, promote their social and economic growth and impose no restrictions on economic and commercial relations with other regions and countries. The open character of the CMEA countries' economic, scientific and technical cooperation is favorable for détente and for normalizing international relations. This is borne out by the initiatives of the socialist countries for a substantial expansion of economic cooperation in Europe and for the establishment of relations between CMEA and EEC, the two main economic organizations of our continent. We might add that the advantages of cooperating with CMEA are illustrated by the increasing interest shown by non-socialist countries.

This evolution in the correlation of forces and tendencies was obviously impelled by the already evident successes of socialist integration, by the obvious economic growth of all CMEA countries, the participation of the Soviet Union with its vast economic, scientific and technical potential and natural wealth, and its experience of socialist construction. By definition this also determines the growing economic potential and political strength of the entire socialist community.

The acheivements of socialist economic integration have confirmed to the public mind in our country the incontestable and palpable advantages for Poland of expanding cooperation with the other CMEA countries. Appreciation of the constructive effect of socialist integration on the country's social and economic development has become part of the thinking and activity of millions of Poles. 'The economic future of our country,' say the Theses of the CC PUWP on the 30th anniversary of the Polish people's Republic, 'is connected with the further development of specialization and cooperation among the CMEA countries and with the process of socialist economic integration.'

This is why the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic are seeing to it that all integrational commitments assumed by the Polish side are faithfully carried out. They have been worked into our current and long-term economic plans on whose fulfilment depends the further successful development of our country and the prosperity of our people.

Also, they constitute an internationalist duty, because socialist economic integration is strengthening the political and economic positions of our community in the modern world, adding to the influence of our ideas, and multiplying the achievements of the world's main force of peace and progress.

Leading force of democratic development

Aarne Saarinen
Chairman, CP Finland

Finland recently celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Armistice Agreement and her withdrawal from the Second World War. The 1944 change in the country's history enabled it to take a new road. One of the guarantees was the armistice provision of legality for the Communist Party. The CPF became the leading force behind the democratic changes and Finland's peace-loving policy.

It was through the good faith of the Soviet government headed by V.I. Lenin that Finland gained her independence. An extremely sharp class struggle followed. It centered on the question of which of the two classes – the capitalists or the workers – would be the ruling and leading force in the independent Finnish state. The question was settled in the winter of 1918 in a civil war, during which the Communist Party came into being. The working class was defeated, because it was unprepared ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily. Besides, the bourgeoisie had the support of the German imperialists.

After the civil war the Finnish rulers banded with all forces that opposed the Soviet Union. The motto was: 'An enemy of the Soviet Union is a friend of Finland's.' For 26 years Finland's home policy was directed on persecuting Communists and their allies. Due to its anti-communism, Finland became involved in a war against the Soviet Union, thus confirming the well-known adage that war is the continuation of politics by other means. This was in the autumn of 1939, and after a short armistice she plunged into another war against the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, this time as an ally of Hitler Germany.

These two wars caused the nation untold hardship and suffering. It was not until Hitler's defeat had become a foregone conclusion that our rulers began to look for a way out of a hopeless situation. A peace opposition including members of different parties appeared. After several weeks of soundings and negotiations, an armistice was concluded in Moscow on September 19, 1944.

The Armistice (Article 20) provided for the immediate release of all

persons 'imprisoned for activity in favor of the United Nations or sympathy for the cause of the United Nations, or for their racial origin.' Article 20 also repealed all discriminatory legislation and all restrictions following therefrom. Article 21 provided for the 'immediate dissolution of all pro-Hitler (fascist-type) political, military, paramilitary and other organizations conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations, in particular the Soviet Union, and the prevention of such organizations in the future.'

The outcome of the war was a bitter disappointment for the reactionary rightist elements, who had expected entirely different results. Disappointment was also the lot of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of that time, which had played a conspicuous part in the prewar anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy, and a leading part in implementing the war policy.

The Armistice enabled the Communist Party of Finland to work legally, which, in defiance of the Constitution, it had been denied for 26 years. How drastic the change was may be illustrated by the fact that coming out of the underground or from concentration camps, Communists at once entered the government. The first Party Conference took place in October 1944, when many Communists were still in detention. This was the beginning of the Party's legality. The Conference set the aim of forming Party organizations at all levels, launching a Party press, and defining the immediate objectives.

The most urgent task was to repeal the emergency laws, dissolve fascist and semi-fascist organizations, remove fascist and reactionary elements from posts of power in the state, society, army and police, and eliminate the discredited secret political police and all organizations of the militarist League of Comrades-in-Arms. The Communists demanded punishment for those culpable for the war, and war criminals. Our activity was centered on the swiftest possible establishment of a democratic order.

The Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland (DAPF), formed with the collaboration of our Party, also launched a fight for these demands, while the rightist elements closed ranks against them. All political parties, including the Social Democratic, rallied to obstruct democratic change. The democratization process moved along slowly, and some of our demands were not carried out. True, the Schutzkorps,* the women's paramilitary Lotta Svärd organization, and the League of Comrades-in-Arms, were dissolved, the main war culprits were tried and sent to prison, the chiefs of the political police were replaced and its character was changed, and organizers of secret arms caches were arrested and tried.

*A paramilitary organization formed by the Finnish bourgeoisie in 1917 to suppress the revolutionary movement. It took an active part in the anti-Soviet wars. – *Ed.*

The democratic demands of the Finnish Communists concerned all areas of society. Here are just a few of them, later amplified and made more specific: equal pay for equal work; free schooling and a democratic school reform; free medical treatment for the poor and comprehensive development of the health system; nationalization of big monopoly enterprises; confiscation of large landed estates and distribution of their land among landless and poor peasants; economic and cultural equality for the Swedish-speaking minority.

Our Party played a leading part in securing democratic development. All the changes and gains would have been inconceivable if the CPF had not stood firm, backed wholeheartedly by the masses. In fact, the democratic advances were so great that, having barely recovered from their initial confusion, the reactionary forces hastened to mount a strong counter-offensive. They were helped by the cold war, which world imperialism headed by the USA declared on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and on the world communist movement as a whole. In 1948 Communists and People's Democrats were removed from the Finnish government. The democratization process began to falter.

It was not until the mid-60s that democratization was renewed. The educational system was changed, and the rights of secondary-school pupils were extended. A sharp struggle ensued to restructure the administration of higher education. Democratism became more distinct in the domain of information, particularly in broadcasting, the theatre and literature, and in culture in general. Labor and social legislation were considerably improved.

The most important democratic changes were achieved during the periods when the Communist Party was either included in the government coalition with the Social Democrats and the Center Party (1944-1948 and 1966-1971), or when it prevailed on the Social Democrats to work together in the opposition, which was the case for a number of years before the broad-based government set up in 1966.

Preparations for a reform of the basic laws have been going on for several years.* This work was begun at the time when the Communist Party was in the government, and representatives of the CPF have influenced the results substantially. In the coming several years the struggle for a democratic revision of the basic laws will stand in the center of the political battle.

There is yet another important sphere where our Party works for

*In October 1970 a multi-party constitutional committee was set up to examine the possibility of amending the 1919 Constitution, the Parliamentary Charter and other laws, in order to invigorate democracy and secure better protection of civil rights. On April 5, 1974, the Committee submitted its preliminary findings to the government. – *Ed.*

the democratic rights of the working class: the factories, other enterprises, and trade unions. The postwar change in this field was staggering. Employers were compelled to accept the system of shop stewards and labor contracts, which went a long way in assuring the workers' elementary democratic rights. Special labor legislation, decisively influenced by our Party, was passed to protect the workers. The CPF is also active in defending trade-union democracy. Here we have had to overcome the hegemonic claims and discriminatory practices of the Social Democrats. And much positive change was achieved in the late 60s.

During the cold war the leaders of the Social Democratic Party went out of their way to isolate Communists in the unions, and did not even hesitate to split the united working-class organizations. Seeking sole control of the trade-union movement, the Social Democratic Party formed parallel unions. Social Democrat workers were urged to join them. But the project collapsed, because only a minority responded. Later, a large group of Social Democratic union leaders came out publicly for the restoration of unity. Communists and Social Democrats held consultations in the mid-60s, and an agreement was concluded to this effect in the autumn of 1967. Since then the membership of unions affiliated with the Central League of Trade Unions (CLTU) has gone up from 250,000 to nearly 900,000. As a result of the agreement, the Communists' position in the central CLTU leadership and the industrial unions, was considerably strengthened. Though much still remains to be desired, the forms of union work have become more democratic.

With communist cooperation, the latest CLTU congress unanimously adopted a new program. It says that 'the trade unions are an inseparable part of the national and international working-class movement,' and that they 'cannot tolerate a situation in which the existence and future of working people depends on decisions of the managements whose members get their posts by inheritance, property status, family or personal ties.' The program goes on to say that 'the trade unions aim at building a society free from the exploitation of man by man, a society controlling the means of production and distributing produced values according to the labor and requirements of each.'

The aims set in the CLTU program are consonant with the general line of our Party, the objective of an anti-monopoly front to end monopoly rule, and the goal of extending democracy. This is a topical problem today, because the Social Democratic government is working for the interests of monopoly capital. Its policy is detrimental to the working people and all dispossessed sections of the nation. Its main results are mounting inflation and spiralling prices, which

quickly nullify the nominal increases in wages, pensions and various social allowances.

The CPF demands a radical change of policy, first of all economic policy. And broader sections of the people want the same thing. The only way to achieve change is with the help of the masses, with greater mass support of our Party.

After the end of the war the Communist Party of Finland grew swiftly into a mass party. The DAPF group in parliament has been one of the most numerous in all these years. Now it holds second place and consists mainly of CPF members: 33 of its 37 deputies are Communists. Our Party has its roots deep in the working masses. Its opponents have tried repeatedly to cut these roots, but have never succeeded. And now CPF influence is on the rise once again.

Throughout the 30 post-war years it has been our main aim to assure peace, of which friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is the main factor. Our Party contributed considerably, one might say decisively, to the establishment and growth of the Finland-USSR Society, the further growth of fraternal ties between the CPF and CPSU, the organization and growth of cooperation between the trade-union centers of Finland and the Soviet Union, the development of economic and cultural cooperation, and the growth of political cooperation on international issues. Clearly, Finnish-Soviet relations would not have made the progress we see today without the initiative and drive of the CPF. The improvement of relations with the USSR has a strong bearing on the higher living standard and security of our people. Our practice has borne out the validity of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It has also proved that coexistence can prevail between a small and a large state. In sum, 'Finlandization,' devised by rightists in West Germany as a bugbear, has acquired a positive content and become a synonym of equitable international relations.

The Party's peace policy promoted from the day of its foundation subsequently came to be known as the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line. We have no reason to resent this. On the contrary, we are gratified and proud that the masses accept our time-tested line and that the Communist Party's peace policy has become official state policy. And we are doubly gratified, because it had been difficult to achieve this result, the result of persevering, sometimes extremely bitter, struggle.

For all its prime importance, peaceful cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union was not the only thing our Party has worked for in the international domain. It contributed significantly to the world peace movement at a time when the cold war appeared to be moving toward hot war and the threat of a third world conflagration seemed imminent. A quarter of a century ago Communists were the nucleus

and decisive force in our country's peace movement. All the other parties worked against it. Only a few individuals of other political views joined in the fight for peace. It is thanks to communist efforts that people took a new view of the peace movement, whose ranks are growing rapidly.

Our Party also holds a prominent place in the world communist movement. It took an active part in all the big conferences and meetings of Communists at the European and world level.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the world communist movement, have played a decisive and inestimable role in weakening imperialist positions, warding off the threat of war, assuring international security, and improving the world situation. The problem of European security is an impressive example. It took many years for the United States and the West-European capitalist countries to begin heeding the persistent appeals of the socialist countries, and to open negotiations over the security of the continent. For many years they had their backs turned and rejected all proposals out of hand. Nor would they hear of recognizing the German Democratic Republic. Now, as we know, there has been a sharp reversal of attitude.

The CPF invariably supported the peace-loving proposals of the socialist countries and the world communist movement. Thanks to the relatively strong influence of our Party and to the Finnish-Soviet cooperation based on mutual confidence, our government has done its bit for cooperation and enduring peace in Europe. Also thanks to these factors Finland was the first capitalist country in Europe to recognize the socialist German state. Now, the United States, the leading imperialist country, has also officially recognized the GDR.

We would never think of minimizing the role of the other progressive forces in Finland. But there is every reason to say that the Communist Party has always been the leading force in the struggle for democratic change, for a policy of peace. The democratic cause is still far from secure. Peace, too, is still far from secure either in the world or on our own continent. Fascism has not been entirely wiped out, and tries to rise again and again. Nationalism, militarism, anti-communism, and vestiges of hostility toward the Soviet Union have not yet been entirely eliminated. And reactionary extremists are doing their utmost to encourage these tendencies. It is our duty, therefore, to carry on the fight against all these dangerous phenomena.

Championing the people's cause

Nicolas Chaoui
General Secretary,
Lebanese Communist Party

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

As it enters its second half century, the Lebanese Communist Party is faced with important political, ideological and organizational problems. They should be seen in the context of the Party's development, the changed situation in Lebanon, the political situation in the Arab world and the deep-going processes at work within the liberation movement in our region.

It is useful to look back on the past 50 years for a more accurate assessment of the Party's role, past and present, in the revolutionary movement.

The Lebanese Communist Party was founded on October 24, 1924. Its emergence had been prepared by long years of working-class struggle in a country where trade unions had been started more than 15 years before the Communist Party. Uniting in its ranks workers, peasants, artisans and progressive intellectuals, the Party from the very first became a national factor and its influence among the masses and in progressive circles grew rapidly.

The Party had to surmount countless obstacles and sustained heavy, irreplaceable losses. The list of those who gave their lives for our cause is headed by Faradjallah al-Helou, the Party's General Secretary.

Throughout these 50 years the Party considered it its main duty to champion the interests of the working class and the people, and fight for genuine national independence and unimpaired sovereignty. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, our Party has always been keenly aware of the organic link between the liberation movement and the struggle for fundamental social change. The Party is committed to liberation of the entire Arab nation and is making a weighty contribu-

tion to Arab anti-imperialist unity. It has invested much effort in uniting the progressive and patriotic forces of Lebanon and other Arab countries.

While consistently upholding the national interests of our people, the Communist Party has throughout these years remained true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, urging close unity of the international communist and workers' movement and actively participating in all actions toward that goal. It is strengthening its friendship and cooperation with the Party of the great Lenin, the vanguard of the Communists of the world and of all the revolutionary forces of our time.

Our Party has been relentless in combating right and 'left' opportunism and revisionism in its own ranks and in the patriotic and revolutionary movement of Lebanon and other Arab countries. It resolutely rebuffs all manifestation of anti-Sovietism which it considers the extreme form of anti-communism.

Our Party has not been free of errors. There was a time – and this is noted in the Central Committee jubilee statement – when it succumbed to methods wholely alien to Marxism-Leninism. This separated it from the masses and had an adverse effect on its ideological work. It did not properly assess realities in their revolutionary development, could not define the main elements of the struggle in Lebanon and the Arab world. The result was a decline of Party membership and violation of democratic norms in relations between its various bodies.

The long and hard struggle to overcome this, both organizationally and ideologically, culminated in the Second Party Congress held in 1968. The Central Committee report on the Party's activity since the First Congress (December 1943- January 1944) contained principled and scientifically-grounded criticism of some of its past policies and mistakes.

The Second Congress re-established the Leninist principles of Party work. The Third Congress (1972) consolidated and carried further the healthy tendencies in the Party. The two congresses marked a historic turning point in the Party's political and organizational work. Thousands of Communists now felt themselves fullfledged Party members, builders of the Party, the makers of its history. By boldly disclosing and criticizing mistakes, analyzing their causes and finding the ways and means of correcting them, the Party won the confidence of the people, increased its membership, and won mass support for its political slogans.

And mass support was largely responsible for the Party winning legal status in 1970. This was a signal victory, not only for us Communists but for the popular movement as a whole, for it has helped to

promote democracy in Lebanon. For the first time we were able to hold a legal congress. It set the momentous task of making the Party a mass political organization capable of bringing together the working people of town and country, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the youth and the students.

What is the international and internal background against which we are working to achieve these aims?

The plan mapped out by the April 1974 Central Committee meeting is based on a scientific analysis of the relation of world forces as favorable for the cause of peace, progress and socialism. The Central Committee called on Arab progressives and patriots to make maximum use of this to prevent the reactionaries and right-wing forces from exploiting the positive changes to further their own ends.

There is political division on a wide range of issues, for history has placed the Arab world before this choice:

– continue determined resistance to imperialism, or 'rehabilitate' imperialism and cooperate with it;

– strengthen the alliance with the USSR and other members of the socialist community, or weaken this alliance, replacing it with other alliances;

– uphold the progressive political, social and economic changes – the state sector, the gains of the working class and working people generally, the socialist orientation – or restrict these changes and eventually reverse them;

– extend and deepen democracy, or curtail and suppress it;

– give the Palestine revolution the place its importance deserves, or relegate it to the background and minimize its role;

– reconvene the Geneva peace conference, with representatives of the Palestine revolution present as full-fledged and independent participants, or work out a compromise with the USA and Israel outside the conference, and consent to partial or separate agreements.

There is nothing paradoxical about the fact that different classes and social groups – from the working class to influential circles of the national bourgeoisie – find themselves, at this decisive stage of the Arab national liberation movement, in one and the same camp, working to oppose imperialism, safeguard Soviet-Arab friendship, defend the state sector, extend and strengthen democracy and – together with the other parties concerned and in close cooperation with them – find solutions for the problems posed by Israel's continued aggression.

But there is another camp, the camp of Arab reaction and the right-wing of the Arab national liberation movement. That is why, since the October war and despite its positive results, there have been serious clashes, especially sharp in recent months within that movement. This benefits imperialism and reaction, seriously weakens Arab

solidarity, which played so important a part in the October war, and helps Israel overcome (albeit partially) its internal difficulties.

The Israeli rulers are exploiting contradictions in the Arab world for large-scale preparations of new military gambles in the hope of avenging their defeat in the October war. That is obvious from the continued attacks on Palestine refugee camps in Southern Lebanon, the Israeli military maneuvers in Sinai and the Golan heights, and the war psychosis being whipped up in Israel itself. Every fit of hysteria by the Israeli zionist leadership meets with moral and, what is especially dangerous, material support from U.S. imperialism, which continues to plot against the Arab liberation movement.

However, the plans of certain Arab circles to work out a deal with imperialism at the price of important concessions are meeting with increasing resistance from the progressive forces.

Developments over the past few months prove that the Arab anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary camp is strong. The persistent attempts to undermine Arab-Soviet friendship by all manner of slanderous fabrications and misinformation have failed dismally. For the Arab masses the Soviet Union remains their most reliable and strongest friend and ally in the fight to liberate Israeli-occupied territory and achieve economic independence. The illusions built on possible agreement with the USA are being dispelled.

Conspiracies meant to discredit and isolate the Palestine revolution have failed, and the Palestine Liberation Organization is stronger than ever, and is now recognized by most countries as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Discussion of the Palestine problem by the UN General Assembly enables the Palestinian people to appeal to the world for international recognition of their national rights. The PLO has formed still closer ties of friendship with the socialist world, especially after the visit of its Chairman Yassir Arafat, to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The working class is exerting increasing influence on all aspects of life in the Arab countries. Through its political and trade union organizations it is strengthening the alliance with other progressive strata and playing a key role in defining revolutionary strategy. Attempts by the reactionaries to weaken the labor movement or bring it under their control have failed.

Much of what is typical of the region, positive as well as negative, is also typical of Lebanon. This is natural. Lebanon is an Arab country. The problems of the Arab world are our problems, the interests of the Lebanese patriotic movement are the same as those of the all-Arab movement. 'To regard Lebanon's history out of the context of the region would be one-sided and limited,' says the Program of the Lebanese CP, 'and would not reveal the specific quality of our his-

tory. Lebanese history has been part of the history of the region from ancient times.'

The reason why we emphasize Lebanon's undeniable identity with the rest of the Arab world is to repulse those who try to ignore, even deny, this obvious fact. Artificially exaggerated by reactionaries and conservatives, the 'Lebanese problem,' more precisely its identity – whether it belongs to the Western or Arab worlds – serves definite class aims. They want to isolate Lebanon from the all-Arab national liberation movement, from its political and socio-economic gains. The country's interests, they maintain, are connected more with the Mediterranean than with the Arab world. But in view of the latest international events, many exponents of this specious doctrine have begun to understand that imperialism, reaction, are using it against Lebanon's best interests.

At one time certain politicians exploited the dilemma of Lebanon's identification with either the Christian or Moslem worlds. But with the growth of the patriotic movement and the further sharpening of social contradictions, the influence of the religious factor has declined. The progressive patriotic forces of the Moslem and Christian communities have grown stronger, and the barriers between them have begun to crumble.

Israel's expansionist ambition to possess the southern regions of our country with their resources of water, tends to strengthen Lebanon's ties with the rest of the Arab world. Its fight against aggression is becoming part of the all-Arab liberation struggle.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees are quartered in camps on Lebanese territory, and the Palestine Liberation Organization has its headquarters in our country. Reactionary attempts to prejudice our people against the Palestinians by provoking clashes between our army and the armed Palestinian units, have been unsuccessful. A sense of fraternal solidarity predominates, sustained by the community of Arab interests in the battle against imperialism and zionism.

These sentiments received a fresh charge from the successes of Arab arms in the October 1973 war. Reaction, on the other hand, was frightened out of its wits; the processes generated by the Arab victory and Israel's defeat, they feared, would lead to far-reaching consequences, strengthening the hand of the democratic and patriotic forces.

Nor have the reactionaries been far wrong; the workers' struggle for economic and social rights is, indeed, exercising an increasing influence on Lebanon's socio-political scene. Issues of a class order are pushing back scholastic debates about Lebanon's religious, historical, or any other identity. This is borne out by the many working-class, peasant and student actions.

There are two distinct trends within the Lebanese ruling classes.

One is reactionary and connected with the multinational monopolies. Its exponents take a myopic, short-term view and are solely concerned with their own, egoistic interests. They will stop at nothing, not even outright violence. The prospect of a civil war that may result from their policy does not trouble them. They have strong influence in the state apparatus, go out of their way to tarnish the image of our parliament, and have set out to discredit the present, albeit only nominally democratic, system. To strengthen their hand, they incline toward a tough foreign-supported regime. Their leaders want to smash the democratic movement and the Palestine resistance. And they deny the existence of an economic crisis.

The other trend may be styled as liberal. Its prime concern is to strengthen the capitalist order, even at the price of certain concessions and further democratization of Lebanese politics. It wants to cure the country's capitalist system of its obvious ills – corrupt administration, and anarchy in the economic and social domains. Dreading social and political explosions, its leaders want to avert any further deterioration of the economic crisis, and oppose reactionary plans of a dictatorial regime. They are for close relations with the fraternal Arab countries, though for them these are mainly a sphere of investment and private enterprise. The liberal trend is realistic in its approach to the Palestinian presence.

At present, the reactionary trend is more influential. This poses great dangers. Reactionary forces contemplate action similar to that which brought about the Cyprus tragedy. The inevitable result would be a civil war, imperialist intervention, Israeli annexation of all or part of our South, and the country's partition along religious communal lines. This would be the end of Lebanon as a state. In view of the Palestinian presence, this course of events would set off an explosion in the entire region, with consequences reaching far beyond the Middle East.

All the greater is the responsibility of the progressive and patriotic forces, whose prestige and influence are a big factor on the domestic political scene. It is practically impossible to settle any of the vitally important issues without them. The top politicians, who had once charted home and foreign policy in cloistered seclusion, are now compelled to reckon with the existence and increasing influence of these forces, and with their probable responses. One example is their consent to the presence of Palestinian units.

The Communist Party is the only political working-class organization with strong positions in all parts of the country and in all religious and ethnic groups. It is the vanguard of the patriotic movement, and has cells in practically all neighborhoods, all villages.

True, there are still flaws in the Party's activity. The April 1974

meeting of its Central Committee drew special attention to them, suggesting forms of work that would enable the Party to attain the aim set by its Third Congress – to build a truly mass party. The meeting urged greater involvement in the trade unions and other mass organizations, closer ties with the masses, and broader recruitment. It laid special stress on the cardinal significance of enlivening LCP activity among the working class, and called on the Communists to make the most of the Party's legality for this purpose.

Acting on the decisions of the Central Committee meeting, the Party is now working to consolidate and broaden democracy, campaigning for a democratic electoral law, for freedom of action for political parties and trade unions, and freedom of the press. We are fighting for the interests of the working class and the broad masses, hit by the spiralling cost of living, the abuses of the financial oligarchy, and the monopoly offensive. We are demanding faithful observance of the ban on arbitrary dismissals agreed by the General Confederation of Labor and the government, and legislative recognition of the rights of farm laborers and peasants.

As before, the LCP will rebuff all rightist reactionary attempts at provoking clashes with the Palestine resistance movement, and will promote closer cooperation between the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinians.

The Communist Party is calling attention to the necessity of fortifying national defenses to assure our sovereignty, defend our South against Israeli aggression, and support the Palestinians in their just struggle. It advocates a foreign policy consistent with the interests of Lebanon and all Arab peoples, resistance to U.S. and Israeli pressure, and to the maneuvers of the Saudi regime. It is urging closer friendship with the progressive Arab regimes and the socialist community, first of all the Soviet Union.

The LCP will continue to work for closer cooperation and unity with the progressive forces at home (notably the Socialist Progressive Party), with all revolutionary and patriotic forces in the Arab countries, and for joint struggle against imperialism, zionism and reaction.

The Communists of Lebanon are determined to live up to the obligations of our Party's glorious 50 year history, and to work perseveringly and selflessly for these objectives.

Congress of revolutionary action

Miodrag Bogicevic
Member of CC,
League of Communists of Yugoslavia

The Communists, the working people, the peoples and nationalities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, are now devoting themselves to carrying out the decisions of the 10th LCY Congress held May 27-30, 1974, a congress of tremendous importance for the further development of socialist Yugoslavia and its active policy in the world.

The report, 'The Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist Self-Management in Our Country and the Role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia,' was delivered by LCY president Josip Broz Tito. It presented an assessment of the period since the previous LCY congress and set the guidelines for the coming period. In particular, it took up the following questions: changes in the world and in Yugoslavia's foreign policy; Yugoslavia's material and social development; further building of the socio-economic and political system on the principles of socialist self-management; the leading role of the League of Communists in the further development of socialist self-management.

Yugoslavia, the report notes, has concluded a historical period of fundamental social and material change from an underdeveloped agrarian country with a per capita national income of around 100 dollars, into a nation belonging to the medium-developed industrial group of states with a per capita national income of about 800 dollars. In the past 25 years the proportion of the rural population has decreased from 80 to 30 per cent.

These two comparisons are the best illustration of the dynamics of Yugoslavia's development and transformation under the revolutionary leadership of the working-class vanguard, the League of Communists. But such rapid and sweeping change naturally gives rise to social, economic, political and ethical problems. The level attained by the society and the productive forces, as well as the dynamics of their development, calls for continued revolutionary change. The League

of Communists has, accordingly, launched a resolute drive for necessary changes in the political and economic systems.

It was also stressed at the 10th Congress that the sustained political effort of the League and other socialist forces has overcome all anti-socialist, anti-self-management forces. Iosip Broz Tito noted that the stubborn political struggle, conducted on a democratic basis, had deprived opposing, factional forces of the possibility of misdirecting political activity or impairing the vanguard role of the League. He also emphasized that the results achieved were highly satisfactory.

The 10th Congress set important tasks in our Party's further struggle for revolutionary action, tasks aimed at strengthening the LCY ideologically, organizationally and in respect of its cadres. There was full agreement that the League should continue perseveringly to guide and lead the development of socialist self-management. The Congress stressed the importance of unity of the League and the working class, which is reflected in the League's social composition. It stressed that the working class is the motive force of socialist revolution and its revolutionism is rooted in its social essence. Greater working-class influence within the League and in society is the best antidote to bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies.

The Congress noted the importance of revolutionary socialist consciousness based on scientific socialism, Marxism, Leninism and our own achievements of socialist thought and practice. It also contributed to the further strengthening of the unity of socialist, self-managed Yugoslavia in conditions of complete equality of all its republics and autonomous regions, of all peoples and nationalities of our multinational socialist community. At this, its broadest and most prestigious forum, the League was able to supply the answers to the most important questions of Yugoslavia's socialist development on the basis of self-management, with the view to further advancing the revolutionary gains, strengthening the unity of its ranks and enhancing the organization and effectiveness of work in the League and society as a whole.

The League came to its 10th Congress united and stronger than ever. Democratic centralism is enhanced by the League's unity and a democratic system of policy-making. It can be strengthened by democratic forms of harmonizing the different objective interests existing in society and by united political action.

It was especially stressed at the Congress that all this was achieved in conditions of socialist social relations. Self-management has penetrated all areas of public life and become the most extensive, mass promoter of socialist consciousness and a factor in encouraging workers' initiative and creativity.

The Congress passed two general and 18 working resolutions

defining the League's immediate tasks. These include strengthening it ideologically, organizationally and in respect of cadres, and its tasks in education, culture and science, labor and social policy.

Introduction of the delegate principle* in all socially important spheres of decision-making means a far-reaching change in the socialist socio-economic and political system. That is why the drive for full implementation of the new Federal Constitution** has been listed as the prime task of the League and all other organized socialist forces. The new Constitution and the 10th LCY Congress have opened a qualitatively new front in the struggle for the liberation of the working class, for its decisive role in all spheres of public life and social reproduction, for the further development and consolidation of the brotherhood, unity and equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. It is incumbent on all Communists and working people to strive to effectuate the Constitution, and, especially, the further development of the labor collectives branches as the primary cells of associated labor and the principal factor of social integration on the basis of self-management, and as a concrete means of expanding the self-management content of production relations.

It was also stressed at the Congress that national minorities should be the bridges of friendship and cooperation between the countries to which they belong ethnically and their homeland. The League has always recognized the right of every nation to self-determination and to the all-round development of its identity.

Speaking of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and the League's collaboration with other workers' parties and progressive and popular-liberation movements all over the world, Tito said in his report to the Congress: 'In line with the principles of active peaceful coexistence, Yugoslavia will continue to promote relations and cooperation with all countries, especially the non-aligned and socialist, as well as with all forces fighting for peace, equality and general world progress. In line with these principles and true to its internationalist duty, the League of Communists will promote cooperation with Communist and Workers' parties and all other progressive and liberation movements.'

The 10th LCY Congress was attended by delegations and representatives of 95 parties and movements from 70 countries, a fact noted with great satisfaction by Yugoslavia's Communists, working class and all working people, who see this as a manifestation of the great

*According to the 'Glossary of Expressions and Concepts' appended to the 'Positions and Decisions Platform of the 10th LCY Congress' ('Socialist Thought and Practice,' No. 41, 1973) the delegate principle means that the working people's interests in representative bodies are voiced by delegates that remain on their jobs without becoming 'professional political representatives.' – *Ed.*

**The new Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was promulgated on February 21, 1974 – *Ed.*

interest in the results of their struggle to build socialism and their efforts for peace and equal cooperation all over the world. It is also seen as recognition of the policies and worldwide prestige of socialist, self-managing, non-aligned Yugoslavia.

The 10th Congress approved the guidelines and tasks of the League in the struggle for peace, equal international cooperation and socialism. In this connection Josip Broz Tito offered a profound analysis of the inernational process and the role of the non-alignment policy. Concerning non-alignment, he said, in part: 'Born of the fight for liberation and resistance to imperialism and foreign domination, of the deep longing of the peoples and countries for independence, equality and free development, the policy of non-alignment plays a growing role in international relations.'

Responding to the wishes of Communists and working people, peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the 10th Congress unanimously elected Josip Broz Tito president of the League for life.

Party news

As told to our correspondents

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PARTY WORK

Stoyan Mikhailov
Head of Propaganda Dept.,
CC Bulgarian CP,
Director of
Sociological Institute,
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

The extensive sociological research in Bulgaria follows the line adopted by the Central Committee in April 1956, when the Party set its sights on eliminating subjectivism and improving management and administration. Both these tasks, with the Party's leading role in society, require extensive use of science.

Concrete sociological research provides the Party and government with reliable, comprehensive information about public life which not

only helps in solving day-to-day tasks but also contributes to Marxist-Leninist social science.

The decision to launch regular sociological research was taken by the Politbureau in July 1967. A sociological group set up under the CC later formed the core of a new Sociological Information Center; the Academy of Sciences opened an Institute of Sociology; sociologists appeared on the staffs of all regional Party committees, and later sociological research sectors were set up; there are similar centers, groups or sectors in a number of administrative departments; special courses and some colleges have begun training sociologists; and a sociological bimonthly is being published.

Problems of developing the system of social administration were examined by the Central Committee at a plenary meeting in July 1968. The historic 10th Party Congress, which adopted the program of building a developed socialist society, put new and important tasks before sociologists. Some 150 concrete sociological studies are now sponsored every year, and this has become a regular feature of our work.

Sociological studies precede decisions by Party committees. Congresses and Central Committee plenums, district Party committees, etc., rely on sociological findings in bringing out and analyzing social problems, adopting decisions and verifying their implementation. For example, the CC Secretariat passed its decision on improving atheistic work after a sociological study of the influence of religion among the population. In Stara Zagora district, after a penetrating study of enterprises following introduction of the five-day week, a theoretical conference of Party activists and economic executives discussed vital problems of work collectives. One of the results was that local government bodies took steps to improve the work schedules of a number of offices and public service establishments.

We studied the effectiveness of Party propaganda, and this helped Party committees improve upon the subject matter of talks and lectures and their choice of propagandists and to employ better forms of political education. A study of some negative aspects in society made it possible to determine their causes and go about combatting them in a more concrete way. Sociological studies help us keep track of changes in people's thinking and of their requirements. They reveal the dynamics of the structure of society, and of the moulding of the new personality, the process of its all-round development.

A new contribution of the Party to the development of sociology has been the creation of a national center to collect and store sociological data with easy access for researchers and public administration bodies.

Our experience shows that sociological research can be really use-

ful only when it is based on Marxist-Leninist methods and closely linked with Party policies.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS

PORTUGAL

ORGANIZED AND ORGANIZING FORCE

After 48 years underground, when it was the main target of fascist repression, the Portuguese Communist Party, its General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal told *Diario de Lisboa,* has emerged firm and is now a powerful political force.

In the Communists, he said, the Portuguese people find their best friends and champions. The working people know that Communists shun empty talk, and are dedicated fighters for their interests. They know from past experience that, today as always, Communists are ready to make sacrifices in defending the country and the people. Large sections of the Portuguese people, Alvaro Cunhal stressed, trust the Communist Party, realizing the extremely important part it plays in consolidating freedom and promoting democracy and decolonization. They know that without active Communist involvement the process would be doomed to failure.

The reactionary-inspired anti-communist campaign, Cunhal said, began with attacks on the Communist Party. Now they are levelled at all democratic and progressive forces opposed to reaction. The campaign is especially vicious in attacking the Armed Forces Movement.

Speaking of future elections, Cunhal noted the extremely important part in their preparation of Portugal's democratic forces, which constitute a powerful, mass-based anti-fascist movement.

Communists, he stressed, believe that it is absolutely essential to preserve democratic unity not only at the elections, but after them as well. The PCP holds that the coalition government and the preservation of that coalition in future is the best guarantee of democratic order until the adoption of the constitution by the Constituent Assembly.

Cunhal then went on to speak of inner-Party affairs. The next Party congress, the date of which has not yet been set, he said, will have to amend the Party Program. The section dealing with the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, formation of a provisional government and preparations for elections to a constituent assembly have, on the whole, been realized. The main provisions of the part still to be

realized provide for a number of anti-monopoly measures.

The interview ended with a question whether Alvaro Cunhal thought it possible for Portugal's economic and social problems to be resolved in the framework of the capitalist system. Many economic and social problems, he said, can be resolved before the establishment of socialism. A number of reforms can and should be carried out in the framework of the democratic revolution. But the main issue of Portuguese society – abolition of capitalist exploitation – can be resolved only under socialism.

COSTA RICA

PRINCIPLED ANALYSIS

The eighth enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica (April-May, 1974) passed a resolution containing a self-critical analysis of mistakes made during the election campaign.

The plenum considers it necessary to point out, the resolution says, that Party policy in the elections was sectarian. Mistakes were aggravated by the fact that, during the campaign, the initial message of our long-range slogan 'For people's power' – showing a correct but not immediate perspective – was changed to mean immediate struggle for people's power. The Party concentrated on this appeal, rejecting other slogans which could have helped win over those progressive sections that saw no possibility of a popular government emerging from the elections.

The Party's self-criticism, the resolution stresses, should not be interpreted as giving up the struggle for power in the framework outlined by the Party Program. The question is to get rid of sectarian faults which ignore objective reality and lead to adventurism. The resolution warns against any dangerous conclusion that there will be no ideological or political work in future needed to lead the masses, at the right time, into the struggle for a new type of government.

One of the negative factors in the elections was that the fascist coup and the wave of fierce repression in Chile had bred an atmosphere of pessimism among considerable sections of the people in Costa Rica. Many voters feared the possibility of military intervention from outside in the event of the Party winning the election. Other factors were the smear campaign against the Party launched by the top Catholic hierarchy, and the split among left forces which created an impression of weakness and bred disbelief in the possibility of an early victory.

On the basis of its analysis of the events the plenum set the task of carefully studying new political and democratic trends (especially on

the left) and mass movements, and of establishing rapport with them so as to create conditions for the formation in the next few years of an anti-imperialist, democratic front capable of becoming a decisive political factor in the people's struggle and of successfully contesting future election campaigns.

SCANNING NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

France nouvelle, French CP journal

CADRES POLICY

The journal carried an interview with Central Committee member Marcel Zaidner, who discussed questions of promoting young Party functionaries. The promotion of young activists, he stressed, has always been a prime concern of the Party. The initiative and scope needed for the Party to assume responsibility for the nation's present and future call more imperatively than ever for combining experience with youth.

'It is important,' Zaidner said, 'for more and more Communists brought to the fore in present-day struggles to be together with experienced comrades in the Party leadership.'

We, he continued, are a party of movement, and the changing situation makes it incumbent on us to change too. At different times different qualities are required of people. Courage and initiative are always needed, but in difficult times courage, loyalty and readiness to make sacrifices are especially valuable. Today, when the winning of power by the left is no longer a dream, when the wind of victory is already blowing, Communists must be capable of political initiative, they must possess an attacking style and broad vision.

The Party is structurally strong; it has a balanced membership. It is attracting women and young people, but the older generation is not put in the shade. A new, hitherto unprecedented, aspect of the present situation is that more people have been joining the Party after than before the last elections.

When a factory worker who has gone through a school of class struggle and has theoretical grounding is recognized as the best in his branch and placed at the head of it, that is welcome and important. That is why the Party does its best to create conditions for workers to acquire knowledge in many fields. A leader has to know theory so as to have a grasp of political affairs; he must be able to engage in debate and prove his point.

The Party, Zaidner says, has about 500 functionaries which it can support so that they could devote themselves wholly to political

organization work. The task is to make the best possible use of their abilities and experience.

The demands made of Communists in all spheres of national life are greater than ever, but so are their possibilities. Communists' interests are not restricted to their profession or narrow field; everyone is responsible for Party policy as a whole. But competence in specific questions requires specialization, which is promoted with due consideration for the knowledge, abilities and wishes of each member.

The Party, Zaidner points out, has reached a mature stage. It is developing new forms and methods of work and perfecting inner-Party democracy. It is the duty of the Communists themselves to find the best solutions.

Nepszabadsag, the Hungarian
Socialist Workers' Party daily

STRICTER REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

At its November 1972 plenum the HSWP Central Committee instructed Party organizations to impose more stringent requirements on people applying for membership. The plenum decision pointed out that Party ranks should be strengthened first by recruiting more workers, cooperative farmers, engineers and young people. Moreover, new members should be well grounded ideologically and should possess the necessary moral qualities.

Since that decision the Hungarian press has carried many reports of discussions in Party organizations centering on the ways and means of ensuring its proper implementation. In its September 15 issue, *Nepszabadsag* wrote that the Party organizations of Budapest have given the problem serious attention. Political training of prospective members has been improved, especially among workers, who accounted for 81.5 per cent of new Party members in the first six months of this year.

At the same time, fewer engineers, women and young people joined the Party. The newspaper sees the reason for this in the methods and standards of Party work not being up to present-day requirements. It points out that inadequate attention to recruitment of Party members among students and intellectuals has been due to an erroneous interpretation of the CC decision by some Party organizations. The Party's composition is a question of policy, not statistics.

The paper stresses that in the months before the 11th Party Congress (to be held in March 1975) it is necessary to improve recruitment so that the Party should come to the congress stronger organizationally and politically and prepared to tackle important tasks.

IN BRIEF

Greece

The Greek government has repealed the 1947 law banning the Communist Party and the propaganda or dissemination of communist ideas. The decree legalizes the Communist Party and recognizes it as a political organization, thereby ending almost 30 years of its clandestine existence.

A statement of the Party Central Committee notes that legalization is an outcome of many years of struggle. Now Greek Communists are faced with the task of continuing the struggle for the working people's interests in new conditions.

Peru

Summing up the Communist Party membership drive, the newspaper *Unidad* writes that hundreds of the best workers, peasants, intellectuals and students have joined the Party.

Rumania

The main documents for the 11th Communist Party congress have been published: the draft 'Program of the Rumanian Communist Party for Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and Rumania's Advance to Communism,' the draft directives for the 1976-1980 plan and guidelines for socio-economic development in 1981-1990, and the Central Committee theses for the congress. The documents are being submitted for public discussion after which they will be considered by the Party congress.

San Marino

The left forces have registered fresh success in elections to the parliament of one of Europe's smallest states. The Communist Party has increased its poll and now has 15 seats in the 60-member General Council, an increase of one seat.

Japan

The newspaper *Akahata* carried a report by a group of Communist MPs on an investigation of the situation in the country's universities in connection with terrorist actions by Trotskyite groups. The report says, that violence by these groups is impeding the academic process in many universities. They urged measures against such actions.

theory

Alliance of world socialism and the national-liberation movement

Theoretical conference

Interaction of the socialist world system and the national-liberation movement is an objective process in the course of which the revolutionary transforming activity of the socialist countries merges with that of the national-liberation forces and forms of their cooperation are enriched and perfected. The alliance of these two streams of the world revolution retains all its importance at every stage of the liberation struggle. Relying on that alliance, the peoples are dealing shattering blows at the colonialists and neo-colonialists, strengthening their political and economic independence and confidently advancing on the road of social progress. Communists and all revolutionaries deem it their duty to safeguard this alliance against imperialist designs, reactionary subversion and right and opportunist intrigues. That point was made at the international theoretical conference in Baghdad organized by *World Marxist Review* in conjunction with the Progressive National Patriotic Front formed in 1973 by the Baath Socialist Party and the Iraqi Communist Party. We began our report of the conference in the last issue of *WMR*.

The conference was opened by *Saddam Hussein*, Vice-Chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council and Deputy General Secretary of the Baath Socialist Party. A scientific analysis of the problems of revolutionary struggle, he emphasized, is a basic condition for the success of that struggle. That determines the topicality of our conference. The problems of interconnection of the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement are of exceptional importance for they concern, in effect, the destinies of the world and of individual nations. One of these is Iraq. The Iraqi revolution is an inseparable part of the Arab liberation movement and a component of the world revolutionary process. Its achievements, the experience of the Progressive National Patriotic Front, have a relevance for all Arab countries. Responsibility for attaining the strategic aims of our revolution, viz., unity, freedom and socialism, devolves on the Baath Party

and the Iraqi people, on its patriotic and progressive forces.

We have to contend with strong and dangerous enemies, imperialism, zionism, reaction. Hence, the vast importance of alliance with the socialist lands which are closest of all to us in their principles, aims and interests and possess the necessary strength. The rise of that alliance was no more than natural, for popular revolutions to win freedom and progress, for all the specific features of each of them, are part of the world progressive movement. It is therefore correct, both in principle and from the standpoint of practical interests, to seek alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries, an alliance that accords with the aims of the Baath Party and the aspirations of the Arab nation. Nor is it only a matter of the number of agreements concluded by the two sides. For we know that some governments which at one time established broad ties with the socialist system interpret these agreements in a distorted way or violate them. Iraq's relations with the socialist countries are of an entirely different character. They can serve as an example and are unprecedented in the sense that they rest on the principles and interests that guarantee their stability, durability and continued development. Our peoples stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle against imperialism, zionism and reaction, for liberation, social progress and a just peace.

The Iraqi leadership has always tried to build its contacts with the socialist world on complete frankness and has never concealed differences in the approach to certain problems, always emphasizing what tends to unite us. We should not allow minor differences to prevail over our common aims and tasks. This is particularly important now when relations between the Arab states and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have become the target of incessant attacks by imperialism and reaction in an attempt to isolate the Arab peoples from their main ally and re-establish imperialist domination.

But in our region revolutionary processes are gaining momentum and the triumph of the Arab liberation movement is not far off. Today, more than ever before, it needs moral and material support. The socialist countries are helping the Arabs consolidate their economic independence and repel imperialist and zionist attacks. Our relations with these countries, notably the Soviet Union, are central to our foreign policy. Saddam Hussein spoke with appreciation of the assistance the socialist countries have given the Arabs in their fight against hostile forces.

THE BASIS OF INTERACTION

Interaction of the component parts of the world revoutionary process

is the very content and basis of the alliance of the socialist countries and the liberation movement. The success of one of the parties complements and enriches the success of the other.

Community of aims in the worldwide battle against imperialism and for social progress, discussion speakers emphasized, is a cardinal factor in promoting the interaction of socialism and the national-liberation movement.

Community of historic aims

The main currents of the world revolutionary process, said *S. Imashev*, Secretary, CC CP Kazakhstan, are united by the common struggle against imperialism. And experience has demonstrated that if they are to consolidate their political independence, overcome backwardness and win economic independence, the young states must put an end to imperialist domination in its old and new forms. They must win the right to dispose of their national resources and be able to foil enemy designs. The only way to break out of the world capitalist economy and the influence of international reaction is to rely on the social system that is the main antagonist of imperialism and is not subject to the operation of the laws of capitalism. The socialist countries support the anti-imperialist forces in the young states because they consider this their *internationalist* duty to peoples oppressed by imperialism. World socialism's solidarity with the liberation revolution is based also on *class* interests. For by supporting its natural ally, the socialist community energizes the common offensive against imperialism and brings nearer the victory of the forces of progress.

Unity of the two currents of the world revolutionary process, speakers pointed out, is sharply reducing imperialism's ability to influence the evolution of the young states. Imperialism can no longer deny them free choice of a path of social development.

The common anti-ilperialist aims of the socialist and national-liberation forces are intertwined with the fight for social progress. And with national-liberation revolutions growing over into social revolutions, with a number of young states adopting the non-capitalist way, the success of that struggle depends to a very large degree on close and firm ties with the socialist world. Iraq's closer relations with the Soviet Union and conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, have added to the attraction of socialist ideas and have powered socialist trends in our country, said *Aziz Mohammed*, First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party. All this is helping to educate our working people in a spirit of internationalism. It is helping them to resist reactionary, nationalist and chauvinist encroachments by the rightist forces. The same applies to many other newly independent countries. *Ali Badib*, Political Bureau member of the Popular-

Democratic Alliance, spoke of the positive influence support of the socialist countries has had in promoting far-reaching social change in South Yemen. The emergence in Cuba of the first socialist state on the American continent, said *Jaime Schmirgeld*, CC member CP Argentina, ushered in a new stage in the Latin American revolutionary movement and greatly accelerated the anti-imperialist, liberation process, which opens the way to socialism.

Conference participants drew attention to another aspect of interaction of the forces of socialism and national liberation. The main condition for the success of revolutionary struggle,*Naim Haddad*, member of the Iraqi Regional Baath Party leadership, emphasized, is that the people of the young states redouble their efforts. That is the ABC of revolution. The fact that the socialist countries support the struggle does not mean that they should take on the job of attaining the aims of the national-liberation movement. That movement is an active factor in the fight for revolutionary and democratic change, many speakers stressed. *Constantin Vasiliu*, deputy head of the International Department, CC Rumanian Communist Party, said that the liberation movement is an independent force in the anti-imperialist front and should not be considered a 'reserve' for other revolutionary contingents.

Uniting the efforts of alliance members is not a unilateral, but a reciprocal process, *Naim Ashhab*, CC member Jordanian CP, emphasized. The national-liberation movement is actively working to refashion the world and is effectively influencing the global alignment of forces. It is increasingly isolating and weakening imperialism. The liberation revolution, supported by world socialism and other progressive anti-imperialist forces, has narrowed the sphere of imperialist domination. Imperialism has lost vast manpower, naterial and territorial reserves in the developing countries.

The democratic coup in Portugal has demonstrated the strength of the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies and its influence on the situation in Portugal itself, *Lansana Diane*, CC member and Inspector-General of the Democratic Party of Guinea, told the conference. Our armed struggle against the racist regime in Rhodesia, our struggle for an independent state and for the prosperity and progress of the Zimbabwe people is weakening imperialism, *Richard Hove*, member of the Chimurenga General Council of the Zimbabwe African National Union, said in his contribution. It is also undermining the very foundations of capitalism and bringing mankind fresh victories in the fight for social progress.

At the present stage, joint revolutionary transformatory activity by the socialist and national-liberation forces is a cardinal factor. This activity aims at restructuring and democratizing the entire system of

international relations and eliminating the last seats of colonialism, *Laszlo Nagy*, representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on *WMR*, emphasized. The peoples of our continent, said *Ali Yata*, General Secretary, Moroccan Party of Liberation and Socialism,* cannot resign themselves to the existence even of remnants of colonialism. Colonialists are still occupying territory belonging to Morocco. To demolish the last colonial bastions we must cooperate still more closely with the socialist world. There is the evidence of history that by relying on the support of the socialist states and by firmly upholding the right to freedom, genuine patriots on our continent have scored major victories over colonialism.

Combining the effors of socialism and of the liberation revolutions helps to demolish the system of unequal economic relations between capitalist and developing countries. The latter are stepping up their fight against economic discrimination. Members of the socialist community, said *Friedel Trappen*, Deputy Head of the International Relations Department, CC Socialist Unity Party of Germany, consistently support the demands of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples for an end to all forms of economic colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the same time, they highly appreciate the attitude of developing countries that help to strengthen socialism's international position.

Question by Felipe Malaya, CC member CP Philippines: To what extent have the GDR's contacts with developing countries helped to strengthen its international position?

Answer by Friedel Trappen: Even before official relations were established, the GDR actively cooperated with political and public organizations in the developing countries. This helped us breach the diplomatic blockade of imperialism and win universal recognition, and now we are an active factor in world affairs.

The advance of the newly-independent states to social progress and national renewal can proceed successfully only in an atmosphere of enduring peace, which is also an essential factor in strengthening the socialist world. The Soviet Communist Party, S. Imashev said, regards the fight for peace as a class, internationalist policy. And all-round support of the anti-imperialist movement is a component part of that policy. The documents of our Party, its Program, said *Vitaly Korionov*, politcal commentator of *Pravda* (USSR), emphasize that the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is a special form of the class struggle. Its aim is to curb the more aggressive imperialist elements and thereby create even more favorable conditions for the development of the liberation revolution.

*A new political party, the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS), with Ali Yata as its General Secretary, was formed in Morocco in August 1974. – *Ed.*

That finds its logical continuation in the détente policy of the socialist states, and it is gaining support in the developing countries too.

Today the socialist countries and all genuinely democratic elements in the liberation movement, all the progressive forces of the planet, are uniting in the fight for peace and international security. What unites the South Asian peoples with the socialist lands is their common desire to eliminate the threat to peace in Asia and to establish a system of Asian collective security, *M. Farooqi*, member of the Central Executive of the National Council, CP India, stressed in his speech. Indo-Soviet cooperation did much to reduce the tension on our sub-continent and promote normal relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The progressive Afro-Asian forces opposed to the imperialist plans of militarizing the Indian Ocean welcome the stand taken by the USSR and other socialist countries for a zone of peace in this part of the world, *Arsene Ratsifehera*, Deputy General Secretary of the Madagascar Independence Congress Party, said. The peoples of Latin America, J. Schmirgeld declared, are also faced with the need to redouble their struggle for peaceful coexistence and international security and more closely to unite their actions with those of the socialist states.

In upholding the cause of peace, F. Trappen said, the countries of the socialist community are working on the premise that international security and prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe accord with the vital interests of all the peoples. That is fully realized by representatives of the developing countries committed to combat the menace of another world war and to work for an end to the arms drive, armaments reduction and the use of all military expenditure for peaceful purposes.

Cooperation of socialism and the national liberation movement in attaining these momentous aims should be seen as a dynamic process that produces unity of views and attitudes of these two revolutionary contingents and makes for their closer interaction. But, as the conference showed, differences or misunderstandings can sometimes arise. However, the fact that they have one and the same historic mission is the guarantee that all such differences can be resolved in a friendly way.

Identity of aims — the basis for resolving differences

The contingents and trends that make up the alliance of world socialism and the liberation revolution are not identical in all respects, *Pavel Auersperg*, CC member, Czechoslovak Communist Party, and Executive Editor of *World Marxist Review*, said in his speech. The national-liberation movement is influenced by national specifics and traditions, by historical, socio-economic and cultural factors.

Differences in the approach to concrete problems, in policy statements and methods of revolutionary activity, are not in the nature of antagonistic contradictions, Naim Haddad remarked. The socialist countries and the young independent states are at different stages of the revolutionary struggle, and this is the main reason for the differences. The Afro-Asian peoples are only now tackling problems the socialist countries solved years ago. In the course of the revolutionary process, as progressive national-patriotic tendencies take firmer hold, the objective disparity in social development levels of these groups of countries will gradually disappear.

Differences beteween the socialist countries and the liberation movement, said *Maurice Saliby*, CC member, Syrian Communist Party, can be provoked by the imperialists, using their influence on some vacillating elements of the movement. Difficulties also arise for our alliance when right-wing trends in the young states oppose the orientation on socialism, contending that closer links with the socialist countries militate against national interests.

When we speak of contradictions, *Basem al-Bazzaz*, member of the Iraqi Baath delegation, said, we should include the complexities that arise in relations between socialist countries and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois regimes. Irrespective of the scale and form of these relations, such contradictions can become antagonistic and the regimes in question could well find themselves 'embraced' by imperialism. The contradictions between socialist countries and the liberation movement, the revolutionary democratic parties that regard alliance with the socialist world system as of overall strategic importance, cannot, I firmly believe, be classified as antagonistic.

Indeed, the very term 'contradictions,' even if not antagonistic, is hardly applicable, Maurice Saliby stressed. For what we have are differences over attitudes and judgements, and some of them are the result of misunderstandings or of inadequate knowledge of each other. These can in no way be classed as contradictions. Furthermore, the socialist countries try to remove all misunderstandings as soon as possible, and in most cases successfully. For the fundamental aims and interests of the socialist world and the liberation revolution are identical. That has been convincingly proved by Iraq's relations with the socialist countries.

We should not over-dramatize differences in attitudes and approaches to concrete questions that might crop up now and then, Vitaly Korionov remarked. The Communists concentrate on community of the fundamental, decisive historic aims of world socialism and national revolution. Their accent is on what unites the two. The record shows that temporary differences over appraisal of one or another phenomenon are usually ironed out in the course of our joint

anti-imperialist strugge. Our overall aim is the fight against imperialism, the effort to foil all its designs. And serious efforts must be made, Basem al-Bazzaz emphasized, timely to detect and eliminate any differences imperialism and reaction could use to undermine the alliance of the socialist countries and the Arab revolutionary movement.

Many speakers pointed to the importance of joint acion in the battle against imperialism and in upholding the ideals of independence and social progress. They analyzed the experience of interaction of socialism and the national-liberation movement and the rise and development of their alliance.

EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERNATIONALIST SUPPORT

The rise of that alliance goes back more than half a century. And speakers noted that at every stage of the liberation movement the alliance retained all its importance and continues to serve as an effective weapon in strengthening its revolutionary and anti-imperialist potential.

The road traversed

Before the October Revolution, international proletarian assistance to oppressed nations was chiefly through moral and political support, for at that time, *Saied Majid*, representative of the Popular Democratic Alliance (Yemen Arab Republic) said, the world was ruled by imperialism which brutally suppressed the movement for liberation. From the social and class standpoint, Naim Ashhab remarked, it was a restricted movement, its sole aim being cultural or administrative autonomy.

The alliance of socialism and the national-liberation movement goes back to the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Maurice Saliby said. Support of anti-colonial revolutions became the cornerstone of Soviet Russia's policy. Russia was the center of a powerful historic movement dedicated to the socialist refashioning of society and emancipation of colonial nations, *Amat Dansoko*, Political Bureau member, African Independence Party of Senegal, told the conference. It was this great revolution, *Yehya Mohammed*, representative of the People's Vanguard Party, Yemen Arab Republic, said, that stimulated the tempestuous growth of revolutionary processes in vaious parts of the world.

The impact of the October Revolution on colonial and semi-colonial countries was felt in many different ways.

First, it dealt staggering blows at imperialism and its colonial system. Relations of brotherhood and equality between nations, big and small, were built on the ruins of the landlord and bourgeois system of tsarist Russian, Maurice Saliby said. The Soviet government, speakers noted, did more than solve the national question in its own country – it launched a worldwide offensive for the right of nations to self-determination, up to and including secession and the formation of independent states. New, progressive principles of relations between peoples and states were thus taking hold.

Second, the October Revolution made possible all-round support of the oppressed nations of the East. The Soviet government annulled all the treaties tsarism had imposed on Asian countries and exposed its secret deals with other imperialist powers directed against colonial countries. It established with them relations based on complete equality. By concluding its first agreement with the Soviet Union in 1928, Yemen was in a position to safeguard its independence and repel the encroachments of British imperialism, then in control of Aden, and of Italian fascism which tried to annex part of our territory, Saied Majid declared. Lenin played an immense role in organizing support of liberation movements in the East. Leaders of Iraq's first national revolution in 1920 tried to contact him, Aziz Mohammed said. Today, too, Naim Ashhab remarked, you will find in the Arab countries men who recall with pride their meetings with the great leader of the working people.

Third, the Great October Revolution set an inspiring example to all the oppressed and exerted a powerful influence on the thinking of colonial peoples. *John M. Dwadjo*, representative of the Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council, cited these words of Kwame Nkrumah in a speech to workers of the Elektrosila plant in Leningrad: 'You got rid of foreign capitalists, you drove them out of the country. That is exactly what we are now trying to do in Africa.' Other speakers, Ali Badib and *Ahmed Harbi*, CC member, Revolutionary Democratic Party of Yemen, said that by abolishing capitalist and pre-capitalist exploitation and establishing new, socialist relations, the working class of the first land of socialism showed what could be accomplished given a high degree of consciousness, organization and experienced leadership.

The next stage in the development of the alliance of socialism and the national-liberation movement came after World War II. The victory over fascism, to which the USSR made the decisive contribution, and the emergence of the socialist world system radically changed the world alignment of forces and accelerated the collapse of the colonial system, said *Georgios Savvides*, chairman of the AKEL Central Control Commission. This new situation, Aziz Mohammed remarked,

helped to expand the anti-colonial struggle and the winning of political independence by a number of oppressed nations. The continued change in the global balance of forces enabled many nations to win freedom without recourse to arms. Two years after the end of the war, M. Farooqi said, the anti-imperialist movement of the Indian masses put an end to British colonial rule.

Contacts between socialism and the liberation revolutions entered a new stage after the Soviet Union had healed its war wounds and the nations that had chosen the socialist path had laid the foundations of the new system. Conference participants noted that since then these contacts have been developing in a much more favorable international setting. Its characteristics are: the steady growth of the socialist community's economic, military and political strength; socialism's enhanced prestige and influence; the more pronounced social content of the liberation movements increasingly directed against feudal and capitalist exploitation; the successes of the international workers' movement; the steady weakening of imperialism; the cardinal changes in the world situation, primarily toward détente. The distinguishing feature of this new stage in the development of contacts between world socialism and the liberation revolutions, Naim Ashhab said, is wide cooperation between the socialist and Afro-Asian countries and the extensive assistance they receive from the socialist community.

United front

Speakers drew attention to the immense value of the socialist world's assistance to Afro-Asian nations in their fight against colonialism. In Algeria we were keenly aware of this throughout our liberation war, *Abdelmadjid Bennacer*, representative of the Socialist Vanguard Party, told the conference. And today, too, it is keeenly felt by Arab patriots in Israeli-occupied territory and by the anti-imperialist movement in the Arab Gulf area.

The socialist countries are the main base of material support of the liberation movement in South Africa, said *George Silundika*, press and information secretary of the Zimbabwe African People's Union. Their assistance to independent African states bordering on areas fighting for liberation has been an indirect contributing factor in all our successes.

The Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community have always been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for African peoples fighting racism and apartheid, the late *Michael Harmel*, CC member, South African Communist Party, said. From its very inception, the Soviet state has dealt one telling blow after another at the very foundations of racist theory and practice. And such distinguished anti-imperialist fighters as Amilcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane and

Agostinho Neto, publicly paid tribute to the way the socialist countries helped the fight against Portuguese colonialism and fascism. The joint offensive of the socialist and developing countries against imperialism and racism led to the collapse of the hated colonial system.

Support by the socialist countries acquires much greater importance when developing countries are winning and strengthening their political independence. And this support consists of diverse actions of a political, diplomatic, military and economic character to prevent a colonial comeback and shore up national sovereignty. The Soviet attitude toward Indonesia after the latter had won independence is a good example of moral and political assistance, *Stiadjaja Sudiman*, member of the leadership, CP Indonesia, said in his contribution. In those difficult years the Soviet Union actively campaigned in defense of the republic and for an end to the Anglo-Dutch colonial aggression against it. Another example was cited by *Ashab-ul Hak*, Vice-President of the Awami League (Bangladesh): Were it not for diplomatic action by the USSR and other progressive forces in support of our people's national aspirations, the U.S. Seventh Fleet would not have remained a mere observer during the dramatic changes in the sub-continent. The socialist community supported granting Bangladesh its legitimate seat in the United Nations and continues to defend our country against imperialist and Maoist attacks, another Bangladesh speaker, *Syedur Rahman* of the Communist Party's international department, said. And our republic continues to follow a progressive course, relying on its friendly contacts with the socialist world.

Many speakers pointed to the importance of military and political support by the socialist countries of the Afro-Asian peoples in repelling imperialist and reactionary attacks. Naim Ashhab stressed that this support was a key factor in the victory of the Heroic Vietnamese people. And it was the restraining force of the socialist community that prevented the Israeli aggressors and their Washington patrons from changing the course of the October 1973 war in their favor.

Indonesia's sovereignty over West Irian, Satiadjaja Sudiman remarked, was re-established thanks to the Soviet support of our anti-imperialist struggle. Since we learned to use Soviet weapons, Maurice Saliby said, the relation of forces in the Arab world has changed in favor of the liberation movement. Our people speak with respect of the Soviet missiles which during the October war helped to clear Syria's sky of Israeli planes.

Many speakers noted that the socialist countries' diplomatic, military and political support of liberation revolutions has raised socialism's prestige in the newly-independent states and has contributed to their consolidation.

Economic assistance

The importance and value of economic links with the socialist world were stressed by many conference participants. The socialist countries are helping Afro-Asian nations lay the foundations of independent economies and are assisting in the development of key industries. Technical aid by the USSR and other members of the socialist community has enabled a number of developing countries to launch out on major economic projects. This was stressed by *Boguslaw Mrozek*, Director, Institute of Political Science, Warsaw University, and *Hamid Safari*, Alternate Executive Bureau member, Central Committee, People's Party of Iran.

With Soviet assistance, M. Farooqi said, India has been able to build up a firm basis for its public-sector industry. The 1971 treaty was the beginning of a new stage in our relations. Other socialist countries are contributing to India's economic development too. The USSR has helped, or is now helping, build 70 major enterprises – factories, power stations, etc. In fact, industries built with Soviet technical assistance now account for 30 per cent of our output in steel, nearly 90 per cent in heavy engineering, over 60 per cent in electrical equipment for heavy industry, 20 per cent in electric power, nearly one-third in oil products and 80 per cent in cude oil. Soviet assistance in organizing and developing our oil industry went a long way toward breaking the stranglehold of British and American oil monopolies.

Much the same can be said of the socialist countries' aid to Sri Lanka, said *Ambalavanar Vaidialingam*, Political Bureau member, CP Sri Lanka. The socialist countries have granted us easy credits for a steel mill, tire and tubing mills, a large textile complex, flour mills and a number of other projects. The public sector, built up with socialist technical assistance, produces over a third of gross industrial output. We can rely on the socialist world's support in advancing toward economic independence, and our people are prepared to extend cooperation with the socialist community both on a bilateral basis and through the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

Closer relations with the socialist world, said Jaime Schmirgeld, lessen dependence on imperialism. More people in Latin America are beginning to understand this. The countries of the socialist community have no intention of dominating anyone. This is alien to their class nature. They want backward countries to make progress.

The problems of the Asian and African countries, said Hamid Safari, are familiar to the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from their own past, especially in the case of national areas that had inherited economic and social backwardness from the deposed exploiting system. A mere 57 years ago, said Pavel

Auersperg, tsarist Russia was economically and culturally far behind the industrially developed capitalist states. For some years after the October Revolution, the country still had several socio-economic patterns, including the patriarchal. Today, it is a highly developed industrial power. So, countries with a low social and economic level will find many useful pointers in the Soviet battle against backwardness. Hardly any of the problems of the newly-free states can be solved without reference to the socialist approach, said *Muzaffar Ahmad*, Chairman of the National Awami Party (Bangladesh), whether they concern industrialization, or agriculture, or alliance of national patriotic forces.

Of special interest is the national question. Some bourgeois ideologues predicted, S. Imashev said, that it would take Central Asia more than 4,000 years to catch up with the rest of the world. But Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia have become highly developed industrial-agrarian socialist republics within the life of just one generation. Take Kazakhstan. It has more than 22,000 industrial enterprises exporting goods to 70 countries. Industrial output has risen several hundred-fold since the Revolution. The ethnic areas have real national statehood, a working class and national intelligentsia. Illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, disease, low life expectancy and women's inequality are things of the past. The cultural make-up has changed, socialist morality and psychology have taken deep root. All national republics were selflessly assisted by the fraternal Russian nation in building socialism. In the national question our Party was guided by Lenin's advice that a formal declaration of national equality was not enough, and that the first thing to do was to wipe out the economic and cultural inequality.

The experience of socialist countries, their achievements in planning, construction, science, technology and other fields, said Naim Haddad, are highly important for Iraq, for our Party, which is oriented on strategic alliance with the socialist countries and the world's Communist and progressive parties. Spurning the experience of the socialist countries on some nationalist pretext, Amat Dansoko stressed, is bound to end in disappointment. Nationalist over-confidence is a dangerous pitfall for the liberation movement.

N. Ahhab to N. Haddad: To what extent did the socialist approach to the national question influence the Iraqi government in the Kurdish question?

Haddad; The Baath Party's socialist principles paved the way to a radical solution. Our aim is to assure the rights of the Kurdish people of Iraq, while combatting chauvinist and nationalist tendencies, and those who approach the problem from a racist angle. Befor the revolution of July 17, 1968, the Kurds were inhumanly oppressed. We are

doing our utmost to lay real and legal foundations for Arab-Kurdish fraternity.

Socialist countries unfailingly support progressive steps to resolve the national question. The Kurdish people of Iraq, said *Aziz Akravi*, Political Bureau member of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq), remember the solidarity of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Baath Party and the Communist Party in March 1970, which culminated in the agreement to end the fratricidal war. Neither do we forget the many years of moral and material assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It was thanks to its alliance with the socialist world that the Kurdish national-liberation movement was able to survive.

Participants in the conference commended the socialist countries' all-round support of the peoples of developing countries at different stages of their liberation struggle. The socialist world helps them to cope with their difficulties at all the abrupt turns in history, and to strengthen their political and economic independence. This is doubly important now, due to the intensified activity of elements hostile to the alliance of the socialist world and the liberation movement.

STRUGGLE AGAINST HOSTILE DESIGNS

The alliance of the socialist world and revolutions of liberation is being attacked by imperialism, reaction, and opportunists of all shades. Participants in the conference agreed that the attacks must be repulsed to make the alliance stronger.

Imperialism's subversion strategy

U.S. imperialism is a sworn enemy of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, said *Felipe Suarez*, representative of the Communist Party of Chile. It is involved in all anti-popular plots. World imperialism, Haddad added, is behaving more aggressively, and does not hesitate to use neo-fascist methods of crushing the national-patriotic liberation movement. Chile is an example. Though the imperialists have lost their global supremacy, said Laszlo Nagy, they are trying to build up superior strength in individual regions and subvert the alliance of the socialist world, national liberation, and the international working-class movement.

Imperialism's *political* expansion had become more pronounced in some parts of the world. In the Middle East, said speakers from that region, it is trying to isolate the Arab peoples from the socialist states and thereby dampen resistance to reactionary plots and zionist ag-

gression. Imperialist intrigues obstruct the Arab revolution, said *Radman*, representative of the Baath Party of Yemen.

Gassan Rifai, Political Bureau member of the Lebanese Communist Party: The imperialist offensive in the Middle East is now greater in scale, and also more refined in method. Undisguised force often gives place to so-called mediation and negotiation. But the subversive activity of U.S. imperialism against the Arab-Soviet friendship continues, and attempts are made to block Soviet participation in the solution of the region's vitally important problems. The strategic aims of the U.S. imperialists, said Nagy, have not changed. Those who think the United States has set out on a fundamentally different Middle East course and is working for a just peace, are either deluding themselves or deliberately siding with imperialist policy. The changes in the conduct of the world's biggest imperialist power, traceable to the Arab successes in the October war and the use of the oil weapon, are no more than tactical. The U.S. monopolies have kept their strategic aim of preserving the Arab countries as a sphere of exploitation. The same applies to other young states. Taking advantage of the economic difficulties in Bangladesh, said Syedur Rahman, imperialism has stepped up pressure on the government to abandon its progressive policies and cut back relations with the socialist countries.

Participants exposed the designs of imperialism and local reaction in the Arabian Peninsula. The alliance of feudal lords and pro-imperialist merchants in North Yemen, Saied Majid said, is blocking relations with the socialist countries and opening the doors to foreign monopoly. The sheikhs and emirs in some of the Arab Gulf states, said *Ali al-Waheibi*, representative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, are backing the British colonialists and American neo-colonialists. The Anglo-American military bases are directed mainly against the armed revolution in Oman and other liberation movements. Of course, they are also directed against the socialist world.

At this stage of the struggle for social change, said *Aziz Shareef*, Minister of State and Secretary-General of the National Council for Peace and Solidarity (Iraq), imperialism prefers indirect interference in the new states to create instability and economic difficulties. It provokes armed conflicts, and intrigues to isolate the national-liberation movement from its natural ally, the socialist world system. *Abdullah Ismail*, representative of the Kurdistan Progressive Movement (Iraq), called attention to the activity of imperialist agents. Imperialist and zionist agents, he said, are prodding rightist elements in the Kurdish movement to oppose the revolutionary Iraqi regime, supplying money and arms in a bid to frustrate the historic Self-Rule

Law. The rightists dread the deep-going social changes and agrarian reform in Iraq. The have also come out against the Treaty with the USSR, A. Mohammed added. But no reactionary designs can disrupt the Iraqi-Soviet friendship. The benefits of the ties with the Soviet Union are acknowledged by the Arab peoples and the courageous Palestine Resistance.

Pavel Auersperg pointed out that in the socialist countries, too, imperialists try to exploit the remnants of anti-popular and opportunist forces in intrigues against socialism's alliance with the liberation revolutions. This is borne out by the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia. Seeking to drive a wedge between the socialist world and the peoples of the developing countries, international reaction also encourages attacks on the socialist countries by regimes connected with imperialism.

N. Ashhab to the delegates of the CP of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany:

Could you tell us in specific terms about opportunist subversive activity in Czechoslovakia against our alliance? What could you say about the Israeli zionist rulers' demand that the GDR and FRG should compensate Jewish victims of the Second World War?

P. Auersperg: Rightists connected with zionist quarters in Western Europe wanted Czechoslovakia to cut off support to the Arab peoples. They wanted my country to restore diplomatic relations with Israel, contending that this was more 'profitable' than Arab friendship. In 1968, they even collected signatures all over Prague in support of diplomatic relations. But Communist internationalists repulsed these designs.

Wolfgang Bator, Department of International Relations, CC SUPG: The GDR has never paid, nor intends to pay, any compensation to the Israeli state. The Israeli rulers deliberately conceal the fact that the matter had been settled in the framework of the Potsdam Agreement, which required Germany to pay compensations to countries that had suffered nazi aggression. True, under U.S. pressure, the FRG did meet Israel's demands, but the Israeli rulers used the money to buy armaments.

Economic strategy holds a special place in imperialsm's subversive activity against the alliance of the socialist countries and the liberation movement, some speakers pointed out. It is designed to keep the developing countries in the capitalist orbit, said *G. Gyurov*, International Department, CC Bulgarian CP. Foreign capital encourages development trends benefiting imperialism. Capitalism, Ali Yata added, is trying to prescribe financial and economic policy to newly liberated countries. Neo-colonialist strategy, Dansoko said, seeks to integrate their national economies in the world capitalist economy,

and to prevent closer relations with countries of the socialist world.

However, with the socialist system gaining increasing influence in Asia and Africa, imperialism is compelled to adjust its economic strategy accordingly. Formerly, Ambalavanar Vaidialingam said, the capitalist powers did not disguise their hostility to the state sector. Now, foreign firms are willing to finance state industrial projects, while going into consumer industries with the national bourgeoisie. In Southeast Asia, Felipe Malaya said, U.S. and Japanese monopolies are investing in the automobile industry, domestic appliances, agricultural machinery, petrochemicals and processed foods.

But despite these new elements in imperialist strategy, it has not changed. International monopolies are laying the accent on the development of the infrastructure in Asian, African and Latin American countries, thus paving the way for penetration of foreign capital. The manufaturing industries built with the aid of capitalist states are regarded as adjuncts to the economies of imperialist powers. Imperialism wants to hitch the newly free countries to its economic chariot, and limit their opportunities for all-round economic cooperation with the socialist world. Furthermore, it tries to oppose one group of developing countries to others. It suggests, for example, that oil-producing countries could form a 'fourth world' with a position of privilege in the 'third world.' The Washington conference of 13 oil-consuming nations revealed the specious nature of these ideas. It showed, A. Bennacer said, that the imperialist powers will stop at nothing to subordinate the oil-producing states.

Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, G. Savvides said, are the imperialists' favorite *ideological* weapon. The imperialist bourgeoisie contends, *Tsogtyn Namsarai*, Alternate CC member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, amplified, that the developing countries' alliance with the socialist community is tantamount to 'loss' of national independence. The argument is, *Ilona Babirak*, Professor of the Higher Political School of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, added, that Soviet aid is a means of 'penetration.' Imperialist behavior is extolled. AFL-CIO president George Meany maintains, for example, that the United States plays the key part in defending freedom and justice in the Middle East. He may deceive some people, but certainly not the Arabs. They know who is behind Israel.

A. Ratsifehera: Imperialist progaganda is spreading tales of a 'Soviet threat' in the Indian Ocean. This is meant to mislead public opinion and vindicate imperialist political and military moves in the area. But the facts are entirely different. France, the United States and Britain have bases and military installations in the vicinity of my country. And there are U.S. and British bases in Ethiopia, the Arabian Peninsula, South Vietnam, Thailand and Australia. This is evi-

dence enough that the responsibility for the militarization of the Indian Ocean falls on imperialism, not on the Soviet Union.

It was shown at the conference that imperialism's ideological subversion has a dual aim: apart from undermining socialist influence in the developing countries, it is also designed to misdirect the liberation movement. Schmirgeld criticized the imperialist concepts of 'revolutions of growing hope,' 'modernization,' and the like. They are not scientific, because they attribute the impulses of social development to psychological, moral, cultural and technical factors, while negating the objective processes of the class struggle both at national and world levels. The idea is to foster illusions under a 'scientific' signboard that developing countries can by superficial renewal of socio-economic structures avoid a deep-going social revolution, conceivable only with socialist support. Departures from the policy of alliance with the Soviet Union, the socialist community, supplanting it with so-called 'balancing' between the socialist world and the imperialist powers, said Auersperg, tend to curtail social and economic reconstruction, ultimately impairing independence.

Past and present facts show that imperialism is using all possible methods and joining forces with all anti-socialist and anti-communist elements to disrupt the unity of the socialist countries and the liberation movement, and to impair their interaction.

Duality of the capitalist elements

The blame for negative developments in relations between socialist countries and the liberation movement, N. Ashhab said, is usually traceable to those sections of the latter that have connections with local capitalist elements. The duality of the national bourgeoisie's attitude to the alliance was also noted by A. Vaidialingam. The national bourgeoisie wants to keep the cooperation with socialist states within definite limits, beyond which it fancies a threat to its positions. Yet objectively it has a stake in such cooperation. For cooperation with the socialist countries helps the national bourgeoisie to retain independence from imperialism. Some of the arguments for closer relations with the socialist world, Schmirgeld amplified, are highly indicative. Jose Luter Gelbard, Argentina's Minister of Economy, for example, says they are a safeguard against the energy crisis, the consequences of the economic recession in the rest of the capitalist world, against inflation and 'other phenomena exceedingly dangerous to national development.' Significantly, the vast majority of the Latin American countries have relations with the USSR.

In present-day Indonesia, too, S. Sudiman pointed out, the national bourgeoisie is learning from experience that it must restore normal relations with the socialist countries. The reactionary regime's ties

with foreign monopoly capital have yielded nothing but disappointment. Local industry is folding and many national enterprises have been ruined. The public and the business world are in a mood to revive the former close contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

But an opposite tendency is also liable to take precedence. Some Arab regimes, for example, said *Abdulla Mouhamed,* member of the Executive of the National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia, are giving way to imperialist pressure, flirting with imperialism, cutting back the state sector, and attacking the USSR. This behavior of the right-wing of the Arab liberation movement, G. Rifai said, is jeopardizing the unity of the Arab countries and the socialist system. They are 'whitewashing' U.S. imperialism, which is backing Israel. This right wing has facilitated the comeback of Arab, including Saudi, reaction on the Middle East political scene after many years of isolation.

The reactionary and capitalist forces of the Arab world, N. Haddad said, hurl all kinds of charges at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They slander them in order to revert to the 'open-door policy' in relation to U.S. imperialism. Unable to continue the struggle or cope with the difficult national problems, certain right-leaning leaders begin to blame the Soviet Union and the socialist system for their own mistakes and look for a pretext to terminate cooperation, A. Badib added.

In some Arab countries rightists and reactionaries try to reverse the liberation revolution. The same men who had assaulted the feudal lords and big capitalists and launched democratic reforms, A. Harbi said, are now joining forces with the conservatives.

The rightist trend, G. Rifai stressed, does not originate from the subjective will of any leader. In some Arab countries new propertied groups appeared even in those sectors of the economy that were subject to anti-imperialist reconstruction. Lack of faith in the masses, especially the working class, is another negative factor. Furthermore, the bureaucratic apparatus has not been radically changed. This, too, is a brake even on half-hearted reforms. The experience of Indonesia shows, Sudiman said, that the bureaucracy throws spanners in the wheel of economic cooperation with countries of the socialist community even under anti-imperialist regimes. Sometimes, bureaucrats use the aid of these countries for personal enrichment. Rightist tendencies at home, speakers pointed out, also in due course affect the foreign policy.

Provocations of divisive elements

Strong criticism was levelled at various conceptions negating the

objective identity of the aims of the socialist community and the national liberation forces, and contrasting these revolutionary streams.

Some of the speakers called attention to the theories of 'rich and poor countries,' 'North and South,' circulated in the developing countries and actively exploited by the Maoists. Their exponents maintain that the socialist states had been allies of the liberation movement only until they grew 'rich,' and have now joined the imperialist nations.

Classing countries as 'poor' and 'rich,' H. Safari and Ali Yata said, is an invalid attempt to obscure the fundamental difference between the capitalist and socialist systems. Contrasting the liberation movement and the socialist countries, it lays the main accent on cultural and racial distinctions. If material prosperity in a progressive society is declared evil, John M. Dwadjo said in his contribution, how do these people conceive the ultimate aim of the struggle for socialism?

The Maoist 'superpowers' concept is just as invalid, said T. Namsarai. It identifies the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle, with the United States, the most aggressive of the imperialist powers. This is absurd. The Soviet Union is a socialist country. It takes no part in imperialist exploitation, engages in no wars of conquest, and exports no capital to the developing countries.

The Maoists feign indignation over the fact that the Soviet Union has improved relations and concluded a series of agreements with the United States. What they do not say is that this has a *class* basis, for the Soviet Union remains faithful to proletarian internationalism and its revolutionary duty. The Chinese leaders' attacks on the improvement of Soviet-American relations, Nagy said, are motivated by their undisguised ambition of dominating the developing countries. It is no accident, Gyurov added, that Maoists never miss an opportunity to contrast the 'two superpowers' to the developing countries. Yet they sidestep a clear definition of the principles behind their own relations with the liberation movement. The abyss between Peking's revolutionary rhetoric and its deeds may be illustrated by its relations with the Chilean junta. The Chinese leaders mounted a vicious campaign against the Soviet-Arab friendship during the latest Middle East war. Those who speak of 'two superpowers' or propagate anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in the liberation movement under cover of quasi-socialist ultra-left slogans, trying to divert the liberation movement from revolutionary aims, said Michael Harmel, are willy-nilly helping imperialism.

Many of the speakers noted that these conceptions not only minimize the vanguard role of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in the world revolutionary process (while deliberately

exaggerating the role of the liberation movement by casting it as the main revolutionary force of our time), but also sanctify actions that directly or indirectly blend with the political practices of the rightists, of imperialism, in the Afro-Asian states. And this is particularly dangerous. The ultra-leftists in Southern Asia, Ashab-ul-Hak stressed, shake hands with ultra-rightists. Under cover of quasi-Marxist slogans they take reckless adventurist actions that play into the hands of reaction. This makes them the helpers of reaction. The people of Bangladesh, M. Ahmad said, know now that the responsibility for sabotage, plotting and similar things is borne by various Maoist groups working hand in glove with imperialist agents. The Maoists, A. Vaidialingam said, are exerting pressure on Sri Lanka. They use their economic ties to try and force the country to break off contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

The Maoist leaders of the Chinese People's Republic, Malaya said, are clamoring for world revolution, and vilifying U.S. imperialism. But those are only words. In fact, they have appealed to the United States to maintain its military presence in Asia. They are terrified by the Soviet proposals of an Asian collective security system, and go to all lengths to disrupt the friendship of the Asian peoples and the Soviet Union. They want to win over the Asian Communist parties. And when their attempts failed in the Philippines, Maoists expelled from our Party formed an organization of their own, slandering the Soviet Union and the CP Philippines. Before the 1965 events in Indonesia, Sudiman said, Peking went all out to incite anti-Soviet sentiment, urging the anti-imperialist government and political parties to be hostile to the USSR. By so doing it ground the axe of the rightist, anti-communist forces.

The rightist reaction and ultra-leftism, many speakers pointed out, have set out to divide the socialist countries and the liberation movement, to provoke differences in the anti-imperialist front. Hence the insistent need to step up united action by world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

UNITED ACTION – SOURCE OF STRENGTH

It is now of tremendous importance, speakers said, to work together in repulsing the designs of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet forces. The Baath Party, Haddad said, exposes all allegations identifying socialist and capitalist countries. It condemns all attempts at casting doubt on the necessity of friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, the socialist states. Our alliance is fundamentally a strategic alliance. The Baath Party's approach is different from that of the patriotic

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois regimes, which try to keep an unstable, selfish consumer relationship, and to balance between what is called West and East. All anti-imperialist fighters, Savvides said, should appreciate the fact that the problems of the developing countries, of the entire world, will not be solved unless there is constructive fraternal cooperation with the socialist states. It is therefore important, I. Babirak amplified, to keep up the ideological offensive against the opponents of our alliance, and to show what specific interests are concealed behind the statements and actions of imperialist demagogues.

This offensive, B. Mrozek added, should be a joint offensive. The imperialist political and ideological subversion is designed to weaken the liberation revolution, as well as the socialist community. And the Maoist campaigns have the same aim. Hence the need for close coordination in the ideological struggle. The ideological battles, Radman said, are against the exploiter ideology, chauvinist views, and aggressive aspirations.

What is particularly important, Schmirgeld said, is to dispel anti-Soviet, anti-communist prejudices. Anti-communism is a weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the working-class and popular movements. However, there is also a different kind of negative attitude to communism. In Latin America, for example, Suarez said, some governments and parties with a consistently anti-imperialist orientation, ignore the patriotic revolutionary role of the Communists. This sort of thing must end. Real revolutionaries appreciate the Communists' contribution to the anti-imperialist movement. They enter into alliances with the Communists. This is borne out by Chile's experience during the Popular Unity period, and by the developments in Portugal. The history of Iraq, F. Trappen said, also shows that comradely cooperation between Communists, Baathists, and other patriotic elements, guarantees stable and progressive development. The unity of the revolutionary detachments of the liberation movement is the surest way to success, speakers stressed.

Communists and other revolutionaries are promoting closer contacts and cooperation between socialist forces and the national liberation movement. Communist representatives at the conference stressed the need to improve time-tested forms of cooperation. But they also urged a search for new forms. Gyurov described the ties between ruling Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties as highly promising, and especially active in recent years. C. Vasiliu called attention to the need for concrete forms of international support to anti-imperialist revolutions and newly-free states struck by natural calamities. None of the participants questioned the importance of meaningful efforts in the interests of the alliance, of propagating its

ideas among the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and showing the progressive essence of interaction between world socialism and the liberation movement.

Nowadays, this is being done by many revolutionary parties and organizations, as well as the Communists. The world unity of the revolutionary detachments, A. Mouhamed said, is emphasized not only by Communists, but also by other progressive forces in Asia and Africa, guided by the principles of international solidarity and favoring a startegic alliance with the socialist world.

Gyurov: The internationalist content of the liberation movement is evident. This is what brings it together with the socialist system and the international working class, and enriches the forms of alliance of the three revolutionary streams.

Imperialist-oppressed peoples, said *A.T. Sherif,* CC Secretary of the Revolutionary Party of Kurdistan (Iraq), have no other expedient but to unite with the detachments of the world revolution.

Participants in the conference stressed unanimously the vast importance of conscious effort to strengthen the alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation. Close anti-imperialist unity adds to the potential of each of the streams of the world revolutionary process, accelerates the further consolidation of the socialist community, cements the unity of the progressive and patriotic forces in the national-liberation zone, and augments the strength of the international working-class movement. This adds to the influence of the world revolutionary forces on the march of history both globally and in each country.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, cooperation of the socialist world system and liberation revolutions materializes in struggle against all forms of national oppression. Also their united front assaults the system of social oppression and inequality. The revolutionary-democratic forces in the newly-free countries are now aware that it is inconceivable to achieve the lofty ideals of patriotism, democracy and progress without the support of the socialist world. They have set their strategic sights on the closest possible cooperation. Coordination of action by all the detachments of the revolutionary movement against the designs of imperialism, reaction and opportunism, and for social progress, strengthens the alliance between the socialist world and the national liberation movement.

Scientific management of society and socialist democracy

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Public interest in problems of social management is mounting all over the world. In the socialist countries, it is stimulated by the growing complexity of the tasks they face, the need to take into account the interaction of various aspects of public life in a common social system, and to foresee, and as accurately as possible forecast, the course different processes may take so as to ensure that every administrative decision is made on a sound scientific basis.

In capitalist countries, this interest is stimulated by acute political crises, the inability of governments to resolve a wide range of social problems, and mounting workers' dissatisfaction with the way of life and imperialist policy, which erupts into various forms of mass protest. In some cases, the situation became so explosive as to get completely out of hand.

There has been no dearth of books by bourgeois authors suggesting ways of improving and rationalizing the capitalist system of administration, and distorting the fundamentally new approaches of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In particular, no effort is spared to conceal the democratic character of socialist administration and represent centralism and democracy as mutually incompatible.

In what ways does socialist administration differ from capitalist? What are its specific features, what are the real manifestations of the dialectics of centralism and democracy, what new processes and developments are there in the field of public administration in the Soviet Union? The subject is many-sided and virtually inexhaustible, both theoretically and practically. So let us dwell on but a few of its main aspects.

I would like to begin by recalling several Marxist-Leninist propositions relevant to public administration and management.

Obviously, no work collective can function without organization,

order, division of labor, without defining the place, role, functions, rights and duties of the individuals involved. Hence, administration and management are inalienable and inherent qualities of all societies. They are rooted in the systemic character of society, in the public character of human endeavor, in the need to associate in work and day-to-day life, in the need to exchange the products of people's material and mental effort.

The problems of public administration are by no means reduced to those of power and political leadership, that would be an oversimplification. They embrace the whole range of regulation and self-regulation processes which enable society to function as an integrated system, maintain its balance and progress. In other words, it is not only a question of politically influencing society: it also involves the regulation of the economic, public and cultural spheres of life. The regulating effect, we know, can be *spontaneous,* evolving as a general trend in the clash of the different interests, aspirations and objectives of individuals, groups and classes. But it is also the result of *conscious* activity by administrative bodies, the state in the first place.

To gain a correct understanding of intricate modern administration processes it is important to distinguish between the organizational-technical and socio-economic functions of administration. The *organizational-technical* function is determined by the immediate labor process, its division and technical equipment, in short, by the level of the productive forces. Specific techniques and technologies require a definite allocation of duties, specific forms of interaction between different subdivisions of the enterprise concerned, organization of material and technical supplies, as well as administrative skills, and subordination and coordination between the elements of management.

But there is more to administration: its *socio-economic aspect,* insofar as it is always a tool in the hands of the ruling class. In other words, the socio-economic function is neither more nor less than administration in the interest of the ruling class (or classes). This aspect of administration depends, naturally, not on the level of the productive forces, but on the dominant forms of property relations and socio-political organization.

Important theoretical and practical corollaries derive from the two functions of administration. The organizational and technical aspects may well have similarities in countries with different social systems, provided they are at about the same level of economic development. This means that useful international experience can be studied and emulated. In fact, Lenin said that we should do just that. 'The possibility of building socialism,' he wrote in *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government,* 'depends exactly upon our success in com-

bining the Soviet power and the Soviet organization of administration with the up-to-date achievements of capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 259). The study and utilization of positive international experience remains an important source of accelerating scientific, technological and economic progress.

Understandably, there is no, nor can there be, any similarity in the socio-economic aspect of administration. The bourgeoisie uses the state and other institutions to run the society in its own interests. However representative these institutions may be, bourgeois administration is directed against the working people and, consequently, is by its very nature undemocratic. Bourgeois democracy, in all its forms, is democracy for the minority; it fortifies and defends private property, exploitation and economic, political and social inequality.

The class essence of capitalist administration was analyzed in an interesting discussion between Marxist scholars, an account of which appeared in the June 1973 issue of *World Marxist Review*, and elsewhere. I would therefore like to point out but one aspect of the problem. Nowadays much is being said in the developed capitalist countries about centralization of administration, with wide publicity being given to claims that there no longer exist fundamental differences of principle between them and the socialist countries.

To be sure, the ruling class of capitalist society does all it can to modernize the administrative system and adapt it to the new requirements consequent on the higher degree of socialization of production, concentration of capital and the growing role of the state as a representative of monopoly in the economic life of society. Hence the rapid development of state-monopoly forms of regulating and programming the economy, the attempts to introduce planning and centralized administration, even borrowing from the experience of socialist countries.

Obviously, present-day capitalism has certain possibilities for centralized control of the economy. But, first, they are restricted by the very nature of the capitalist mode of production, the inviolability of private property and the domination of capitalist relations as the *principal* regulator of economic life. Secondly, partial centralization of the administration of state-monopoly capital does not alter its fundamental class aims. On the contrary, it is designed to make it work better in the interests of big business.

As a matter of fact, the concentration of administrative functions in the hands of the state-monopoly apparatus means its ever greater alienation from the working people and restriction of the latter's independent socio-political activity. An elite of professional managers and 'social engineers' specially trained in the latest techniques of management and 'social control' is gaining influence. The result is

growing technocratic trends in administration. The rank-and-file worker is but the object, not the subject of management. It was the concentration of administrative functions in the hands of the state-monopoly apparatus that nurtured the unparalleled power of the military-industrial complex in the United States.[1]

History has offered an alternative to the intrinsically anti-popular capitalist system of administration: socialist administration.

Socialist administration evolves as a lengthy process embracing the development of the new social system since its inception. Today, when the Soviet Union has built a developed socialist society and many other countries have begun, or are beginning, to build developed socialism, the characteristic features and advantages of socialist administration stand out in bold relief.

Socialist society, viewed as the object of administration, as a regulated and self-regulated system, has a qualitatively much higher degree of oneness than capitalist society. It is an *economic* oneness stemming from the unchallenged domination of public ownership of the means of production, joint possession and control of the basic achievements of technology, science, culture and all natural resources. It is a *social* oneness due to the absence of antagonistic classes and relations of exploitation and competition, to the unity of the fundamental interests of the individual and society, the individual and the state. It is, lastly, an *ideological and political* oneness, for in socialist society there are no parties pursuing diametrically opposite class objectives, for all its manpower and material resources are directed toward achieving common socially useful objectives, for the moulding of the personality is based on a scientific philosophy, Marxism-Leninism.

These cahracteristics of socialist society naturally require a new type of administration. For the first time history has created the opportunities and necessity for *unified* centralized administration and planning of *the whole society* as an integrated social organism, as an entity of the economic, public and cultural spheres of life.[2] This is one of the principal distinctive characteristics (and, accordingly, one of the main advantages) of socialist administration.

Moreover, insofar as the interests of individual members of socialist society coincide in the main with the public interest, the latter does not dominate people as a blind, alien force; rather, it must be seen as a conscious and planned result, an objective achieved. The socio-political and ideological unity of society enables people to formulate common goals and pool their efforts to attain them. As a consequence, general regularities manifest themselves through the conscious joint actions of all members of society, their relationship being one of cooperation and mutual help. Hence the unprecedented *growth*

of the role of the subjective factor in regulating social processes, the growth of the role of science and knowledge. Consequently, another important feature: socialist administration is conscious, scientific regulation of an object on the basis of previously elaborated objectives, programs, plans and forecasts, and not merely isolated elements of conscious influence on social processes.

Another specific feature of socialist administration is that it closes the distance between administrator and administered, between those who govern and the governed, which under capitalism is *unbridgeable*. Administration tends to evolve as a creative endeavor of the masses themselves, as a concentration of mass energy and initiative.

And, of course, socialist administration pursues fundamentally different *objectives* than capitalist. Under socialism its purpose is to create the material and moral prerequisites for the development of every member of society as a free, vivid, talented individual, for bringing out all creative potentialities of the personality.

To sum up, scientific administration of socialist society can be defined as *the systematic, conscious, purposeful influence of people on the social system as a whole, or its component parts (production, social and cultural life, industry, enterprises, etc.), on the basis of the knowledge and application of the objective laws and progressive trends inherent in socialism* in the interests of all members of the society. Administration means marshalling human, material and financial resources for socialist and communist construction.

All these features of socialist administration, each in its own way, are expressive of its genuine democracy. The economic, social, ideological and political unity of our society, makes for a high degree of administrative centralization. At the same time, however, it is the prerequisite and basis for expanding democracy, removing the elitist, alienated character of administration natural to capitalism, making the fullest expression of the labor and public activity of the masses a part of the socio-economic function of administration, and drawing the masses into the work of administration.

The unity and integrity of relationships in a socialist society naturally presume a unity of political and economic administrative bodies and reliance on mass initiative.

The CPSU exercises its leading role, for example, through a system of state, local government, economic and public (trade unions, YCL) organizations.

Take the Soviets, the bodies of state power and administration. They have over two million elected members (the majority being men and women from the factory floor, farms, research and cultural establishments), and many more are drawn into their work. At least one-

third of the deputies are renewed at every election, which serves to acquaint more and more people with the techniques of administration. Since 1936 no less than 22 million men and women have had practical administrative experience in the Soviets at all levels. To this should be added the large number of volunteer workers who take part in the standing commissions of the Soviets (on industry, agriculture, transport and communications, trade, culture, education, etc.) along with the deputies. They study the state of affairs in their respective field and make recommendations on which the Soviets pass decisions. All in all, more than 25 million such volunteers are involved in local government work.

One form of effective participation of workers in management are the permanent production conferences at factories. There are more than 167,000 throughout the country, with over six million elected members. In 1972 alone, these conferences passed 1,786,000 proposals, more than 80 per cent of which have since been put into effect.

A point to be stressed is that working people not only take an active part in decision-making at all levels, from factory planning to formulation of the principles of national economic and social policy, but also exercise effective day-to-day control over the functioning of administrative, economic and public organizations. The scope of this activity is illustrated by the fact that about nine million persons take part in People's Control.

The development of socialist democracy is a many-sided process. There is the growing role of public organizations, especially the trade unions, and of work collectives in the life of society and, last but not least, the strengthening of socialist law and order and perfection of Soviet legislation.

Soviet Communists have no doubts about the fundamental advantages of socialist administration and its genuinely democratic character, but they are also fully aware that not all these advantages have been fully realized. It would be foolish to imagine that socialist administration is immune to error and incompetence, and does not make unsubstantiated decisions. These are especially dangerous under socialism, because it can lead to serious distortions and imbalances. We still have many unresolved problems of perfecting our decision-making, and organizational structures and introducing new technology and techniques; most important, there is still much to be done to draw broader masses (and eventually all members of society without exception) into direct administration and develop the forms of public self-administration which will eventually became predominant.

Thus, the socialist system makes possible centralized public administration and industrial management on a much higher level than in a capitalist society. This is a great asset and advantage of socialism.

Socialist centralization makes for the planned regulation of the society's life on a scientific basis, for the 'socialized man, the associate producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favorable to, and worthy of, their human nature' (Karl Marx, *Capital,* Book III, Ch. XLVIII).

Not surprisingly, it is just this aspect of socialist administration that is most fiercely attacked by anti-communists, who would like to weaken our system's monolithic unity, claiming that centralization under socialism suppresses the individual and leads to 'totalitarian' methods of leadership. They ignore the fundamental difference between socialist centralization and the centralization which the working people of capitalist countries have to face and whose anti-popular essence they can feel for themselves all too tangibly. Also ignored is the fact that, as distinct from the bureaucratic centralization of the bourgeois system of administration imposed on the working people from above and representing the interests of the ruling class in exercising its functions of direct or indirect, economic or extra-economic, coercion of all other groups of the population, socialism promotes the centralization of administrative, organizational-economic and political functions of *working people's power* for the most effective solution of problems on a national scale. That is why socialist administration presumes a unity of centralism and democracy. And these are not just two propositions laid side by side, but two aspects of one and the same principle: there is no socialism without centralized administration, just as there is no socialism without genuine democracy.

However great the centralization of administration, it is not, in itself, a feature of socialism. Centralized administration can be called socialist only if it is *democratic* centralized administration.[3] It has been amply shown that socialism develops successfully when centralization is based on braod democracy and encouragement of initiative by individual enterprises and collectives. Therefore, '... there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy.'[4]

The perfection of socialist relations and socialist democracy does not imply doing away with centralization. Developed socialist society based on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and integrated industrial mechanization and automation and presuming a high level of socialization of labor and production and the planned development of all aspects of activity and life, of necessity requires centralized administration. Otherwise, it would simply be incapable of functioning.

However, the fact that centralism is essential at all stages of

socialist development does not mean that it remains unchanged throughout that long historical period, that the principles and methods of centralized administration do not undergo evolution. The forms of centralized administration improve and become more flexible with the development of socialist democracy. A continuous *redistribution of administrative functions from top to bottom* takes place in conditions of developed socialism to keep central bodies from exercising petty patronage over subordinate departments, leaving to them the tasks of elaborating strategic guidelines, with the rights and authority of local government and work collectives expanding and greater scope being provided for mass initiative and public creativity.

Especially significant in this respect is the reconstruction of socialist economic management under way in the Soviet Union, with a marked expansion of the rights of work collectives and managers in production. Profits of enterprises are used to expand production, for incentives in the form of prizes, bonuses, etc., for social and cultural development and housing construction (in addition to state financing). These funds are handled solely by the workers of the enterprise concerned, thus giving them the material means of exercising their new rights.

By expanding the rights of enterprises the economic reform has helped raise production efficiency. However, as the CPSU Central Committee noted at its December 1973 meeting, the reform does not yet sufficiently stimulate the *qualitative* indicators of production. The meeting set the task of creating conditions which would ensure that *whatever benefits the state and society also benefits every worker and work collective*. These conditions should provide an incentive for adopting thrustful plans, raising labor productivity and production efficiency, the rational use of investment, material and labor reserves, the swift introduction of new techniques and designs, and improving the quality and technical standards of products.

One of the drawbacks of our centralized planning in the past was that it proceeded mainly from a one-sided 'producer-consumer' approach with scant attention for the reverse 'consumer-producer' relation. This made it possible for producers to call the tune, and could not stimulate responsibility for the quality and range of products or for adapting them to meet changing demand. The result was overstocking of some items and shortage of others.

The consumer-producer relation calls for restructuring the economic mechanisms of management and for new forms of combining subordination and coordination among all the units of the administrative structure. One method that has proved its worth is a direct relation between suppliers and consumers which, of course, leaves room for improvement and expansion. Other measures are also

needed to ensure the swift, continued, 'automatic' response of industry to changing consumer demand.

An entirely new system of accounting and assessing the work of production amalgamations and enterprises has been introduced to raise the consumer's say and improve quality. Now, in summing up work results, apportioning funds and determining the winners of socialist emulation drives, account will be taken of fulfilment of assignments and pledges not only in terms of overall sales and production of main items, but also in terms of the whole range of output as specified by contracts, orders and quota sheets.

The Party, as was noted at the December 1973 CC meeting, has two central points in economic construction: improvement of management, placing it on a genuinely scientific base, and mobilization of the masses, encouraging their creative activity and initiative. Accordingly, the CPSU sees constantly to the development of socialist democracy, as well as to the strengthening of the centralized, planned basis of management. This stand was fully reflected in the decisions of that CC meeting. Noting the great achievements of socialist planning, it at the same time pointed out miscalculations in planning and plan violations, which can result in disproportions, as well as idling and rush work. Much has still to be done to dovetail the financing of production plans with the plans, of deliveries of raw materials and basic parts, which requires a substantial improvement of material and technical supply. The CC meeting called for a resolute fight against narrow departmental and parochial approaches. The State Planning Committee should be guided first and foremost by the interests of society as a whole, while, of course, taking local and departmental interests into account; it should also demand liability of plan violators. Greater responsibility for every rouble received from the state and the highest possible return on investment are central to economic management.

The State Planning Committee and central economic administrations have been advised not to interfere in the current affairs of enterprises and amalgamations and to concentrate on short-term and long-term planning, the strategic development problems of industries and the economy as a whole, on ensuring a high rate of scientific and technological progress.

The further expansion of socialist democracy in a framework of continuously improving the centralized planning element in administration and management and the drawing of the working people into this is an essential prerequisite for building communism. This was emphasized anew by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech in Alma Ata on March 15, 1974, when, outlining the system of agricultural management, he noted that it should aim at an organic intertwining of cen-

tralized plan guidance and the independence and initative of collective and state farms in handling current production and marketing problems.

Centralized and, at the same time, democratic management of the economy and administration of society as a whole have long since become a reality in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the working people have amply demonstrated their ability to run society in their own interests. The experience to date is enormous and it serves as a basis for the further improvement of socialist social relations; it can also serve as an inspiring example for the Communists and working people of the non-socialist world in their struggle against capital, against the state-monopoly system of administration and management.

1. Seymour Melman, the American politologist and publicist, sees the Pentagon as concentrated 'state-management' and the most influential link in the system of state administration. Never before in U.S. history, he writes, has there been such a concentration of political and economic power in one body. The Pentagon's budget of over $80 billion gives it unequalled power over industrial production capacity, materials and manpower resources in the United States (S. Melman. *Pentagon Capitalism. The Political Economy of War*. N.Y., 1971, p. 6). The Pentagon uses this enormous power for militarist, imperialist, anti-human purposes.

2. There are already many studies devoted to the problems of a systems approach to the administration of socialist society. Among the latest Soviet works one could mention articles by O.S. Abbasova, 'On the Question of an Integrated Systems Approach to Administration in Socialist Society'' (*Scientific Administration of Society*, Moscow, 1974), and L.K. Naumenko, 'On the Methodology of a Systems Approach to Social Phenomena' (*Problems of Scientific Communism*, Issue 8, Moscow, 1974).

3. 'It would be inexcusable to forget that in advocating centralism we advocate exclusively *democratic centralism*' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 46).

4. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 145.

political panorama

Revolutionary Cuba's economic development

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Two important events have strongly influenced the Cuban economy: our affiliation to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in 1972 and the change in economic management in line, chiefly, with the 13th Trade Union Congress in 1973. The first relates to our foreign economic relations, the second to our internal problems, but both are closely associated and represent the end of one and the beginning of another chapter in our economic development.

And post-revolutionary economic development can be correctly appreciated only in the context of half a century of neo-colonialist domination by North-American imperialism. The revolutionary government had to begin by wiping out the heritage of those years and laying the foundations of an independent economy.

U.S. economic domination led to political dependence. By 1958, the U.S. accounted for more than 70 per cent of our imports and for more than 60 per cent of our exports. The free access of American goods produced by high-productive industries left no room for the development of our own industry. At best it could serve as an appendage to U.S. industry, wholly dependent on imported (mostly U.S.) raw materials, semi-fabricates and machinery. The U.S. even supplied more than 25 per cent of our food, though Cuba is eminently suited to highly productive agriculture.

Also these figures: in 1958, U.S. investments had topped the billion dollar mark, comprising 11 per cent (about the same as in Brazil) of total U.S. investments in Latin America. Once a backup for expanding trade, they were now the main factor in our economic subjugation to imperialism. This meant a lopsided economic structure: in 1958, some 30 per cent of U.S. investments were in agriculture, chiefly sugarcane, slightly more than 30 per cent in the service industries, 16 per cent in oil refining and 12 per cent in mining and manufac-

turing. This was out of all keeping with our economic requirements. Our industry, such as it was, was backward, in many cases confined to producing parts for U.S. factories, an arrangement that provided neither jobs nor foreign exchange.

That was one consequence of imperialist penetration. Another was a pattern of social and economic relations typical of the period of monopoly capitalism: in 1958, 0.5 per cent of the landowners, the latifundists, controlled more than one-third of the arable land, whereas 79 per cent had a mere 15 per cent.

The revolutionary government did not hesitate to tackle these problems when it took over in 1959. Its first step was agrarian reform, formalized in the 1959 and 1963 laws. The reform gave the revolutionary state control over 70 per cent of the land and 80 per cent of agricultural production. Unfettered, agriculture improved and peasant incomes increased considerably.

In 1960 the U.S. government cut the import quota on Cuban sugar, and foreign oil refineries refused to handle Soviet crude oil, which we were buying at below the monopoly price. That was followed by the economic blockade imposed by the U.S. and its allies. But we stood firm and the international solidarity of the socialist countries enabled us to frustrate imperialist plans. We were getting oil from the Soviet Union, raw materials, machinery and food from the socialist countries, and Cuban sugar found a new, advantageous market.

Economic aggression failed. Our reply to the blockade was nationalization of the main U.S. assets in August and September 1960 and, a month later, the main enterprises of Cuban capitalists who had joined the imperialist boycott. The state thus gained control of about 80 per cent of all industrial capacity. By 1963 we eliminated imperialist domination and latifundism, the basic causes of Cuba's economic backwardness.

But the material basis of the economy had not changed significantly. The next job was to overcome the one-sided and fragmentized economic structure, technical backwardness, shortage of skilled labor (nearly 30 per cent of the people were illiterate), the dependence and vulnerability of our foreign trade. And to all these difficulties, inherited from the past, many others were added. For one thing, there was the woefully inadequate infrastructure – in the past 15 years we built more roads than in the whole of our preceding history. Then there was near-total lack of fuel and hydropower. It was in this situation that we had to rapidly improve the condition of the majority of the people so that they could take an effective part in production and public life. This meant expanding the health services, opening new child-care institutions, and so on. Our proximity to U.S. imperialism compelled us to invest heavily in defense.

That being the situation, we concentrated on defending the revolution and there were few opportunities for economic analysis and planning. Nonetheless, relying on our socialist transformations and on international socialist cooperation, and using the new state apparatus, our people were able to follow a consistent development course even in this 'survival' period. It is in this light that one should appreciate the role international socialist cooperation plays in Cuba's economic development.

The socialist countries granted us credits, helped in research and project planning, supplied machinery, materials and expert personnel. Enterprises built on the basis of credit agreements remain the property of Cuba and, of course, there is no question of exporting profit. A recent example is the December 1972 agreement on a 300 million ruble credit repayable over 25 years, beginning with January 1, 1976, by supplies of Cuban goods.

Apart from everything else, cooperation with the socialist countries is helping solve the vexing problem of our foreign debt, a problem that is causing so much worry to most developing countries.

The socialist countries have given us scientific and technical assistance. Thousands of specialists from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria were sent to Cuba in 1967-71, and hundreds of our own specialists have been trained in these countries. We received a total of 381 sets of technical specifications, which are not usually made available to other countries.

And so, the Cuban economy has been making good headway: a more than 8 per cent GNP growth in 1971 and 1972.

Experience has convinced us that our independent socialist economy must combine expansion in so important a traditional branch as sugar to boost exports with laying the foundation of heavy industry and diversifying agriculture. In all these branches Cuba has been receiving fraternal assistance from the socialist countries.

Agriculture is receiving special attention; it is the source of industrial raw material and of foreign exchange, and a means of raising consumption levels. And here, too, there has been technical aid from Bulgaria, the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Mechanization of the *safra* (sugarcane harvesting) is of very special importance. Again, we have received invaluable assistance from the USSR. Soviet specialists working with Cuban personnel designed and built harvesting combines and loaders, and by 1970 cane-loading operations were 89 per cent mechanized. More fertilizer, herbicides and improved seeds are used; cattle breeds have been improved.

Sugar refining remains our main industry and we are investing in expansion and machinery, much of which comes from the socialist countries. For instance, Poland has a permanent working group in

Cuba to train personnel in the use of the new technology. The USSR cooperated in modernizing 114 sugar refineries by supplying equipment, long-term credits and specialized personnel.

Cuba's pre-revolution power system was inadequate and inefficient. We began by improving existing generating capacity, but soon we had to build new power plants to meet the greater demand. Czechoslovakia has built one power plant and is completing another. The USSR helped build two plants and, under new agreements, is building another and expanding a third, besides supplying equipment. The USSR also cooperated in new high-voltage transmission lines to give the country an integrated power grid. In 1972 power production was three times the pre-revolutionary figure.

With Soviet assistance, Cuba is now producing steel. The socialist community has rendered valuable assistance in developing metal-working, chemicals, oil refining, food processing, fishing, textiles, leather goods, building materials, beverages, tobacco and a number of other industries. The USSR played a big part in oil refining, supplying crude oil and equipment to extend refining operations.

Despite all the difficulties and lack of experience, we have made significant headway, though shortage of raw materials and skilled labor are still keeping some of our industries operating below capacity. But the figures are impressive: average industrial output growth rose from 3 per cent in 1962-68 to more than 5 per cent in 1968-71 and to 14 per cent in 1972.

Construction, which has important strategic aspects, has likewise benefited from cooperation with members of the socialist community. The volume of building in 1971 was up 326 per cent on 1958 and we anticipate a 30 per cent annual growth for the 1971-75 period.

The maintenance and expansion of the transport system is a priority aim of the revolutionary government. Besides road transport, necessary to assure development in every part of the country, we are especially interested in an effective merchant marine to supply our distant markets. The USSR and Cuba are working on plans for an integrated transport system, reconstruction of our sea ports, construction of a container depot and oil port, equipment for existing ports, reconstruction and modernization of the Havana and Camaguey airports, development of technical facilities for Cuba's civil air service, etc.

As for the merchant marine, it has developed from a motley collection of 14 old ships totalling 45,000 tons to a modern fleet of 580,000 tons, including a number of vessels of more than 10,000 tons.

The socialist countries have facilitated progress in every field of education and research, including computer techniques, in which very valuable contributions have been made by the USSR and Bulgaria.

Cuba's foreign trade has been transformed. Before, trade with the U.S. was based on exploitation and hindered economic development; now mutual advantage, equality and disinterested assistance are the underlying principles of our trade with the socialist countries, which has grown immensely since 1958. True, we are still largely dependent on the capitalist countries for some basic supplies, with the result that our economy is affected by their cyclical fluctuations and uneven development.

Trade with CMEA members is based on long-term planning, which guarantees Cuba a stable supply of the raw materials and machinery needed to assure uninterrupted growth and stable markets for its traditional exports and new products.

We benefit both from current credits to cover purchases of machinery and transport equipment, and long-term and low-interest credits, repayable in most cases by exports and services.

What international socialist cooperation means for Cuba was spelled out by Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, at the 26th CMEA session in 1972, in connection with Cuba's admission to CMEA. After a difficult period in which the foundations were laid for progress, Dr. Rodriguez said, 'the possibility and responsibility of sharing in the socialist international division of labor is of very special importance for Cuba.' And CMEA membership has given us a bigger part in the socialist division of labor.

We have suggested to CMEA a joint program based on utilization of Cuba's easily accessible nickel deposits. This would guarantee the requirements of all the integrated socialist states and enable them to compete with the big capitalist nickel monopolies. For Cuba it would mean using its nickel and chromite to produce special steels. CMEA agencies are now studying the possibility of expanding nickel-producing capacity. With the existing installations at Nicaro and Moa, output could be brought up to more than 130,000 tons a year, or to one quarter of the present world trade in nickel. There is another project too: recycling sugarcane waste to produce paper and building materials.

At the 26th CMEA session Cuba thus indicated its readiness to undertake obligations in every field in which its contribution accords with the requirements of the socialist community. Cuba also suggested coordinating its national economic plans with those of other CMEA members in all fields where such cooperation is to the advantage of the parties concerned. This, however, will require serious study by our planning agencies.

Cuba's affiliation to CMEA coincided with important changes in our economic life. Toward the close of 1972 we began reorganizing the Party and state economic management system. The Party Central

Committee now has an economic department and industry groups. Annual development plans have now been complemented by a three-year plan, and a five-year plan for 1976-80 is being drafted. The Central Planning Council is being streamlined and a new planning procedure was introduced early last year: production plans are drawn up not only in volume, but also in cost.

The 13th Trade Union Congress (November 1973), which was addressed by Fidel Castro, was a landmark in our economic development. The Congress emphasized that wages must correspond to quality and quantity of work done.

Much is being done to bring latent reserves to bear. There is more stringent economy of raw material, fuel and power, a more resolute campaign for tighter labor discipline and against absenteeism. The 1971 law on idlers has helped to improve discipline.

Money circulation has been regulated. We have introduced above-ration sales, at higher prices, of such goods as tobacco, spirits, petrol and cosmetics which, together with the generally improved supply of goods and services, has narrowed the gap between supply and effective demand.

The trade unions have broader functions and play a bigger part in industry and management. The 13th Trade Union Congress authorized factory union meetings to issue recommendations on questions of management, personnel, rationalization proposals, etc. The introduction and improvement of work quotas has become a central function of the trade unions.

Cuba's socialist economic development began in extremely difficult conditions. But all the obstacles notwithstanding, revolutionary Cuba is following the path tried and tested by the fraternal countries of the socialist community. And it is especially gratifying to know that, having joined CMEA, Cuba is playing its part in promoting integration as a means of solving cardinal social and economic problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Social aspects of Party policy

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The point and purpose of socialism is to raise the people's material and cultural standards and give free scope to the creative abilities of every man and woman. Lenin once defined socialism as planned organization of social production based on public ownership and designed to ensure the well-being and all-round development of all members of society (*Coll. Works*, Vol, 24, p. 468).

This general aim is achieved differently at different stages of socialist construction. The division of national income between accumulation and consumption changes depending on objective conditions. Furthermore, the consumption share is differently divided between wages and social-service benefits. The building of developed socialism in Czechoslovakia and other fraternal countries is a process of rapid growth of production with simultaneous steady improvement of living standards. Real incomes increase as a result of higher wages, with practically stable prices. But there has also been a very substantial rise in public consumption funds, and one result has been improved social welfare arrangements under the present five-year plan (1971-75).

The objective need for state social insurance and the important role it plays in the life of the working class was emphasized by Lenin in 1912 in formulating the party's policy on social insurance. He outlined the fundamental principles of a social insurance system expressly designed to serve the interests of the proletariat: it must include all wage-earnings in all cases of incapacity; all forms of social insurance to be managed by uniform agencies (Vol. 17, p. 476).

It is only natural that, with the coming of popular government, social policy should become a major concern of the Communist Party. Under socialism, social welfare gives the people confidence in their future, increases their incomes, extends their consumption by increasing welfare benefits. One of the first steps of the popular government formed after the working class took power in February 1948 was the

promulgation of a law on national insurance which came into force in October 1948 and has been the basis for subsequent extension of all our social welfare facilities.

In 1957, the steep rise in industrial output and higher wages enabled us to overhaul the pension system. Pensions were considerably increased and made largely dependent on work records. The same principle was applied in the pension scheme introduced somewhat later for farmers.

Medical service is free for all citizens, and it includes every type of medicine and every type of treatment, out-patient and hospital, and health resort where necessary. Unlike some capitalist countries, there is no shortage of doctors and other medical personnel: at the close of 1973 we had one doctor for 397 inhabitants, well above the world average.

A comprehensive system of family grants and benefits started in the early postwar years has been consistently and substantially expanded. Our social welfare service includes also special facilities for the aged, invalids and certain other groups.

In common with some other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia is building a mature socialist society. The corresponding socio-economic policy was worked out by the 24th CPSU Congress and, in adaptation to Czechoslovakia, by the 14th Congress of our Communist Party in 1971. We can now allocate much more money to raising living standards, that is the Party's long-term aim: the 14th Congress defined the main target of the fifth five-year plan as fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the population through expansion and higher effectiveness of social production to accord with the needs of the socialist way of life. The accent is on material stimuli and other factors characteristic of socialist society.

The Congress directives provide for a wide range of measures to give the people a secure feeling of confidence in the future – guaranteed employment, equal education opportunities, higher cultural standards, etc., and it is on these that our social welfare policy now largely centers. I propose to deal in some detail with two of its aspects to which the Party attaches special importance at this stage: family grants and benefits, and better pension arrangements.

The problem of large families faces all economically developed countries. These families, especially where both parents work, need social assistance, and socialist society considers it a matter of justice to accord such assistance. This involves raising income levels, special rights and facilities for working mothers, child-care institutions, and so on.

It stands to reason that assistance to families is not only a matter of social justice. It also has serious economic implications. For improv-

ing the position of the family is a major factor in raising the birth rate. And a higher birth rate will have its impact on the economy in the years to come, for it determines the country's labor resources and exerts a powerful influence on the life of society, its dynamism, assuring a proper proportion of young-age groups.

But, of course, along with obvious economic advantages, a higher birth rate presents definite difficulties. A declining birth rate means a larger proportion of non-employable old-age population in the years and decades ahead. Conversely, a high birth rate means a bigger proportion of non-employable low-age population in the short term. The birth rate defines the general population pattern and the demands made on the economy and environment. All this has in recent years led to a declining birth rate in developed capitalist countries, notably the United States, and has produced theories to justify 'zero growth.' Czechoslovakia is an industrial country, but a socialist , not capitalist one. And our path is consistent and planned solution of the complex problems of the future in the interests of the people. That underlies our economic and social policy.

After the war, population growth in the economically developed countries, including Czechoslovakia, was very uneven. The 'baby boom' of the early postwar years was followed by a sharp decline, which reached its lowest point in the late 60s: in 1968 the birth rate was down at 14.9 per thousand. Families with one, or at best two, children became the rule rather than the exception. The share of the older generation increased.

An analysis made before the 14th Party Congress showed that the decline was due partly to objective factors. Among these were the change of life-way for a considerable portion of the population resulting from the sharp curtailment of individual peasant farming, higher productivity, with its resultant drop in agricultural employment, socialist industrialization, which meant more employment in the towns and urbanization, equality of men and women in the production process, etc.

Society, however, can stimulate factors that make for population growth. And these include; first, improving the social and economic position of the family, better working conditions and more benefits for working women and more ethical, I might even say emotional, attitude toward children and their upbringing, especially on the part of the younger generation.

All this was taken into account by the Party and government in formulating a comprehensive demographic policy based on carefully thought-out and consistently implemented measures. The policy is spelled out in the 14th Congress directives: 'Family grants shall be so issued as to give more assistance to large families, but shall be

commensurate with the general growth of family income. Social and economic conditions shall be improved for the period immediately following birth. Society's concern for the growing generation shall be complemented by educational and organizational measures, primarily through constant all-round concern by National Committees, factories, and public organizations for mothers of large families and working mothers. Facilities to ease the lot of the housewife shall be extended and improved.'

Work on all measures was started immediately after the Congress. We began with a number of social benefits to help the family in the early years of child-care. Experience and public opinion polls have shown that this is the most difficult period, adding to the family's concerns and expenses.

Accordingly, maternity benefits were increased on October 1, 1971: a working woman is entitled to 26 weeks of maternity leave with 90 per cent of her regular wage or salary. Single mothers and mothers of crippled children are entitled to 35 weeks. In addition, mothers can receive 500 crowns a month (roughly one-third of average women's earnings) on the birth of their second and subsequent children, over a two-year period. The mother has the option of staying at home for two years or returning to work. In either case she retains her seniority and must be given her previous job upon resuming work. There are more day nurseries, so that women can return to work after their maternity leave if they so desire. At present, 90 per cent of the roughly 200,000 mothers entitled to the long-term grant receive it.

Of course, there is no intention to depart from the socialist principle of equality for women and encourage them to devote themselves entirely to the home. We assume that mothers will resume work after two years. The child-care grant is meant to help them in the difficult early years when it is hard to combine looking after the child with work in the factory of office.

On October 1, 1971, the grant paid on the birth of a child was increased from 1,000 to 2,000 crowns, enough to meet all the relevant family expenses.

On January 1, 1973 the family bonus was increased and now amounts to 340 crowns a month on the birth of the second child, 450 crowns for the third and 400 crowns for the fourth. It is estimated that it costs between 370 and 380 crowns a month to raise a child up to the age of five. Consequently, these monthly bonuses practically cover all the expenses incurred by the family until the child is five. The bonuses paid for the first child (90 crowns) and for the fifth and subsequent children (240 crowns) remain unchanged. That is so because the typical family is one with two to four children, and we have concentrated on this group. The extra bonus for mothers of crippled

children was raised from 150 to 300 crowns a month.

The family assistance plan introduced in 1973 has important social and economic implications. At present, about 1,300,000 families, accounting for three-quarters of our child population, are in receipt of grants. This has meant bigger incomes for a quarter of the adult population and, for the government an annual expenditure of more than 2 billion crowns.

The system has produced better conditions for young families. It has also tended to reduce the average marriage age to 20 years for women and 23 for men. At this age young people already earn a good wage but have no appreciable savings. To help them we introduced, on April 1, 1973, easy credits for couples under the age of 30.

In most cases they use the loan to join a building cooperative, build a cottage of their own, or furnish their flat. The loan is 30,000 crowns repayable in 10 years. Loans to buy flats are issued at an interest of 1 per cent and loans to furnish flats at 2.5 per cent. Repayment is deferred one year at the birth of the first child, and the loan itself is reduced by 2,000 crowns on the birth of the first child and by 4,000 on the birth of all subsequent children. No less than 200,000 couples availed themselves of these loans in the first year, and now nearly all newlyweds apply for them.

Last year cash family grants totalled nearly 15 billion crowns, or about 4.5 per cent of national income, with a quarter of the money going to finance the new measures adopted in 1973 and 1974.

There are many other family benefits, notably low-cost or free services such as nursery and kindergarten accommodation. In 1974, there were 414,000 children in kindergartens, or approximately 57 per cent of all children between the ages of three and five. Families with children also pay an average of 120 crowns less income tax, lower rents, lower transport charges, etc. In 1973, total expenditure on all family grants and benefits amounted to about 25 billion crowns, or roughly 7.5 per cent of national income. This works out at about 520 crowns per month per child, or the equivalent of a quarter of the national average wage.

These measures have advanced Czechoslovakia to a top place in the world in family welfare. A study by the International Social Security Association revealed that in 1973 we held second place in the world in grants to families with three children, measured against average earnings of unskilled workers.

Better housing is still another component of family welfare. More housing is being built, with most of the flats going to families with children and to young couples. By 1970, from 85 to 90 per cent of such families had two-room or bigger flats, and since then the situation has steadily improved.

In Czechoslovakia, with its high degree of female employment, better conditions for women workers is a cardinal problem. Our labor and civil codes provide for a wide range of facilities and privileges for women. In recent years these have been supplemented by better safety arrangements and extension of the factory canteen network. Working conditions for women were discussed at the Eighth Trade Union Congress. It instructed all factories and offices to work out comprehensive measures to provide optimal conditions for women and young people.

The measures enumerated above have resulted in a higher birth rate, notably since 1972 when implementation of the 14th Party Congress policy was begun. There have also been other positive results, for instance, more marriages and an absolute and relative decline in abortions.

Czechoslovakia's higher birth rate is a rare development in present-day Europe, and proof that socialism provides solutions to social welfare problems. In 1968 we had one of the lowest birth rates in Europe; in 1973 we were near to the top of the list, with an increase of 18.8 per 1,000 of the population, the highest figure for the past 20 years, and the trend continued through 1974. Though we have done much to improve conditions for the family and children, we intend to continue purposeful efforts and meet all the new needs as they arise.

And one of these new needs is more free time to devote to bringing up children. This is especially apparent now that living standards have risen and the social measures outlined above are yielding results. We have launched a number of new measures, among them extension of nursery and kindergarten accommodation, expansion of the retail-trade and service network, production of more ready-to-cook foods and household appliances.

Another important aspect of our social policy is improvement of the pension system. Fashioned and developed in the process of building a developed socialist society, it caters to practically the entire working population and makes provision for every kind of incapacity and lack of means of subsistence. Our achievements in this respect can be gauged from the following figures: in 1948, we had 1,300,000 pensioners, and in 1973 the figure was 3,200,000, or 22 per cent of the population. Expenditure on pensions increased over the same period from 3,600 million crowns to 29,500 million. The average old-age pension is now 1,110 crowns for workers, 1,800 crowns for miners, and 1,500 crowns for persons engaged in health-hazard work.

In line with the general rise of living standards, the 14th Party Congress decided to improve living standards for those no longer able to work. The pension scheme went through readjustments in 1957 and 1964, but pensions were not increased. In subsequent years low

pensions were raised but not to the level envisaged by the new laws. The increase came only after the 14th Congress. On October 1, 1971, all pensions were raised to accord with the levels prescribed by the new laws. This appreciably improved the position of 590,000 pensioners and of 350,000 others for whom the pension was their sole means of livelihood. This meant, for instance, that persons whose length of employment had not entitled them to a full pension could now meet all their essential needs. It also meant a higher living standard for the very old pensioners. All these measures, decided upon by the 14th Congress, were warmly welcomed by our people.

Our social policy naturally includes other facilities for groups requiring assistance from the state. And such assistance is rendered through our network of aid and services to senior citizens. The purpose is to keep them in good health and enable them to remain active members of the community. Higher living standards, achieved in the building of developed socialist society, dictate an entirely new approach toward the aged. In the past our senior citizens with low incomes spent their last years in old-age homes, living in large dormitories. Now, with higher pensions most of them can afford to live at home and even put away some savings. Accordingly, we have designed a more differentiated system of welfare aid.

The biggest group of old-age pensioners are physically able to look after themselves; some live with their children. Those living in old houses are moved into better accommodation. All enterprises are under obligation to keep in touch with their pensioners. Besides, in 1973 we had 542 clubs catering to the pensioners' cultural requirements.

More people are being employed to help old-age pensioners through our expanding network of service centers and boarding houses, both of which provide medical assistance and all the necessary facilities.

Still another aspect of our social policy is care for the invalids and the sick. And here the aim is to provide some form of suitable employment. This is done by the National Committees and other local government bodies. Special jobs are reserved for invalids in industry, cooperative enterprises and in the new type of social institutions where they can live and work under medical supervision.

Social policy involves solution of a host of problems and all its aspects cannot be discussed in a single article. The important thing is that the developed socialist society we are now building is aimed at improving the material and cultural standards of all our people, and not only of those at work, those who produce our material and other values. A major aspect of socialist society – and convincing proof of its humanism – is solicitude for those who can no longer share in the labor effort and require assistance by the community. When we say

that higher living standards are the basic, strategic aim of developed socialist society, we always include the social aspects of our policy. They are bound to hold a prominent place in all our work. They are an important factor in giving our citizens confidence in the future, in creating an atmosphere of constructive labor, an active and fruitful life for the builders of socialism.

From dictatorship to provisional government

Jaime Perez
Central Committee Secretary,
CP of Uruguay[1]

In recent months the military dictatorship that has ruled Uruguay since June 1973 in the interests of the financial oligarchy and foreign capital, has stepped up repressive measures. Hundreds of workers and students have been imprisoned and brutally tortured. Despite the military tribunal's decision to transfer the 'case' of Rodney Arismendi, our First Secretary, to a civilian court, he is still held in a military prison. General Liber Seregni, president of the Broad Front, has been in jail for nearly 18 months.[2]

The working class and its unions are fighting on. Workers are holding protest strikes and the National Labor Convent (NLC) and the students are demonstrating against the reign of terror. The left forces are waking up to the necessity of united action. Democratic political and public leaders, including representatives of the National Party, which is firmly opposed to the present regime, and even elements of the oligarchic Colorado Party (which had put Bordaberry in power), are seeking contacts with the NLC leadership. There is every evidence that the nation is gathering forces to overthrow the dictatorship. This is the chief objective, and it meets the interests of the entire nation. The Bordaberry dictatorship is a colossus on clay feet. That is a very precise description, though not all may agree with it. Many think that the present situation will drag on, that the dictatorship has a firm grip.

Has the dictatorship taken hold?

There is not much point in trying to guess how long Bordaberry will stay in the saddle. It is much more important to see whether the dictatorship has really taken hold.

A regime is stable only if, apart from bayonets (not a very comfortable perch), it can rely on the support of a sufficiently large section of the people, that is, if it has a sufficiently broad social base. This base can be built by demagogy that capitalizes on the backwardness of the masses, and by winning over definite political forces. Also, there may be outside support.

In Uruguay, however, the organizers of the coup have never had popular support. The putsch was performed from 'above,' by the executive apparatus,[3] and was inspired by the oligarchy and imperialism, which dreaded the working-class and popular movement and the prospect of its alliance with other sound political forces in the country. When still priming for the coup, reaction cultivated indifference to politics in the armed forces, incited anti-communist hysteria, and played on the army's dissatisfaction with the parliament. That is how the ground was laid for using the armed forces as the 'mailed fist of the economic interests of the oligarchy.'[4]

The coup was supported by a section of the Colorado Party, Mr. Echegoyen,[5] and an insignificant group from the National Party. The major political forces, and the vast majority of the people, were against the dictatorship from the outset. Bordaberry could not have stayed in power for more than a few days if the 15-day workers' general strike had been joined by the large sections of the public opposed to the dictatorship. This did not happen. As soon as the strike ended, the authorities got down to 'business.' It was as though an army of mercenaries had overrun Uruguay. By the July 4 decree, 2,000 trade union leaders and activists were sacked. Repressions were unleashed against the popular forces. Prisoners were brutally tortured. Cilindro, the indoor sports palace, was turned into a prison. Defeated in the university elections (on September 12, 1973), the reactionaries took revenge. They pillaged the engineering faculty. Incompetent and corrupt people were put into the National Education Council. Professors and students were persecuted. The Communist and Socialist parties, other left organizations, and the Students' Federation were outlawed (a decree dissolving the NLC had been issued earlier).

The military oligarchic regime flung open the doors to foreign capital. Though in August-October 1973 some people still hoped the situation would improve due to the high world prices of wool and beef, it was clear by the end of the year that the dictatorship's

economic policy had failed. The standard of living is going down. The oligarchy is getting richer.

A new political and military crisis, clear evidence of the regime's instability, broke out in May 1974. A group of high-ranking army officers were retired. The dictatorship lost the support of all political forces and is no longer able to conceal its isolation. Echegoyen died, and those few men who had followed him rejoined the majority of the National Party, which had, as we have already mentioned, taken a patriotic stand from the beginning. The working class has expelled from its midst all those who gravitate toward conciliation. It was not cowed by the repressions, and continues to stand in the vanguard of the struggle. Discontent is rife among the urban middle strata, the teachers, intelligentsia, merchants, artisans, employers, and pensioners. Save for the latifundists, owning tens and hundreds of thousands of hectares of land, the rural population – peasants, farm laborers, small producers – make no secret of their hostility to the regime. The church, too, though cautious, tends to express its dissatisfaction. Public opinion polls published abroad (for it is impossible to publish them in Uruguay) testify to the general discontent in the country. Only some six per cent of the population has a kind word for the present regime.

The Interior Ministry of Argentina announced that 200,000 Uruguayans had immigrated to that country in the first six months of this year. But many more had left Uruguay in the latter half of 1973. Is this not evidence enough of the people's attitude to the present regime?

On whom does Bordaberry rely for support?

On the oligarchy, the U.S. Embassy, and the armed forces; i.e., the organizers of the coup d'état. It follows that the dictatorship has won none of the political or popular forces since coming to power, and has lost the few allies it had.

The army at the crossroads

In recent years Uruguay's armed forces played different roles. During the presidency of Pacheco Areco (1967-1972) they served the government of the oligarchy, and were prepared to assault the working people at any moment. Later, Bordaberry used them to suppress the guerrilla movement – a time of terror, torture, and carnage. By the end of 1972 some of the more enlightened army people were thoroughly disgusted with violence and corruption. This culminated in the army's actions of February 9, 1973.[6] It was as though the army had said: 'We no longer wish to serve the oligarchy.' But this period did not last very long.

Now the army is at the crossroads. Servicemen feel ashamed, they

have stained the army's honor, and many turn their thoughts to the future, to how the army will be judged. They are not indifferent to what future generations will say of the army – whether it will be described as a blind tool of the oligarchy, or whether it will go down in history as a patriotic force that joined the people to overthrow a hated dictatorship and open the way to economic and social changes, freedom, democracy and national sovereignty. The nation's future is discussed in every army unit. There is confusion in the police. None but outright fascists and political simpletons fail to see the rising popular protest against the army's behavior. In Portugal, the army turned from oppressor of colonial peoples into a fighter for democracy. Ranging itself with the people, acting jointly with the Communist and Socialist parties and other democratic forces, it crushed the fascist tyranny that had reigned for nearly 50 years, and ended centuries of colonialism. Something similar may happen with the army in Uruguay.[7]

The people's unity against the dictatorship

Clearly, the Bordaberry dictatorship is weak and unstable, and can be overthrown. In Portugal's case it had been the futility of the colonial war that was the spur for the armed forces. In the case of Greece it was the fascist adventure in Cyprus. Uruguay has neither colonies, nor a Cyprus. There are no external factors to set off an explosion. The country's future depends entirely on its people, their unity, their readiness to fight.

In a message to the Party branches this July 24, the CPU leadership stressed: 'So long as Bordaberry, the oligarchy and their henchmen are not removed from power, there is no hope of improving the situation in the country, changing economic and social policy, restoring freedom and democracy, and ending repression and torture. The truly patriotic mission of overthrowing this dictatorship (the way to save the country from disaster) *can be performed only by the people, and for this it must be united and firmly prepared to fight against tyranny, for bread and freedom.*'

The suffering of the vast majority and the lack of liberty militate for the unity of the people, spurring them to action. Recent manifestations by packing-house workers, textile workers, bank and municipal employees, building workers, steelworkers, and government employees are evidence of the people's fighting spirit.[8] Despite stepped-up repressions and growing unemployment, they are fighting courageously for higher wages, democratic rights and freedoms. The big demonstration on July 18 Street, Montevideo's main avenue, leaflets and wall inscriptions demanding the release of Rodney Arismendi and Liber Seregni, are clear signs of the people's determina-

tion. Political forces opposing the dictatorship are holding conferences and contacting the NLC, which has lost none of its combat capacity and whose prestige is as high as ever among the masses.

'Favorable conditions are shaping for a movement of national salvation,' the CPU leadership said in its message, 'a movement that will become the supreme expression of the unity of the people fighting for a provisional patriotic and democratic military-civilian government. Supported by the working people and political forces independent of the oligarchy, it will lead the republic toward economic and social development.'

Why a provisional government?

We are advocating a provisional government. And here is why. The vast majority of the nation is against the dictatorship. It wants positive changes. Public and political forces, and a large section of the army, are aware of the public outcry. An alliance of civilians and army officers could depose the dictatorship without bloodshed. The obstacle is mutual distrust and suspicion. Some political leaders fear they will be dominated by the army and thereby willy-nilly facilitate militarization. As a result, they fear, democratic freedoms will not be restored. The army officers, on the other hand, mistrust the politicians. They fear that joint action may create a situation similar to the situation before June 27, 1973.[9] They want a purely military government.

Both are oblivious to their common aims. There are no obstacles to an agreement between them, provided they really want to prevent a return to the past and change the situation; provided their aim is a better future, i.e., no unemployment, higher living standards, development of industry, agriculture, science, technology and trade, better education facilities, the return of the emigrés to their families, the re-establishment of political rights and freedoms. Attainment of these goals is inseparable from far-reaching economic changes and an independent patriotic foreign policy. On this score, too, there are no serious differences between civilians and the military.

What is to replace the dictatorship, and how? Can there be a government without the military? Not with the present alignment of forces. And a military government? The majority of our people are hostile to the army and if the military – even with the best of intentions – were to take power in an armed coup, they would not have the support of public opinion. And without that no government, civilian or military, can function effectively. In fact, the military know that they cannot run the country without the political forces.

Why then, the Communists say, concentrate on differences rather than on unity? Coordinated action requires good will on both sides,

plus readiness to make concessions on minor issues, for the main goal is to forge unity of the people, instill in it faith in the possibility of changing the situation. As things stand today, we believe that only a provisional, democratic and patriotic military-cum-civilian government can resolve the country's pressing problems. With mass support, it would undertake the necessary reforms and set the country on the road of progress and freedom. In this transition period it would prepare the conditions for elections to a constituent assembly that would give the country a set of institutional norms.

Though by no means easy, that can be achieved, for the masses are against the dictatorship. To put Uruguay on the road of social progress within the near future there must be unity of the people, the unity of civilians and the military. That is what we should be fighting for.

All-out unity effort.

Does the Communist proposal for a provisional government imply rejection of other solutions? Certainly not. We are prepared to support all steps directed at uniting the people. Nor do we preclude the possibility that the dictatorship will collapse as a result of a crisis at the top. This will not take us unawares. We will assess every political change from the standpoint of the working class and the people. And we are confident that united action of the working people and the political forces can give any change a positive character.

In saying this we anticipate accusations of having gone back on our principles. The loud-mouths accused the NLC: the general strike failed because the workers had not been set concrete aims; because the fight against the dictatorship and the agreement between the National Party and the Broad Front 'had not been clearly presented.' In those dramatic hours for our country the left appealed to patriotic-minded servicemen to side with the people. The loud-mouths denounced this as a 'meaningless reformist illusion.' To believe them, *only* the workers can overthrow the dictatorship. So much for their brand of 'realism.'

When the crisis in the ruling faction broke in May, the NLC called for mass demonstrations if Bordaberry were deposed. The loud-mouths interpreted this as a 'move to force the proletariat to limp in the wake of the military.' Themselves, they preferred to stay at home (or take refuge abroad) and wait for the funeral of the dictatorship. So much for their 'vigorous militant action.' Their weapon is left radical verbiage, in which they cloak their endless and boring theorizing about the harm of passivity and their disquisitions about revolutionaries 'not being afraid of hot water.' All this coagulates into petty-bourgeois lack of faith in the strength and political maturity of the working people.

'The situation is becoming ever more critical,' the Communist Party declared in its appeal of July 24; 'the conditions of the people are steadily deteriorating . . . repression is taking a heavier toll. And though all these factors will, in the end, work against the dictatorship, the patriotic and democratic forces must unite to expedite its fall. That is the only way to end the people's suffering and create the conditions for renewal and, *at the same time, prevent a return to the past.*'

We are not abandoning our class principles in favor of hollow illusions, nor do we advocate capitulation. We are keenly aware of our responsibility for the destiny of the working class and the country. We know that only unity of all the patriotic and democratic forces can put an end to the dictatorship and open the road to progress.

No political force, be it ever so sincere in its intentions, can hope for success by going it alone. To forge unity of the patriotic forces we have to resolve the differences between civilians and the military. For the sake of unity all organizations and parties must abandon calls for immediate achievement of their ultimate aims – otherwise there is bound to be a split. But that does not mean that they must abandon their principles (and lose their *raison d'être*) or, with Machiavellian perfidy, say one thing and do the opposite. Everything suggests that the patriotic forces will continue to work together for a long time to come, for their unity rests on the attainment of crucial aims.

We Communists stand for the widest possible unity against the dictatorship of Bordaberry and the oligarchy. This does not clash with our fidelity to the working-class ideology. On the contrary, it is precisely because of this fidelity that we are strong in the factories, that we represent an organized political force influencing national life. That is why we can pursue a policy of broad unity.

The source of Communist strength

Why are the Communists strong? The country is being swept by rabid anti-communist propaganda and merciless repression. Our comrades are arrested and tortured, our publications banned, our offices raided, and yet Communist influence among the workers and the people generally continues to grow. Driven into clandestinity, our Party branches continue to function, hold meetings, take decisions; we publish a newspaper and leaflets; our appeal to the masses always meets with a warm response.

We have sustained heavy blows. Thousands of Party members have been victimized, arrested, tortured, killed. The repression is directed against both Party veterans and our splendid Young Communists. The dictatorship spares no one, men, women, even children. Though in jail, Comrade Arismendi is always with us, among the

working people, for he has become the symbol of their fight for freedom. The worldwide protest against his imprisonment has accentuated the dictatorship's international isolation, and we feel sure that the struggle of the Uruguayan people and international solidarity will bring his freedom.

Despite everything, the Party's prestige is growing, as is also its influence in the factories and among the people. Were we merely an elite sect, a group of conspirators divorced from reality and with no links with the people, we would have been wiped out by the dictatorship in a matter of months.

The reasons for the Party's vitality are clear and simple. First, we are guided in all our activities by a scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism. We have applied it in Uruguayan conditions to work out the strategy and tactics of the fight for the people's interests. Communists are true patriots and internationalists. There is no contradiction here, for as Jean Jaures once remarked, an excess of internationalist feeling brings us closer to our country, lack of that feeling separates us from it.

Second, ours is a workers' Party both in ideology and social composition. For 54 years now we have been working perseveringly, patiently and with the utmost dedication in the factories and the trade unions, championing the workers' vital demands, striving to heighten their political understanding.

Third, we have consistently worked for unity. And if, as General Seregni has said, the political watershed is between the oligarchy and the people, it is our patriotic duty to unite the people. We were fulfilling that duty when we built up the unity of the NLC, when we worked for united action with students, teachers and other members of the intelligentsia. We were fulfilling that duty when our comrades Luis Pedro Bonavita, Edmundo Soares Netto, Francisco (Paco) Espinola and other sterling Party leaders gave their lives to form the Left Liberation Front in 1962. We were fulfilling our duty when, in 1971, together with other forces, we united around General Seregni and founded the Broad Front. We welcomed the General's appeal, in November 1972, for unity of all honest Uruguayans and his speech of February 9, 1973, calling for Bordaberry's resignation.

We are fulfilling our duty today, too, in urging a provisional government to replace the dictatorship and rally the people around the banner of progress and freedom. We are consistent in all our activities and in our fidelity to our political principles. And a principled policy always enjoys sympathy and respect. Though the Communist Party is forced to work underground, its relations with other political forces are firmer than ever.

Marxism-Leninism illumines our path. There is no place for frustra-

tion or despondency in the Communist ranks. The working class listens to our Party and defends it. Time and again the masses have demonstrated their support for it. Were it not so, we would never have been able to collect 600 million pesos for the Party.

Our cadres have been steeled in battle. They are firm, resolute, dedicated fighters, feel and react to the people's suffering. They cannot be broken – only death can tear them from the ranks of the fighters for the people's cause. As Comrade Arismendi has said, 'they can't kill all Communists, there are too many of us.'

And so, despite all the repression, we will continue the fight until victory, and the Party leadership is confident of victory. That confidence has been built up over long years of struggle by the splendid organizational talent and principled leadership of Rodney Arismendi. We know that the people will emerge victorious, that the hated oligarchic dictatorship will be swept away by the united action of all patriots. Uruguayans will smile again.

1. Since the arrest of Rodney Arismendi on May 8, 1974, Jaime Perez has been Acting First Secretary of the CC CPU. – *Ed.*

2. General Seregni and other leaders of the Broad Front, General Victor Licandro and Colonel Carlos Zufriategui, were arrested on July 9, 1973.

3. Though democratic freedoms have been suppressed, the regime now tries to prevail on the public that constitutional government has not been violated.

4. This is precisely how the armed forces described the part they had been assigned by reaction in a statement a few months before the coup (February 1973).

5. Martin R. Echegoyen – prominent conservative, leader of the National Party, who had lost practically all influence on the political scene. He tried to prove the 'legality' of the dictatorship.

6. For an account of the army's February actions see E. Rodriguez, 'Uruguay After the Coup,' *WMR* May 1974. – *Ed.*

7. To be sure, we must remember that the oligarchy is more than generous to the army. At least 40 per cent of the national budget goes to the army and police. In 1975 salaries of civil servants will be increased 11.9 per cent, and army pay 70 per cent. This juggling with national funds is a brake on the country's economic progress.

8. We might add that an impressive demonstration was held by the NLC on August 15.

9. See E. Rodriguez. 'Uruguay After the Coup,' *WMR*, May 1974.

**Together
we shall win!**

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS

Dear Comrades:

Starting from April, the Israeli authorities undertook a new fierce campaign of terror and repression against the population of the occupied Arab territories. It can be seen from the Israeli press that this campaign is 'politically motivated:' it is directed against the patriotic and democratic forces of the Palestine people, against all opponents of imperialism and Israeli occupation. Thousands of honest patriots have been languishing in the invaders' jails since 1967, hundreds of Palestinian Arabs have become victims of the present wave of violence. Their only crime is in being against the Israeli occupation and in championing the people's right to self-determination.

In their efforts to crush our people's will to fight and ability to resist, the Israeli aggressors have created in the occupied territories an atmosphere of terror reminiscent of the evil days of German fascism.

Under special laws hundreds of Palestinians have been jailed without any charges being presented. Even official figures place their numbers at nearly one thousand. Among those in jail are prominent political and trade union leaders, intellectuals, students and active workers: the occupying forces want to deprive the people of leaders capable of heading the struggle.

The invaders directed their main blow against our Party and the Palestine National Front in the occupied territories, the first major resistance organization to be formed in the West Bank territory since it was occupied by Israel in the June 1967 war. Communists and their comrades in the National Front are accorded the 'special attention' of the murderers from Shin Beth (Israel's security service). What is the fate of a man behind bars in an Israeli prison? I shal write of only one example out of many, Suleiman Rashid El-Najjab, member of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party. The occupation authorities hunted for him for four years, considering him the first in command in the Jordanian CP in the West Bank, the second in command in the National Front, and the third in command in a military organization. Arrested in Jerusalem on April 30, 1974, he

remains in jail to this day where he is subjected to torture and suffering. Blows on the face are not regarded as part of the torture in Israeli jails: prisoners are beaten on the heels and reproductive organs, they are hung from the ceiling and given electric shocks. Between one round of torture and another, to keep the prisoner from relaxing, his right foot is tied at the height of 30 cm to the iron cell door. Suleiman El-Najjab and his comrades passed through this conveyor of torture without flinching. Many of them died under torture but remained true to the cause of the people and freedom.

The great courage displayed by Communists and their comrades in the National Front arouses the respect of the people and strengthens the Party's influence among the masses. Here is a typical example. Hassan Abdul Majid Khdeir, an Arab student from Jerusalem, in reply to the torturers' demand, 'Admit you are a Communist and a member of the National Front,' declared, 'I am not a member of anything, I haven't had the honor yet.'

Despite the inhuman conditions imposed by the occupation, the morale of our masses remains high. Led by the Palestine National Front in the occupied territories, our masses confront the Israeli terrorist campaign courageously and stubbornly. We are confident that our people, the Communist Party and the National Front will hold out and win with the help and support of brother Arab peoples, the Arab national-liberation movement, the forces of peace, freedom and progress, in the vanguard of which is the world socialist community headed by the Soviet Union and its glorious Leninist party.

Dear comrades,

We look forward to your solidarity and support so as to overcome the difficult conditions that face our people, the Communist Party and the National Front because of the brutality of the Israeli aggressors. Your support and help strengthen our belief in the ultimate victory. In them we draw strength enabling us to step up the struggle agianst the common enemy – the imperialist-zionist-reactionary alliance.

We would be extremely grateful if you published this letter as one more act of protest by Communists of the world against the brutalities of the Israeli aggressors in the occupied Arab territories.

We believe that our joint struggle will help save our comrades from prison and drive out the invaders.

Long live freedom!

Long live solidarity!

With our fraternal Communist greetings
and regards,
Fuad Nassar,
First Secretary, Jordanian CP

Forcing the monarchy to retreat

ABDULLA MOUHAMMED, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SAUDI ARABIA[1]

Question: What is the Saudi Arabia regime like, what are the social forces on which it relies?

Answer: Saudi Arabia is an autocratic monarchy with strong survivals of tribal institutions. The ruling top is closely linked with American and British imperialism and acts as a vehicle for imperialist plans in the Middle East. In governing the country the anti-popular regime relies on a powerful police machine and denies the masses the most elementary democratic rights.

Currently we are going through an evolution of feudal and semi-feudal relations into capitalist. In the economy, various modes of production coexist, pre-capitalist as well as capitalist. However, the development of the productive forces, which gathered momentum after World War II, has produced considerable changes, and today Saudi Arabia's economy could be broadly defined as semi-feudal-capitalist.

Capitalist relations have come to dominate in industry and hired labor is exploited extensively. Some enterprises belong to the state, others to national private capital, and still others to mixed (foreign and national) private capital. American, Japanese, French and Italian oil monopolies occupy important positions.

Industrial development is still in its initial stages, involving mainly mineral resources, especially oil, in which American monopoly capital, represented by Aramco[2] dominates.

About three-quarters of the population is engaged in agriculture, where feudal and semi-feudal relations persist and the level of the productive forces is so low that only 30 or 35 per cent of the country's food requirements are met from home production.

The Saudi regime speaks for the interests of the feudals, tribal aristocracy, comprador bourgeoisie and sections of the national bourgeoisie closely linked with it. It is actively supported by the reactionary clergy, conservative intellectuals and the 'Moslem Brotherhood,'[3] which has earned the dubious fame of an opponent of progress in the Arab East. But, of course, the regime's most powerful

support comes from U.S. and British imperialism and the multinational monopolies. In short, all the enemies of our people, its progress and prosperity, are the best friends and supporters of the authoritarian Saudi monarchy.

Question: What are the Front's objectives?

Answer: Our organization fights against the authoritarian regime, for far-reaching change in all aspects of Saudi Arabian life. We are for a state system that would speak for the people's interests and pursue a policy against imperialism, zionism and reaction. We demand a democratic constitution ensuring basic rights, including the right to set up political parties, trade unions and other mass public organizations, the right to strike, hold demonstrations, meetings, etc.

The Front fights for the freedom of political prisoners and material and moral compensation for damage suffered by them. We demand strict punishment of jailers, of all those who maltreat prisoners and subject them to cruel, barbarous torture. We want a reform of the whole judicial system, including the establishment, alongside Shariat courts[4], of temporal courts operating according to legal norms.

We demand the dismantling of all foreign bases in our country and the abrogation of the shackling military agreements forced on it. The Front also wants a revision of existing concession contracts with foreign oil monopolies to provide for the principle of braod state participation in the entire process from prospecting to marketing; the abrogation of all concession contracts which foreign capital has not yet begun to fulfil, and the transfer of those concessions to national companies; finally, total rejection of any new concessions to foreigners. It is necessary to start now to prepare the conditions – objective and subjective – for finally wresting our oil wealth from the hands of foreign monopolies and for its subsequent nationalization.

The nation is in urgent need of a public sector of the economy independent of foreign capital and based on the extracting industries, oil in the first place. Realization of this task makes it essential to utilize the great experience of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and to invite experts from them.

Our organization realizes that serious changes are needed in agriculture: a radical reform centered on ending archaic, especially feudal, relations.

The Front stands for extensive political relations and close economic and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist community.

These are the main objectives for which our organization is fighting in the face of incredible difficulties. At present these demands constitute a minimum program in line with the interests of the broadest sections of the people; they are an expression of the people's will and aspirations.

Question: What forms and methods of struggle and of mobilizing the masses does the Front employ?

Answer: There are many, but at the present stage they are all subordinated to the main task of raising the political consciousness of the toiling masses and drawing them into active political and ideological struggle. One form, for instance, is petitions to the King with demands of reforms and democratic rights. The language of the petitions – whether request, demand, protest or denunciation – is understandable to the ordinary people and therefore actively supported by them. A frequent practice is meetings of workers in the vicinity of their place of work, where they jointly draw up lists of demands to the management. There are more and more mass strikes and demonstrations. Proclamations and leaflets on burning political, social and economic issues are widely distributed.

Question: What is the social base of your organization?

Answer: The National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia is a party of workers, peasants and working intellectuals, a party of the poor, oppressed and exploited. Its varied activities are oriented first of all on the workers, the most revolutionary social class responsive to the Marxist-Leninist ideas which constitute the Front's political and ideological platform. The Party also addresses itself to the peasants, nomads, democratic intellectuals and students, artisans and those sections of the national bourgeoisie whose interests clash with those of the feudal monarchistic state and foreign capital.

Our program expresses the interests not only of the working masses. It also offers answers to the questions and aspirations of some non-working social strata. That is why the Front's influence extends to the most diverse sections of society.

Question: What difficulties – political, ideological or organizational – face the Front?

Answer: Our difficulties are serious and numerous, and our bitter struggle, with all its deprivations, has taught, and is continuing to teach us to overcome them. They are both objective and subjective.

These objective and subjective difficulties make it harder for the Front to expand its struggle and seriously hamper the spread of its influence among the masses.

However, favorable changes in the international situation and in the Arab world and positive developments in the socio-economic structure of our society (even though they are mainly bourgeois in character) are opening up new opportunities for active political struggle and expanding mass organizational and ideological work.

Within the Front itself there is firm ideological, political and organizational unity and cohesion. Deep conviction in the correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the principles of proletarian inter-

nationalism, confidence in the triumph of the cause of the working class and the masses of the people in Saudi Arabia, firm belief in our people's ultimate victory –all this makes us strong and capable of overcoming all difficulties.

Question: What forces on the international scene and in Arab countries help or hinder you in your struggle?

Answer: Our allies on the international scene are the countries of the socialist community headed by the USSR, the communist and workers' movement in capitalist countries, international democratic organizations. In the Arab world they are, in the first place, the Communist and progressive parties and the national-liberation movement. All these forces are on the side of our people and support their struggle. Of very special help to us are the achievements and victories of the fraternal Arab peoples and their solidarity.

We consider Arab reaction, its parties and agents, and world, especially American, imperialism, as represented in our country by multinational oil corporations and military bases, as the enemies of our people.

Question: What are the Front's achievements and prospects of struggle?

Answer: Despite the fierce resistance of the Saudi authorities and Aramco, these are visible achievements. First, thanks to the working-class struggle working conditions have changed substantially. The working day has been reduced from 15 to eight hours, while daily wages have doubled from five to 10 rials. Formerly, people had to walk many miles to work or ride in wagons not fit for cattle. Now there is motor transport. Housing conditions have improved appreciably. For example, Aramco workers who had formerly lived in tents have been moved to modern houses.

A major working-class gain is labor legislation which the government and Aramco were forced to grant. Despite its limitations and some unjust, even harmful, articles and provisions, it is a clear victory of the nation's democratic forces. But the authorities and Aramco deny the workers the right to form trade unions. They seek to substitute government labor offices for working-class organizations. Set up in towns and districts, these are supposed to see to the implementation of labor legislation. The purpose of such maneuvers is to prevent, or at least hamstring, the class struggle – economic and, especially, political – of the emergent proletariat.

The government was also compelled to promulgate partial reforms in agriculture, commerce and industry. A new press law was issued. Characteristically, these reforms had long been demanded by the National Liberation Front (its proposals for agricultural reform date back to 1954), but the authorities had stubbornly refused to act.

However, the demands of national development, social change and, especially, the mass struggles, forced the royal government to make concessions.

At present Saudi Arabia is going through a stage of accelerated development of its productive forces, which is having an appreciable impact on the relations of production and the political superstructure. Our organization is, accordingly, concentrating on expanding the mass base of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement. Work among the masses, especially the workers and other working people, acquainting them with democratic and revolutionary ideas, greater organization and unity in their struggle – these are the immediate tasks of the National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia.

1. Founded in 1954 as the National Reform Front; it was renamed in 1958. – *Ed.*
2. The Arabian-American Oil Co., a U.S. concern which controls 90 per cent of Saudi Arabia's oil output. – *Ed.*
3. A political-religious pan-Islamic association speaking for the most conservative sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. Imperialism and domestic reactionaries seek to use it for subversive activities against progressive regimes and movements in the Arab East. – *Ed.*
4. Courts operating according to the religious and legal norms of Moslem feudal law – the Shariat. – *Ed.*

Stay the hand of the executioner!

In the 20 years since the coup that brought General Stroessner to power, Paraguay has been under martial law. Opponents of the regime, one of the most brutal in Latin America, are banished to Nazi-type concentration camps, kept there for years, subjected to torture, with little chance of coming out alive. More than a million of Paraguay's two and a half million population have fled the country.

Published below is a letter of a former political prisoner freed as a result of an international solidarity campaign.

Dear friends,

This letter is from a former political prisoner who spent 10 years in the jail of the Third Police Commissariat of Asuncion. I am writing to express my deep gratitude to your journal for its solidarity with the Paraguayan patriots languishing in the prisons of the dictatorship and with the struggle of the Paraguayan people for bread, democracy and national sovereignty.

Let me describe the conditions of political detainees in this prison. They sleep on mats on the floor. The police commissioner and his underlings take away the blankets, mattresses and medicine relatives manage to send after much difficulty and at great risk. For 10 years now the political prisoners have been deprived of medical care, though all of them are ill. Antonio Maidana and Ananias Maidana have serious heart conditions, and Ananias and Julio Rojas are going blind. Alfredo Alcorta is losing his teeth. As a result of beatings and torture, which none of us has been spared, Severo Acosta is developing tuberculosis. . . .

A recent report from Asuncion says that the Third Police Commissariat had been fired on from a passing car. This is an outright provocation organized by the authorities. Using the 'law on escape attempts' they can shoot any political prisoner whom some unidentified 'operation group' allegedly intends to free.

That is the plan for the murder of Antonio Maidana, Rojas, Alcorta and their comrades. Only a mass solidarity movement can stay the hand of the executioner and free the political prisioners from the dungeons the CIA has established in Latin America and other parts of the world.

Your journal enjoys immense influence throughout the world. In concluding this message, I appeal to you to intensify the solidarity movement with Paraguayan political prisioners. Throughout the long years in prison we were encouraged and inspired by the solidarity of fraternal peoples, above all those of the Soviet Union and Cuba, by our comrades and political friends in every part of the world, by everyone who appreciates our struggle for the freedom and independence of Paraguay.

With fraternal greetings to all,

J. De la Cruz Vera Chamorro

Buenos Aires, July 1, 1974

In publishing this letter we consider it our internationalist duty to reaffirm our fraternal solidarity with the Paraguayan Communists and all patriots and voice our energetic protest against the atrocities of the Stroessner regime. We are deeply convinced that the people of Paraguay and other Latin American countries under fascist regimes will win freedom and democracy in their difficult struggle and will take the path of economic and social progress.

The newspaper *Radical* reports that Antonio Maidana has died in prison. The authorities refuse to confirm that, and have taken special measures to keep political detainees in strict isolation.

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the press

Cultivating socialist citizenship

We continue our series on the central press organs of fraternal parties in the socialst countries.*

In this issue, Georgi Bokov, Secretariat member, CC Bulgarian Communist Party and Editor-in-Chief of its central organ, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, is interviewed by Y. Yakovlev.

Question. Affirmation of communist consciousness requires a 'change in the thinking of the masses,' and this, the founders of Marxism emphasize, 'is possible only in the practical movement, in *revolution*.' It is this movement that determines the next tasks of a Marxist-Leninist party in the ideological education of the masses. And the very fact that new tasks arise is, in a way, a landmark, a gauge of the results achieved. Could you compare the present problems involved in communist education with those on which the paper concentrated in earlier years? This would clearly show what the Bulgarian Communists have achieved in refashioning public thinking, and how they began their work of bringing Marxism-Leninism to the masses.

Answer. Yes, our paper reflects the development of social consciousness in the 30 years of popular rule. It provides a record of the great path we have travelled and clearly brings out the tasks in communist education at this stage of the building of developed socialist society.

At the dawn of the socialist revolution, Georgi Dimitrov drew the attention of the Bulgarian Party press to the key aims of ideological education. He counselled our Communist journalists to begin by exposing and in every way facilitating the final eradication of the fascist ideology, and help the people's intelligentsia work out a Marxist-Leninist outlook, stimulate interest in science and encourage the working-class youth to acquire knowledge.

Today, our Party Program records that 'Marxism-Leninism has

*See 'In the Interests of Peace, Democracy and Socialism,' Interview with M. Zimyanin, Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*, in *WMR*, August 1974.

become the dominant ideology, and a powerful creative force in the development of social consciousness.' One-fourth of the population is studying and Bulgaria holds a top place in the world in the percentage of students. Such is present-day reality. Our press continues to cultivate such noble traits as communist integrity and efficiency, socialist patriotism and internationalism, fidelity to principle, initiative, modesty, moral purity, responsibility to the people and selfless service in its cause, constant striving for knowledge and culture.

Let me discuss three aspects of the work of *Robotnichesko Delo*. The people's cultural level is much higher and their political vision much broader. Today we are dealing with an educated and, hence, more exacting reader. Besides, our readership is much more homogeneous, a welcome fact and one, it might seem, that makes ideological work easier, but it also raises many, often complex, questions.

A few decades ago the Marxist-Leninist ideology had been assimilated, to one or another degree, by the more conscious, advanced section of the working class. Consequently, theoretical articles were addressed only to this type of reader. Today they are addressed to the masses. Our aim is to evoke interest in theory among readers and exercise a direct influence on their work.

The historic decisions of the April 1956 Central Committee plenum helped to rid our propaganda of dogmatism, of articles larded with quotations. Party policy deals with questions that are vital to every member of the new society, and Party publicists, as Lenin remarked, must stimulate the reader's thinking. We often say at editorial meetings that the argumentation and presentation of an article should enable the reader to draw his own conclusions, lead him to a discovery, so to say. This method of assimilating scientific communism makes for thought-out judgments and for a creative independent approach to problems.

Also this: popular rule has transformed Bulgaria from a backward country into a developed socialist one. Our society is keeping pace with the dynamic 20th century, and all the problems posed by the technological revolution and by 20th-century developments generally have a direct relevance for us. Analysis and understanding of these problems have to be in-depth to counter the distortions and speculation of bourgeois ideology and right and 'left' opportunism.

The complexity of present-day phenomena necessitates their comprehensive discussion in our press, and not merely propagandist treatment. And comprehensive analysis means giving the reader the views of scientists, the specialists in international politics, Party functionaries and men involved in the practical, day-to-day running of a particular branch of the economy.

For instance, we have started a discussion on the leading role of the working class in building developed socialist society. The opening article was written by Drazha Vylcheva, first secretary of the Plovdiv Party Committee. This was followed by contributions from veteran Communists and workers, scientists and young workers. There were also articles from our correspondents in Britain, France and the FRG. In Gabrovo, an old industrial center, Party members discussed the leading role of the working class and the discussion was reported on the pages of *Rabotnichesko Delo*. We dealt with the subject in its three main aspects: theoretical problems, practical implementation of the leading role of the working class in socialist society, and, lastly, the place of the proletariat in the comtemporary anti-imperialist struggle.

Still another consideration. The Party attaches prime importance to the all-round development of the personality. We know that the various elements of consciousness develop unevenly. The fastest to develop are political consciousness and political activity. The main features of socialist morality – attitude to the socialist homeland and state, to the Party's policy, friendship of the peoples, socialist internationalism, etc. – keep step with the rapid growth of political maturity. But other aspects, family relations, say, or behavior, develop slower. The newspaper cannot confine itself to shaping political views. The very logic of communist construction generates a public interest in people's behavior, their attitude to the family, the bringing up of children, their attitude to other members of the community. And we strive to inculcate communist principles, so that every member of society is guided by them.

Question. This is in sharp contrast to the bourgeois contention that the technological revolution is 'moral counter-revolution,' that it dispenses with, makes unnecessary, moral regulation of behavior. Roger Garaudy, that renegade, says in his book *The Big Turn of Socialism* that morality as a form of behavior regulation applies only to poor societies where 'self-limitation of the individual' is a dire necessity. With the growth of public wealth, he contends, morality as a form of behavioral control becomes not only superfluous but harmful, inasmuch as it allegedly impedes the all-round development of the individual and his creative abilities.

Answer. Our experience has proved that all these views, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, are absolutely groundless. For with the growth of socialist wealth, when there is continuous growth of prosperity and more free time, and with more and more decision-making delegated to public organizations, communist morality acquires still greater importance as the regulator of behavior. The Communist Party program contains the passage: 'The strengthening of the socio-political and

ideological unity of the people and the extension of socialist democracy open up new vistas for communist morality as a spiritual regulator of behavior.' As for Garaudy and his anti-communist ilk, they are simply ascribing to socialism the many ills of capitalism.

In the final analysis, the various aspects of our paper's activity are determined by the overall tasks the Party has set workers on the ideological front. For many years, right up to the early 60s, Party congresses and Central Committee plenums pointed to the disparity between our propaganda and the life of the people. That disparity has been eliminated. Our job now is to consistently strengthen the link between propaganda and reality. In practice this means that, at this new stage of socialist development, we must strive for maximum interconnection and interaction of the tasks defined by Lenin: 'A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 22). Hence our progaganda, the materials we publish on communist education, should promote socialist construction and directly influence the work and behavior of members of society.

Question. The kind of material printed in the Party press is determined by the basic tasks of communist construction, viz., laying the material and technical basis of communism, developing communist social relations and education of the new man. The paper's treatment of each of these tasks has definite ideological and educational aspects. What are the main problems of communist education at the present stage of Bulgaria's development?

Answer. Economic development under the sixth five-year plan has been based on intensification. This implies more than use of the new technology in industry and agriculture. More effective production has led to changes in public thinking. In the past our propaganda concentrated on quantity indicators. That was the subject of much of our reporting, and the labor effort was judged mainly in terms of quantity output. Now we have to teach every worker, collective farmer and office worker to judge his work not only in terms of quantity, but also from the standpoint of quality and production costs.

Four symbolic heroes appeared in our columns some time ago – the Gram, Centimeter, Penny and Minute. Our artists produced graphic images. We launched a campaign urging economy of raw materials, money and time. Our symbols acquired flesh and bone virtually overnight. They get a big mail, and are invited to places where public property is being misused. The CC BCP Political Bureau commended our initiative, and advised the rest of the press to follow our example.

With our state taking on the features of a political organization of the whole people, social relations are developing well along communist lines. Many of our columns report on civic participation in

government, the greater influence and control exercised by the people over elected bodies and the state apparatus.

Faithful to communist press traditions, we want our readers to be involved in matters of public importance. For this we have devised special organizational forms. One of these is editors going from place to place and collecting people's advice, suggestions and grievances. The idea works – thousands come to us. Then we hold a conference of district leaders and activists, including the first secretary of the district Party committee and the chairman of the local people's council. They discuss the suggestions and recommendations. Then, in the next several months the paper follows up with reports on how the suggestions are put into effect.

Moulding the new person is inconceivable without a class-oriented view of the capitalist world. This is particularly important, because economic and cultural contacts are growing, and the two-way flow of information has increased. Our paper uses available facilities for well-argued analyses of capitalist ideology and morality.

Readers are attracted to the heroes of our times – the men and women gaining national recognition for work and communist attitudes. We want everybody to know of their example, which contributes to the moulding of communist consciousness. In our column, 'The Labor Guard of the Five-Year Plan,' and elsewhere in the paper we print feature stories about the country's most deserving people. There are many new labor heroes, but we do not forget those of whom we have already written. Pyotr Braikov, fitter at the Varna Plant, has long had a reputation of labor hero, but recently his name rang out again: he issued a call urging fulfilment of weekly production assignments in five days. He excels in his profession, and has undertaken to teach younger workers to get the same results.

Question. Your references to socialist consciousness recall to mind Lenin's talk with Maxim Gorky soon after the October Revolution. Dismantling log houses for fuel, Petrograd workers also smashed window frames, broke the panes, and mindlessly tore up the tin roofing. Yet there were shortages of tin and of glass panes, and the workers' own roofs leaked, and their windows were boarded up. Gorky drew attention to this, but Lenin did not reply. Annoyed with himself, Gorky said: 'I regret having bothered you with trifles.' Here, Lenin answered: 'You mustn't think I have no interest in trifles. Nor is this a trifle: we are poor and must appreciate the value of every log and every penny. . . . But you cannot blame a worker for not yet understanding that he has become the master of everything. He will learn, but it will take time. Only a Socialist can understand it.' Gorky was astonished at the simple ascent of Lenin's thought from trifling things to the broadest generalizations. 'I know of no other man whose

analysis and synthesis worked so harmoniously,' he wrote.

The Marxist-Leninist analysis, the ability to rise from workaday facts to important theoretical generalizations, has become an all-important instrument of the communist press. Party journalism wants the reader to learn the scientific approach to reality, to appreciate the causes and effects of social developments, to learn to generalize. So, how does the newspaper use the everyday facts in influencing the reader?

Answer. While it did not minimize the importance of motivated ideological work, the 10th BCP Congress urged a fuller appreciation of the educative influence of the socialist reality. This and other points concerning our ideological work were effectively amplified in the decisions of the February 1974 Central Committee meeting.

Development of public consciousness is an essential condition for the progressive development of society. Conversely, the latter is a powerful factor in the development of public consciousness. Every report and article, whatever its subject, should, therefore, have a clearly discernible political motivation, linking the matter at hand with the Party's policy, defining its place in the concerted building of the new society, explaining the ideological impulses behind people's actions. Every story must reach that degree of generalization which, through the author's course of reasoning, teaches the reader the Marxist-Leninist technique of assessing reality. Furthermore, every story should contain an emotional charge. The communist press does not believe in a dispassionate presentation of facts. It supports the progressive with ardor, and exposes the negative with anger. This is what makes a Party paper a truly ideological medium.

A word about the educative impact of our critical stories. It is not limited to the mere exposure and elimination of a negative fact. In the socialist environment class education also implies a correct understanding of the nature and origin of negative facts, a striving to remedy them, and knowing how to do it. Public criticism shows the responsibility that each citizen bears to society. Also, principled criticism gives people confidence in the democratic nature of our system. Effective criticism shows that negative things are intrinsically alien to socialism.

The educative impact of criticism depends on its effect. If criticism is made in vain, and is not acted upon, it will be counter-productive. So, the paper must follow up and inform the reader of what was done about it. We work together with other mass media. Our television, for example, invites the paper's reporters to its 'Dialogues' program, in which criticisms appearing in the morning paper are discussed before the TV camera for the benefit of evening audiences.

Question. The history of the Bulgarian Communist Party is a model

of dedicated loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Bulgarian-Soviet relations are socialist internationalism in action. In the years of popular power, this friendship of the two peoples gained a new, socialist content. The conception of socialist internationalism is, furthermore, continuously enriched by Bulgaria's diverse ties with other fraternal socialist countries. How is this reflected in your paper?

Answer. The first truthful book about the Soviet Union appeared in Bulgaria 42 years ago. It was written by a Party worker, Petko Napetov, who had visited the USSR. It aroused tremendous interest, for it told us about the new world, from which we were being fenced off by our rulers. Recently we celebrated the 40th anniversary of our first Bulgarian-Soviet friendship societies. To found them in that time of fascist reaction took great courage. Their activity was spurred by the Bulgarian people's deep affection for the world's first worker-peasant state, and the wish to know more about the Soviet Union.

The times are long gone when we knew about socialist enterprises and cooperatives only from hearsay. Knowledge of Soviet experience has become a valuable and useful part of our ideological resources. And our paper has done much to make this so.

Speaking at the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of Bulgaria's socialist revolution, Todor Zhivkov said:

'The developing, ever closer and deeper Bulgarian-Soviet friendship has entered a new, higher stage in recent years. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and acting in accord with the objective laws of socialist society, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party follow the policy of all-round cooperation and an ever closer relationship between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.'

This is as it should be. It is a course based on our achievements in communist construction, in gradually balancing the economic levels of the countries of the socialist community, on the all-out progress of socialist economic integration. Hence, the objectives of our propaganda.

A traveller who sees the peak of a far-away mountain, can only judge its outlines. The nearer he approaches it, the more details he begins to see. The greater similarity of the objectives of communist construction in the countries of the socialist community and the broadening horizons of our readers enable us to present more comprehensive accounts of life in the fraternal socialist countries. What we are after is to mirror the complexity of socialist reality. And we have found that stories writtten on that plane evoke the liveliest response. One report, for example, dealt with the new forms of socialist emulation in the USSR. We also took the example of how planning is being improved in the Soviet Union to show how a

socialist society searches continuously for the most effective way of developing.

The similarity of processes in the countries of the socialist community stimulates joint journalistic effors. We were attracted to the initiative of the *WMR*, which produced the profile of the typical administrator of a socialist enterprise, drawn by writers from different socialist countries, including a *Rabotnichesko Delo* journalist, and have also begun using this fruitful type of cooperation. For example, our Moscow correspondent, jointly with several *Pravda* writers, has produced a report on industrial construction in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, where we have our own timber mills. And the correspondents of *Pravda*, *Nepszabadsag* and *Rabotnichesko Delo* wrote in our columns about the construction of our Devna industrial combine, in which their countries took part.

Bulgarian reality creates a tangible link between our readers and reports from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, strengthening the lofty principles of socialist internationalism.

Question. The paper's contribution to the ideological education of the masses, as well as in other fields, is determined by the key Party decisions, decisions of its congresses, conferences, and Central Committee plenums. But apart from that there are usually day-to-day contacts between the paper and Party headquarters, the Central Committee. What are these contacts?

Answer: To take first things first, a word about the Central Committee's work of popularizing its decisions. A plan is drawn up: the topics and those responsible for their popularization, the names of the writers and the addressee of our propaganda – leading cadres, rank-and-file Party members, the broad masses. The plan says what problems are to be elaborated with, say, the help of the Academy of Social Sciences and Administration or that of the Institute of Modern Social Theories. *Rabotnichesko Delo*, too, figures prominently in the plan. And we follow these documents in drawing up our editorial plans.

As a member of the Secretariat of the CC BCP I take part in CC work, and attend many other important functions. We therefore always have immediate and full information. The paper loses no time in reacting. Members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat often approach our editors, calling their attention to some problem and giving their opinion of published material. Todor Zhivkov follows our activity closely.

The continuous concern for our paper is a model of the Leninist approach to the press as the common affair of the entire Party. *Rabotnichesko Delo* is the organ of the CC BCP. This means that its work is part of the Party's daily activity. Central Committee instruc-

tions and decisions are law for everyone of us. And I've already referred to our practical ties with the CC – first of all, information about adopted decisions.

Second, advance material concerning projected decisions. We are informed of what is being prepared, and run articles on the topic, thus sounding out views and preparing the ground.

Another important point is the backing we get from the Central Committee for the paper's initiatives. The CC passes decisions concerning these initiatives and the paper's political comments. *Robotnichesko Delo* articles are also followed by the Council of Ministers. For example, we reported a recent case of outrageous negligence that resulted in the waste of many tons of milk. The Council of Ministers reacted instantly. And our correspondent, who displayed a high degree of perseverence and integrity in getting at the facts, was decorated for it.

The Party has deep confidence in our journalists. 'Our ideological and cultural front, and its direct leading bodies, the newspapers, journals and publishing houses,' Comrade Zhivkov stressed, 'are staffed with politically and theoretically trained cadres able successfully to conduct the Party line. This is why the main trend is to treat our creative workers with confidence, to keep them informed of Party decisions, Party thinking and practice, so that they can perform their duties responsibly and successfully. They do not need nursemaids any more than healthy people need crutches.'

Our journalists are closely united round the Party and its Central Committee, appreciate the trends in its policy, and are invariably guided by the lofty aims facing the Communists and the people.

Question: Georgi Dimitrov usually referred to himself as a journalist, political writer, or Party publicist. And in a letter to Dimitrov, Romain Rolland paid him the following tribute: 'What you write, what you create, are not simply books, but actions; and they are recorded in history; they are an inseparable part of the exploit of Revolution.' These words defiine the crucial feature of communist journalism – it is an organic part of revolutionary work. The Party journalist's creative aspirations amount to aciton, to concrete acts promoting the Party's decisions. His association with the Party press, his participation – whatever it may be – in the work of the press, is for the Communist a projection of his Party assignment. Communist journalists are people with a background of revolutionary struggle and a knowledge of Party work. This is what lies behind the ideological sharpness of our journalism.

In conclusion, permit me to ask you about your own journalistic career.

Answer. My journalistic career was for me part of the liberation

struggle fought by every Bulgarian patriot during the fascist period. I was expelled from school for my connection with the YCL. Serving in the army, I was in the anti-fascist group we had formed in our unit. In the early 40s I enrolled in Sofia University. There, I was in the Communist-led students' union, and gained first-hand experience of police raids and searches. I was arrested during an examination. It was an exam on constitutional law. They shipped me off to a labor camp. In September 1943 I managed to escape and joined the partisans. After the popular uprising I worked in a district committee of the YCL, and organized a cooperative in my native village. All those years I was associated with the press, was responsible for information in the partisan unit, and wrote proclamations and appeals to the population. My professional journalistic career began in 1946, when the Party assigned me to *Rabotnichesko Delo*.

Question. The biography of a Party publicist is illustrative of his part in the Party's fight for the triumph of communist ideals. You have beeen with *Rabotnichesko Delo* 28 years, 17 of them as Editor-in-Chief. What did you write about at the start of your career, and what do you write about now?

Answer. I recall my trip to Oryakhovo district, one of my first assignments. The report I filed dealt with distrubution of available goods among the population – bast sandals, sauerkraut, horseshoes and nails. One of my latest articles deals with the Party's social program. Incidentally, it criticizes the anti-communist contention that socialist society is degenerating into a consumer society. You will agree that the very appearance of such a prediction is, in a way, evidence that there is immense progress in our prosperity standards.

A short while ago I revisited Oryakhovo. The farms there used to grow 16 centners of wheat to the hectare; this year the average is 41 centners. In the old days the peasants dreamed of some factory opening in the vicinity, where they could get jobs, for there was a surplus of manpower. Now, we have the jobs looking for workers. A nuclear-power plant is going up in the area. I saw some of my old acquaintances. Many of their sons are engineers, some working on the power project.

At the root of communist morality lies the struggle for communist society. For journalists this means that pen and inspiration, knowledge and partisanship must be dedicated to the popularization of Party decisions and to continuous struggle for their implementation.

Communist press festivals

In letters to the Editor of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communists, readers write: 'Please keep up the good work in spreading the truth,' 'Thank you all for your skill and sacrifices.' The Swiss Party of Labor newspaper, *Voix Ouvrière* says: 'We have one advantage that nobody can take from us: that of not depending on anyone but our readers and subscribers.'

The communist press is a forum of the masses. Press festivals have become the latest, really striking evidence of the ties between the press of the fraternal parties and the people. Every such festival is a political manifestation showing that thousands of people associate their present-day struggle and their hopes for the future with the Communist Party.

The life of a communist newspaper is connected with the life of the people, their trials and struggles. This year's *L'Humanité* festival was a vivid reminder of this. It is 30 years since the liberation of Paris. And in France's blackest days, at the time of the Nazi occupation, *L'Humanité* was for over a month the only regularly appearing publication in the country. It was the paper that published the French Communist Party's appeal, launching the resistance movement.

Wartime *L'Humanité* issues were recently reprinted under separate cover. The were available along with other political literature sold at the latest *L'Humanité* festival. This time the festival took place in the workers' town of La Courneuve, which has a Communist municipality, and will be remembered by a variety of records: attendance – one million, unprecedented attendance of young people, record number of foreign guests, 5,574 recruits to the Party, 80 per cent of them under 25, and 5,028 new subscribers to the paper and its Sunday supplement. Even the bourgeois *Le Monde* admitted that the *L'Humanité* festival is 'the only truly great popular manifestation of its kind in France.'

More than 40 years ago, on September 7, 1930, thousands of people gathered in Sacco and Vanzetti Park in Bezons to pay tribute to the newspaper of the French Communists. By now there is a vast store of experience in how to hold Party press festivals. It is at the disposal of the communist movement in all countries, helping parties that have only recently acquired the opportunity for holding similar mass manifestations.

Unsere Zeit, the Communist newspaper in the FRG, has recently become a daily. This year, it held a mass festival. It is not easy to organize such a festival if you are doing it for the first time. And it was doubly difficult in the FRG, where anti-communists went out of their way to pollute the public mind, and where laws directed against Communists are still in force. Long before the festival, the reactionary press carried headlines such as: 'Preparations for a Political Farce,' 'Bait for the Population,' 'Propaganda Spectacle.' When 6,000 workers and students began putting up tents, displays and pavilions a few days before the festival, the capitalist press portrayed them as people bought by the Communists. Speaking to one of the papers, a young worker said in reply: 'Though we are not paid, we are not working for nothing.' A striking little festival town rose at Rheinwiesen in Düsseldorf, with its streets named Pravda, Neues Deutschland, L'Humanité, etc. Lively discussions took place in the GCP Center and *Unsere Zeit* Center, in the many pavilions. Foreign performers, popular West German singers and amateur groups performed on open-air stages. All in all, a quarter of a million people attended. Party veterans say they had never seen so impressive a turn-out at any previous German working-class festival.

The discussions, meetings and exchanges at the press festivals epitomize the breadth of political vision typical of the Communist press.

The two-week-long festival of *L'Unita,* the paper of the Italian Communists, in Bologna's Northern Park, featured displays illustrating the Party's history, its publications, the life of the workers, their struggle for peace, for social and economic changes. All subjects, as long as they concerned present-day Italy, got their share of attention.

The international part of the program was just as comprehensive. Thousands came to the exhibition on the life and work of V.I. Lenin, a gift of Moscow's Central Lenin Museum to the Central Committee of the ICP.

In another display of proletarian internationalism guests from the heroic Democratic Republic of Vietnam were presented with funds collected by the people of Italy for the DRV's economic rehabilitation. One of the highlights of the festival was a solidarity meeting with Chilean patriots.

Meetings in support of the struggle in Chile were held at all communist press festivals. 'Friendship, fraternity and proletarian internationalism' was how *Le Drapeau rouge,* the paper of the Belgian Communists, described the atmosphere at the Communist press festival in the town of Wieze near Brussels. It was the first such festival since *Drapeau Rouge* recently became a daily, and the Party's theoretical journal, *Cahier Marxiste,* a monthly. Wieze-74 symbolized

the paper's closer bonds with the working people of Belgium and stronger action for their demands, for democratic change.

The Party paper is not simply read; people live with it and fight with it. They fight for the causes raised in its columns. They fight for the paper's existence. And when necessary, they come to its help. Vienna's Prater is the usual venue of festivities of the Austrian party press. But this year an unfortunate thing happened: a fire destroyed spectators' benches, the speaker's platform, and the stage. Friends of the *Volksstimme* hastened to its assistance: they repaired the damage in their free time, with the result that the facilities were better, more attractive than before. More than 100,000 came to the festival, the 28th of its kind. Not merely to see performers and sportsmen of different countries, but chiefly to learn the Communists' opinion on major current issues. There are enough of those: the steeply climbing prices, unfair distribution of taxes, the housing shortage. Communist journalists replied to the questions of their guests at the many discussions.

Hundreds of thousands come to the festivals to learn of the Communist view on various matters of concern to the nation. Festivals are one of the forms of ideological Party work, helping to forge the political outlook of the masses. This year's festival of *Akahata,* the central organ of the Communist Party of Japan, its 16th, attracted people from all over the country. It was held in Tokyo's Tamako Park, the only place in the capital big enough to hold the vast crowd. The program included appearances of CPJ leaders, discussions, and talks on internal and international problems.

There is another important feature to the Communist press festivals. They are the venue of international journalists' meetings, a place where they compare notes, a kind of school of party journalism. This was also the case at the festivals of the *Rude Pravo,* the paper of the Czechoslovak Communists, and the *Trybuna Ludu,* newspaper of the Polish United Workers' Party. It was the third *Trybuna Ludu* festival, and the response, greater than before, was heartening. The *Trybuna Ludu* editors usually organize international journalists' symposia to discuss topical problems. Last year, for example, there was an exchange of opinion on the organizational mission of the Communist newspaper, and this year's symposium discussed how the vanguard role of the working class in present-day society is covered in the columns of the Party press.

The popularity of a Party newspaper is the measure of the Communists' ties with the masses. The striking success of the festivals held in many countries speaks of the working people's close bonds with the working-class parties. The very nature of the festivals showed that for the masses communist newspapers are not merely

political publications, but an increasingly important factor of national life. The festivals have become a national tradition.

Communist press festivals are held in an increasing number of countries. This is clear evidence of the continuing growth of the world communist movement and the added opportunities opening to Communists in their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism in the setting of international détente.

G. Toper

On the invitation of the fraternal papers, *WMR* representatives visited their festivals. Editor-in-Chief K. Zarodov attended the festival of *Unsere Zeit,* and executive editors P. Auersperg and V. Shundeyev were at the festivals of *Trybuna Ludu* and *L'Humanité*.

1974 – WMR circulation year

VEHICLE OF COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY

Rudolf Wettengel,
Representative of the
Socialist Unity Party
of Germany on
World Marxist Review

The growing desire of Communists and workers of the German Democratic Republic for political knowledge, their deep internationalism, their close interest in the development of the world communist movement and desire to keep abreast of the issues facing it – all this is reflected in the mounting circulation of Marxist-Leninist literature in general and *World Marxist Review,* in particular. Another important contributing factor is the Socialist Unity Party's consistent encouragement of its members' creative initiatives in all spheres of public life, viewing ideological work as a vitally important part of Party activity in general.

As a result of *WMR* promotion measures decided upon by the Party, its sales in the GDR increased by more than 1,100 between December 1973 and August 1974, and a further growth is envisaged.

The press publicity commissions operating under district SUPG

committees seek to expand the journal's permanent readership primarily among Party propagandists, the scientific and academic communities, as well as Party research and educational establishments. The best progress to date has been registered by the press publicity commissions in the Potsdam, Halle, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig and Berlin districts, where 1974 targets were met or surpassed by August.

The Party's theoretical journal *Einheit* and its central organ *Neues Deutchland* carry detailed reviews of each issue of *World Marxist Review*. The Deitz Verlag advertises the journal (including its national editions) in its quarterly information bulletins *Neu bei Dietz* and *Mitteilungsblatt für Literaturobmann*. Extensive information about *WMR* is also published in the Dietz Verlag bulletin *Rezensionsdienst* which was this year, for the first time, sent to 600 major GDR enterprises. For its part, the GDR Press Distribution Agency advertises the journal in posters and postcards. And it is also widely publicized at the annual *Neues Deutchland* festivals in Berlin.

A short while ago the DEFA film studios began shooting a documentary about the journal's contributions to the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, against imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. The film will tell people of different countries about the enormous work being done by the international team of Communists that have come to Prague from all over the world, work aimed at spreading and creatively amplifying the Marxist-Leninist theory and upholding the purity of its ideas, which are having an ever greater impact on mankind.

A NECESSARY AID

Alvaro Mosquera,
CC member, CP Colombia

The Communist Party of Colombia was one of the first in the Americas to start publishing its edition of *World Marxist Review*. Printed in the capital, Bogota, it has a circulation of 7,500, 70 per cent of which reach 80 towns and communities in Colombia, the rest going to 14 countries on our continent and one in Europe.

As the Party sees it, the main thing in respect to *WMR* is to build up its circulation. Its importance is constantly emphasized at Party congresses, plenums and other forums. Added impetus to promotion efforts was given by the first national conference of Party propagandists in September 1973, which discussed how the circulation plans adopted in January of that year were being carried out. Those plans are serving as guidelines today, too.

Substantially more requests for *WMR* were received this year from

nine regional committees and the committees of Bogota and Cali. More and more copies of the journal, which is becoming a necessary aid for students, intellectuals and Party cadres, are being sold in bookstores, educational establishments and Communist and trade union organizations.

Circulation is promoted by such means as publicity drives in *Voz Proletaria,* the Party's central organ, and other Party publications, sales during mass activities and at book fairs, advertisement posters, encouragement of the best distributors of the journal, and advertisements placed in large-circulation bourgeois dailies. Mention should also be made of the experience of some Party branches, which have set themselves the modest goal of acquiring two issues of *WMR* for each of their members, one for personal use and one for a political sympathizer. The results have been encouraging.

We are gradually overcoming the widespread view that *WMR* is difficult reading and the subjects it discusses are remote from the specific concerns of the Colombian reader. Improvements in the journal's contents and layout have helped to expand its readership. It has become more responsive, topical and accessible, with such sections as Party Life arousing considerable interest.

Despite shortcomings, the gains in building up *WMR* circulation are an indication of the growing strength of the Party and favorable changes in the political climate which open up to Communists the prospect of becoming a truly influential factor in national life.

New edition in Portugal

A new edition of *World Marxist Review,* the 43rd, has begun to appear in Portugal.

DIARY

During a meeting with Konstantin Zarodov, candidate member of the CC CPSU and *WMR* Editor-in-Chief, who was on a visit in the FRG, Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, noted the journal's important part in the struggle of fraternal parties, including the GCP's struggle, for the political and economic rights of the working people, and in spreading Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the international communist and workers' movement. The GCP chairman stressed that German Communists would continue to

contribute actively to the journal and its circulation in the FRG. Also taking part in the conversation were Karl Heinz Schröder, member of the GCP Secretariat, and Georg Kwiatowski, GCP representative on *WMR*.

The *WMR* editorial offices in Prague were visited by a delegation of the Communist Party of India headed by National Council chairman Shripad Amrit Dange. Questions of closer collaboration between the CPI and the journal, the organization of new editions and its circulation in India were discussed, ad well as other questions of mutual interest. Comrade Dange spoke highly of the journal's work and made some suggestions for the future.

Georgios Savvides, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus (AKEL), addressed a meeting of the *WMR* Editorial Council. He spoke of the Cypriot Communists' difficult struggle in the conditions of continued intrigues of aggressive NATO circles threatening the nation's independence. He called on all brother parties to strengthen solidarity with the people of Cyprus, demanding an early and just solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the proposals of the Soviet Union, which have the support of progressive world public opinion.

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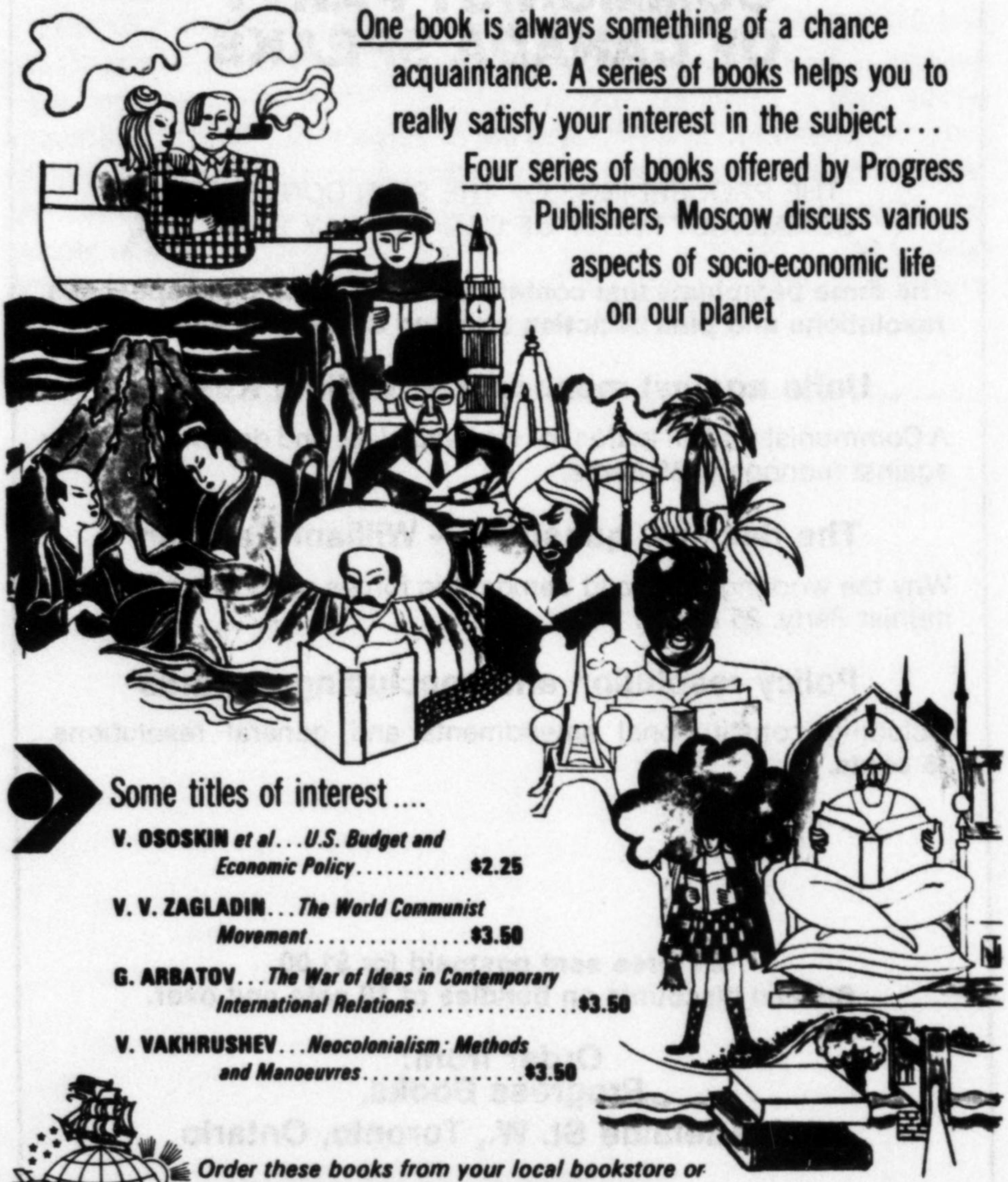

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