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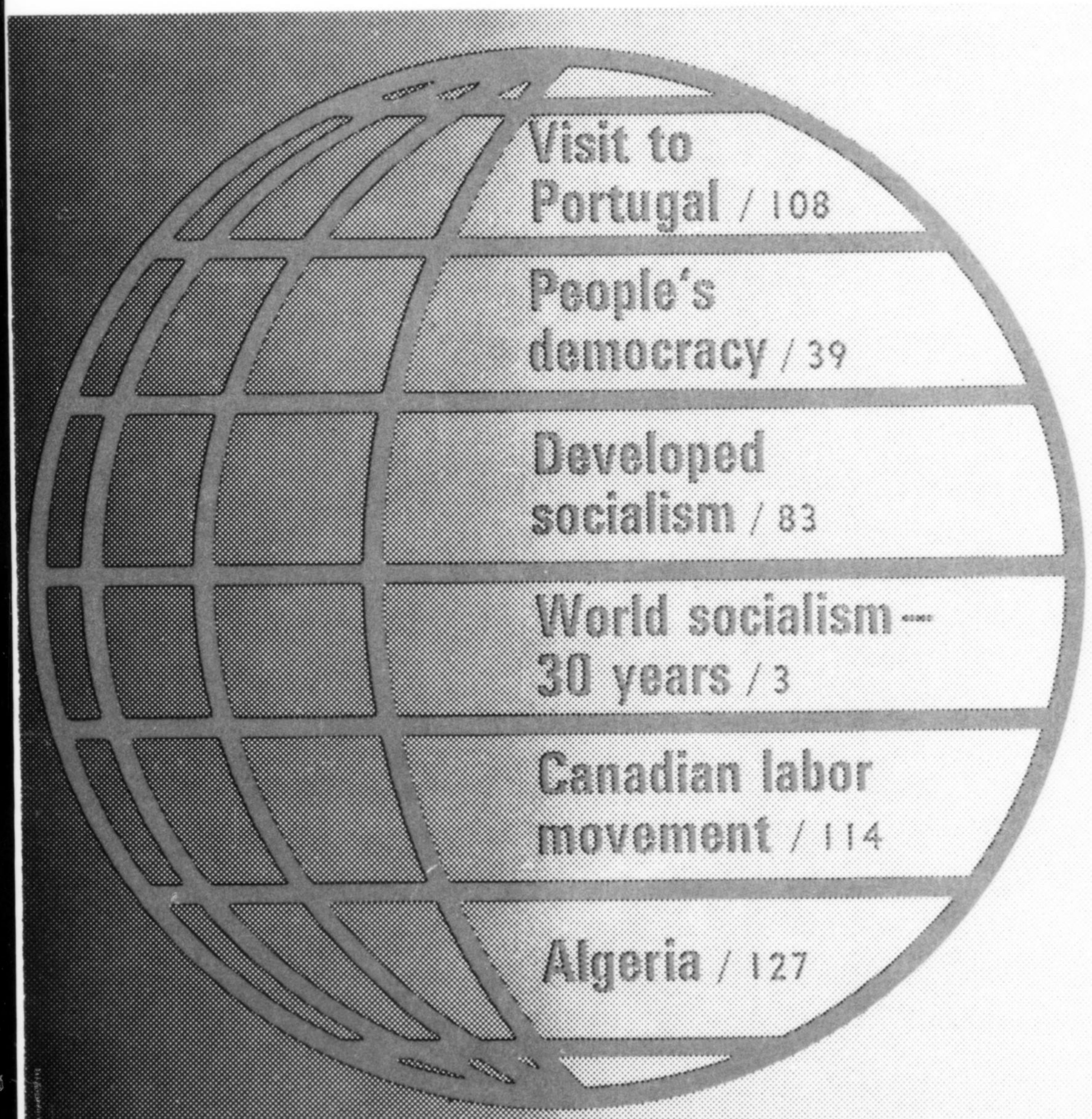

Workers of all countries, unite!

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feature

World socialism– 30 years

The formation of the socialist world system constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 1969.*

The peoples of the socialist countries of Central and Southeastern Europe are celebrating the 30th anniversary of *their liberation from fascism, the carrying out of people's-democratic and socialist revolutions, the emergence of their new statehood and the start in building socialism*.

THE PAST THREE DECADES HAVE:

– changed the face of Europe and the world;

– seen the rapid progress of world socialism, the growing strength and prestige of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community;

– seen the weakening of capitalism's positions and the collapse of the world colonial system;

– seen the advance of the international communist and workers' movement and the rise of the national-liberation struggle;

– created realistic opportunities for lasting peace and for ridding mankind of the meanace of thermonuclear catastrophe.

In view of the coming conference of Communist and workers' parties of Europe, to be held before mid-1975, we are publishing articles by the leaders of fraternal parties on the path traversed by the world community of socialist countries, the role of world socialism in the revolutionary process in Europe and throughout the world, and in the peoples' fight for peaceful coexistence and social progress.

Socialism's role in the present-day world

Boris Ponomaryov
Alternate Member of PB,
Secretary of CC CPSU

It is nearly 30 years since the last salvoes were fired in the Second World War. It was the most devastating war in history, an armed clash involving states with different social systems, a trial of strength between the new, socialist system and the picked, armed-to-the-teeth units of world imperialism – fascist Germany and her allies. The state created by Lenin emerged victorious from this trying ordeal. Civilization owes its salvation from fascism principally to the stand of the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party.

The Soviet Union and the world communist movement had done their utmost to avert the Second World War. The Communists had warned the world of the terrible war menace in the mid-30s. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International called on the working class and all democratic forces to unite against fascism and war. It also declared in a special resolution: 'However, if a new imperialist world war should break out despite the workers' efforts to avert it, the Communists will lead the opponents of war organized to fight for peace, into battle ... against the fascist warmongers, against the bourgeoisie, and for the overthrow of capitalism.'*

When the war did break out, the Communist parties' strategy and tactics enabled them 'to end that war their own way, in their own interests, in the interests of all working people, thus laying the ground for the elimination of the essential causes of imperialist wars.' These lines by Georgi Dimitrov date to the beginning of the Second World War in September 1939.**

The outcome of the war proved the Communists right. The defeat of fascist Germany, imperialist Japan and their allies accorded with the interests of all progressive mankind, democracy and socialism. It opened the way to a series of victorious popular revolutions, which

*Resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, 1935.
**_Communist International_, No. 8-9, 1939.

swept the capitalist system out of another 11 countries in Europe and Asia, and then also Cuba. In world history this is second in importance only to the October Revolution. Thirty years ago socialism transcended the limits of one country. This confirmed the 'grim and inexorable truth' brought out by Lenin that in the event of a war imperialism would suffer another crushing defeat, leading inevitably 'to the expansion of socialism.'*

– The socialist system proved that it is viable and invincible. The Soviet Union became a world power whose international prestige and position could no longer be ignored. Socialism grew into a world system covering vast territory from the heart of Europe and the Adriatic shore to Southeast Asia.

– The positions of world capitalism were substantially impaired. In Europe it came out of the war shaken to its foundations. Its instability in all areas – from economic to ideological – was clearly apparent in most countries not only of Eastern, but also Western, Europe. The anti-fascist Resistance Movement grew into an unprecedented class struggle against the whole exploiting system. In the early postwar years working people in many countries won social and political gains they had been unable to achieve in the many preceding decades of severe class struggle. The Communists, the most heroic and consistent fighters against fascism, increased their influence everywhere. The world communist movement was the most close-knit and the most ideologically dedicated force, offering the perspective of real peace and social progress for all peoples.

– By immobilizing and diverting imperialism's main forces, the socialist system impaired its ability to dominate other peoples. The opponent these peoples now faced could be forced to retreat. Imperialism's grip on Asia, Africa and Latin America weakened. A powerful national-liberation movement came into being. The colonial system began to break up. This led to the appearance of more than 80 new states, many of which have by now accomplished considerable social changes. They formed a new force which, in alliance with world socialism, possesses a tremendous anti-imperialist potential.

These, in broad outline, were the main results of the crushing defeat of the imperialist shock forces of that time, and of the emergence of the socialist world system. They are an instructive lesson to all those imperialist groups who refuse to give up the idea of settling the historical contest between socialism and capitalism by means of war.

I The socialist world system came into being during a general re-

*See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 56 and Vol. 27, p. 423.

volutionary offensive in a considerable portion of the world, first of all Europe. The working class and other progressive forces achieved substantial successes. People's democratic revolutions unfolded successfully on the basis of the broad unity of working people in countries of South-East and Central Europe, and in Vietnam, China and Korea, leading to the defeat of imperialism and the establishment of people's power. The Communist parties increased their membership many times over; their prestige in mass organizations grew visibly. Communists entered the governments of nine West-European countries (Italy, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Austria, Finland and Luxembourg). Democratic constitutions were passed in Italy and France. Some industries were nationalized in France, Italy, Britain and Austria. Good prospects appeared for truly radical democratic changes.

These were the conditions in which imperialism mounted its counter-offensive, the class purpose of which was to deny the peoples, the laboring masses, the chance of using the victory over fascism in their interests, the interests of true democracy and social progress. The counter-offensive took the form of a 'cold war,' whereby the imperialist powers sought to preserve the capitalist order wherever it had begun to totter and restore it where it had suffered a deadly blow.

The fact that revolutionary processes were arrested in some countries is chiefly traceable to imperialist interference, first of all that of the USA. In substance, this amounted to concealed, and in a few cases – that of Greece, for example – undisguised, military intervention. However, in countries such as Vietnam and Korea, where popular power had already been established, armed imperialist interference was defeated by the courageous struggle of their peoples with the support of the Soviet Union, the entire socialist camp and the world's democratic forces, though the imperialist aggression did succeed in temporarily slicing away part of their territory.

Imperialism was unable to prevent the victory of the revolutions in Central and South-East Europe, and the east of Asia. The fact that the proletarian dictatorship had become a world power was decisive in frustrating imperialist plans.

Just as Hitler had miscalculated in thinking that the impact of aggression would divide the Soviet peoples, the architects of the cold war erred in their designs of isolating the socialist-oriented countries from each other and from the Soviet Union, in order to gain control over them one by one. Forming a united front, the peoples of the USSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania and the working people of Eastern Germany repulsed imperialist attempts to deprive them of the main social gains of their victory over fascism. And this was of world historical

significance. Socialism was no longer in a capitalist encirclement, as was the case before the war, and existed as an international community, a new world system.

Working closely with each other and supported by the Soviet Union, the states formed in popular revolutions that had grown out of the anti-fascist liberation movement, developed into socialist states. Their concerted efforts, and the might and prestige of the Soviet Union, made it possible to cope with a most difficult historical task – that of averting as arduous and ruinous a civil war and military intervention as were precipitated by the coming to power of the working class and working people in Soviet Russia when she stood alone.

Shielded against imperialist interference by their international community, they were able to build the new society in a setting of enduring peace.

As members of this unparalleled fraternal community it was easier for them to deal with the difficulties of the transition period and secure timely economic and political aid and support from true and dependable friends. On becoming a world system, socialism began to grow into the decisive factor of modern history. It advanced to a point where its gains became *irreversible*. Solid guarantees were wrought against restoration of capitalism in any country of the socialist community. This consolidated the victories of the October Revolution and the other socialist revolutions.

The fact that China has temporarily dropped out of the common struggle for the working-class cause, the Chinese leadership's direct and indirect support of anti-socialist forces, has in some degree prevented the socialist system from attaining still more substantial successes. Countries loyal to proletarian internationalism were compelled to expend additional efforts. But even so, imperialism has not been able to impede the historical mission of world socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds that there are no objective reasons for opposing the interests of the Chinese people to those of the existing socialism, of the communist and the entire revolutionary movement. This is why our Party will continue to follow the guidelines of the 24th Congress, certain in the belief that one day China will again take its proper place among the fighters against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

The dialectics of the link between peace, socialism and revolution has been especially clear during this period. The changed balance of forces in socialism's favor was a crucial factor of the entire international situation. Peace has benefitted and consolidated the revolutionary gains. Conversely, every new revolutionary gain has strengthened peace. Peace rather than war assures successful attain-

ment of socialist aims in the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Furthermore, knowing the consequences of a nuclear-missile war, and this primarily for those who start it, the imperialist leaders did not venture to work for a new world conflagration as openly as they had done in the 30s. But imperialism has not abandoned its military designs. Aggression is still part of its policy. Hence the arms race and other material preparations for war.

The unbreakable link between socialism and peace is the new social system's greatest virtue. And the link between imperialism and war is the Achilles' heel of the old one. The imperialist policy of war preparation is opposed by all peace-loving humanity. Hundreds of millions across the world have rallied against the global strategy of imperialism.

The broadly conceived cold war, which cost the peoples dearly, claiming many lives and involving tremendous military expenditure, began to peter out at the beginning of the seventies. It was principally socialism's united strength that blocked its continuation, which could have had disastrous results for the entire world. The Communists, who had warned at the end of the 40s that 'cold' war, like 'hot,' would result in a setback for imperialism, were proved right once again.

The Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress gave powerful leverage for the turn from cold war to international détente. It earned worldwide recognition as a truly popular program, expressive of the aspirations of all opponents of war, all champions of equal and democratic inter-state relations. Its skillful and consistent implementation by our Party in close cooperation with the fraternal parties and states, coupled with the outstanding, many-sided and tireless work of strengthening and advancing socialism, the Leninist foreign policy, by the CC CPSU, the Soviet government, and L.I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, helped to achieve radical international changes through the best and timely use of socialism's material and political might.

Looking back from the heights scaled so far, we can assess more fully the historical significance of the internationalist exploit of the Soviet people, which make the decisive contribution to the change in the relation of world forces in favor of socialism. Having borne the main burden of the war against fascism, the Soviet people made conscious and considerable material sacrifices to augment the defensive power of the Soviet state and deprive imperialism of military superiority. To some extent this affected the prosperity rate in the country, which had, moreover, suffered tremendous losses during the war. But that was a historical necessity of the anti-imperialist struggle to safeguard peace.

Socialism survived, and strengthened and extended its positions in the tense confrontation of the two social systems that characterized the long postwar period. Good prospects appeared for lasting and just peace, and also for continued social progress.

II The years since the emergence of the socialist world system have shown its incalculably great significance, first of all for the peoples of the socialist states. That means hundreds of millions of people in just those countries that cooperated actively and marched together throughout the postwar period.

In the interest of their peoples the socialist countries have solved problems insoluble under capitalism. There is no exploitation of man by man because the cause of class antagonisms – private ownership of the means of production – has been eliminated. In contrast to capitalism with its acute class struggle, socialist society advances to ever greater social homogeneity. The leading role in the building of the foundations of socialism, and also in the passage to developed socialist society, is played by the most advanced class – the working class.

The difficult problem of the peasants' conversion to collective farming has also been solved in most of the new states, and without any drop in production. The worker-peasant alliance and the moral and political unity of all working people have grown stronger in the course of socialist reconstruction.

The experience of the fraternal countries has also proved that the exceedingly complicated national question is soluble only in socialist conditions. Before the revolution, Southeastern Europe was a region of virulent national hostility. The socialist system's solution to national problems are a dependable basis for friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the socialist community. The elimination of national strife, the friendship that developed among the peoples, and the flowering of socialist nations are of world-historical significance.

These gains must be safeguarded and developed.

As an international community socialism adds fraternal mutual aid at state level, sharing of accumulated experience, and socialist economic integration to the important factors promoting the development of socialist society. Convincing evidence is provided by the growth of the socialist community. The rate and scale of development in a country no longer depends on just its own resources. It benefits from the aggregate resources of the community, and is also able to use its own potential more rationally. One can harldy exaggerate the significance of the fact, for example, that in the CMEA framework countries lacking sufficient natural wealth do not have to depend on capitalism with its economic turmoil to satisy their

great need in energy and raw materials.

The community framework makes it possible to balance out the economic levels of different countries. The growth of many socialist countries into highly-developed industrial states, and of agrarian ones into industrial-agrarian, is a tremendous achievement.

The stability of socialism as an international as well as social system, has been fully proved in this period. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, a socialist-type international economic organization formed 25 years ago, the Warsaw Treaty Organization that has existed for 20 years, and the regular summit meetings of fraternal Party leaders, the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, and continuous contacts at Party and government level, all constitute a dependable mechanism for close coordination and cooperation in all spheres.

The 30 years' history of not one, but several countries, highly disparate in resources when they set out on socialist construction, has fully confirmed the essential postulates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism. It has enriched the doctrine of scientific communism and provided Communists with new experience vital for the success of their struggle in the present stage of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This experience shows how important and necessary it is for the policy of the ruling parties to take maximum account of the general laws of socialist construction, which are equally valid for all socialist countries despite their historical and national distinctions.

As before, the progress of world socialism depends to a decisive degree on correct guidance by the Marxist-Leninist parties. They have had to overcome considerable difficulties, to taste the bitterness of occasional setbacks, and to look for new approaches. And it stands to their everlasting credit before their peoples, before the entire revolutionary movement, that they accomplished the formidable job of building the new society with courage and initiative, and that they consistently combatted all sorts of tendencies imperilling socialism in their own countries and in the socialist world system.

Today, socialism is the most advanced civilization, opening up limitless perspectives for progress.

Seen from this angle, it may be worth glancing at the 'indicators' of socialism and capitalism in the mid-70s.

In material production, the main and decisive sphere of social development, a truly historic change was wrought during the postwar period in the correlation of the economic potentials of capitalism and socialism. The socialist world's industrial production today is 32 times higher than prewar (Soviet Union and Mongolia), and that of the capitalist world 4.9 times. Socialism's share in world industrial out-

put, barely 10 per cent before the war, has risen to 39 per cent.

Socialism's economic successes are all the more impressive because the Soviet Union and most of the East European countries suffered incomparably greater material and human losses in the war than the capitalist world. In fact, the chief capitalist country – the United States – suffered no war damage at all. No bombs fell on her territory, and none of her factories were destroyed. On the contrary, U.S. industry expanded considerably during the war, while the socialist countries had so much to rebuild and, furthermore, so much to build from scratch.

Socialism is also proving its superiority as regards the people's well being, which is rising continuously. In the Soviet Union, for example, real incomes have more than tripled from 1950 to 1972. In some areas of material consumption, it is true, most of the socialist countries, which started out with exceedingly low per capita incomes, are still behind the most advanced capitalist states. However, the gap is narrowing steadily.

The main thing is that socialist society – unlike the capitalist with its profit drive – is motivated by the interests of man, the maximum satisfaction of the growing requirements of working people. Free medical treatment, pensions and other social benefits are not only dependably guaranteed, but continuously expanded and improved. Unemployment has been done away with long ago, prices are stable, and wages are rising steadily. Housing, transport and services are cheap, and taxes very low and gradually going down. It should be remembered, furthermore, that socialism rules out the exhausting work stresses seen under capitalism.

Socialism's superiority is also obvious in education and culture. Education is free, has no social barriers, offers unlimited opportunities to acquire and improve skills, to get an aesthetic education, to discover and develop artistic talent, and affords broad access to cultural values. That is a socialist reality. For example, the Soviet Union has the world's highest attendance of cinemas, concerts, museums and libraries, and also ranks first in the number of books read. The striking achievements of Soviet science, literature and sports are known throughout the world. The outstanding Soviet performers have won worldwide acclaim, presenting a vivid picture of socialism's imposing successes in the cultural field to working people in capitalist countries.

Socialism offers broad scope for the political activity and initiative of working people. This is ensured by the development and improvement of socialist democracy, promotion of public participation in government, and the rise in educational standards. Ideologically, socialist society provides an advanced world outlook, public aware-

ness, a sense of involvement in the great common cause, an atmosphere of social and national equality, and a spirit of comradeship and mutual assistance. A socialist way of life has evolved, with all people actively participating in public matters, dedicated to the public interest, and feeling themselves free and equal members of society. Confident in the future, the new man fulfils himself as an active builder of socialism and communism. That is the greatest benefit and the main 'secret' of socialism's success.

And what has capitalism to show in this final quarter of the century? There is a new and sharp aggravation of social contradictions and of all kinds of conflicts. There is evidence of deep-going crisis processes in the economy. There are production declines in some countries. And the specific feature is that the present recession is accompanied by a monetary crisis and runaway inflation. Bourgeois leaders are making unprecedented efforts to stem or at least dampen the inflation, which imperils the very foundations of the capitalist economy. This rampant inflation is a consequence of the activity of giant multinational corporations, and most of all of the continuous exhaustion of the economy by the military-industrial complexes. The facts refute the claim that military spending works for economic prosperity. It is now obvious that the arms race is causing colossal waste of resources and engendering crisis phenomena.

The recession and rising prices affect the working class, the working people, strongest of all. In the United States real wages fell 4 per cent in 1973, and in Britain 4.6 per cent, while unemployment rose steeply. In the U.S. the number of jobless has again climbed past the 6 per cent mark, totalling 5,500,000. In Western Europe there are 3,500,000 unemployed, and the figure is growing. Thus, despite the tremendous technical progress, there is a new deterioration for the bulk of the masses in the capitalist world.

Attempts to shift the crisis burden to the working people are already encountering strong resistance. Bourgeois society's political instability has increased abruptly. Government crises erupt in quick succession. Many bourgeois state institutions and parties have discredited themselves still more, and have earned still greater mistrust. The class activity of the proletariat, the broad masses, is mounting. On the other hand, however, the danger from the right, from extreme reactionary, pro-fascist and militarist forces, has become greater.

Deeper still are the contradictions between the imperialist states, especially between the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The relations between the citadels of capitalism and the developing countries are badly strained.

The present crisis has no precedent in the postwar history of capitalist society. This speaks of an overall deepening of the general

crisis of capitalism, of a change in the quality of that crisis.

And we might recall that the inevitability of crisis, of its convulsions, was predicted by Communists when bourgeois propaganda was still trumpeting the advent of a crisis-free era of prosperous capitalism or 'neo-capitalism.' The assessments of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and those of the congresses of fraternal parties have turned out to be right, again proving the merits of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of world processes.

The present situation in the capitalist zone lays new and special emphasis on the objective necessity of socialism as the only realistic way out of the dead end into which the capitalist system has driven society. 'Socialism is increasingly an objecive requirement of progress in all fields of life in the name of the development of the peoples, in the name of the future of the world,' says the declaration of the Brussels conference of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries. '. . . Socialism alone can provide the answer to the crucial problems facing the masses in the capitalist countries.'

III The world socialist community is the main force in the struggle against imperialism, the natural and irreplaceable ally of all other anti-imperialist forces. 'The world socialist system,' the Communist Party of India declared in a resolution of its National Council, 'is getting strengthened economically and politically day by day. . . The superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system is exercising a revolutionizing influence on the people all over the world.'*

The steady and powerful development of the socialist world system influences the relation of forces in the class struggle in the capitalist countries.

In the new situation, with socialism demonstrating its growing ability to use economic achievements to raise prosperity standards, the workers in the capitalist countries have become more persistent, are more energetically and boldly pressing their demands. At the same time, the working class has increased its ability to uphold the democratic rights and freedoms. The masses are more intolerant toward political reaction, more prepared to rebuff neo-fascism and authoritarian tendencies. The general change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and democracy contributed in no small measure to the international conditions for the overthrow of the fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece.

The principles guiding socialist society and its development in the interests of the people are exerting a more powerful influence on the direction and character of the demands advanced by the working

**New Age*, August 11, 1974, p. 3.

class. Its vanguard detachments are increasingly concentrating on demands that go beyond customary reforms and are of great importance both in upholding democratic rights and in creating more favorable conditions for the fight for socialism.

In our day, a simple comparison of the situation in the socialist countries with the crisis situation in the capitalist countries is bound to promote the militancy, consciousness and political maturity of the working people. New millions are coming to see that their hardship is rooted in the very nature of capitalism: for socialist society exists and develops on the same planet in the same period of history, but it knows neither unemployment nor inflation, monetary crises nor financial upheavals.

The class enlightenment of the masses does not, of course, come automatically. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries play a very big role. Their dedicated effort in behalf of the working people's interests and genuine national interests, is attended by constant strengthening of their internationalist links with world socialism. Communists know that the achievements of the socialist countries are an essential component of their own strength and influence. The parties' mass ideological and political work is inconceivable without wide dissemination of the truth about the socialist world. At the same time, active effort in defense of the socialist world, against slander of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, is of vast importance for these countries, for the successful development of the socialist world system and the revolutionary movement.

The socialist system is a key motive power in the epochal changes that have transformed the vast part of the world until recently held in colonial bondage. All the main events in this part of the world – from the 40s to the 70s – have been linked with the growth of the socialist world's strength and influence, with its support and assistance. That is engraved in the annals of the postwar national-liberation movement – from its very first stages, when the people of India were winning their freedom, and to the pages now being written when the last colonial empire is crumbling under blows of the patriotic forces of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and the democratic anti-fascist revolution in Portugal.

The living embodiment of national and social freedom, a force that has triumphed over fascist and imperialist ideas of racism and national inequality, the socialist world has infused a feeling of dignity in millions of yeaterday's colonial slaves. The example of socialism has played an inestimable part in stimulating the great surge to freedom and independence and the resolve to banish foreign domination.

This interconnection between the existing socialism and the national-liberation struggle can be seen in events widely known throughout the world. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the

radical change in the struggle of the Arab peoples and their impressive achievements became possible only when they set their course on freindship and closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The socialist system, the very fact of its existence, its strength and its support, opened to many Afro-Asian peoples the possibility of solving the cardinal problems that came with political independence. That possibility is spelled out in the comprehensive cooperation of the socialist and developing countries in their bilateral relations and on world issues.

Socialism's coordinated foreign policy is exerting an increasingly effective influence on world development.

It is socialism's main instrument in the effort to prevent a world thermonuclear war. More and more, the masses are coming to see and appreciate that if peace is now more secure and the danger of a world conflict substantially reduced, this is mainly due to the active, far-seeing, principled and flexible policy of the socialist states.

Coordinated action by the fraternal states if of immense importance for the success of socialist foreign policy and is also a cardinal factor in strengthening the positions of socialism.

The international activity of the fraternal countries extends to all key world problems. And on all of them the socialist community takes clear-cut and openly enunciated positions that are understood and appreciated by world democratic opinion. The focus of world affairs has clearly shifted to the socialist states. High-level discussions in their capitals has become a sign of the times. Everyone aspiring to a meaningful share in world politics shows a keen interest in contacts and consultations with leaders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and there is wide international response to their speeches and foreign visits.

Direct contact between leaders of socialist and capitalist countries has come to play a big part in world affairs. And in this respect our country continues a historical tradition, notably that of the anti-Hitler coalition. The record of that coalition shows that sober assessment by the ruling element of the opposite social system of new political realities and faithful adherence to agreements make for a common language and for results that serve the cause of peace, the interests of the countries concerned and normalization of international relations.

It is now generally acknowledged that the overall trend is toward détente, peaceful coexistence and international security. And 'the decisive factor on which this evolution is based is the existence and activity of the socialist world system.'*

*From Comrade Marchais' report to the French Communist Party Congress, October 1974. *L'Humanité*, Oct. 25, 1974.

The Communists know, however, that peaceful coexistence does not erase the main contradiction of our era, that between imperialism and socialism. What we have is an intricate process of the dominant bourgeoisie adapting to the new conditions in the confrontation with socialism. The strategy designed to overthrow the socialist system is being replaced by a carefully elaborated strategy of gradually weakening it. Imperialism's strategists want to disunite the socialist countries, incite them against each other, and primarily against the Soviet Union. They are stepping up the arms drive, inflating military budgets. Insistent attempts continue to revitalize and modernize the aggressive NATO bloc, which is being used as a direct weapon in the export of counter-revolution and reaction, as evidenced by the events in Chile, Uruguay, Cyprus and other countries.

All this indicates that our achievements provide no ground for complacency. Imperialism remains a dangerous and strong adversary. Consolidation and deepening of the détente process requires purposeful and active effort, constructive political work, vigilance and, above all, unremitting effort to strengthen world socialism.

IV The record of the past 30 years fully reveals the basic directions of socialism's beneficial influence on the world revolutionary movement and on the progress of society. They can be summarized as follows:

– the inconquerable strength of the new social system finds fuller expression with the passage of time; a very substantial part of the world's population is already free of exploitation and oppression and has come to know the benefits of genuine equality and fraternity, democracy and national independence; this opens the socialist perspective for all nations, and they can draw on the increasing fund of practical experience in building the new society, the only alternative to capitalism, which has no future;

– socialism is the main factor in the steadily changing world balance of forces in favor of peace, and social progress and in the interests of all the peoples;

– achievements in building the new society give socialist ideas greater attractive power, help their wider dissemination and undermine anti-communist prejudices and bourgeois ideology;

– socialist reality is demonstrating the superiority of the new, genuinely internationalist relations between states based on friendship and fraternity of the peoples;

– it is exercising a constructive influence on the whole system of international relations, facilitating world peace and security and negotiated settlement of all outstanding issues;

– it has a beneficial influence on the international and, indirectly, on internal conditions of the class struggle in capitalist countries;

– by its all-round support for peoples upholding the national freedom and sovereignty of states that have broken out of colonialism and are following an independent course, the socialist community is helping new millions to share actively in the making of history in this era, ushered in by the Great October Revolution.

Socialism's beneficial influence on world development is now not merely a progressive idea or a theoretical proposition, but a living reality, a principal objective factor in determining the course of world history.

The experience of the past 30 years has convincingly demonstrated that the interests of world socialism – its strengthening, the growth of its influence – fully coincide with the vital demands and needs of all toiling mankind. Indeed, are not men of labor in all countries interested in removing the menace of nuclear and missile war and thereby strengthening the foundations of international security?

The record of the 30 postwar years shows that the wars unleashed by imperialism were stopped chiefly by the energetic and persevering efforts of the socialist countries. And in every case these wars were stopped in a way that took full account of the interests of the countries and peoples concerned. The peoples of the world are coming to understand that continued strengthening of socialism will mean greater political, moral and material support for them. If socialism's impact on world developments continues to grow, there will be fewer opportunities for the forces of imperialism and reaction, and more opportunities for the forces of peace, national independence and social progress.

Consequently, the working class of all countries, the peasantry and non-proletarian sections of the working people, have a vital stake in strengthening world socialism and increasing its influence on the march of events.

Of course, not everyone clearly sees this close interconnection of the interests of world socialism and those of the peoples of all countries. Imperialism, its ideologists and all manner of revisionists are at pains to obscure it in order to drive a wedge between socialism and the other revolutionary forces. But all their efforts notwithstanding, the masses are coming to realize the community of interests of socialism and all working people, and that realization is growing and spreading.

The objective march of events in the socialist countries and throughout the world warrants the conclusion that the socialist system is exerting a *constantly growing* influence on world development.

On the one hand, the opportunities for exerting this influence increase as the socialist community builds up its economic and ideological and political strength. Its member countries have now entered a

new stage of development, have registered qualitatively new achievements in fashioning a developed socialist society and in building communism. The past three decades have produced the conditions needed for fuller realization of socialism's advantages in every field and, consequently for heightening its power of attraction. The progressively closer cooperation of our fraternal parties and states likewise tends to enhance socialism's role in the world of today.

On the other hand, socialism's influence is objectively enhanced by processes at work beyond the socialist world. With the sharpening of capitalism's general crisis a substantial part of the population is losing faith in the possibility of retaining the living standards won in years of hard-fought struggle and avoiding unemployment and the other hardships that are part of monopoly domination.

Processes at work in third world countries are likewise compelling people to look for socialist solutions to their problems. For reality has shown that the socialist way offers wide opportunities for overcoming the immense difficulties that are part of their colonial heritage. We know, too, that the anti-imperialist movement in many third world countries is growing over into a struggle against exploitation of every type. This, of course, stems from the pressing needs of the newly-liberated countries. But the ideological influence of world socialism is bound to have a tremendous impact too, for there is clear evidence that socialism can, and does, solve problems that are insoluble under capitalism. Neo-colonialism and the multinational corporations are using these countries' links with the world capitalist economy to plunder their national resources. This, too, is bound to increase anti-capitalist sentiments and stimulate the movement for cooperation with the socialist world.

Processes associated with the scientific and technological revolution, with such acute worldwide problems as energy, food and the environment, likewise tend to increase socialism's influence. Only socialism and its principles of international intercourse can provide effective solutions for the key problems of this twentieth century and give the peoples and states the new, higher level of scientific, technological, economic and cultural cooperation necessitated by the character and scope of the productive forces of our time and the future.

And so, whatever aspect of world development we take, we see that the objective factors are increasing the role of socialism as the vanguard of world progress.

But Communists have never subscribed to the theory that objective opportunities are automatically realized, that things should be allowed to 'run their own course.' They work on the premise that socialism's vast potential, the mission assigned to it by history, is fully and

comprehensively realized as a result of correct policies by the Communist parties and their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our extensive experience shows that if the majority of socialist countries were not united and each going its own way, if there were not constant efforts to consolidate the socialist community, world socialism, far from becoming an increasingly determinative factor of world development, would find itself, in the words of Marx, paying with common failure for divided efforts. That would be a high price to pay for the peoples of the world.

Furthering the unity of the socialist world system and its comprehensive development is a major internationalist task. The position of the CPSU on this question was clearly formulated by L.I. Brezhnev in his report 'The 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics': 'We now need unity, cooperation and joint action primarily in order more quickly and effectively to solve the problems involved in developing socialist society and building communism. We need unity, cohesion and cooperation also in order more effectively to uphold and strengthen peace, which the peoples so vitally need, consolidate international détente and repel all the aggressive sallies of imperialism, all attempts to damage the interests of socialism.'

Soviet Communists look to the future with confidence. They are convinced that the operation of objective factors, multiplied by the political initiative and the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist parties, will ensure realization of socialism's gigantic potentialities in the interests of the peace and freedom of the peoples and in the name of the noble ideals of communism.

The general and the specific in revolution

Vasil Bilak
Presidium Member
and CC Secretary,
CP of Czechoslovakia

The victorious end of the Second World War, the defeat of fascism and the formation of popular-democratic states in Central and Southeastern Europe – these events of 30 years ago are among the most important in history. For Czechoslovakia their significance is multiplied by the 30th anniversary of liberation by the glorious Soviet Army. This is a suitable occasion for throwing a mental glance back at the sources of present-day developments, reassessing the achievements to date, and once again analyzing the factors of our continued advance.

When the People's Democracies embarked on the road of far-reaching revolutionary change they began a new chapter in their national history. They achieved what generations of revolutionaries had dreamed of, what the best sons and daughters of the nation had fought and died for. Lenin's prediction that other peoples would follow the lead of Russia's proletariat was fulfilled.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era of world history, the era of ascendant socialism and the demise of capitalism. It was a major turning point in the destinies of mankind and gave tremendous impetus to the fight for socialism and national liberation. The revolutionary tidal waves swept westward and eastward. In the wake of the Second World War a number of countries of Central and Southeastern Europe joined this mighty current. The world socialist community came into being, and today it is a determinant factor of world development. A new reality, a new alignment of class forces emerged out of the war.

The struggle against fascism and the imperialist big capitalists, who had betrayed their own people to preserve their class domination, undermined the positions of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Incapable of running the affairs of the people or the state, it lost its political and moral leverage. 'Czechoslovakia's bourgeoisie,' Klement Gottwald

remarked at the time, 'which had felt itself firmly in the saddle in 1938 and then, to preserve its class dominion betrayed the people and allowed Munich to happen, now stands before the ruins of what it had fought so much for and for which it had accepted national betrayal and the risk of total political and moral disrepute in the eyes of the broadest sections of the people.'

By contrast, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties were stronger, and their prestige higher, than ever. The Communists were not only the best organized political force in the anti-fascist struggle; the people also saw them as genuine patriots concerned with the fate of the nation as a whole. They showed their partriotism in action, in the front ranks of the anti-fascist fighters, tens of thousands gave their lives for their country. Their patriotism, courage and devotion were natural manifestations of their class revolutionary policy.

The Communist parties accumulated a vast amount of experience of leadership in the struggle, demonstrating that they were, figuratively speaking, able helmsmen capable of taking their bearings correctly in the turbulent waters of the class struggle.

The class character of the Second World War affected postwar developments in various ways. Imperialism had nurtured fascism and for many years groomed and encouraged it to aggression in the hope that it would destroy the land of Soviets. A bloc of fascist countries, the so-called Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, was formed under the hegemony of Hitler Germany, which thirsted for world domination. To carry out their part and establish a jumping-off ground against the Soviet Union, they had to gain control over the economic and military potential of Europe. Finally they came to believe their own propaganda that the Soviet Union was a colossus on clay feet. In fact, though, their attack against the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, became the beginning of their end. The Second World War was a class battle between socialism and democratic anti-fascist forces, on the one hand, and fascist reaction and its minions, on the other. This had a profound effect on the world scene, both during and after the war.

In the war the Soviet Union demonstrated its strength, viability and the advantages of socialism as a new social system. It revealed for all to see the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, the strength of the alliance of the working class and other sections of the working people, the unity of the Communist Party and the people. At that time of grave trial the Soviet people displayed high political consciousness, socialist patriotism and internationalism in feats of mass heroism on the battlefield and on the home fronts.

The fact that the Soviet Union bore the main burden of the war and

played the decisive role in defeating fascism objectively contributed to the tremendous growth of its international weight and prestige. Even official bourgeois propaganda, including U.S. and British, dared not be openly anti-Soviet, which substantially blunted the shafts of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It was only then that the peoples of those countries were able to learn the truth about the Soviet Union.

Of course the prestige of the USSR, the Communist parties and the revolutionary movement grew not only in the Second World War. Before that, the deep world economic crisis and the advance of fascism made millions of exploited and oppressed people turn their eyes to the Soviet Union as their only hope. The Communist parties, which consistently upheld the class interests of the proletariat, spoke for the basic interests of other sections of the people, and championed the formation of popular fronts, considerably expanded their political influence and gradually emerged at the head of their countries' democratic and anti-fascist forces. The political representatives of the bourgeoisie, on the contrary, had already then discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses by placing their narrow class interests above those of the nation.

In countries where fascist occupation had wiped out all democratic rights and freedoms, destroyed national and state sovereignty and established a barbarous regime of terror, the front of struggle became clearly defined. A wave of resistance rose, national-liberation movements headed by Communists came into being. The anti-fascist resistance movement for the restoration of national freedom and state sovereignty acquired a mass character.

The situation was more complex where fascist dictatorship had been established with the help of internal forces. Conditions were especially difficult in Czechoslovakia. Communist work was greatly hampered by the dismemberment of the republic into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the clerical-fascist Slovak state. The latter was, of course, a fraud and swindle, but not everyone initially realized it and people harbored illusions which had to be overcome to create the conditions for active anti-fascist struggle.

The national front policy pursued in some countries did not mean a departure from working class positions. In the new situation the struggle to restore national and state sovereignty and defeat fascism became the main prerequisite for the victory of socialism. A dual contradiction had to be resolved. The main contradiction, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, temporarily receded into the background, while the contradiction between the fascist dictatorship and the democratic anti-fascist forces of the people came to the fore. The contemporary history of the Czech and Slovak peoples is characterized by two main features: the fight for the working people's social

liberation and the struggle for national existence and liberty. The class and national, internal and international aspects of these currents intertwined and influenced one another.

Thus, the working class fight for restoring national freedom and state sovereignty became an integral part of the struggle for its emancipation. At the same time, the working class and the bourgeoisie continued to vie for leadership in the national-liberation movement. It was here that the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the working class clashed most strongly.

The intensity of the anti-fascist struggle varied from one country to another, as did the strength of the national front as a bloc of the working class, peasantry, urban petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals and a part of the democratically motivated bourgeoisie. The common feature, however, was that unity of action of the working class was forged in the struggle, its leading role was consolidated and the prestige of Communist parties grew; as a consequence, the national-liberation struggle developed into a national and democratic revolution.

Toward the end of the war, when the days of fascist rule were already numbered and the defeat of Hitler Germany and its allies became inevitable, the oppressed peoples' national-liberation struggle reached its apogee. Not only the working class, led by the Communist Party, stepped up its struggle, but the bourgeoisie, too, became more active. Worried by the decline of its prestige and seeking exoneration in the eyes of the people, it strove to 'make its contribution to the defeat of fascism,' stepped up the activity of its resistance groups and attempted to penetrate the newly emerging revolutionary bodies. The idea was to present the bourgeoisie as a 'patriotic force' and thus salvage its tottering postions in the hope that, when the revolutionary upsurge receded, it would be able to restore and strengthen its class domination.

The working class, for its part, had to formulate a program of its own on the baisis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of internal and external conditions and knowledge of the objective laws and dynamics of the class struggle. This program had to take into account the real correlation of class and world forces and the social and political stratification of society. It was Lenin who, in his analysis of capitalism at its imperialist stage, came to the conclusion that the period marked a turn from democracy to political reaction. He also stressed that the fight for democracy in the new conditions, far from delaying, hastened the struggle for socialism. In their policy the Communist parties were working on the premise that the drive for far-reaching democratic change in the political, economic and cultural

spheres was an integral part of the struggle for the ultimate victory of the working class.

The experience of the last 30 years has reaffirmed the correctness and viability of Lenin's theoretical heritage. In their search for programmatic solutions, the Communists directed their efforts at finding the correct forms of transition to, or approaching, the proletarian revolution in accordance with concrete historical conditions.

It was necessary correctly to determine what in the working class revolutionary struggle was specific to the given country and what was of universal significance. It was necessary to proceed consistently from the general laws of the revolutionary movement and at the same time take account of its concrete features in this or that country. History has repeatedly confirmed that underestimation of the general laws and international character of the Marxist doctrine, as well as failure to reckon with the specific features due to historical development, is of great harm to the Communist parties and the workers' movement. While adhering to the principle of unity of the general and the specific, it is necessary to be able to distinguish the specific, the fortuitous vicissitudes of history, without elevating them to the status of a universal law.

The formation of people's democratic states, the emergence and development of revolutionary forces and the progress of the socialist revolution benefited greatly from the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War. Whereas during the Great October Socialist Revolution the Russian working class had only the moral support and solidarity of the international labor movement, the situation after the Second World War was far more favorable. The Soviet Union's economic and military power and international leverage staved off armed intervention by the imperialists. so that the working masses of people's democratic countries were able to shape their future. Imperialist attempts at economic blockade and discrimination certainly did much harm to these countries but their growing unity and mutual assistance, and above all Soviet aid, frustrated those attempts to a considerable extent.

In evolving its action program, our working class steadfastly built up its leading role in the National Front and won the Front members' approval for its concept of further revolutionary progress in regard to the key issues.

Politically, the program of the national democratic revolution was aimed at doing away with fascist dictatorship and the power of the pro-fascist big bourgeoisie, destroying its state and establishing new, revolutionary organs of state power. That was how a National Front government of the Czechs and Slovaks, national committees as organs of state power, Slovak national bodies, the Czechoslovak

People's Army and the National Security Corps came into being.

The program provided for ridding society of traitors and collaborationists and for restoring democratic rights and freedoms. The campaign for these objectives became part of the class struggle and made it possible to strike directly at the bourgeoisie. The national question was prominent in the National Front Program. Recognizing the national identity of the Slovaks, the government announced that the Czechs and Slovaks would live as equal peoples in the new republic, their common state. The problem of the national minorities inhabiting Czechoslovakia was settled at the same time.

In the economic field, the program of the national and democratic revolution provided that the property of traitors and collaborationists, of all who had actively helped to partition and occupy Czechoslovakia, would be put under public control and so would the monetary and credit system, key industrial enterprises and all natural and power resources. It was no secret that this meant in the final analysis nationalizing the country's natural resources, major industrial enterprises, banks and other financial institutions. The program encompassed a new agrarian reform on the principle that the land belonged to those who till it.

There were provisions for democratizing culture, extending the working people's social rights and guarantees of these rights, and democratizing education so that it would serve the people and not a narrow section.

In the foreign policy sphere the object of the national and democratic revolution was to carry forward cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and with other people's democracies and thus assure the peoples of Czechoslovakia peaceful progress and a happy future.

The government solemnly committed itself 'to carry out the adopted program intelligently and scrupulously, guided by the interests of our peoples and the Republic always and everywhere and never allowing the selfish interests of parasitic elements or groups in the liberated republic to outweigh the interests of the working people of town and countryside.' But it soon became evident that the bourgeois politicians had forgotten their pledge, and so they had to be reminded in emphatic terms of the need to implement the government program. The Communists in the government did not allow the program to remain a dead letter and helped to put it into effect.

In the new conditions the working class furthered its class interests and fought against the bourgeoisie under the banner of the new republic and the people. Formerly the bourgeoisie had pursued its class interests posing as the spokesman of the whole people, but now the situation was different. This role went to the working class, a class

really expressing the people's hopes and aspirations.

The Communist Party knew that it is much more difficult to build a new social system than to overthrow the old one. It drew on the vast experience of the Soviet Union as it mastered methods corresponding to the new situation in which the Party was in the government and hence had a share in the exercise of power.

The workers and other working people led by the Communist Party had become the main creative force of the new state but the bourgeoisie did its utmost to block their efforts. It tried to hold up postwar economic rehabilitation, raised obstacles to the supply of necessities and strongly resisted revolutionary changes. This is a tested method used by the class enemy. Whenever the positions of the bourgeoisie are weakened it tries to cause dislocation, unrest and uncertainty, as events in Chile and elsewhere have shown. In contrast to the Communist slogan, 'Greater effort for the republic is our propaganda,' the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie quietly followed its own slogan, 'The worse for the people, the better for reaction.'

The logic of class struggle is inexorable, however. At a definite stage of revolutionary development the question 'Who will win?' arose in Central and Southeast European countries. As the revolution went on, the bourgeoisie revealed its reactionary political plan, with the result that it found itself in isolation. Its attempts to cause economic dislocation, discredit the new, revolutionary government bodies and bring on crisis-like upheavals failed to produce the effect it had hoped for. Indeed, they intensified the antagonisms between the workers and other working people, on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, on the other. Attempts to effect a counter-revolutionary volte-face and check the progress of the revolution proved fruitless. 'During the class and political struggles of the 1945-1948 period,' Gustav Husak said, 'the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won support for its program on the part of the absolute majority of the working class and other working people. This made it possible to defeat the reactionary forces in February 1948. The February victory in our country resulted in definitively establishing the power of the working class and other working people and paved the way for the socialist reorganization of society...'

Thirty years have passed since the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe took the road to the new life. The victory of the national democratic and socialist revolution in the people's democracies and the formation of the world socialist community may rightly be described as the most revolutionary accomplishment of the working class and the Communist movement in the first half of this century, second only to the October Revolution.

Revolutionary developments since the end of the war have confirmed the universal validity of Leninism and its doctrine of the revolution. They have shown again and again that in various countries differing in degree of economic, political and cultural development, general laws manifest themselves in both the struggle for power and in socialist construction.

'We now know theoretically and also from practice,' L.I. Brezhnev said, 'that the road to socialism and its main features are determined by the general laws of development applying to all socialist countries. We also know that general laws operate in different forms corresponding to concrete historical conditions and national characteristics. It is impossible to build socialism on any basis other than that of general laws any more than without taking account of the historical specifics of the country concerned.' Our own experience has shown us that abandonment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism may have serious consequences, and indeed, cause a crisis in the Party and in society, as it did in 1968 and 1969.

The victory of the working class in the people's democracies of Europe made it possible to begin building socialism. The peoples of these countries, led by their Marxist-Leninist parties, laid the foundations of socialism in a historically short span and are now entering the period of building a developed socialist society.

The pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic ranked among the 10 most industrialized countries of the world. This makes the results achieved over the past three decades all the more remarkable. Between 1937 and 1975 the national income grew by 360 per cent and industrial output by 840 per cent. Whereas industrial production in 1919-1937 went up by 77 per cent, or roughly 3.4 per cent a year, in 1948-1973 it increased by more than 700 per cent. Substantial structural changes were made in the economy. The role of industry in the economy grew considerably. Mechanical engineering and the chemical industry made rapid headway. A powerful material and technical basis was built, which enabled us to distribute the productive forces proportionately over the country. In Slovakia industrial output in 1973 was greater than in the prewar and war years put together.

Agricultural production has increased by 40 per cent since 1936. From the point of view of technical equipment, chemicalization and efficiency, our agriculture is a match for that of the most developed countries. As many as 1,900,000 flats have been built since 1946 and almost 40 per cent of the population today live in modern homes. Over the past 10 years alone, public consumption has more than doubled. Social maintenance is improving from year to year. The people's cultural standard rises in step with their living standard. These are tangible fruits of socialism. They refute the allegation that

socialism is suitable for backward countries but not for a country like Czechoslovakia.

Growing economic, sceintific, technological and military cooperation within the socialist community and close coordination of the member-countries' foreign policy and ideological activity have made for a more rapid growth of the economic and defense power and the international leverage and prestige of the Soviet Union and the community as a whole. We have learned how to combine the interests of each country with the common interests of all countries. Thanks to the socialist system and our membership of the socialist community, we are in a position continuously and dynamically to develop our economy and the whole of our society and safeguard our people against upheavals that the peoples of capitalist countries suffer today.

Numerous challenging internal and foreign political problems were settled due to growing cooperation and reciprocal coordination. The Soviet peace offensive has already borne fruit. International tensions have lessened and there are prerequisites for making détente irreversible.

None of the achievements of the socialist countries came of themselves. We owe them all to the devoted effort of the peoples of socialist countries and the consistent and meaningful policy of their Communist parties and governments, first of all the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Soviet government, to the devoted effort of the Soviet people. We are proud of the fact that our people, led by their Communist Party, have contributed to these achievements.

We are entering the last quarter of the 20th century and the year when we will celebrate the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and the rise of people's democracies. We are confident that the mighty revolutionary process initiated by the October Revolution will go on.

A decisive condition for victory

Albert Norden
Politbureau member,
Secretary, CC SUPG

'What we have accomplished is of tremendous significance for the future.' Thus begins the Manifesto to the German People adopted April 21, 1946, by the congress at which the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties merged to become the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The formation of the SUPG was the German working class's greatest gain since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels laid the foundations of scientific socialism. True to the spirit of the party of Lenin and following its example, the SUPG made Marxism its basis and declared the winning of political power by the working class an essential prerequisite for building the new society. Only thus could our people be led out of the barbarism of fascism, out of total political and philosophical dislocation, out of chaos, ruin and the poverty and homelessness of millions and advance to the new realm of a peace-loving and democratic state.

What gave us the strength to tackle such vast problems and inspire our people with new hope?

The Soviet Union's victory over fascist German imperialism in the Second World War ushered in the era of the world revolutionary system of socialism, the most significant event since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It meant a decisive improvement of conditions of struggle for the international working class and its allies.

To make use of the new conditions in the interests of all working people, the working class of the liberated countries had to assume the leading role in the society. For the German Communists this meant working for working-class unity as the prelude to carrying out a program of fundamental social change. And this year, the 30th anniversary of liberation from fascism, the correctness of the road followed by the SUPG is confirmed more impressively than ever before.

Common class interests, common enemies

The German Communists were guided by the experience of the

Marxist-Leninist forces in the international working-class movement, which indicates that, regardless of any differences that may appear within their ranks, the workers face a common enemy. They are objectively bound by common class interests and objectives, irrespective of organizational affiliation. But history also teaches that Communists must fight ceaselessly to overcome the divisions in the working-class movement, which are encouraged by imperialism and opportunism and, especially, by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Fascism, with its terrible consequences, was a reminder that working-class unity is the prime basis of any broad alliance of democratic forces, an alliance essential to the solution – on a democratic basis and for the good of the nation – of the tasks facing Communists in the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism.

This was accentuated back in 1935 by the Seventh Comintern Congress, the 40th anniversary of which we are now marking. Addressing it, Georgi Dimitrov, Maurice Thorez, Wilhelm Pieck, Palmiro Togliatti, Dimitri Manuilsky and other leaders of the international working-class movement summed up the experience, especially in Germany, France, Spain and Austria, in the confrontation with fascism. The congress analyzed the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement and formulated a policy of working-class unity and anti-fascist popular fronts. It remained a guideline for Marxist-Leninist parties in the new conditions created by the defeat of fascism.

The Soviet Union's victory in 1945 and the successful revolutions in a number of countries gave great impetus to the international working-class movement. The membership of Communist Parties all over the world had increased fourfold over the prewar level of a little more than four million. The growing strength and urge for unity of the international working class and all progressive forces led to the appearance of such powerful democratic organizations as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Union of Students. The trend toward joint action of political and trade union organizations found expression both nationally and internationally.

In Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, the working class and its allies, relying on the Soviet Union and taking advantage of the weakening of the imperialist system, directed the anti-fascist freedom struggle against imperialist aggressors and internal reaction into the revolutionary channel. United working-class action grew in the struggle for the consolidation and expansion of revolutionary gains, and this was accompanied by politi-

cal and organizational amalgamation under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties.

We, too, made the fullest use of the great opportunities presented by the Soviet Union's liberating victory. The Red Army personified on German soil the sons of the world's first socialist state. This created exceptionally favorable conditions for the working-class movement to organize, disseminate its scientific philosophy and draw the working farmers, farm laborers, intellectuals and other working people into the struggle.

At the same time, the German working-class movement was faced with the fact that a large part of Germany was occupied by imperialist powers which, from the outset, sought to shackle the class-conscious workers and other anti-fascist forces. In the circumstances, everything hinged on the extent to which Communists and Social-Democrats, regardless of all that divided them, could work together, forge working-class unity, form a united militant party, and head a broad alliance of all anti-fascist forces, including even those in the bourgeois camp. This was the cardinal problem, the key to the solution of historic tasks.

A powerful urge for unity developed in the German labor movement. As in other European countries where liberation from fascism was followed by an upsurge of the struggle for democracy, socialism and a stable peace settlement, the Communists proved the most consistent advocates of unity. Our Marxist-Leninist cadres, reared by the party of Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thälmann, knew that from its very inception in 1918-19 it had fought for unity with the full support of the Communist International. And the Communists knew that whenever the German working class acted in cohesion reaction suffered defeat. The divisive policies of right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, on the other hand, had always harmed the German working class and people.

The truth of this was amply demonstrated during the class struggles following the November 1918 revolution when the bourgeois republic replaced the overthrown monarchy, and especially in 1933 when the fascists came to power. Now, after the defeat of fascism, it was important to draw the conclusions from the lessons of the past.

A pledge fulfilled

After World War II, the CPG acted in the tradition of Ernst Thälmann, Rudolf Breitscheid the outstanding Social-Democratic leader, and many other members of the CPG, SDPG and trade unions done to death by the fascists. It was true to the pledge of the fighters of the underground, the anti-fascists who suffered and fought in concentration camps and prison dungeons.

In its Appeal of June 11, 1945, the CPG showed the road and goal of the struggle, summing up the experience accumulated by the Communists and the working-class movement as a whole in the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war. The Appeal was in keeping with the strategy employed in the popular-democratic revolutions that swept the newly liberated countries of Eastern Europe, a strategy that also served as a guide for West-European Communist Parties. It was the general line elaborated by the Seventh Comintern Congress, which also underlay the decisions of the Brussels (1935) and Bern (1939) CPG conferences. The June Appeal reflected its application in the new situation in Germany. It stressed the need to overcome fascism and militarism, set up an anti-imperialist democratic system and create a democratic republic, and thus bring the working people into the fight for socialism.

This was its message to the German labor movement: 'Don't allow a repetition of the mistakes of 1918! Put an end to disunity and division! No leniency toward nazism and reaction! Put an end forever to instigation and hostility against the Soviet Union, for imperialist reaction rears its head together with such instigation!'

The bitter experience of the fascist dictatorship opened the eyes of many German Social Democrats to their community of interests with their Communist class brothers. They demanded an end to the class collaboration policy of the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, a break with anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

A few days after the CPG Appeal, the CPG Central Committee and the SDPG Central Leadership reached agreement on joint action, committing themselves to cooperation in completely rooting out fascism and establishing an anti-fascist democratic republic.

Of special importance for joint action and for preparing the ground for a united party were the agreements on joint conferences to settle ideological issues. Joint CPG-SDPG action committees appeared in all parts of what is now the GDR.

Joint working-class action, efforts to consolidate and promote it with the ultimate aim of achieving organizational unity of the CPG and SDPG were characteristic of the time. They were also characteristic of other countries where the popular-democratic revolution was under way. United action became the decisive prerequisite of achieving the revolutionary objectives. For the first time in the nation's thousand-year history the scales tipped in favor of the working people. All previous governments had been perpetuators or restorers of the old in the sense that they were just varients of domination over the people. Whether crowned rulers or uncrowned money 'kings' and land barons, feudal or capitalist, they all proved their inability and unwillingness to lead the people along another, better road, the road

to freedom and peace. For this it was necessary to establish the political power of the working class. And that differs from all previous changes of government, for it does not merely replace one exploiter class by another, but puts in power a class to which war and exploitation are abhorrent, because it suffers most from them. It was necessary for the workers and peasants, in alliance with the overwhelming majority of the people and their representatives to take over the reins of government and set a new course.

The attendent process of overcoming the divisions in the working class was not without conflict. Unity demanded that the members of both working-class parties foster an atmosphere of trust, comradely cooperation and understanding. This was greatly facilitated by the postwar experience in setting up new administrative authorities, introducing worker control at enterprises, carrying out the land reform, rooting out fascist ideology and reviving cultural life. Significantly, the efforts toward worker unity intertwined closely with the anti-fascist democratic changeover. Rapprochement between the two worker parties was all the more successful since the tasks involved required a joint effort.

Toward ideological clarity

Thanks to the tremendous efforts of Communist Party organizations jointly with class-conscious Social Democrats and trade union members, the dissemination of scientific socialism was accompanied by the achievement of ideological clarity in the labor movement and exposure of the harmful role of opportunism. This was facilitated by the lessons of the November revolution of 1918 in Germany, by the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and propaganda of the fundamental works of Marxism-Leninism. Ideological activity included combating the policies and ideology of right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who, now as also after 1918, issued radical-sounding statements while actually preventing democratic renewal and using anti-communist slogans to hold back working class action. The ground was thus prepared for proceeding from joint action to the formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This was achieved in a bitter struggle against reaction and opportunist forces whose efforts to preserve the division of the working class were supported by the imperialist occupation authorities in West Germany.

Responding to demands by the membership of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, a conference of the two parties' leading bodies, with the participation of district representatives, decided to start preparations for organizational merger. A Parity Committee of members of the CPG Central Committee and the SDPG Central

Leadership was instructed to draw up the draft principles and tasks of the united party.

The Party brought to the fore all the main issues of the workers movement. They figured in the extensive discussion of the draft 'SUPG Principles and Objectives.' Acceptance of Marxism and a united party on a revolutionary basis were central to the discussion, in which the majority of the working class took part. The influence of opportunism and sectarianism was weakened, and the overwhelming majority of Social-Democratic members and activists in what is now the GDR joined the CPG in declaring for unity on the basis of Marxism.

The unification of the working class and its parties was supported by our Soviet comrades. The Soviet Military Administration in Germany, naturally, regarded the party merger as an internal affair of the German working-class movement on which only members of the CPG and SDPG were entitled to decide. At the same time, Soviet Communists gave their German comrades ideological and political help in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, notably by spreading Marxist-Leninist theory, and thus contributed in no mean measure to the struggle for unity.

Overcoming all obstacles erected by internal reaction and the imperialist occupation authorities in West Germany, in spite of the fierce resistance of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, the movemen for unity headed by Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl triumphed. Together with the class-conscious Social-Democratic forces, the Communist Party of Germany was able to launch a truly mass movement for the formation of the SUPG. The merger was effected not by fiat, but from below, offering a sterling example of democracy in action. After thorough discussion of the program documents at separate meetings and conferences and adoption of democratic decisions on unification, the members of the two parties began to set up joint factory and local branches, as well as district and *Länder* organizations of the SUPG. All offices and positions, from the local branches up to the party leadership, were assigned to Communists and Social Democrats on a parity basis. The process was consummated at the CPG-SDPG Unity Congress held April 21-22, 1946, in Berlin.

International lessons and experience

The formation of the SUPG was part of the movement that spread to many European countries following liberation from fascism. Our experience in achieving working-class unity is similar to that of other fraternal parties. What does it show?

First, the road to unity lies through united working-class action,

through joint action of Communists and Social Democrats, through collaboration in fighting for worker demands and achieving intermediate objectives, in effecting revolutionary change in the interests of the masses.

Second, ideologically, the struggle for unity is a struggle against opportunism and anti-communism, as well as against sectarianism, it is a resolute struggle against all bourgeois influences in the labor movement.

Third, unity is possible only if the majority realizes that class interests demand united revolutionary leadership; if the struggle for joint action is to be successful Marxist-Leninist forces must be principled and flexible.

Fourth, joint action is an important prerequisite for the cohesion of all democratic forces.

Fifth, the trade unions, as the largest class organizations of the proletariat, have an outstanding part to play; of decisive importance in overcoming divisions is combining efforts for trade-union unity with the struggle for the political and organizational unity of the labor movement.

Firm Marxist-Leninist basis

The significance of the First SUPG Congress in April 1946 was that, following unification on a Marxist basis, the SUPG's further development as a new type of party and the consistent revolutionary transformation of society in the eastern part of Germany, was assured.

Developments in the western regions took an entirely different turn. Worker unity was blocked by the imperialist occupation powers, the reactionary forces of the German bourgeoisie and, last but not least, the anti-communist Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders. It was the first decisive step toward undermining anti-fascist, democratic change, toward implementing imperialist plans of dividing the country, of restoring and preserving the economic and political foundations of the power of German imperialism and militarism in one part of Germany.

With minority domination replaced by the dictatorship of the absolute majority, its domination over an exploiter minority deprived of power, it became necessary to raise knowledge of the laws of social development to a qualitatively higher stage. This was a natural corollary of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin as tested in the course of the triumphant revolution of the Soviet peoples. Marxism-Leninism is the truest compass in the international class struggle.

For us Communists and all our allies, our scientific philosophy has become a material and spiritual motive force. It provides us with the

theoretical and practical answers to questions of concern to all peoples who want to be the masters of their future, with the fruits of their labor serving the wellbeing and happiness of the working folk. In this we German Communists have always seen the invincible strength and relevance of Leninism, the Marxism of our time.

In the 50s the task of turning the SUPG into a party of the new type acquired especial urgency. Soon after the Second World War imperialism embarked on its policy of cold war. This led, especially on German soil, to an acute confrontation between socialism and imperialism involving fierce class battles, a revival of opportunism and rabid anti-communism. The enemy stepped up his ideological pressure, mainly through political attacks against the united workers' party, the SUPG. The aim was to halt its development as a Marxist-Leninist party and divert it from revolutionary to bourgeois-democratic policy of the Social-Democratic type, set it on the so-called 'third' way.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany launched an ideological offensive, combined with measures to accelerate the process of revolutionary change. The whole Party took part in the debate on the key questions of Leninism: the principles of the new type of party, the universal significance of the Soviet experience in the transition from capitalism to socialism, the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the significance of Lenin's theory of revolution, the class essence of the issues of power and the state. Hundreds of thousands of SUPG members and activists began to study the history of the CPSU, which is Marxism-Leninism in action. They also studied the history of the German labor movement. The ill-fated November revolution of 1918, for example, proves more convincingly than any other fact that only if headed by a Marxist-Leninist party acting in alliance with the CPSU and other brother parties, can the working class carry to victory its struggle for an anti-imperialist system as the initial base for establishing a socialist government and building socialism.

At the same time a principled exposé was undertaken of reformism, which, as represented by the right-wing SDPG leaders grouped around Schumacher, had since 1945 been conducting – as it still is – a pro-imperialist policy in the western part of Germany. The main thing was to demonstrate the insolvency of the opportunist theory of a 'third way' between capitalism and socialism, for wherever that 'third way' had been chosen it led directly to the strengthening of monopoly capital.

In the process of mastering Marxism-Leninism, in the fight against opportunism and revisionism, the SUPG developed into a virile, ideologically, politically and organizationally monolithic Leninist-type party.

Historic greatness of the working class

Looking back on the almost three decades since the formation of the SUPG, we can say: our path was not easy, there were acute class struggles. Many difficulties had to be overcome before the ideals of socialism could be turned into reality. The working class which, by virtue of its position in society, is the most revolutionary class and demonstrates its historically determinant role in overthrowing the old exploiter system, has been and remains in the vanguard wherever socialist society is being built. Therein lies its historic greatness.

And if today, for the first time ever, society is being run on a planned basis in accordance with the needs of the people, if over the last few decades the working-class movement of Europe and other continents has been able to score one success after another, if today we can proudly point to the existence, prosperity and strengthening of the world system of socialism, the credit for this goes to the Marxist-Leninist parties, in the first place the CPSU, which first opened the doors to socialism.

The path we have travelled under the leadership of the SUPG reached its first summit with the formation of the German Democratic Republic, the first German peace-committed, worker-peasant state. On its 25th anniversary the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the GDR Government could proudly point to its achievements. Historical development had proved the Marxist-Leninists right.

Thanks to working-class unity, the factories of capitalists and nazi criminals who had battened on the war were expropriated and handed over to the people. This provided the basis for the development of socialist property in industry.

It was working-class unity that made possible the formation of the German socialist state, whose whole policy is guided by concern for raising the people's material and cultural standards.

It was working-class unity that made it possible to consolidate the results of the democratic land reform and carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture.

It was working-class unity that made it possible to throw open the doors of schools, colleges and universities to the children of workers and peasants and make education and culture available to the whole people.

Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, stressed at the 25th anniversary celebrations of the GDR: 'The emergence and development of our German Democratic Republic provided proof, on German soil, of the viability and triumph of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin. The working class in alliance with all working strata carries out its historic mission within the framework of a single revolutionary process, from anti-fascist democratic changeover,

through the creation of the foundations of socialism, to the formation of a developed socialist society.' The unity and cohesion of the SUPG is the earnest of the GDR's future successes.

The German socialist worker-peasant state is strong and enjoys worldwide respect, and since the landmark Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) it has been building developed socialist society.

In considering what make possible this successful advance, two main factors should be emphasized: the creative activity of the united working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and, second, the friendship and collaboration of the SUPG and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR.

A worker-peasant state in our country would have been unthinkable without its firm commitment to the fraternal alliance of socialist states built up around the Soviet Union; their rise and development, too, was facilitated by working-class unity.

A detachment of the world communist movement, the SUPG is fully aware that political guidance of social processes under socialism can be provided only by a party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and closely linked with the working people. The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is the motive force in the building of developed socialist society.

The Central Committee report to the Eighth SUPG Congress states: 'Our Party is a huge collective of staunch Communists boundlessly devoted to Marxism-Leninism and confidently leading millions of builders of socialism in the GDR. It is a great alliance in which mutual trust and comradely frankness reign, in which comrades-in-arms support one another in good times and bad. The struggle carried on by our Party embodies the whole meaning of our life.'

Our Party will spare no effort in fulfilling its duty to the international worker movement.

Almost 130 years ago Marx and Engels formulated the slogan, 'Workers of all lands, unite!', for only thus could the great vision of the Communist Manifesto come true. At the time only a few hundred people rallied to their banner. Today millions upon millions, in the socialist world, embodying the future of humankind, in what are still capitalist countries, in the new independent states are gathering around the red banner. Never before in the history of the human race have such vast changes taken place in so short a time. This gives us courage and confidence. This inspires brother parties, and with them the members of the SUPG, to continue to contribute to the cause of unity and cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

People's democracy: a form of transition to socialism

Deszö Nemes
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Anti-fascist liberation movements continued after the conclusion of the Second World War, developing into people's democratic revolutions, which succeeded in those European countries where Anglo-American imperialism and home reactionaries were unable to block them. In Greece, on the other hand, monarchy was imposed through direct British and U.S. armed intervention. The presence of Anglo-American armed forces in France and Itlay and the split of the united working-class anti-fascist front helped home reaction to break up the democratic national coalitions formed at the time of liberation and remove representatives of Communist parties advocating popular rule from the respective governments. As a result, monopoly capitalist government was restored and strong barriers erected against socialism. The same happened in Austria, thanks to the efforts of the occupation forces of the three Western powers, and the readiness of the Social-Democratic Party, which had predominant political influence over the working class, to safeguard the capitalist system and collaborate with the bourgeoisie. In contrast, efforts to contain revolutionary developments in countries liberated by the Soviet Army, proved in vain. Here, there were two decisive factors: direct Soviet aid in repulsing imperialist attempts to intervene and the further consolidation of anti-fascist unity led by the working class that had gained a share in power. This unity ruled out a split in the alliance of Communists and Social Democrats, and frustrated attempts to isolate the working class politically.

Popular power was shaped under the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and the cohesion of the national anti-fascist forces. The immediate aim dictated by the general situation was to assure democratic national development. All-embracing programs of this development were worked out by the respective Communist parties.

The programs of democratic national development envisaged popu-

lar government bodies, elimination of the remnants of fascism, and rapid postwar rehabilitation. They were modelled to assure agrarian revolutions abolishing the class of big landowners, democratic control and regulation by the state, and workers' control over industrial enterprises, including their finance and commercial activity. These aims stood for effective restriction of capitalist exploitation and prevented revival of the financial, industrial and landed oligarchy, the return of monopoly capitalist power. Private enterprise was not totally eliminated, helping assure supplies and services. However, vigorous action was taken against profiteers speculating on the postwar shortages.

In other words, the people's democratic revolution went beyond bourgeois-democratic reconstruction in aim and scale. The decisive force in government was the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, with the former playing the leading role. In some countries, as in Hungary, the section of the bourgeoisie that had joined the wartime anti-Hitler front also became a member of the anti-fascist national front and the new democratic power. The democratic worker-peasant dictatorship was directed against forces hostile to popular government.

Apart from consummating the agrarian revolution, further development of the democratic dictatorship required dependable safeguards against a comeback by the financial oligarcy. People's democratic power therefore extended control and regulation to the main sectors of industry, commerce and banking, coupled with control from below by bodies representing the people, especially workers' control by politically conscious and organized workers. This was essential for democratic national development, which, landowners stripped of power and land tried to prevent by inciting political disturbances, and the capitalist elements and their agents by political and economic subversive activity. Determined struggle and close popular unity frustrated the political scheming and economic sabotage of the reactionaries, and also contributed to the political advancement of the people's democratic forces.

Our experience shows that democratic dictatorship headed by the working class deliberately transcends the bourgeois frameworks, restricting the power of big capital, eliminating domination of capitalist monopoly, and paving the way to socialist changes. *The people's democratic revolutions freed their countries from capitalist rule and laid the ground for socialist development when they were detached from the capitalist world system.*

Apart from essentially identical features, these revolutions had distinctive features deriving from the political situation and the character of the individual governments. In some countries the work-

ing class and its Party, and the revolutionary alliance of the workers and the main mass of peasants, held such great political predominance at the hour of liberation that none could challenge their leading role. In some others, however, the working class and its parties, which had become participants in the exercise of power, had a more difficult struggle to assert and consolidate their leading role, safeguard it against attacks, and oust from power those forces that had become counter-revolutionary. As a result, the further growth of the anti-fascist people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution occurred swiftly, in a matter of weeks or months, in some countries, while taking two or three years in others, such as Hungary. In fact, the process may have taken still longer if the reactionary attacks organized on the initiative and with the aid of imperialist powers had not sharpened the internal struggle. The resistance of the working people necessitated, but also facilitated, an acceleration of revolutionary development.

In Hungary (and wherever else this was possible) the reactionary offensive gained in intensity and was particularly noxious following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. It reawakened hopes that the U.S. atomic monopoly would compel the Soviet Union to cut off aid to the People's Democracies, where the peoples would not dare to oppose U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary forces. And it is true that in Hungary some did lose confidence and urged retreat, though the only way to safeguard popular power was to expose and frustrate the reactionary assault by redoubling the revolutionary struggle. There were also those who deserted. But the reactionary plans collapsed, and the revolution made surer progress.

Dedicated efforts by the Soviet people put an end to the U.S. atom bomb monopoly much more swiftly than Washington had expected. But the People's Democracies were on the road to socialism – even where the process took two or three years – before the U.S. atom monopoly was over. Socialism became a world system precisely at the time of the struggle against the imperialist atomic threat.

The passage of the People's Democracies to the socialist road was politically assured by *the unity and revolutionary policy of the working class*, which stood in the forefront of national construction and took the lead in the struggle for, and exercise of, popular power. This was the foundation of democratic national unity in the titanic constructive effort and the battle to isolate reactionary forces that sabotaged economic rehabilitation. It was elimination of big capital that created the economic basis for passing to the socialist way. In Hungary this was accomplished by nationalizing mines, power stations and flour mills (some of them became state property, some municipal), followed by the takeover of several of the leading enterprises in

heavy industry, and nationalization of banks, transport enterprises, printing plants, etc.

This cut short the attempts of landowners, stripped of power and land, to frustrate the land reform launched in the spring of 1945. In the autumn of that year the Hungarian landed gentry and their agents mounted an attack to recapture their distributed land. They also figured on disrupting the worker-peasant alliance, which had solidified during the land reform. But again the working class and the poor section of peasants, who had received land, stood together, adding to the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. The industrial and financial barons could not get the peasants to defend their factories and banks. The failure of the reactionary moves strongly undermined their position.

The People's Democracies received invaluable aid from the Soviet Union. It was the tremendously increased international influence of the USSR that made possible their withdrawal from the imperialist world and passage from the capitalist to the socialist system. The favorable changes in the international relation of forces, coupled with the multiform fraternal Soviet aid, proved of crucial importance.

Time and again, the Soviet state has surprised the world with achievements its enemies had thought impossible. During the Second World War Britain and the United States entered into a military alliance with the Soviet Union, but expected it to come out of the war militarily exhausted. However, despite their two-year delay in opening the second front, the Soviet Army, which grew into the world's strongest continental force, won victory after victory and by the end of the war reached the banks of the Elbe and captured Port Arthur. The imperialist powers had to reckon with this. But they figured that the Soviet Union was exhausted, that for some years to come it would be preoccupied with vast rehabilitation works in its far-flung northern, western and southern regions. Certainly, they did not expect the country would cope as rapidly as it did, that the unity and organization of the Soviet people would so badly upset their estimates. Still less did they expect the People's Democracies, ravaged by war and fascist occupation, to get vitally necessary aid from the Soviet people, who themselves experienced great shortages and devoted tremendous energy and resources to the rehabilitation of their own country. And yet that aid arrived.

There are those who try to consign this to oblivion. But it cannot be denied that the many-sided Soviet aid was crucial for the People's Democracies, helping them break the imperialist economic blockade. The Anglo-American rulers tried to bring our peoples to their knees by cutting off supplies, by subduing them economically, and then politically. But again their plans failed.

Public order and rule of law, failing attempts to misguide people and overthrow popular power, was central to consolidating the new system. Political and ideological work was conducted on a large scale. Anti-popular elements were expelled from the press. The forces maintaining revolutionary public order, including the state security agencies, were strengthened, and the reactionary attacks on them repulsed.

Political struggle to consolidate popular power and assure its further progress was part of the enormous efforts that went into *reorganizing and boosting economic activity*. The surge of the people's creative energy and the growth of planned economy augmented the potential for national rehabilitation and elimination of the damaging effects of the Western powers' economic war. *Planned economy*, instituted in specific conditions, became an *effective and necessary political instrument for restoring order in the dislocated economy, and also for its socialist reconstruction*.

In Hungary economic planning began with the definition and initial implementation of key rehabilitation projects. This was followed by the elaboration of a general economic plan. State procurement and regulation of an increasing part of the turnover of farm products was directed on mitigating the postwar shortages suffered by the population. The production of all important privately-owned factories was also regulated – by means of state orders, distribution of credits and materials, and in other ways. The capitalists and their agents had to be forced to accept and carry out government decisions and instructions. This was done mainly by the trade-union factory committees, backed by firm political guidance. Their effective control at enterprise level and participation in management reduced the chances of politically-motivated capitalist sabotage. At this point the Communist Party, which had assumed economic guidance at the start of rehabilitation, came forward with a three-year economic plan. The Party was the moving spirit in elaborating the plan and its acceptance by the nation. Its implementation began in the summer of 1947.

Since the political struggle against the reactionary forces continued unabated, *total nationalization of industry* was on the order of the day. The joint activity of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, coupled with trade-union work at enterprise level, were decisive in assuring nationalization and higher production. Until then the trade-union factory committees had dealt with capitalist owners or capitalist-appointed managers; the two sides represented opposite classes. Following nationalization, the factory committee and the management, usually headed by a member of the factory's Party organization or trade-union committee, both represented the working class. Dedicated to common aims and coming to grips with common

problems, they now worked for the constructive needs of the entire personnel, improving working and living conditions, promoting political, cultural and occupational advancement, and contributing thereby to the general progress of the country.

The developing planned economy also gave scope and support to small-scale (artisan) private industry. This was important politically and economically, because artisans helped to stimulate economic activity. True, there was some profiteering among the artisans, and this had to be fought. But all lawful activity was supported. The artisans were allowed to have organizations to represent their professional and political interests, which later facilitated the growth of *cooperative industry*. But private artisan industries continued to retain their importance as an auxiliary economic sector. (The practice of intensified reduction of small-scale private industry, which replaced regulation and control in the early 50s, created disruptions, especially in the service trades, and required corrective action.)

Building up *trade*, the turnover of commodities, was one of the top prioritites during the rehabilitation period. Here, the state procurement of farm produce, coupled with regulation of an increasing segment of the retail network, was highly important. Consumer cooperatives expanded rapidly, but the private sector held the lead until state-operated trade was ready to take over. State control and regulation of wholesale enterprises was not enforced until they were nationalized. Since some of the wholesale enterprises also had retail outlets, their nationalization contributed greatly to the growth of the state-operated marketing network. But small-scale private trade was allowed to continue within certain limits as an auxiliary service. (And when in the early 50s forced reduction replaced control and regulation, the resulting disruptions necessitated corrective action. At present, there is legalized small-scale private trading, amounting to less than one per cent of the retail turnover.)

Close political cooperation and systematic comparing of notes by Communist and workers' parties of friendly countries is important for the success of the revolutionary process. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943, but wherever possible fraternal parties contined or reestablished direct mutual contacts. The opportunities for this increased after the war. Systematic contacts and cooperation between the fraternal parties of the People's Democracies gained in importance. Direct exchanges of opinion by our Party and the CPSU, and also the Communist and workers' parties of other People's Democracies, helped resolve many of our problems.

Discussion of experience was just as important for the Social-Democratic parties, which participated in the people's democratic revolution alongside the Communist parties. (This does not apply to

Yugoslavia and Albania, because the Yugoslav Social-Democratic Party was no longer operative at liberation, while Albania never had one.) International conferences of Social-Democratic parties playing a prominent part in their countries, discussed questions of cooperation with Communists and the experience of rehabilitation. Another subject they discussed was the factional activity of Right-wing Social Democrats, who acted hand in glove with reactionary forces and almost paralyzed the ranks of their parties. The factionalists had the support of Western Social Democrat leaders, chiefly the British Labourites, eager to disrupt the Social Democrats' cooperation with Communists in the People's Democracies and reverse the course of events. The left leaders of the Social-Democratic parties were anxious and determined to blunt reactionary pressure. They communicated their concern to each other and to the respective Communist parties. They established ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which helped them to see through and reject divisive projects sent from the West.

The bitter experience of fascist rule, on the one hand, and the successes of the people's democratic revolution, attributable mainly to the political and ideological unity of the working class, on the other, exercised a determining influence on these Social-Democratic parties. The right-wing motivations disappeared. Conditions matured for the merging of Communists and Social Democrats on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and in the name of the socialist perspective.

In Hungary the merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties began in the spring of 1948, when their branches were fused under the supervision of a joint executive committee. In June it culminated in a unity congress. This consolidated and formalized the political unity of the working class, giving it added authority and asserting its undisputed leading role in society.

The political unity of the working class, built on the Marxist-Leninist ideological foundation, was the revolutionary answer to all divisive designs. The enemies of workers' unity and power suffered a major defeat. But they did not lay down arms. Nor did they lack assistance from the West. (Employing diversified tactics, but most of all that of professing 'Marxism' or 'Leninism,' and, more recently, exploiting Maoist slogans and describing revisionists as the 'new left wing,' they seized upon every opportunity, and still do, to split the ranks of the united Marxist-Leninist parties). It is a law of history, however, that people's democratic development creates conditions for the revolutionary unity of the working class achieved during the passage to the socialist road in the struggle for socialist objectives. This is reflected in our Program Declaration adopted by the Unity

Congress in June 1948 and acclaimed by the vast majority. This Declaration outlined the immediate aims of socialist construction.

With the people's democratic revolution, which got off the ground in 1944-1945, the working class became the leading force on the political stage, the guiding spirit in the country's democratic national development. Having wrested the country from the imperialist world, the people's democratic revolution paved the way to a democratic agrarian revolution and laid restraints on capitalist exploitation; it assured the all-out deployment of the forces of socialist revolution and paved the way to a relatively peaceful victory. Then followed the socialist revolution, or, as we sometimes say, the people's democratic revolution grew into the socialist revolution. In this way, People's Democracy was a specific form of transition to socialism in our country.

Hungary has gone a long way along the road of socialist construction. As a result of dogmatic political distortions, of enemy activity and treachery, there were serious flaws in the early stage, 1949-1956, which had later to be overcome in a difficult struggle. Certainly, the period until 1956 is highlighted by major and enduring achievements. But it also caused disenchantment and bitterness. Acting on its lessons, our Party forged its Leninist policy in a struggle on two fronts, assuring broad socialist construction. For the past 18 years socialist construction in our country has been making uninterrupted and effective progress. Our 11th Party congress, scheduled for March 1975, will sum up the results and general experience of the period since the preceding congress, and, as is the custom, will look back on the time since liberation. The Party can rightly say that, following the people's democratic revolution, Hungary has traversed a path of historic gains, turning popular power into socialist power, developing people's democracy into socialist democracy, changing the conditions in all fields of life, and cooperating closely with fraternal countries. It is in the midst of a socialist upsurge and marches with sure steps toward its great social goals.

Europe's new look

Ryszard Frelek,
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Most people will agree that European history has reached a turning point. The postwar period, in which the new political map of the continent took shape and won recognition and the new alignment of forces was consolidated, has ended and a new period, for which the developments to date serve as the launching pad for further deep changes, has begun. It is no accident, therefore, that Europe's communist movement has concluded that it is time for a meeting to assess the situation and set the guidelines for future joint action.

The time is ripe, the conditions are there, and the need is apparent to present the prospects of further advance, to present a picture of a Europe of peace. security, cooperation and social progress. Thirty years after the end of the Second World War, in the wake of all the generally recognized positive changes, in an atmosphere of developing détente, in conditions of a general growth of progressive forces and collaboration between them, the moment is appropriate to put forward such a perspective and work for its realization.

And none is better equipped for this than the communist movement, the most powerful, most consistent social movement of the continent in the fight for progress, the decisive force of peace of our time.

It has never restricted itself to the social problems of individual countries. Since its emergence it has addressed itself to the fundamental issues of international relations, above all the issue of peace, which is inseparable from the cause of socialism.

As stated in the announcement of the Warsaw Consultative Meeting, the projected conferènce of European Communist and Workers' parties will discuss 'The Struggle for Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe,' a formula which covers all the main closely interconnected and interrelated problems of the present and future of our continent.

This was confirmed by the discussion at the consultative meeting which, together with the reports and assessments of all parties follow-

ing it, stressed the tremendous, fundamental significance of the deepening processes of détente.

Détente is an objective necessity bred by the situation in Europe and the world. It is rooted in the requirements of social development. Détente means not only normalization of relations based on recognition of the inviolability of the politico-territorial realities of postwar Europe and the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; it also creates real opportunities for finally doing away with political and military confrontation, for collectively building up a stable security system. This in turn will increasingly facilitate peaceful, equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation between states and peoples.

In effect, the Communist parties' stand on all these issues reaffirms the importance of the tasks facing the European Security and Cooperation Conference. They hold that existing conditions favor its successful and speedy conclusion, and support the efforts to this end of the socialist countries, whose initiative led to it.

They also support the agreed peaceful policy of the socialist states aimed at promoting détente and making it irreversible, and especially the vigorous and consistent international activity for peace – the activity of the CPSU, to which such a great personal contribution, arousing universal recognition and respect, is being made by CPSU General Secretary, L.I. Brezhnev.

There is no contradiction between the objectives of the contemplated conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and the main objectives of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. On the contrary, they are in many ways identical. But the European Security and Cooperation Conference is a meeting of states and, given all the existing difficulties and contradictions, it will produce mutually acceptable agreements.

The communist movement, as the main force of progress, must look further ahead, pave the way for far-reaching decisions, and show the peoples the prospects of making Europe a continent of lasting peace, stable security and friendly cooperation of all countries.

At the same time our movement, by virtue of its Marxist-Leninist character, closely links all social issues with the struggle for social progress, which it sees as the main prerequisite for ending wars and building universal peace. Stable peace, in turn, is a fundamental condition for the successful solution of social problems.

Communists seek the broadest cooperation with all democratic forces in the struggle for peace and social progress. This was convincingly indicated by the discussions in connection with the projected conference. Cooperation between Communists and Socialists, Social Democrats and other democratic forces has been expanding in many

European countries in the last few years, as well as contacts between these forces and the Communist parties of the socialist countries. The exchange of views at the Warsaw Consultative Meeting fully demonstrated the participants' good will and readiness to promote that extremely important trend. The conference of European Communist and Workers' parties will doubtlessly discuss the question more extensively.

And one more important thing. All parties taking part in the consultations and other activities are contributing to the preparations for the conference. This work is taking place in a democratic atmosphere, in accordance with the principles of equality of all parties, collective decision-making and fraternal cooperation. All of which completely refutes sundry bourgeois propaganda speculations aimed at dividing our movement. The preparations for the conference are vivid testimony to the viability of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the growing ideological unity and cooperation of the fraternal parties.

As already noted, the preparations for the European conference of Communist and Workers' parties are proceeding in an atmosphere of fundamental change and development. An important aspect of this situation is that the new face of Europe has formed completely and real conditons are being created for the solution of the continent's problems of peace, security and cooperation.

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, emphasized this when, speaking at the UN General Assembly, he said, 'Thanks to the victory of the great anti-fascist coalition, the emergence of the socialist community, and the new alignment of forces, Europe, the cause and main theatre of operations of two world wars, has been living in peace for 30 years. There are real conditions for perpetuating this state of affairs, which is of exteme importance for the cause of peace all over the world. It is here that the turn from "cold war" and "positions of strength policies" to normalization and détente has so far been most pronounced. The political and territorial realities that formed in Europe after the Second World War and as a result of postwar developments have won universal recognition. This has provided the basis for mutual trust and expanding peaceful cooperation. The realization is growing that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.'

Gierek pointed out the main elements of the new European situation: those in what could be described as the basis, and those in the superstructure. A few explanatory remarks are called for.

The basis of the new European situation is, first, the new correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism. The formation of the socialist community was the main, fundamental postwar change in

Europe, and it was consolidated in the past 30 years. This created an entirely new alignment of economic, political and social forces. Socialism's weight in determining the future of Europe is at least equal of that of capitalism, which has irretrievably lost its monopoly control over developments and can no longer impose decisions on issues of war and peace. Today this is more apparent than ever.

With the formation and development of the socialist community historical opportunities have appeared for overcoming the great discrepancies in socio-economic levels, which had in the past made it easier for imperialism to interfere in the affairs of other countries and play the game of 'spheres of influence,' and which was also a factor preventing political stabilization in Europe. The USSR, with its vast economic potential, and the other socialist countries, most of which had not so long ago belonged to the 'backyard' of Europe, now account for more than half the continent's production capacities. The main discrepancies in economic development have been overcome in the historically short time of three decades.

The new correlation of economic forces is characterized by two features, at present more vividly apparent than at any time in the past. First, thanks to their planned economies, the socialist countries developed more effectively. Expansion of the manufacturing industries was accompanied by the creation of an energy and raw-material base which, in effect, protected us from the consequences of the fuel and raw-material crisis that has aggravated serious economic difficulties and has produced a virtual depression in the developed capitalist countries.

Second, the socialist countries living standards are rising faster than ever, while in the capitalist countries rocketing inflation is undercutting consumption. The superiority of the overall planned strategy of socialist economic development over the spontaneous 'market' model of capitalist development combined with state-monopoly regulation stands out more clearly than ever. And there is every reason to expect that superiority to become even more pronounced in future.

Given the old balance of forces, capitalism, and especially its most reactionary faction, would doubtlessly have tried to find a way out of the depression and crises by aggravating tensions and fomenting conflicts, by pursuing an aggressive policy. As that balance stands today, however, they see one of the ways of alleviating crisis situations in broader economic cooperation with the socialist countries, which offers the possibility of maintaining business activity and employment in various industries and improving the fuel and raw-material situation and the balance of payments. Naturally, there are also forces who still prefer the old way out, and extreme vigilance with regard to them is most important.

Also among the basic factors of the new situation in Europe are the

political and territorial realities resulting from the war and the victory of the great anti-fascist coalition. Fundamental changes have taken place in Europe, especially Central Europe, changes in keeping with the historical aspirations of the peoples and, as confirmed by the whole postwar period, the vital interests of peace and security.

The new correlation of forces achieved by the socialist community has made impossible attempts to undermine or weaken the new political and territorial arrangement. Imperialist forces failed in their attempts to challenge it and were compelled, not only to accept the existing state of affairs, but also to recognize it as irreversible and inviolable. The ultimate confirmation of this was the treaties signed in the last few years between the socialist countries and the FRG.

From the beginning the new map of Europe could not be altered; now it is recognized by all. This covers the inviolability of the borders of the GDR, now enjoying universal de jure recognition.

Communists, I think, will agree that the alignment of class forces, which is changing in favor of peace and socialism, and the political trends apparent in capitalist countries, are also aspects of the basis of the present situation. The fiasco of the cold war, one of the objectives of which was to isolate the Left, epitomizes the new situation into bold relief. The last few years have seen not only the further growth of communist influence in a number of capitalist countries of Europe, but also a renewal of contacts and alliances with socialist parties and other democratic forces.

In Portugal, the collaboration of left forces and the progressive army movement resulted in the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

In Greece, the offensive of all democratic forces helped bring down the fascist junta.

In Spain, the only European country with a fascist dictatorship, the working class is stepping up the fight for its demands and for democracy.

In France, the alliance of Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals came within reach of victory in the presidential elections.

In Italy, the realization is growing that the grave social and economic crisis cannot be overcome without the participation of the Communist Party with its mass support.

In most Scandinavian countries, various forms of cooperation are developing between Social Democrats and Communist parties, whose influence is on the rise.

In Great Britain, radicalization of the working class and more consistent policies in the trade union movement helped bring down the Conservative government and return the Labour Party to power.

Finally, in the FRG, the German Communist Party, is gathering strength and expanding its activity.

The alignment of class forces in the capitalist countries of Europe

and the major changes of the last few years in their political life are extremely important factors of the new European situation. The monopolies, especially the multinationals, are under growing mass pressure. The forces of reaction and cold war, increasingly threatened by isolation, are resorting to more determined efforts to protect their interests, even attempting to retrieve the ideology of fascism from the garbage heap of history.

But Communists should in no way underestimate or, worse still, ignore the forces of capitalism. They still enjoy considerable influence in economic life and are able to shift the burden of growing expenditures and other consequences of recession and depression to the working people. They are continuing the arms race, seeing it as a means of bolstering business activity and rallying supporters of the obsolescent way of life. Changes in the balance of class forces and advance along the road of social progress are won in bitter struggle, the outcome of which has not yet been decided. In most West European countries Communists do not regard the question of transition to socialism as one of the immediate future. They are fighting in growing collaboration with other progressive forces to restrict monopoly power, for democracy, social progress and a peaceful foreign policy.

The fact remains, however, that the alignment of class forces, changing as it is in favor of progress and peace, is an extremely important factor in the new European situation conducive to successful resolution of the basic problems of European development.

It was the new balance of class forces in the continent and the world that helped bring about the crisis of cold-war policy and to launch détente. The processes taking place in what we might call the superstructure of international relations derive from objective prerequisites in their basis. But there is also a feedback in the sense that détente deepens, and at the same time accelerates, changes in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, that it helps the peoples' struggle for their rights. Examples are the end of the war in Vietnam, the deepening crisis of Israel's policy of aggression in the Middle East, the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial system. In Europe the process accelerated the collapse of the fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece, and in all capitalist countries it facilitates the struggle for social progress, against the domination of international monopolies, against anti-communism and reaction.

A new situation has thus emerged in Europe. The far-reaching, fundamental changes of the 30 postwar years make it possible for the forces of socialism to broach and successfully resolve the crucial problems of peace, security, cooperation and social progress. This is precisely what the peoples expect of the projected conference of European Communist and Workers' parties.

The socialist community is our dependable ally

Aziz Muhammed
First Secretary,
Iraqi Communist Party

Socialism's alliance with the national-liberation movement became a reality with the victory of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. And following the emergence of the socialist world system, the socialist community, the cooperation of these two streams of the revolutionary process became a dependable guarantee of success in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress.

The growth of the world revolutionary process in the middle of the 20th century had a strong bearing on the victories of the Arab liberation movement in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Algeria, Yemen and elsewhere. The existence of socialist countries objectively facilitated political self-determination in colonies, pinning down the armed forces of the major imperialist powers. The socialist system created favorable international conditions for the successful development of the national liberation movement, augmented in recent years by the détente resulting from the peace offensive of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union.

With the emergence of sovereign states on the Asian and African continents, the countries of the socialist community became able to exercise a greater and more direct influence on the liberative processes in these regions through the establishment of inter-state relations. These are in substance a *new* type of relations, filled with a *liberative* and *anti-imperialist* content. They enable the newly-established countries to overcome one of the most acute contradictions of their place in the present-day world – that between their sovereign political status and their economic dependence on imperialism. That is something only struggle for economic independence can eliminate. And world socialism is doing its utmost to stimulate that struggle by helping the developing countries to build up key industries, the foundation of the national economy.

This is a most important aspect of socialism's internationalist function in relation to the new states. Socialism is the most consistent helper in eliminating the causes of their dependence on imperialism.

The ties between the socialist states and the developing countries are growing broader and richer in content. And they become still closer and still more diverse when, acting on national-patriotic interests, the latter opt for a progressive policy, launching radical social changes, and following a consistently anti-imperialist line. This sort of evolution occurred in the relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Its progressive revolutionary and anti-imperialist character is reflected, among other things, in Article 2 of the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty: 'The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Iraqi Republic declare that they will cooperate closely in every way to safeguard and assure conditions for the further development of the *social-economic gains of their peoples and of respect for the sovereignty of each of them over their natural resources*' (my italics – *A.M.*). The same principle is followed in Iraq's relations with Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries. They are helping our republic to consolidate its anti-imperialist gains.

Ideological inter-party contacts between ruling Communist parties and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations became more meaningful with the deepening of the social content of the liberation movement. This is reflected in the growing ties between the CPSU, the Communist and Workers' parties of other socialist countries, and the Middle East revolutionary democrats. Communists and revolutionary democrats meet regularly. That has become a tradition. And the theoretical conference in Baghdad (June 1974), 'The Alliance of World Socialism and the National Liberation Movement,' held under the joint auspices of *World Marxist Review* and the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq, was part of that tradition.

The socialist countries regard the revolutionary democratic regimes as allies in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress. Much of the socialist community's aid to developing countries goes to the progressive states of Asia and Africa. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed that aid and support of these states is a foremost objective of the Communists' foreign policy. Political and economic ties with the socialist world give the peoples a real opportunity for choosing their social system independently.

This choice is the birthright of every people. But there must be freedom to exercise it. This is why, stressing the significance of independent social choice, Marxist-Leninists attach special importance to the class content of this freedom.

In the formative stages of the struggle for independence, the social choice of the imperialist-oppressed peoples was confined first and

foremost to political self-determination. The content of the national freedom slogan was essentially anti-colonial, anti-imperialist. And it rallied different classes ranging from workers and peasants to the national bourgeoisie.

On winning state sovereignty, this slogan became more specific. The local bourgeoisie that assumed power in many Afro-Asian countries after the Second World War, gave it its own content. For it, independent national development meant capitalist development. Even now, as we know, the bourgeoisie in some of the Asian, African and Latin American countries is trying to prolong the 'historical experiment' of capitalist evolution independent from imperialism. But the close association of the local economy with the 'free enterprise' system often leads to consequences that take on the dimension of a national danger, causing alarm among the masses and even among certain sections of the national bourgeoisie. The more far-sighted local businessmen quite correctly trace the reason behind economic crises, monetary upheavals and the mounting inflation in their countries to one-sided orientation on the capitalist world. This is at the root of their anti-imperialist sentiment, their determination to 'balance out' the ties with the capitalist world by relations with the socialist countries. That enables them to take a more independent international position, to espouse non-alignment, and to demand equality in economic relations with capitalist countries. Sections of the national bourgeoisie are also often prompted to build up economic contacts with the socialist system by commercial motives, the direct advantages implicit in dealing with countries whose economy is free of cyclical fluctuations and crises, inflation and unemployment.

The experience of newly-free states shows that the capitalist way provides *no guarantees against restoration of imperialist positions and influence*, albeit in a more refined, neo-colonialist form. Even where the local bourgeoisie displayed a certain vitality, where bourgeois governments managed to raise production and nationalize some foreign monopolies, the gains were mostly precarious. Yet bourgeois circles continue to cherish their ties with imperialism. Such 'successful' capitalist development usually leads to a visible growth of big capital, local monopoly, of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie favoring close cooperation with imperialism, of parasitism and pro-Western sentiment among the propertied classes, and of authoritarian anti-democratic tendencies in home policy. All this poses a threat to national independence, and is used by home and foreign reaction for its own ends.

National capitalism has limited historical resources, due among other things to the weakness of the national bourgeoisie in Asia and Africa. As a rule, it is incapable of competing with imperialist

monopoly. So, despite the objective disparity of business interests, it often seeks conciliation with foreign capital, nursing illusions of 'equitable cooperation.' And wherever this trend takes precedence, the social choice of local bourgeois elements is immediately reduced to 'dependent capitalism,' culminating in outright surrender to imperialism.

It should be remembered that though the capitalist orientation may once have been historically progressive, it has lost all its former content in this era of global transition to socialism. The liberation revolutions of today are different from the old bourgeois revolutions. The general democratic changes involved in the battle for economic independence are a blow at the system of class exploitation, leading up to rejection of the capitalist way.

With the implementation of the tasks of the liberation revolution and the general democratic changes, national-bourgeois elements usually begin to move away from the revolutionary forces, because as a rule their attitude toward such changes is distinctly negative. This is borne out by the experience of Iraq and other Arab countries where socialist-oriented patriotic regimes have come to power. Reactionary features appear in the behavior of the local bourgeoisie, and this, as developments show, is quickly seized upon by the imperialists.

The local bourgeoisie tries to emasculate the general democratic content of the slogan of national freedom. Not so the oppressed classes and social strata, the working masses, the majority of the nation. In a number of Arab countries their aspirations and interests are promoted by revolutionary democrats, whose social base consists of the peasants, the urban semi-proletarians, and the radical nationalistic intelligentsia. And it is the view of the working class and its Party that these social forces are beginning to understand the necessity of a further projection of the general democratic principles of national freedom.

As the social content of the liberation movement grows deeper, the slogan of national freedom acquires not only an anti-imperialist, but also an anti-capitalist complexion, reflected in the politico-ideological platform of the revolutionary democrats. Alongside the Communists, who are the most tenacious fighters for revolutionary ideals and social progress, it attracts a wide range of social forces, progressive parties and organizations. Take Iraq and Syria. The Baathists there have formed united patriotic fronts together with the Communists and other democratic elements.

Together with their peoples the advanced sections of the liberation movement are locked in battle against imperialism and domestic reactionary and rightist groups, fighting for the sovereign right to determine the course of national development. The socialist orienta-

tion proclaimed by the revolutionary-democratic regimes tends to fortify the political and economic pillars of independence, paving the way for the further growth of those classes and social strata – first of all the proletariat – whose will is ultimately decisive in the choice of social evolution.

The Communist parties are drawing the working people into the revolutionary process and stimulating their constructive activity in various fields. Their effort as allies of the revolutionary democrats in the progressive countries is aimed at activating the historical initiative of the popular masses, the real makers of history. The progressive forces are inspired by the historical example of socialism, the most advanced social system. As they see it, alliance with the countries of the socialist community is a crucial premise of a truly free social choice by peoples fighting against imperialism, zionism and reaction, and for national independence and social progress. This point of view is now not only that of Communists but also of the revolutionary democrats. And that is important.

International imperialism tries to profit from the anti-democratic tendencies in the policy of the local bourgeoisie, the social forces oriented on capitalism and of their anti-communist inclinations. With the deepening of the liberation process, their interests come into collision with those of the masses, with the objective needs of social progress.

The reactionary aspects of this evolution in the attitude of the bourgeoisie spread also to foreign policy. Of late, the Arab region has been the scene of ferocious attacks by imperialism, zionism and reaction against the alliance of the Arab liberation movement and countries of the socialist community. Attempts are made to eliminate the Soviet Union from participating in the settlement of the Middle East problem. Such subversive activity is meant to weaken the Arabs in the face of imperialist plots and Israeli aggression. Frequent overt or veiled appeals are made to curtail or even break ties with the socialist community. These are based on all kinds of pretexts closely resembling the 'arguments' of opponents of close cooperation with the USSR who questioned the quality of Soviet arms on the eve of the October war (in 1973) in the Middle East. In some Arab countries certain people try to 'balance' between the socialist and capitalist worlds, seeing this as 'freedom' from the 'two blocs.' In fact, however, this balancing is simply a departure from the alliance with socialist countries, substituting diplomatic tightrope-walking and deceit for its anti-imperialist principles. This sort of 'freedom,' past events have shown, leads to economic, political and ideological concessions to imperialism and imperils the progressive gains.

Encouraging anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiment among the

right wing of the liberation movement, imperialists and local reaction also try to strike at progressive Arab regimes oriented on alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. The idea is to destroy them from within. Imperialism creates artificial economic difficulties, supports the capitalist-oriented forces, smuggles its agents into the progressive states, and exploits reactionary nationalism and chauvinism. Iraq, too, is a target of such attacks. The attempts of the imperialist oil monopolies to retain their hold on our country have been frustrated; so international reaction is now pinning its hopes on the right wing of the Kurdish movement. The latter, as we know, are hostile to the progressive political line of the national authority, resist social changes, especially the agrarian reform, and are openly anti-communist. The anti-Soviet tendencies of the Kurdish rightists gladden reactionaries of all hues.

But despite the imperialist, reactionary and rightist elements, Arab-Soviet cooperation is gaining in scope. The popular masses, the revolutionary and progressive forces of our region, including the Palestine Resistance, attach ever greater significance to it. The attitude to the socialist world is now the test of the political line of the various sections of the liberation struggle, and first and foremost in determining the further development of the newly-free states.

World events, the steadily changing relation of forces in favor of socialism and its allies of the anti-imperialist front, are stimulating radical attitudes among the foremost sections of the liberation movement, stimulating the development of internationalist features in the movement. The call for internationalist unity was first issued by the Communists. Now the need for such unity is increasingly appreciated by the revolutionary democrats as well. The influence of proletarian internationalism on all sincere fighters for national liberation is now much greater.

As distinct from Communist internationalism, based on the common interests of the working class of the world, the internationalist tendencies of the revolutionary democrats have a different social and political origin. They stem from the experience of advanced non-proletarian revolutionary elements in the anti-imperialist and patriotic struggle for liberation. The fact that these have espoused internationalist slogans is also evidence of a differentiation process within the revolutionary-democratic movement and the crystallization of its more consistent elements.

The foreign policy platform of the revolutionary democrats is the result of their evolution, of an often agonizing reappraisal. It took shape during the anti-imperialist battles on the economic, political and military fronts and through participation in the non-aligned movement. Despite the view (also among revolutionary democrats) that

non-alignment is a 'third force' equidistant from imperialism and world socialism, positive radical anti-imperialist conceptions of non-alignment predominate in the foreign policy of some of the patriotic regimes. The Baath Party in Iraq, for example, has repeatedly denounced the very idea of equating socialist and imperialist states, and has come out against imperialism and for close cooperation with the socialist community.

The main features of the foreign-political platform of the most advanced revolutionary democrats are consistent anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism; solidarity with revolutionary, first of all national-liberation, movements; call for the unity of revolutionary parties and organizations of different countries, and *conscious* development of the alliance with world socialism, as in the case of the foreign policy of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and other progressive states. The last point is especially important, because it does not stand for a time-serving policy, a pragmatic or purely economic line. The Iraqi Baath Party, for example, regards alliance with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, as necessary and natural in principle, in view of the common anti-imperialist approach, and also in the context of Iraqi national interests, the perspectives of the revolutionary process in our country. The common view of Communists and Baathists on this score is reflected in the Charter of the Progressive National Patriotic Front, which says that it will work for the further deepening of the revolutionary course, for closer relations with the Soviet Union in pursuance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, and for all-round ties with the other socialist countries. The Charter also emphasizes the special significance of the *strategic alliance* of the Arab liberation movement, the governments of the independent Arab states, and the progressive movements of our region with the forces of the world revolution, headed by the socialist system.

The national liberation movement's option for strategic alliance with the socialist world is consistent with the objective course of the revolutionary process, the laws of the worldwide class struggle, and the realities of the present situation. It was largely determined by internal progressive changes in the Afro-Asian countries, especially those where revolutionary-democratic parties are in power. And that this alliance will grow stronger, that cooperation will thrive, is guaranteed by the fact that the ruling circles in the newly-free countries have understood the supreme national-patriotic interests of their peoples; that they have taken a radical position in the anti-imperialist struggle; that they observe the essential interests of the working masses, and that they follow the line of deep-going social changes based on the socialist perspective.

Historical experience shows that countries consistently oriented on alliance with the socialist states are invariably successful in their undertakings. Ties with the socialist world have helped Iraq to strengthen its economic and military potential, consolidate the patriotic regime, and augment its international prestige. It was thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community that the Iraqis were able to meet their national obligation to the embattled Arab world and take an effective part in the October war (1973). Soviet support was also crucial in the offensive against the oil monopolies, the nationalization of Iraq Petroleum Company which had plundered our national wealth for so many years, and in repulsing imperialist conspiracies.

The alliance with the socialist system has thus exercised a strong influence on the liberative process in Iraq. And as that process unfolds, the cooperation of socialism and the Iraqi revolution is tending to grow. The all-round expansion of relations with countries of the socialist community has helped to cement the unity of the country's patriotic forces. It has helped to implant the spirit of internationalism among Iraqi working people. Conversely, this unity serves as a dependable guarantee of the stability of our alliance with the socialist world.

Iraq's relations with the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, have risen to a new level through the conclusion of the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Its importance transcends our bilateral relationship, because, as we see it, its provisions could serve as a basis for progressive anti-imperialist international ties between the newly-free countries pursuing deep-going social change, and the socialist countries. It helps to fortify our country's national independence, the friendship of the peoples of Iraq and the Soviet Union, works for the deepening of progressive reforms, the assertion of socialist tendencies in the development of society, and enhances the attractiveness of the new social system among the Iraqi masses. The Treaty is a bridge of confidence between our governments, makes for closer coordination of the joint anti-imperialist policy, and helps settle differences of opinion in a setting of mutual understanding. The signatories stress that their ties are based on the principles of equality, non-interference, and mutual respect of sovereignty.

The forging of ties between the Iraqi and other patriotic regimes and the countries of the socialist community is evidence of the fact that cooperation is the policy both of the socialist countries and the progressive national-revolutionary regimes, which want their relations with the socialist world to have a solid basis. The strengthening of the alliance between socialism and national liberation has made

feasible the grand aims for which our people and other Afro-Asian peoples are fighting. And still closer coordination in the political, economic and cultural fields, coordination in the joint struggle against the hostile ideology of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, will add still greater strength to the unity of the different sections of the anti-imperialist front, facilitating their successful advance toward social progress.

Socialist democracy, an inspiring example

Rodolfo Ghioldi
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CP of Argentina

The Great October Socialist Revolution brought into the world the first social system embodying the highest type of democracy – true, socialist democracy. Socialism proved superior to capitalism in this important field as well.

The people's democratic revolutions in Central and Southeast Europe, which are marking their 30th anniversary this year, and the socialist revolutions that evolved from them, have extended the sphere of this highest type of democracy.

The sceintific approach to the problems of democracy requires analysis of its class content. There is no such thing as abstract democracy, as democracy above classes and the class struggle. The *Communist Manifesto* says: 'All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority.' The dictatorship of the proletariat which resulted from the October Revolution was from the outset just such a democracy of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority.

The end goal of Marxist-Leninists is socialism, and this irrespective of their countries' stage of development. That is why they are the most determined fighters for democratic rights. In 57 years the Soviet Union has wrought gigantic transformations of world-historical significance in all fields. It has built socialism and accomplished the passage from proletarian dictatorship to the state of the whole people.

And on becoming a country of developed socialism, it went on to the construction of communism. The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the resolutions of its congresses, first of all the 24th, testify to the determination of the CPSU to implement the colossal projects facing the country. Soviet democracy is becoming deeper and broader (inconceivable in any bourgeois state) and it may be said that its further progress and communist construction go hand in hand. While democracy is constantly down-graded in the bourgeois countries, it has proved its viability in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. That is why the example of true, socialist democracy acts as a powerful and inspiring example in the peoples' struggle for national and social emancipation.

Communists in the capitalist countries cannot stand aloof in questions of democracy. In fact, they are the ones that hold up the banner of struggle for the freedom of the individual, the press, speech and association, and for the democratization of political life and the electoral system. They expose election frauds, and the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism. But they also use parliament to fight for the rights of the workers and the entire people.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International Lenin told Amadeo Bordiga, an opponent of Communists' participating in parliament, that 'parliament is a scene of the class struggle' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 256). Lenin's approach to the question of democracy is part of our ideological and political arsenal, and was doubtless the cornerstone of the Seventh Comintern Congress decision to work for the broadest possible united front against fascism. The Document, 'Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces,' adopted by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow, 1969) says: 'The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens *to democratize every aspect of social life*. A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to politcal asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail.'[1]

Struggle for democratic rights is not incompatible with struggle for socialism. On the contrary, it adds impulse to the advance of the

workers and people to socialism. There is a convincing reference to this in the Program of the CPSU: 'The general democratic struggle against monopoly does not delay, but on the contrary brings closer the socialist revolution. *Struggle for democracy is part of the struggle for socialism*. The deeper the democratic movement becomes, the higher becomes the political awareness of the masses and the more clearly they see that only socialism can open the road to genuine freedom and well-being. The process of that struggle dissipates right-socialist, reformist illusions, and sees the creation of the political army of socialist revolution.'

Under communist leadership the working class – often in alliance with other forces – plays the main part in the struggle for democracy. One may say that now the cause of freedom and human rights is in the hands of the proletariat. This is borne out by the events in Italy and France, the Spanish workers' struggle against fascism; and the role of the working people and the Communist Party in the overthrow of the hated Salazar regime in Portugal. It is also borne out by the mounting activity of the proletariat in Latin American countries – the stormy strike movement that brought about the downfall of the military dictatorship in Argentina, the 15-day strike against the Bordaberry regime by the Uruguayan workers under the leadership of the National Convent of Labor, and other actions. The workers' active participation in political battles for democracy is an important revolutionary factor favoring proletarian hegemony in the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic movement. All this shows that close working-class alliance with the peasant masses and progressive forces in urban centers offers favorable perspectives of growth for the revolutionary movement.

The single and united socialist system is an insuperable obstacle to imperialism's reactionary and aggressive plans. This is why imperialist leaders tried, and are still trying, to create a breach in the community of socialist countries. The CC CP of Czechoslovakia stresses in its documents that in 1968 Czechoslovakia 'became the object of the concentrated pressure of political and ideological subversion by Western anti-communist centers.'[2]

Right opportunist and anti-socialist forces brandished slogans of a 'democratic socialism.' What they really wanted was to eliminate the gains of socialism in Czechoslovakia and restore the old bourgeois order, spreading illusions about the capitalist West and the pre-Munich bourgeois republic.[3]

When anyone tries to speculate with the concept of 'democratic socialism' or 'pure democracy,' Communists are aware that there is no such thing as 'pure democracy.' This concept is conspicuous by the absolute absence of class approach.

Socialist democracy is true democracy. The building, consolidation and further development of socialism have created the basis for a truly democratic system, a democracy in deed and word. Exposing Karl Kautsky, Lenin wrote: 'For the transition from the bourgeois system to socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies is not only a higher type of democratic institution (as compared with the usual bourgeois republic crowned by the Constituent Assembly) but is the only form capable of securing the most painless transition to socialism' (Vol. 28, p. 264).

In the Soviet Union, and under socialism generally, social inequality and racial and national oppression are impossible. The national question has been solved on the basis of Leninist principles. And this has created a dependable basis for the most advanced of democracies. In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, there is racial oppression of 'coloreds' (in the USA of Latin Americans, Indians, Asians and Afro-Americans) and national oppression (Ireland), to say nothing of the appalling social inequality which permits a handful of magnates to exploit tens of millions of working people (though this does not prevent the plutocracy from holding forth about democracy). Bourgeois governments like to speak of national equality, but those are only words. The facts are different.

There are no antagonistic classes in the Soviet Union. Democracy can therefore be continuously extended by drawing the people into the administration of state and public affairs. It has become a Soviet tradition to discuss the more important legislative bills at hundreds of thousands of open meetings attended by tens of millions of people. Proposals and amendments suggested at these meetings are carefully studied, and many of them adopted. Lenin wrote the following concerning socialist democracy: 'Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor' (Vol. 28, p. 243). And he amplified: 'Proletarian democracy is *a million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy' (Ibid., p. 248). These words sound particularly forceful today, in the period of developed socialism. First, conditions have been created for the further perfection of democracy and, second, the so-called bourgeois democracy is regressing more and more. As for the Soviet Union, the years since the adoption of the latest CPSU Program confirm its proposition that '*the transition to communism means the fullest extension of personal freedom and the rights of Soviet citizens*. Socialism has brought the working people the broadest guaranteed rights and freedoms. Communism will bring the

working people further great rights and opportunities.'

The central feature of socialist democracy in the USSR and other socialist-community countries is that it effectively guarantees the enjoyment of proclaimed rights. This is fully in keeping with Lenin's proposition that the 'chief stress is shifted *from* formal *recognition* of liberties (such as existed under bourgeois parliamentarism) *to* actually ensuring the *enjoyment* of liberties by the working people who have overthrown the exploiters . . .' (Vol. 27, p. 155).

This is clearly set out in the Soviet Constitution. More, many functions which under capitalism are the prerogative of the state have in the USSR been delegated to the trade unions, youth and other mass organizations. Socialist democracy gives the working people the right to control and recall their elected representatives. 'No elective institution or representative assembly can be regarded as truly democratic and really representative of the people's will,' Lenin wrote, 'unless the electors' right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised' (Vol. 26, p. 336).

There is nothing remotely resembling that in the capitalist countries, where the 'people's representatives' are a caste unto themselves, separated from the mass of their constituents. The 24th CPSU Congress noted that 'in Soviet socialist democracy an important place is occupied by the organs of *people's control*, in whose work millions of factory and office workers and collective farmers now take part. The Party will continue to do everything to secure the steadfast implementation of Lenin's precepts on constant and effective control by the broad masses.' And the Congress especially emphasized the role of the trade unions in socialist democracy and the need to bring the working people into administering the state. The unions can initiate legislation, and the Congress stressed that 'they have a part in resolving the many economic problems, from factory level to the formulation of the national economic plan.'

The youth, the Komsomol, plays an outstanding part in Soviet life. Suffice it to say that young people make up nearly 20 per cent of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Speaking of Soviet socialist democracy, L.I. Brezhnev told the 24th Congress: 'During the period under review the Party has accomplished considerable and extremely diverse work aimed at further strengthening the Soviet state and perfecting the entire political organization of our society. The principal orientation of this work – in accordance with the tasks of communist contruction – has been and remains the further development of socialist democracy.

'In our country, as everybody knows, the organs of people's power – *the Soviets of Working People's Deputies* – are the foundation of the socialist state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic nature.

This, comrades, is a mighty force. Today they comprise over two million deputies, who administer the affairs of our state of the entire people at all levels. With them in the Soviets there is an army of 25 million activists, dedicated voluntary assistants.'

Addressing the World Congress of Peace Forces, Brezhnev said: 'Our revolution, the triumph of socialism in our country, not only proclaimed but effectively ensured the rights of the workers, something capitalism has failed to do in any country.'

The democratic standards the USSR and other socialist countries apply in international relations are an important aspect of the problem under discussion. And here, too, there is a fundamental difference between the socialist and the capitalist systems. It is exemplified by their attitude to the convenants on economic, social and cultural rights and on civil and political rights. The capitalist countries were reluctant to include in the convenants clauses on economic and social rights, or to assume responsibility for the observance of civil rights. In other words, the imperialists are ready to proclaim these rights, but not to put them into practice. The U.S., British and French representatives opposed inclusion of a clause on the right to self-determination, though this is expressly recognized in the UN Charter. They also objected to clauses banning racial and national discrimination and to equal rights for men and women. The U.S. representative even objected to free primary education. The Soviet Union has ratified both convenants, but the leading capitalist powers evince no desire to sign them. Their negative attitude is still another indication of the continuing erosion of bourgeois democracy.

The different approach to democracy can be seen by comparing the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and international capitalist groupings. Every CMEA member has one vote irrespective of territory or population. Furthermore, resolutions and recommendations are binding only on countries voting for them. And this is the picture in capitalist international groupings: in the Inter-American Development Bank the U.S. commands 42.3 per cent of the votes, which gives it a dominant position. In the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development the U.S. has 24.7 and Britain 10.1 per cent of the votes; together with the FRG, France and Japan they comm[illegible]d 46.9 per cent of the votes. The other members are left with no choice but to submit to the economic and financial dictate of the big capitalist powers, and the dictate extends to political and military matters as well.

Much the same applies to the European Economic Community, where the FRG, France and Italy have 4 votes each, Belgium and the Netherlands 2 and Luxembourg 1. Decisions are binding on all member-states, including those whose interests they clearly impair. In

other words, the three privileged members can impose their will on the rest. This is in sharp contrast to CMEA.

No one will deny that CMEA adheres to democratic standards and procedures based on full equality, whereas capitalist international organizations are based on despotism and discrimination. The vast superiority of socialist democracy stands out in bold relief.

The formal, hypocritical nature of bourgeois democracy is nothing new. Spanish jurist, Jimenez de Asua says most bourgeois constitutions are merely promises couched in rhetoric. Juan Alberdi, who framed the Argentine Constitution, admitted that though a constitution might proclaim the right to work, that does not mean the worker will always find a job. And that applies to all bourgeois constitutions, including that of Argentina. In contrast, the Soviet Constitution not only proclaims but guarantees people's rights. On this as on other matters it differs from bourgeois constitutions.

A closer look at Argentina's Constitution will show that the rights it proclaims are hedged off by a host of reservations which virtually reduce them to naught. Alberdi wrote: 'The Constitution should provide safeguards against current legislation being used to repeal its lofty principles, as has all too often been the case. Fore instance, the Constitution proclaims *freedom of the press*, but a press law can restrict that freedom, make it illusory. The same with *freedom of choice* – an electoral law can impose so many restrictions that free elections become a lie.'

And this is what Alberdi says of the Bolivian Constitution: 'Laws are the rule, the Constitution is the exception.' Or still another example, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany: it envisages 'delegated legislation,' which in plain language means that the government can change valid laws to suit its purposes.

Professor Suli Alves de Sousa of Brazil says six constitutions go back more than 100 years (Argentina's was adopted in 1853), and throughout all those long years the constitutions have remained ineffectual because they are far removed from social and economic realities.

And this revealing piece of wisdom from Charles Evans Hughes, one time Chief Justice of the USA: 'The Constitution is what the judges say.' Which means that the U.S. citizen is governed not by the Constitution, but by 'what the judges say.'

Real power is concentrated in the President. *New York Times* columnist James Reston says the political situation is shaped by the growing power of the President, and that power is growing much faster than that of any other official concerned with foreign policy. That is a development of the nuclear age.

Only the President can order the use of nuclear weapons – Truman

ordered the bomb dropped on Japan when the world war was already drawing to an end. And it is the President who decides whether or not to start a war – Kennedy ordered the attack in the Bay of Pigs and risked a world nuclear conflict during the Cuban crisis in October 1962. This tendency of concentrating power in the executive is characteristic of all capitalist countries.

Non-participation in elections seems to be characteristic of U.S. 'democracy:' in November 1974 only 38 per cent of the electorate took the trouble to vote.

Repeal of constitutional guarantees is still another typical feature of bourgeois democracy. This applies especially to Latin America, where coups d'état are common occurrences. The constitutional study-group appointed by the Argentine government in 1957 found that since the Constitution was proclaimed in 1853, it had been suspended for a total of 25 years. From 1930 through 1957 the country was under martial law most of the time, and from October 28, 1951 to September 30, 1955, it was in a 'state of internal war.'[4]

To this should be added that, in the opinion of Dr. Bustillo, author of the Argentine Military Code, the armed forces do not come under the Constitution at all. In Brazil the dictatorship uses Institutional Acts factually to suspend the Constitution and stifle every semblance of freedom. More, Flavio Marcilio, Speaker of the House of Representatives, has suggested incorporating the most flagrant of these Institutional Acts, No. 5, in the Constitution.[5] There is hardly any need to dwell on constitutional infringements in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia – the misdeeds of their dictatorships are known throughout the world.

That is why, against this background of 'legitimacy' in Latin America and the capitalist world in general, the sterling example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a powerful stimulator in the struggle for democracy, national and social liberation.

1. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969.* Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 35.

2. 'XIV. Sjezd Komunisticke Strany Ceskoslovenska' (14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), Prague, 1971, p. 27.

3. See 'XIV. Sjezd Komunisticke Strany Ceskoslovenska' (14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), Prague, 1971, pp. 29 and 31, and 'Lessons of the Critical Developments in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPC.'

4. On November 6, 1974, martial law was imposed and the Constitution suspended indefinitely.

5. Institutional Act No. 5 was promulgated in December 1968. See article by Luis Carlos Prestes, *Battle of Brazil's Communists*, in the February 1972 issue of *World Marxist Review*.

Thirty years of socialist progress

Facts and figures

SOCIALISM IN THE LEAD

The growing economic might of socialism is a stable and decisive trend of world development. The share of the socialist system in world industrial output has increased from less than 10 per cent in 1937 and roughly 20 per cent in 1950 to almost 39 per cent today. The ratio of socialist countries to developed capitalist countries is now 7 to 10.

One reason for the change in favor of socialism is that the socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America have extended the geographical boundaries of socialism from 17 per cent of the world's area and about 9 per cent of its population before World War II to 26 and 33 per cent, respectively.

But the change is also a result of economic progress and faster development: 10.1 per cent average annual rate of increase of industrial output in the years 1951-1973 in the socialist countries, as against 5.4 per cent in the developed capitalist countries, with overall output increasing 9-fold and 3.3-fold, respectively. Moreover, since the war the socialist countries have shown a predominantly stable rate of planned and proportional economic growth, whereas the capitalist world has been rent by economic crises and recessions, notably in 1948-49 and 1957-58. The United States, the leading capitalist country, has gone through five crises since the war (1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, and 1969-71). Lately crisis phenomena have again been on the rise in the world capitalist economy.

Stable high growth rates are vivid testimony to the advantages of the socialist economic system based on social ownership of the means of production. By the 50s the bulk of the national income in the European People's Democracies came from the socialist sector. At present the socialist sector accounts for virtually the whole of industrial output; in most countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia and

This review is based on official statistics, CMEA data, press items and books from CMEA countries.

Poland) it supplies more than 90 per cent of agriculture's gross product and accounts for all wholesale and foreign trade and 80 per cent or more of the retail trade and catering industry.

The introduction of socialist methods of production in agriculture made possible by voluntary farm collectivization spurred the rate of growth of farm output.

Nine socialist countries – Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR – are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) set up in 1949. Yugoslavia has been taking part in CMEA activities of mutual interest since 1964, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Korean People's Democratic Republic have observer status in some of the Council's agencies. With one tenth of the world's population, the CMEA countries account for about one-third of its industrial output, or roughly double that of the EEC nine and somewhat more than the United States. The CMEA countries' share in the world national income increased from 15 per cent in 1950 to 25 per cent in 1973. Four CMEA members – the USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland – belong to the top 10 industrialized nations of the world.

Output of some items in CMEA and EEC countries was:

	Electric power '000,000,000 kilowatt-hours			Steel '000,000 tons			Mineral fertilizers, '000,000 tons nutrient content		
	1950	1960	1973	1950	1960	1973	1950	1960	1973
CMEA	135	406	1,222	36	86	178	3.1	6.5	26.0
EEC (the Nine)	193	426	1,033	48	98	150	5.1	10.3	16.5

The CMEA countries account for 35.1 per cent of the world wheat production (average for 1966-70), 50.4 per cent of sugar-beet, 18.2 per cent of raw cotton, almost 20 per cent of meat, and about 30 per cent of butter.

The Soviet Union is the major contributor to the socialist world economy. Producing 20 per cent of the world industrial output, it leads the world in coal, iron ore, pig iron, coke, mineral fertilizers, electric and diesel locomotives, tractors (total horesepower), sawn lumber, cement, prefabricated ferroconcrete structural units and parts, cotton and woollen textiles and other basic indices.

A prime economic factor in the socialist countries is fraternal mutual assistance, economic ties and socialist economic integration. Between the end of the war and 1973, the Soviet Union provided technical assistance to other socialist countries in building 1,263 projects, 723 of them in CMEA countries. They include 140 power plants, more than 40 metallurgical works, 132 machine-building and metal-working plants, 55 chemical works. In Bulgaria plants built with Soviet help produced more than 90 per cent of the steel, about 80 per cent of the non-ferrous metals and over half of the chemical products; in Hungary they produce all the metallurgical coke and 60 per cent of the nitrogen fertilizers; in Poland they produce more than 45 per cent of the steel.

Between 1949 and 1971 the countries of the socialist community exchanged, free of charge, 102,000 sets of technical and technological documentation valued at 10,500 million to 14,500 million rubles. By the end of 1973 there were 37 scientific and technological coordination centers functioning under multilateral agreements and pooling the efforts of over 500 research organizations. Some 1,600 research institutes and other organizations in CMEA countries took part in joint or agreed work on over 2,000 sceintific-technological assignments.

The socialist countries' economic growth is accompanied by an expansion of their foreign trade. Their share in world trade rose from 3.9 per cent in 1948 to 12 per cent in 1972.

Prior to World War II, trade between the future European CMEA members was about 12 or 13 per cent of their total foreign trade, and only one per cent of that was with the USSR. Since the war the share has been 60-62 per cent, trade with the Soviet Union amounting to about 36 per cent of the turnover among CMEA countries.

Trade and economic, scientific and technological ties between CMEA and developing countries are expanding rapidly with trade between them soaring from 900 million to 5,700 million rubles between 1956 and 1972. CMEA members helped build more than 2,900 industrial and other projects in 63 developing states, over 65 per cent of which have already gone into operation. Economic development loans granted by CMEA countries are estimated at around 11,000 rubles. This help is especially designed to facilitate the setting up and strengthening of the state sector in industry.

Another important field of cooperation is personnel training. There are now more than 25,000 undergraduate and post-graduate students from developing nations studying at universities and colleges in CMEA countries. Several tens of thousands of people in developing countries are attending institutes of higher learning, junior colleges or vocational training centers built with the help of countries of the socialist community. The Soviet Union alone has helped train more

than 300,000 skilled workers and technicians directly at joint projects.

Commercial ties between socialist and capitalist countries based on the principles of equality are also expanding. In 1972, trade of CMEA countries and Yugoslavia with developed capitalist countries totalled almost 20,000 million rubles, more than three times the 1960 level. In 1973 European socialist and capitalist countries concluded some 600 economic cooperation transactions.

Qualitative changes

The main line of economic progress in the socialist countries is industrial development of all branches of the economy. Socialist economy develops on the basis of heavy industry. This trend is indicated by the changing share of industry and construction in the national income (per cent):

	1950	1973
Bulgaria	43.4	59.6[1]
Czechoslovakia	71.2	74.5
GDR	53.1	69.7
Hungary	35.1	54.7
Mongolia	11.1	36.7
Poland	40.9	62.6
Rumania	49.6	66.7[1]
USSR	63.6	62.3
Yugoslavia	30.1[2]	45.0[3]

[1]1972, [2]1953, [3]1971.

	Total Industry	Electric power	Engineering & metalworking	Chemical
Bulgaria	15	28	53	63
Czechoslovakia	5.9	5.8	12	15
GDR	6.2	4.0	11	8.1
Hungary	6.2	5.9	9.5	28
Mongolia	9.5	31	23	144[1]
Poland	9.4	9	38	23
Rumania	16	22	48	76
USSR	8.5	10	18	15

[1]1953 = 1.

The fastest growth rates are seen in the leading and most promising industries that constitute the material basis of technological progress: electric power, chemistry, engineering and metalworking. This is illustrated by the preceding table (1973, times over 1950):

At the present stage of socialist development in the CMEA countries qualitative factors of economic progress are increasingly coming to the fore. Higher labor productivity is a prime source of higher output. The contributors to it are new scientific and technological techniques, more and better tools, and better organization. The increase in labor productivity (1972 over 1950) was: Bulgaria 4.2 times, Czechoslovakia 3.5, GDR 4.1, Hungary 2.7, Mongolia 2.6, Poland 4.1, Rumania 5, USSR 3.8. By comparison, the increase was 1.8 times in Great Britain, 2.1 in the U.S., 2.7 in the FRG, and 3.1 in France.

About 60 per cent of the growth in national income in the CMEA countries in 1966-1970 was attained through higher labor productivity. In 1971-75 it is expected to account for another 75 per cent increase.

The shift toward more intensive development is indicated by figures showing rising investments in industries responsible for industrial applications of the achievements of scientific and technological progress. Thus, investments in Soviet engineering and metalworking in 1961-1972 increased 3.3 times, as against an overall 2.2-fold increase in industrial investment.

Power-intensity of industrial labor in CMEA countries per worker was 3,000-6,000 kwh in 1950, and 15,000-17,000 kwh in 1970.

The rapidly growing role of science in all spheres – production technology, management and planning – accounts for a qualitative change in the development of socialism. The USSR annually invests more than 4 per cent of its national income in research and development, the GDR and Czechoslovakia each invest more than 3.5 per cent, and in other CMEA countries the figures range from 1.3 to 3 per cent. There are 1.6 million scientists in the socialist community – one-third of the world total.

Economic progress is resulting in a visible narrowing of the development gap between socialist countries. It is estimated that between 1951 and 1970, the maximum gap in the per capita national income of CMEA members narrowed from 3.1:1 to 1.9:1. In 1950, per capita industrial output in Rumania was 30 per cent, and in Bulgaria 40 per cent compared with the Soviet Union's. The respective figures today are two-thirds and more than four-fifths. At present differences between the European CMEA countries in per capita national income are much less than between the United States and the capitalist countries of Europe or between the U.S. and Japan, to say nothing of the difference between developed capitalist and developing countries.

The approximation of the economic levels of CMEA countries is powered by fraternal mutual assistance and high rates of social reproduction throughout the socialist community.

Socio-political development

The major landmarks in the advance of socialism in the postwar period were: the builiding of developed socialist society and commencement of communist construction in the USSR and the laying of the foundations of socialism and building developed socialism in many other socialist states. The economic, social and political changes that have taken place in the socialist countries have combined to produce a social structure characteristic of a society without class antagonisms. The following table shows the breakdown of populations according to social groups:

	Wage and Salary earners	Peasants, craftsmen and artisans		Other groups
		Members of production cooperatives	Not in cooperatives	
Bulgaria 1965	58.8	39.7	1.3	0.2
Hungary Beginning of 1971	75.5	21.0	3.1	0.4
GDR 1964	80.2	11.5	8.3	
Mongolia 1969	56.4	43.5	0.1	
Poland 1970	61.3	3.0	25.6	10.1
Rumania 1966	52.2	40.9	6.1	0.8
Soviet Union End of 1971	80.7	19.3	—	—
Czechoslovakia End of 1971	88.1	9.4	2.4	0.1

The key positions in all public spheres belong to the working class. In 1972 the total workforce of the CMEA countries exceeded 130 million. Also characteristic of their social structure (with the exception of Poland) is the high proportion of cooperative farmers, artisans and craftsmen. Another important social change in socialist society is the rapid growth of the number of intellectuals, scientists, engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers, doctors.

The big changes in the economy affected the industrial, occupational and educational structure of socialist society. There has been a rapid postwar growth of skilled labor. More people performed mechanized jobs. New trades appeared in the wake of comprehensive mechanization and automation. The number of skilled workers doubled in Hungary in the past 20 years, and in Bulgaria increased almost four-fold. Unskilled workers in Czechoslovakia and Poland comprise less than one-fifth of total manpower, and just one-tenth in the GDR. The number of specialists is going up.

Specialists with higher or specialized secondary education (thousands)

	1960	1972
Bulgaria	257	598
Hungary	341[1]	560[4]
GDR	295	815
Poland	679[2]	2,094
Rumania	547[3]	1,070
USSR	8,784	19,000
Czechoslovakia	809	1,356[5]

[1]1964, [2]1958, [3]1961, [4]1971, [5]1970.

The political and state structures of the socialist countries are being developed and improved continuously, assuring the conscious participation of working people in building socialism and communism. Representative institutions elected by, and answerable to, the people are the base of the system of state bodies.

Suffrage is universal as from 18 years of age. Elections are by direct and secret ballot. In some countries more candidates are nominated and registered than the number of contested seats (Hungary, GDR, Poland, Yugoslavia). The right to nominate candidates is given to political parties and other non-governmental organizations and collectives of working people.

The system of state bodies is headed by the supreme representative organ, the sole legislative institution in each country: the People's Assembly in Bulgaria, the State Assembly in Hungary, the People's Chamber in the GDR, Great People's Khural in Mongolia, the Sejm in Poland, the Grand National Assembly in Rumania, the Supreme Soviet in the USSR, the Federal Assembly in Czechoslovakia, and the Federal Assembly in Yugoslavia. Local representative institutions, an important arm in the system of state bodies, combine func-

tions of state power with local self-government, and assure broad participation of working people in public affairs.

The democratic electoral system assures the election of representatives of the people – workers and other working people. This may be illustrated by the social background of the supreme representative bodies.

– Out of the 400 duputies to the People's Assembly of Bulgaria elected in 1971, 101 are directly employed in material production, 48 are in science, the arts, and culture, 118 in government service, 57 Party workers. Women total 75, and 43 deputies are under 30;

– our of the 352 deputies to the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic elected in 1971, 137 are of working-class origin, 60 are farmers and 131 intellectuals. Twenty-four per cent of deputies are women;

– out of the 500 deputies to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic elected in 1971, 219 are workers, 77 farm laborers, members of agricultural production cooperatives, individual farmers, gardeners and fishermen, 102 white collar workers, 101 intellectuals; 31.8 per cent of duputies are women;

– out of the 460 deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic elected in 1972, 90 are workers, 62 farmers, 10 artisans. Women total 73;

– out of the 465 deputies to the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Rumania elected in 1969, 92 are workers and 76 farmers;

– out of the 1,517 deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR elected in 1974, 498 are workers, 271 collective farmers. Women total 475 (31.3 per cent). Deputies under 30 years of age – 279.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries play the leading role in government and public life. The following figures show the percentage of workers and peasants in their membership.

	Workers	Peasants
Bulgarian CP	40.6	24.9
HSWP	58.3	14.2
SUPG	56.6	5.7
MPRP	30.0	20.4
PUWP	39.6	10.6
RCP	48.4	22.0
CPSU	40.7	14.7
CP Czechoslovakia	44.1	4.7
LC Yugoslavia	29.1	6.0

Mental workers and specialists in various branches of knowledge make up a considerable percentage of the membership.

The ruling Communist and Workers' parties are mass parties. Membership in the Bulgarian CP is over 730,000, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party about 750,000, Vietnam Party of Working People 1,100,000, Socialist Unity Party of Germany nearly two million, CP of Cuba 170,000, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party 61,000, Polish United Workers' Party 2,263,000, Rumanian CP 2,480,000, Communist Party of the Soviet Union more than 15 million, CP of Czechoslovakia 1,234,000, and League of Communists of Yugoslavia 1,077,000.

In some countries there are several parties. These are part of broad alliances of patriotic forces constituted in popular (national) fronts. Apart from the Marxist-Leninist Party, the vanguard of the working class, Bulgaria has the Bulgarian Popular Agricultural Union; GDR – the Democratic Peasant Party, Liberal-Democratic Union; Poland – Democratic Party, United Peasant Party; Czechoslovakia – Slovak Reconstruction Party, Slovak Freedom Party, Czechoslovak People's Party, and Czechoslovak Socialist Party. These non-communist parties participate in government, and are represented in supreme and local state bodies proportionately to their influence in society.

The role of public organizations, first of all the trade unions and youth bodies, increases with the growth of the socialist society. Present trade-union membership in Bulgaria is 2,800,000, Hungary 3,500,000, GDR 7,300,000, Poland 11 million, Rumania 5 million, Soviet Union more than 98 million, Czechoslovakia 5,500,000, and Yugoslavia 3 million.

The membership of youth organizations is 1,200,000 in Bulgaria, 800,000 in Hungary, 1,800,000 in the GDR, about 4,500,000 in Poland, 2,400,000 in Rumania, 34 million in the USSR, 1,100,000 in Czechoslovakia, over 2,500,000 in Yugoslavia.

Absolutely the same conditions and opportunities are provided to all working people, irrespective of nationality or race. Equality of women and men is assured in all fields.

Political relations and institutions show beyond doubt that the socialist system guarantees social and political rights, and affords genuine democracy, mass participation in administration, and the all-round development of the individual.

Rising well-being

Social production is aimed at assuring popular well-being and culture. This is at the center of all practical policy. About three-quarters of the national income is allocated for the material and cultural needs of the people. The national income – and accordingly allocations for the

people's material and cultural needs – is going up steadily. Its growth rate is considerably higher than in capitalist countries. Per capita national income increased as follows:

Socialist countries:	1972 in % of 1950	Capitalist countries	1972 in % of 1950
Bulgaria	573	Britain	153
Hungary	302	Italy	267
GDR	477	USA	156
Poland	328	FRG	282
Rumania	585	France	250
USSR	422		
Czechoslovakia	303		
Yugoslavia (1952=100)	342[1]		

[1]1971.

Growth of national income assures a steady rise of living standards. Real wages and salaries in 1973 against 1960 were 154 per cent in Bulgaria, 139 Hungary, 149 Poland, 158 Rumania, 143 per cent Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union real incomes in 1970 were 136 per cent of 1960. And according to Soviet Central Statistical Board estimates the 1974 average monthly wage was 15 per cent higher than in 1970, while earnings of farmers for collective farm work went up 22 per cent.

Many of the people's needs are met out of what are known as public consumption funds. In Bulgaria, for example, payments and benefits out of these funds were 22.4 per cent of total individual incomes in 1973. In the GDR, incomes of families of four were augmented by a monthly average of 360 marks in 1970 (average wage was 815 marks). In Hungary public funds covered 24.4 per cent of the population's total expenses, and in the Soviet Union the 1973 average monthly wage was 135 rubles, and with payments and benefits out of public consumption funds totalled 181.9 rubles. Real incomes rise in a setting of full employment.

The basic policy is to assure a continuous reduction of the difference in prosperity levels of various groups: increases of minimum wages and salaries, earnings in low-paid brackets, minimum pensions, and the like. Considerable headway has been made in levelling out the earnings, pensions and other social benefits of farmers, workers and white-collar workers.

Public consumption has gone up visibly. Retail turnover in 1972 was 77 per cent of 1950 in Bulgaria, 431 in Hungary, 409 in the GDR, 475 Poland, 842 Rumania, 668 Soviet Union and 374 in Czechoslovakia. Per capita sales of consumer goods between 1950 and 1970 increased 5.1-fold in Bulgaria, 5.9-fold Hungary, 4-fold GDR, 3-fold Mongolia, 6.3-fold Poland and Rumania, 3.2-fold Soviet Union, and 2.9-fold in Czechoslovakia.

Housing conditions are improving. Nearly 60 million people will move into houses to be commissioned in the current five-year period. In contrast to the capitalist countries, most of the cost of house-building is borne by the state. So is a considerable portion of maintenance costs. In the Soviet Union, for example, tenants in state-owned houses pay only 40 per cent of the maintenance. House rents in socialist countries are the lowest in the world.

Large funds are allocated for building and equipping hospitals, polyclinics, sanatoria and holiday homes. Medical treatment is free and is steadily improved. The Soviet Union has the world's largest number of doctors per 10,000 population. Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are also ahead of the developed capitalist countries, with the other socialist countries close on their heels. The CMEA countries have one-third of all the doctors in the world.

There is a far-flung system of child-care institutions, with most of the maintenance costs borne by the state. In Czechoslovakia, for example, child benefits paid out of public funds average 520 crowns a month per child (this equals about one-quarter of the average wage). In 1972, as many as 55 per cent of all children of pre-school age were in kindergartens in Hungary, and 73 per cent in the GDR.

The state-operated system of general and special (secondary and higher) educational establishments, schools, and training and re-training facilities ranks among the biggest social gains of the socialist countries. Tuition in all sectors of the educational system is free. Universal secondary education for rising generations has been or is being introduced in most European socialist countries.

Access to cultural values is wide open. Rising incomes, and social and economic growth, accentuating the harmonious development of the personality, have raised the cultural demands of the people. Greater output of books, newspapers and journals, and the growing number of libraries, theatres and cinemas, coupled with material and technical improvements of cultural institutions, have gone a long way in meeting the demand.

Extensive measures assuring further rises in living standards and cultural levels are envisaged in the five-year economic development plans for 1971-1975. And the plans are being fulfilled.

Looking back at the imposing achievements of the past 30 years, it is easier to size up the outlines of the imposing future development of the socialist community. It is estimated that, given the present trends in the world's economic and demographic development, the CMEA countries will account for two-fifths of total world industrial output by 1985. They will be not only the most dynamic, but also the most highly developed industrial region of the world.

In the mid-70s socialism is proving its socio-economic, political and cultural advantages over capitalism more and more impressively, opening new horizons of all-round progress for all humanity.

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theory

The problems and prospects of socialist democracy

International theoretical conference

An international theoretical conference, 'Present-Day Problems of Socialist Democracy and Its Prospective Development,' held in Sofia on November 12-14, 1974 under the joint auspices of this journal and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was attended by delegations of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and by members of the *WMR* Editorial Board.

Thirty-two participants contributed papers, including heads of delegations: A. Lilov, member of Political Bureau and CC Secretary, BCP; I.V. Kapitonov, CC Secretary, CPSU; A. Norden, member of Political Bureau and CC Secretary, SUPG; J. Lukaszewicz, CC Secretary, PUWP; P. Margolles, ranking CC official, CP Cuba; Ts. Gotov, Secretary of Presidium, Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic; O. Svestka, CC Secretary, CP Czechoslovakia; P. Romany, CC member and head of CC Department, HSWP; S. Voicu, Editor-in-Chief of *Era Socialista* (Rumania). The opening and concluding remarks were by K.I. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*.

The Conference discussed various aspects of socialist democracy, especially during the building of developed socialism, the leading role of the Communist Party, and the international significance of the gains and prospects of democracy in socialist countries. Orators described their parties' work in further extending the social and political rights of citizens and consolidating rule of law, and other improvements in the socialist political system.

The discussions were in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, were fruitful and comradely.

Participants in the conference were received by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chairman of the State Council of

the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Also attending the reception were members of the CC BCP Political Bureau and CC BCP Secretaries A. Lilov and B. Velchev, CC BCP Secretary K. Telallov, heads of CC departments and other ranking officials of the CC BCP. Zhivkov spoke of the achievements and present problems of social-economic and scientific-technical development in the country, and the main tasks dealt with at present by the Bulgarian Communist Party. Referring to long-term economic planning, he stressed the increasing importance of production efficiency and of accelerating scientific-technical progress. He accentuated the big part played in this by the international socialist division of labor and socialist economic integration. In conclusion, Zhivkov referred to the present objectives of improving Party work.

Todor Zhivkov awarded participants with medals commemorating the 30th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. He congratulated the recipients and wished them success, happiness and health.

CC CPSU Secretary I.V. Kapitonov spoke on behalf of the participants, and expressed thanks for the awards. We shall cherish these medals, he said, especially as symbols of the unbreakable freindship of Communists, symbols of proletarian internationalism.

A survey of the Conference will appear in forthcoming issues of *WMR*.

DEAR READERS,
A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU ALL.
WE WISH YOU GOOD HEALTH AND
HAPPINESS, AND FURTHER SUCCESSES
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE,
DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL LIBERATION,
AND SOCIALISM.

Characteristics of developed socialism

In 1973 and 1974 this journal carried a series of articles on various aspects of building developed socialism. Following is the record of a discussion by an international research team composed of Prof. *Stanislaw Widerszpil,* Sociology lecturer at the Higher School of Social Sciences. CC PUWP, Prof. *Genrikh Volkov,* D.Ph., Soviet Union, *Barbu Zaharescu,* Corresponding Member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences, Docent *Laszlo Nagy,* Hungary, and Docent *Stoyan Tsvetev,* Cand. Econ., Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC BCP Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management. This record and the article by K. Ivanov published in this issue conclude the discussion on developed socialism.*

THE NATURE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM, ITS DEFINITION AS A SCIENTIFIC CATEGORY, AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM.

We have brought socialism into everyday life and must here see how matters stand. That is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. *Lenin*

Nagy. There is no need to prove how important it is for the Communists of socialist countries to agree on the definition of developed socialist society, of its main features, and the tasks which each party has to fulfil in building it. These problems have already been treated by some Marxist scholars and there have been several international discussions, specifically in our journal.* However, there are still many 'blank spaces,' moot points and disputed details. Most of them are due, not to the existence of any fundamental differences, but primarily to the diversity of the conditions in which the new society is being built. There is, furthermore, the fact that the methodological problems of the theory of developed socialism have yet to be worked out adequately. It seems to me that the very term has not yet gained

*See *WMR*, January, March, June, July and October 1973, and January, February, April and September 1974.

*See *WMR*, December 1970.

currency everywhere, for use is also made of the terms 'mature socialist society' and the 'stage of providing the material and technical basis for communism.' Should these terms be regarded as equivalent? Which countries have or have not begun building developed socialism, and what is the objective criterion in answering this question?

Volkov. Lenin repeatedly used the phrase 'developed socialist society,' meaning a definite stage of development of socialism.* Besides, the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that some of the brother countries had '*already entered the period of building a developed socialist society*.' In November 1967, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said in his report on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution that the Soviet Union had built a developed socialist society. We can evidently say, irrespective of the terms used in various countries, that the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia are engaged, judging by the decisions of their Communist Party congresses, in building this society. The important thing is that substantial experience has been gained which should obviously be generalized.

Zaharescu. I believe we are faced with two tasks in starting on this theoretical discussion. First, we must concretize certain general propositions advanced by the founders of scientific socialism when there was no practical experience of building socialism. Second, we must generalize certain concrete propositions from the specific experience of building socialist society in the countries where socialism is now an everyday reality.

The first question concerns the accuracy of the very term 'developed socialism.' Surely every socialism is developed. Surely there exists no primitive, undeveloped socialism. Theoretically, socialism represents a social and political system superior to capitalism in every respect. Marx and Engels held that socialism would triumph as a result of the material and technical preparation of its victory by the objective development of a capitalist system that has exhausted its internal growth potential and became an obstacle to social progress.

Widerszpil. By saying that every socialism is developed, do you mean its superiority over capitalism as a social system? It so, that is beyond question. But surely the socialist system shows different stages of development.

Zaharescu. Of course. While Rumania has already laid the foundations of a socialist economy the standard of this economy is still relatively low. In per capita national production and national income,

*See, e.g., Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 307.

Rumania is still lagging behind countries regarded as economically advanced. We therefore describe it as a socialist developing country. This definition refers solely to economic standards. As for social system, cultural standard, education, public health, growth rate, and so on, the Socialist Republic of Rumania is an advanced country. Our Party documents speak accordingly of building a comprehensively developed socialism. The RCP considers this formulation suitable, not because socialism can develop one-sidedly, but because this formulation focuses attention on the economic and all other aspects, which together make up developed socialism. We avoid simplistic conclusions, for one may speak of socialism proper only when it is developed in every respect. I meant just that.

Tsvetev. I am not clear about something else. Is it theoretically correct to describe a socialist country as a developing one? Developing countries are, according to the terminology used by numerous international organizations, countries of the 'Third World,' that is, first of all, the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Nagy. I, too, believe that the term used by Comrade Zaharescu is theoretically unjustified. To be sure, the economic level must be taken into account. I appreciate the fact that the Rumanian comrades assess their economic gains soberly and self-critically and therefore call their country a developing one. I do not doubt that their main goal is to rise to the level of economically developed countries as quickly as possible. But that should not result in a confusion of concepts. We must proceed from Lenin's thesis that politics are the concentrated expression of economics. The social and political definition of a country's condition at this juncture must predominate.

Volkov. That seems to be the important thing. Even if we say that from the purely economic point of view a given country is still developing while socially and politically it is already building developed socialism, there will still be moot points. How can anyone define the development level of a socialist country according to only per capita production of commodities, as is done by capitalist economists who regard consumption as the sole criterion of progress?

Tsvetev. The economic sphere, too, has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect. The latter is the degree of maturity of production relations, which the term 'developing socialist country' does not cover.

Zaharescu. I thought I had spoken clearly enough. Everyone can have his own opinion.

Widerszpil. I think we should go over to a specific analysis of what we mean by developed socialism, to sort out its distinctive features and criteria. Kosolapov's article in the September 1974 issue of the

journal contains what I regard as a correct idea. It says that developed socialism is a complete social structure whose every element has been reshaped according to the principles and standards of the new system. It speaks rightly of the importance of taking into account the degree of real and not nominal socialization of the means of production. I would also like to stress that the socialization of property as a historical process begins rather than ends with nationalization of the means of production. As socialist society develops, the forms of using the means of production and material goods go through evolutionary change and the working people's role in this process grows. This is why every Marxist-Leninist associates real socialization of the means of production with the development of people's rule and socialist democracy, increasing participation of the working people in economic management and the process of humanizing labor.

Furthermore, since we regard socialism as a complete system, we evidently need a whole set of criteria to determine the degree of its maturity. No single index, however important, is sufficient. I would suggest six indices for defining the nature of developed socialism: first, the degree of development of the productive forces and the standard of labor productivity; second, the development level of production relations and the forms and methods of economic management; third, the degree of advance toward the elimination of classes and social inequality; fourth, changes in the political superstructure and measures perfecting socialist democracy; fifth, the degree to which the people's growing requirements are met, and their standard of life; lastly, the formation of the individual, of his spiritual qualities and creative activity. Within this set of indices, the development degree of the productive forces may in the final analysis be regarded as a decisive criterion.

Volkov. I agree with Professor Widerszpil in that socialization is a long process taking diverse forms. We would do well to draw attention at this point to Marx's statement that it is not enough to end private property, that its abolition, unless supported by a far-reaching reorganization of society as a whole to foster the development of the individual, may give rise to a crude and immature communism, to a barrack-room communism in which man's personality is standardized. 'That the abolition of private property in this manner (that is, by levelling out the personality. – *Ed.*) is no genuine assimilation of it is seen in precisely the abstract negation of the whole world of culture and civilization, in the return to the *unnatural* simplicity of a *poor man* having no needs, one who, far from being above the level of private property, has yet to reach it.' I think this statement of Marx's is still valid. It certainly refutes some of today's 'leftist' notions of building communism. Speaking of the necessity for the 'positive

abolition of *private property*' in which man's personality is asserted, Marx foresaw that it would be 'a difficult and long process.'

A certain degree of socialization of production already takes place under state-monopoly capitalism. However, the founders of Marxism-Leninism linked the socialization of labor and planning in socialist society with the objective of bringing about the all-round development of the personality. It follows that a high degree of socialization is only the economic basis on which developed socialism is built. The task is not merely to increase the degree of socialization but to perfect all economic links and relations in a way enabling every working man or woman to increasingly participate in the disposal of public wealth and its extended reproduction, in a system of distribution which puts this socialized material wealth at the service of man's social and personal development. This, of course, provides a wide field of activity for developed socialism.

Widerszpil. It is true that the socialization of production under socialism should not be interpreted in purely economic, but also in social and political terms, bearing in mind both the possession and management of property. Who runs the means of production, the property of the whole people, in our countries today? They are owned by society, managed by the state on behalf of society, and on behalf of the state by managing agencies and non-governmental organizations. Hence management of the means of production and use of its surplus product are inseparable from the political superstructure.

Volkov. Developed socialism is a socialism being built on its own basis. What does that mean? I do not think the basis of socialism is restricted to material and technical resources. There are other factors; economic, technological, social, political and international. Economically, the basis is the undivided domination of new, socialist relations of production – a view shared by many *WMR* authors.

Technologically, the foundation of socialism is a material and technical basis adequate to socialist relations of production. Mechanization and electrification of the economy based on large-scale industry are only the starting point from which developed socialism can set out to transform the productive forces. Under socialism, the worker is dominant over the means of production for from the economic standpoint he conducts production in his own interest. As for the technological process, his functions are still mostly operational or technical. With the introduction of automation, the worker places himself, as Marx remarked, alongside the immediate process of production, no longer being its agent but its regulator, which applies to the modern trades of adjuster, programmer and operator. He is enabled to invest not only physical and nervous energy, but also his creative ability and assert himself in the process of labor. All this means that automation

is a technology adequate to developed socialism and that the process is a prerequisite of perfecting socialist social relations by transforming them into communist relations.

Socially and politically, the basis of socialism is the existence of none but friendly classes, widespread participation of the working people in the management of production and society, guaranteed social equality of rights and opportunities, and ideological and political unity of the whole people.

In the cultural sphere, the basis of socialism is the new socialist man. Society has reached a stage where the majority of the population has been educated under socialism, as in the Soviet Union, with little or no experience of capitalism or the capitalist mode of life.

Lastly, in the international sphere, the basis on which developed socialism is built is the existence of the socialist community, whose member-countries strengthen their economic, social and political unity and pursue a policy for peace and peaceful coexistence on a global scale, a policy of international solidarity with the working people of all countries. The building of its own basis in every sphere is, therefore, in a way a composite, complex criterion distinguishing between the period of building developed socialism and the preceding period. However, in applying complex criteria, we must not forget their limitations. Professor Widerszpil was right in saying that the complex criterion has the merit of presenting a comprehensive picture, but then that is also its shortcoming, because it is not conclusive and is too descriptive.

Nagy. Do you think we could achieve greater precision by reducing a complete description of the characteristics of socialism covering the various spheres of life to a pivotal principle encompassing the various aspects of social development? Can such a universal principle be found? I believe the main criterion entitling us to say that society has set out to build developed socialism is the domination of socialist production relations.

Volkov. I think it is methodologically important to single out the chief criterion. To my mind, this chief criterion is the provision of the most favorable material and moral conditions for the development of the individual. It is not merely one of various equivalent indications but the central, accumulating one, because the development of the individual reflects the economic, scientific, technological, social, political, spiritual and all other achievements of civilization. Marx regarded both the productive forces and social relations as diverse aspects of the development of the social individual. It is precisely developed socialist society, a society which has done away with private ownership of the implements and means of production and with the alienation of the working man from the material, social and

spiritual wealth he produces, that puts man at the center of social life as an end in itself.

Nagy. I agree in principle that the main object of developed socialist society is to enable the individual to develop in every respect. However, I would like to point out that man's existence outside society is unthinkable and that at the stage of developed socialism it is also unthinkable outside his class or social group. The individual develops in step with his class to the extent that the boundaries between friendly classes are effaced and society becomes socially homogeneous.

The participants in the discussion agreed that due to the domination of socialist relations of production and a material and technical basis of its own, developed socialism makes man the chief motive of all social production and not its means. It is a society which increasingly applies the principle, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work,' and creates favorable conditions for both the development and use of the manifold abilities of every individual, for bringing prosperity to all members of society and meeting their growing material and cultural requirements. It provides and safeguards equal social opportunities for every segment of the population to join actively in the country's economic, political and cultural life and creates in every sphere the prerequisites for direct transition to communism.

This definition reveals only the most essential aspect of developed socialism and needs to be made more specific. The search for a scientific definition of developed socialism and its criteria is not merely a theoretical task. It is also important from the point of view of practice, for it shows us all the more clearly the road we have travelled and the tasks still facing us in the near and more distant future.

HISTORICAL PLACE OF THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM IN THE GENESIS OF THE COMMUNIST FORMATION. DEVELOPED SOCIALISM AND MANAGEMENT

So-called socialist society is not, in my opinion, something fixed once and for all. Like any other social system, it should be regarded as being subject to constant change and transformation. *Engels*

Tsvetev. In reflecting on the place of developed socialism in the evolution of the Communist formation as a whole, we inevitably have to determine the periods of the first, socialist phase of this formation. I

would suggest the following periods: initial stage, or stage of consolidating socialism as a system, stage of building a developed socialist society, and lastly, stage of continued development of mature socialism. Besides, I believe the transitional period is a relatively independent one, and does not belong to the socialist phase.

Nagy. What makes you think so? Do you put the transitional period outside the communist formation?

Tsvetev. The transitional period should not be regarded as part of the socialist phase, above all because there is a fundamental, qualitative difference between them, primarily in economic structure and class composition. It is a question of two different types of society: a mixed, dual, heterogeneous one, and a homogeneous, socialist one. Besides, the society of the transitional period has multiple economic forms due to the existence of diverse types of property: capitalist, small-commodity and side by side with them, socialist. Under socialism there is only the socialist economic form. In the former case there exist economic relations of different types, including antagonistic ones, and in the latter, socialist relations of one type.

Operating simultaneously in the economy of the transitional period are the surviving economic laws of capitalism and the emerging laws of socialism, whose operation is at first very limited. 'No one, I think, in studying the question of the economic system of Russia, has denied its transitional character.' Lenin wrote in 'The Tax in Kind.' 'Nor, I think, has any Communist denied that the term Soviet Socialist Republic implies the determination of the Soviet power to achieve the transition to socialism, and not that the existing economic system is recognized as a socialist order' (Vol. 32, p. 330). This is why, in dividing the communist formation into periods, we are concerned with three stages having a distinctive economic structure and class composition: the transitional period, socialism, and communism. These are three relatively independent stages. In other words, I include the transitional period in the communist formation, but not in the socialist phase.

Nagy. One might accept that division into periods – transitional period, socialism and communism – if one had in mind socialism as such, that is, socialism which has already been built, or developed socialism. But aren't there socialist construction tasks in the transitional period? Does not the political basis of socialism, the dictatorship of the working class, already exist in this period? And is it not in this period that the means of production are nationalized and the exploitation of man by man abolished? The transitional period is the initial stage of building socialism. On the other hand, we are all well aware that socialist relations do not yet prevail entirely in the transitional period.

Zaharescu. I agree with you. Once you begin building socialism, you enter the socialist phase of development. I think that in the case of the socialist countries, including Rumania, socialist construction may be divided into the following periods:

– Period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The working class has taken political power, but it is only the basic means of production that have become socialist property. Small-commodity production still holds an appreciable place. In Rumania, for example, big factories existed only in some cities while elsewhere there were small handicraft shops. Three-quarters of the population lived in rural areas without industry. The expropriation of big estates strengthened the peasantry, which was the main ally of the working class but had no material basis for socialist farming. That period may last for years. For instance, putting our agriculture on a cooperative basis was not completed until 1962.

– The period of building a developed socialist society sets in when the remnants of capitalism have been removed and the peasants voluntarily opt for cooperative farming. Socialism creates its own material and technical basis. The productive forces inherited from the bourgeoisie are spent both physically and morally. Socialist relations of production are established throughout the economy. The exploitation of man by man is over and the foundations for a socialist economy are laid even though the economy is not sufficiently developed.

– Period of developed socialist society. In this period, both the material productive forces of society and the men who control and use them attain a high level of development. Socialist society develops on its own basis, and not on the basis inherited from capitalism. There arises the question of transition to communism.

I believe the foregoing applies to many of the existing socialist countries but not to Czechoslovakia, which was a developed capitalist country and had to solve the special problems of altering the structure of the productive forces and developing them in the course of socialist industrialization. Nor does it apply to Mongolia, which went straight from feudalism to socialism. According to this sequence of periods, we in Rumania are at the second stage, the stage of building a developed socialist society. Socialism in our country is advancing on its own basis. What I mean is the following:

– The productive forces we command today were created by the working class in power. The working class built new factories and completely reconstructed the enterprises confiscated from the bourgeoisie. Agriculture has means of production it lacked in the past.

– The Rumanian working class is no longer what it was under bourgeois and landowner rule. It formed in the years of people's rule,

inheriting from the working class of the past its revolutionary spirit and its devotion to the people's cause, but most of its members are of peasant stock, only first or second generation industrial workers. The absence of long working class traditions unquestionably makes it more difficult to build socialist society. However, it is compensated for by the existence of a generation which has grown up under people's rule and has no personal experience of exploitation.

– The overwhelming majority of small-commodity producers have joined cooperatives. The peasantry has become a new social class, the class of cooperative farmers.

Widerszpil. There has been much misunderstanding over the question of the transitional period. Some would like to make this period as long as possible. The Maoists, for example, consider that it goes on until communism is built. In their view, a bitter class struggle rages throughout this period, with the exploiting classes operating actively and their political agents exercising influence. Thus they ideologically justify artificial conflicts which boil down to struggle against dissenters, in particular among the intellectuals.

Another view, likewise wrong I think, is that the transitional period lasts until agriculture is put entirely on a cooperative basis and the building of socialism is delayed until this is achieved. Poland's experience shows how untenable this view is.

Lenin foresaw bitter class struggle in the transitional period between a defeated but still strong capitalism and a nascent but still economically weak communism. The transitional period is characterized, therefore, by methods of leadership and management tending toward extra-economic, administrative pressure rather than effective use of the laws of socialism to achieve definite social aims. Extra-economic methods of pressure – legal and administrative – predominate, and must predominate, in the transitional period, particularly in a backward country.

In Poland this is a thing of the past and so it is wrong to say that our country is still in the transitional period just because of a large private sector in agriculture. It should be borne in mind that this sector is integrated into the system of socialist social relations, which predominate. Like other fraternal countries and as a component of the world socialist system, Poland is at the stage of building a developed socialist society. Although we have residual problems of the transitional period, we are solving them as we go along.

Tsvetev. I have one objection. I do not think extra-economic compulsion or administrative pressure must necessarily predominate in the transitional period anywhere. This is needed only in extraordinary circumstances, such as the civil war in the newly-established Soviet Republic, which necessitated the policy of 'war communism.' A much

more logical stage of the transitional period and, indeed, a much longer one was the stage of the new economic policy, based on predominantly economic methods of management.

Nagy. I do not think, on the other hand, that under developed socialism it will be possible to use economic methods only. The task is to achieve an optimal ratio between economic and extra-economic methods for every period of socialist development. Moreover, these methods change. How can you manage a complex, diversified economy in present-day conditions without, say, planning? Yet the economic plan is, in effect, a law binding on all economic agencies. And it is effective only when its guidelines are worked out according to the economic laws of socialism and take account of the economic regulation mechanism. That is why I do not believe the two sets of methods should be treated as opposites.

The participants in the discussion agreed that socialist construction has gone, or is going, through three main periods: transitional period, or initial period of socialist construction, in which the groundwork for the new system is laid, period of building a developed socialist society, and period of development of mature socialism, or period of building the material and technical basis for communism. Each period has its characteristics in every social sphere, its specific objectives, and distinctive conditions for achieving them.

WHAT ARE THE NEW ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS THAT ARISE IN BUILDING AND PERFECTING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM? WHAT ARE THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES OF SOLVING THEM? DEVELOPED SOCIALISM AND THE OUTLOOK FOR ACHIEVING THE IDEALS OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY.

The most difficult task in the sharp turns and changes of social life is that of taking due account of the peculiar features of each transition. *Lenin*

Widerszpil. I would like to try and enumerate the problems that arise at the stage of building developed socialism in Poland. They are, first of all, the problem of fostering technological progress in a direction and manner ensuring social progress as well, progress in people's way of life. Second, updating social management, forming self-government bodies in addition to the administrative machinery, and perfecting the scientific foundations of controlling, forecasting and planning social and economic processes in a way that will enable everyone to

influence the solution of problems of society and government. Third, raising the living standard of every member of society while combating a consumer mentality. Fourth, bringing the diverse social strata closer together and eliminating the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between agricultural and industrial labor. Fifth, the problems of ideological work in respect to foreign policy, peaceful coexistence and the policy of détente.

Volkov. When we say that the Soviet Union has already built a developed socialist society we do not mean that we have solved every problem of socialist development. What we do mean is that we have entered a qualitatively new stage and that if we are to make headway we must specify the new tasks facing us and the new conditions, approaches and requirements in carrying them out.

I believe the primary source of these new requirements is that developed socialism is the highest type of social entity achieved by mankind to date. Every social sphere develops in this case as part of a complex whose elements conditions one another and stimulate social progress. This is one of the reasons why the demand for a systemic approach to the control of social processes is put so emphatically today. State economic planning becomes, in effect, socio-economic, and not merely economic, planning. For we can no longer solve big economic problems, such as that of intensifying agricultural production still more, if we disregard the problems of living and cultural standards in rural areas and fail to extend the various services, build more roads and bring all this into line with industrial production plans.

Taking account of social, as well as economic, factors is also important in introducing new technologies and in other fields of labor. Concretely, we must provide healthier working conditions, make labor more attractive in content and rid it of difficult and purely technical functions. We are already in a position to give greater attention to this. Under socialism, the optimal solutions for management problems are those that create better material and moral conditions for the development of the individual.

When the Party calls for combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism it has in mind among other things the important advantages in developing precisely the human factor. The principal advantage consists no doubt in the working people's inexhaustible potential of labor and social activity, and in everyone's committed, conscious and imaginative participation in economic and political activity.

Tsvetev. The same tasks face us in Bulgaria and apparently in other countries building a developed socialist society. The Soviet Union is at a different stage of socialism, a higher one, and it may be useful to stop and think of the distinctive tasks of this stage.

Nagy. Do we have to contrast one stage with another or one socialist country with another as sharply as that? The Soviet Union is at a higher stage of socialism and has greater opportunities to solve the problems that arise, and I think that that is the crux of the matter. The tasks listed by Professor Widerszpil also arise in the Soviet Union, except that there much greater progress has been made in accomplishing them than has so far been possible in other socialist countries. The problem of a comprehensive approach to the control of social and economic processes is being solved in both the Soviet Union and other countries, Hungary included, and we draw on the experience of our Soviet friends.

Widerszpil. I see the distinctive aspect of this stage and our great advantage over the capitalist world in the fact that the brother countries can solve key problems of building socialism in common and almost simultaneously, learning from one another and, first of all, from the Soviet Union.

Nagy. I think a distinctive feature of this stage of history in socialist countries is the special acuteness of the problem of mode of life, and all-round effort to educate the new man. It is not accidental that anti-communists today are particularly active in this respect. Herman Kahn, the American futurologist, says in *Things to Come** that the future belongs to the American way of life. The so-called New Left, for its part, claims that no real revolutions have taken place in today's world because the way of life has not changed substantively.

All this shows how important it is for us to perfect and effectively publicize the socialist way of life. The very way of life is becoming a factor influencing the economy and production. It is not only production level that determines the level of pattern of consumption, for an inverse dependence is becoming ever more manifest.

To perfect the socialist way of life, it is important, I believe, to develop three spheres: the sphere of labor free from exploitation, the sphere of culture and education, and the sphere of communication, of collectivist relations. Socialist relations of production do not automatically bring about a corresponding way of life. When we fail to carry on an unrelenting, conscious and meaningful struggle on these lines we find it difficult to eliminate certain negative phenomena, such as sentiments typical of a consumer and proprietor, social indifference or injudicious use of one's free time.

Widerszpil. I would like to stress the complexity of the problems that must be solved at the stage of developed socialism in the sphere of production and distribution. I think there neither is nor can be real socialism if it ignores or deforms the principle 'From each according

*H. Kahn, B. Bruce-Briggs, *Things to Come: Thinking About the 70's and 80's*. New York, 1972.

to his ability, to each according to his work.' The fact that we in socialist countries apply this principle and regard it as the main regulator does not mean that there is no room for its fuller and more effective application. Its application is not a short-term operation but a historical process covering the whole period of perfecting developed socialism, a period lasting till the transition to communism.

Volkov. Indeed, if we are fully to apply the principle 'From each according to his ability,' we must, first of all, foster every creative ability of every member of society and create appropriate material and moral prerequisites. And this takes time. Nor is it easy to apply the principle 'To each according to his work.' To do so, we must perfect the mechanism of distribution and material incentives with a view to encouraging everyone's creative initiative and activity in labor and public life.

The 'upper limit' of developed socialism is exhaustion of the possibilities of commodity production, the withering away of value forms and, as Marx pointed out, the transition to a state of affairs under which the wealth of society will no longer be gauged by working time but by the free time of society, that is, the time society has for the cultural advancement of its members, for education, which takes place outside material production proper. Here, too, there is the question of the bounds of developed socialism. This is one of its goals which will take considerable time to attain.

Zaharescu. I think a historically long time will also be needed to achieve other objectives – bringing all working people into the management of society, the withering away of the state, obliteration of essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and physical labor, the education of the new man, and so on. Comprehensively developed socialism undoubtedly presupposes a socialist society living a full life in every respect. I think, however, that to achieve this, it is necessary to develop every aspect of the economy of the country concerned.

We must not forget that producing material values is not a simple task and requires personal qualities and talent. Besides, a developed economy calls for optimal use of the country's natural resources, which are generally varied. Lastly, no modern economy can be closed or autarkic. Economic exchange between socialist countries, as well as between countries with different social and economic systems, makes for the diversification and comprehensive development of the economy of each country. Is it not indicative that economically backward countries have a one-sided economy or even a monoculture economy whereas developed countries have a diversified economy? Let us note that the CMEA countries' Comprehensive Program for economic cooperation implies that the economies of socialist coun-

tries will develop comprehensively and that their levels will draw closer together in the process.

Nagy. I think it is very important both politically and ideologically to realize that the period of developed socialism is a long one and that we must in our theoretical constructions run ahead of the actual maturing of the prerequisites of the transition to communism. A realistic view of this process will also help us to evolve correct guidelines and effective recommendations for perfecting developed socialism.

Summing up, the research team noted that the discussion in the journal of the problems of developed socialism by representatives of fraternal socialist countries was fruitful and that joint theoretical work on these lines should be continued. This was natural and necessary since the main objective laws and tasks in building developed socialism are identical.

The Soviet Union became the world's first country of developed socialism when the socialist community arose. Developed socialism is now being built by the joint efforts of a number of countries. This is highly significant, for developed socialism is characterized by both the maturity of internal processes taking place in the country concerned and the maturity of relations between fraternal countries and parties. This maturity implies a high degree of labor division among socialist countries, corresponding specialization within the CMEA, and the economic integration processes powered by it. It also implies steps to perfect relations based on equality and international cooperation in other fields, and still closer social and political unity.

Attainment of the goals of developed socialism in any country of the socialist community depends largely on collective effort by the community. The more actively bilateral and multilateral relations between member-countries are promoted, the better the conditions for each of them to solve its domestic problems. The conditions of history show that the international system of developed socialism will exist for a long time to come. This predetermines such practical demands as the need to find optimal solutions in every sphere of mutual relations with due regard to the interests of both the country concerned and other partners to cooperation, pool resources and possibilities on an increasing scale for the most fruitful realization of common tasks, carry on all-round development under coordinated economic plans and hence plan together, specifying the objectives and prospects of progress of the international system of developed socialism as a whole.

Socialism is by nature internationalist. Marx and Engels stressed that in fighting against capitalism, the Communists of various nations

bring to the front the common interests of the entire working class irrespective of nationality, and in the various stages the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always represent the interests of the movement as a whole. However, greater economic integration and comprehensive relations between members of the socialist community do not imply disregard of the distinctive features of national development, as our ideological opponents claim. On the contrary, it is socialist integration that creates the most favorable conditions for specializing national economies, making optimal use of the advantages and distinctive qualities of each country and choosing definite key lines of scientific and technological research according to the potentialities of the given country.

Thus we may say now that *developed socialism is taking shape as an international system of states characterized by a qualitatively higher type of ties and community in every field than in the past.*

The guiding force

Professor *Kiril Ivanov*
Bulgaria

The 30 years of building socialist society in Bulgaria have provided ample proof of the tremendous importance of the place and role of the Marxist-Leninist working-class vanguard in the political system of socialism and the need to correctly define the degree and forms of subjective influences on national development. The new system can be strengthened and perfected only by realistic economic and social policies based on an understanding of the objective laws of socialism, on a scientific grasp of the character and significance of the revolutionary changes of the preceding period of socialist construction, and on clear appreciation of present and future tasks.

In 1958, the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party recorded that socialism had triumphed throughout the country. The first and second five-year plans had carried Bulgaria through the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, bringing her to the stage of building developed socialist society. As the Congress resolution pointed out, 'Socialism now dominates the national economy completely: in industry, transport, construction, trade, finance and agriculture.... The assertion of socialist relations of production throughout the national economy has opened the way for rapid de-

velopment of the productive forces. Formerly backward Bulgaria has become a socialist industrial-agrarian country.'

Economic changes made for changes in the class structure of society. By 1956 the working class had more than trebled (from 93,000 to 286,000) over the prewar 1939 level, enhancing its dominant position and consolidating the leading role of its vanguard, the Communist Party, whose policy of promoting the common weal won national support. The ideology of the Party and the working class became the prevailing one. The new situation created by the assertion of socialism in town and country gave scope for the manifestation of 'the basic characteristic of our Party's development at the present stage, namely, enhancement of its role as recognized leader of the people in the drive for the triumph of socialism and communism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.'* This, the Eighth Party Congress pointed out in 1962, is required by the objective internal and external processes and phenomena characteristic of the period of 'completing the building of socialist society in our country.'

The Party Program adopted at the 10th Congress (1971) enumerates the specific factors contributing to the Party's role as leading and guiding force: the vastness of the task of building developed socialism, the acceleration of social processes under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the growing complexity of social relations and mounting role of the system of management and administration of society, the expansion of mass creative activity and further development of socialist democracy, the mounting importance of the theory of scientific communism and tasks of communist education, the worldwide class struggle between socialism and caplitalism, the necessity of working out a correct line in international relations, and the international responsibility of our socialist state.

Involvement of more and more people in discussing and tackling the problems of developed socialism, coupled with scientific and technological progress, markedly accelerates the socialist countries' advance. Fast changes in industry, social structure, political and cultural life impose high demands on leadership. These changes have to be continuously analyzed to produce sceintifically based forecasts, concepts and programs of social development, all prime elements of effective leadership. Hence the need for higher standards of political as well as organizational and technical leadership, since changes in various public domains inevitably affect the interests of all classes and social groups. This necessitates constant political and educational efforts aimed at directly involving the people in the processes of social

*T. Zhivkov. CC Report to the Eighth BCP Congress.

change and moulding the qualities of the citizen of a mature socialist society.

All this is essential for socialism to develop rapidly and demonstrate its superiority over capitalism to the fullest. This can be achieved only by the Communist Party, which alone is equipped with a genuinely scientific, Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing and resolving economic, political and ideological problems. It is the vanguard of the working class, whose leading position in socialist society is continuously enhanced by progress in socialist production and the all-round socialization of labor.

The working class has a vested interest in such progress, as well as in the perfection of socialist relations of production. Our society's system of economic and political institutions enables the working class to effectively influence the development of the productive forces and all aspects of public life. Therein lies the greatest qualitative distinction between the workers' status under socialism and in a private-ownership economy, where industrial management and decision-making are the priority function of capital. By contrast, progress in socialist production leads, through increasingly higher levels of socialization of labor, to a harmonious synthesis of the functions of labor and management, with the working people themselves steadily taking over the real functions of controlling and regulating the system of social relations.

But the process is neither automatic nor spontaneous. It can be sustained only with the guidance and leadership of the Communist Party, which in socialist countries speaks for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, and which holds its vanguard positions by virtue of the people's confidence in the correctness of its domestic and foreign policies. Hence, the Party's leading role is enhanced by the growing trust of the working masses, its expanding links with them and their increasingly active participation in the promotion of its policies. The unbreakable unity of Communists with the working people of town and country is the highest manifestation of the process of asserting the Party's leading role and its gradual evolution into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the whole people.

Building developed socialism is a stage that requires higher standards of scientific social management. But it also creates favorable conditions for this. The general educational, technical, ideological and political standards are higher than ever, and there is trained, experienced managerial personnel in all sectors of the society, especially in leading Party bodies. They are people capable of correctly analyzing socio-economic and political processes, drawing the right conclusions and making correct decisions. Moreover, there are much greater technical possibilities – computerization and other scientific

and technological means – for improving the Party and state system of management, the prime mover of economic, social and cultural advance.

It was the April 1956 plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party that stressed the need for higher scientific standards of Party activity and rectified the earlier violations of the Leninist principles of management and Party life, thereby stimulating rank-and-file initiative and energy, gearing Communist creativity to the objective laws of social development, and creating conditions for the Party to assert its leading role to the fullest degree.

One of the finest results of our Party's creative effort is the program for building developed socialist society, adopted by its 10th Congress, which offers a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present stage of national development, defines mature socialism, lists the main tasks to be resolved in building it, and the main ways and means of tackling them.

Central Committee decisions take an integrated approach to problems. Each problem is treated as a complex system linked and interactive with other systems. The economic, political, social and cultural factor implications of each problem are thoroughly analyzed. Lately the integrated approach has been increasingly combined with the specific, making for better, more concrete and effective coordination between the various bodies involved in social management and administration.

Discussion of problems in the Central Committee and Political Bureau, as well as action on them, is preceded by a thorough study by specialists. Due attention is given to both domestic experience and that of the fraternal parties, especially the valuable experience of the Soviet Communists. 'The vast theoretical resources of the CPSU,' state the documents of the February 1974 plenum of the CC BCP, 'are an invaluable and inexhaustible source of profound and far-sighted analyses, new creative investigations and generalizations, an example of ideological and theoretical maturity and wisdom.' Scientists and front-rank production workers are consulted and analogues and experiments are employed to balance all the pros and cons in decision-making on economic and social issues. Right now, for example, the Central Committee is testing several models to establish the most suitable structure of Party bodies in conditions of agricultural concentration and specialization.

Following the Central Committee's lead, local Party committees and organizations, which have the duty of applying Party policies to local conditions, are also working to enhance the scientific standards of their leadership. The 10th Congress pointed to the need to raise the role of Party committees and organizations as arms of political leader-

ship of the masses. In practice this means that they must provide guidelines for the respective government, economic and cultural bodies, ensure that they implement Party policy correctly, and help staff them with skilled personnel. At the same time Party committees and organizations exercise competent leadership in all sectors of life and engage in extensive ideological, political and organizational work to provide the necessary conditions for carrying out the directives and decisions of Party congresses and the Central Committee on communist education.

For Party committees to receive timely, objective and comprehensive analyses of the processes of public life, without which correct decision-making is impossible, the Party information system must be constantly perfected and updated. For several years now the Party Central Committee has been running a Sociological Information Center which, in addition to studies for the Central Committee, gives regional Party committees guidance and assistance in similar studies of their own. Regional and some city Party committees have evolved their own methods and systems of data collecting, processing and use which have proven effective.

There is also a need for a system for studying, summarizing and promoting positive experience. The 10th Party Congress noted that this was an important socio-political problem which should be the constant concern of every Party organ and every executive. It called for better verification of how Party decisions are implemented in the concrete conditions. The mechanism of long-term planning of the work of Party committees and organizations is being perfected and it is becoming common practice to plan the social development of work collectives, carry out sociological and other studies involving prognostication, modelling and experiments. 'A Marxist,' wrote Lenin, 'must, as the foundation of his policy, put *only* precisely and and unquestionably demonstrated *facts*' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 242).

But new methods can enhance leadership standards only if the study of facts, events, social processes and public opinion is truly part and parcel of the whole work style and is combined with tried and tested forms of Party work. Change in any specific field can be effected only if the relevant information is used to take bold practical measures, not just to report in speeches or the press on investigations and experiments, which creates only the semblance of scientific leadership. This is one of the main conditions for improving Party work, promoting its effectiveness and, consequently, further raising the role of the Party as the leading and guiding force of socialist society.

Now, when we are building mature socialism, the Communist Party continues to exercise its leading role through its members working in the administration, the economy, and various public organizations.

The effectiveness and activity of the organizations in which they work are a measure of the success of Party policies and the Party's leading role. That is why the Party gives such attention to the improvement of the society's political organization and the further development of socialist democracy.

An important step forward here was the enhancement of the role of the National Assembly, the supreme representative body combining the legislative and executive functions of state. A new permanent body, the Council of State, has been set up within the National Assembly machinery. Accountable to the National Assembly, it combines decision-making with executive powers. Changes have also been made in the terms of reference of ministries and central departments. Their rights in supervising day-to-day economic affairs have been restricted, this being the main function of the recently established state economic amalgamations. The ministries now formulate strategic guidelines for their respective industries in the light of national interests, and they have greater rights in long-term planning and allocating investments. The functions of the People's Councils (local government bodies) have also been changed to make them more independent and give them a say in planning and, especially, coordinating the work of all economic organizations within their territories.

The further strengthening of the dominant position of the working class in the society at the new stage has, naturally, raised the weight of the trade unions. This is seen in the expansion of their main function of encouraging the creative activity of urban and rural workers both at work and in public life and drawing them more extensively into the running of economic and national affairs. The unions exercise this function by organizing and guiding the socialist emulation movement and encouraging the movement for higher labor productivity. Speaking at the 1974 National Party Conference, First Secretary Todor Zhivkov called the drive for higher labor productivity 'the key issue in implementing the sixth five-year plan and building a developed socialist society.' The unions also have more duties with regard to representing and defending workers' collective and individual rights in the face of new social problems. They exercise control over safety and health and can withhold approval of projects or their commissioning if they find safety and health rules have been violated. They have also been given greater rights in questions involving legal defense for workers, rate-setting and wages, etc.

Similarly, the Party is gearing the functions of other public organizations – youth, women's, sports, professional, scientific-technical associations, the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society, etc. – to the tasks of building developed socialism. Correct definition of the role

and content of the work of state bodies and public organizations is one of the most important elements of Party leadership. The Party also attaches great importance to methods of persuasion, imposing greater requirements on Communists employed in state and public organizations.

Special attention is given to consistent realization of the Leninist principle of separating the functions of Party and other bodies.* This is necessary to promote socialist democracy; in the process the working people get more and more opportunities to take an active part in discussing and acting on important public issues through non-Party organizations, which they are denied if the Party apparatus takes up tasks which properly are the responsibility of other bodies. This division of authority relies on the great strength of the system of popular representation, on the well-trained and experienced personnel of state bodies and public organizations. These people should be trusted more and given greater scope for independent action. This is the only way to encourage genuine initiative enabling the organizations concerned to do their job by ways and means best suited to them.

The active and successful work of Bulgarian public organizations convincingly refutes the claims of our ideological opponents that it is impossible simultaneously to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party and add weight to public organizations.

As the Communist Party's role as the leading and guiding force in building developed socialism grows, so do the demands imposed on its members, those on whom the Party's links with the people directly depend. They carry the Party's message to the masses and inform Party bodies about public opinion, moods and attitudes. What people think about the Party is in large measure colored by their appraisal of its members' actions and behavior. As noted in the Central Committee report to the 10th Party Congress, 'To perform its leading role successfully the Party must constantly raise the role of every one of its members, and every Communist must set an example in work and in life.' This is done in two interrelated ways:

*It was the 11th congress of the Russian Communist Party which, in 1922, following Lenin's position as set forth in the Central Committee report, declared in its resolution on the report: 'While retaining general leadership and guidance of the overall policies of the Soviet state, the Party must draw a much clearer distinction between its current work and the work of Soviets, between its own apparatus and the local government apparatus. This distinction, systematically pursued, should ensure more purposeful discussion and solution of economic questions by local government bodies, while at the same time raising the responsibility of each local government employee for his job; on the other hand, it should make it possible for the Party to concentrate to the required degree on its main job of general supervision of the work of all state bodies and education and organization of the worker masses.'

Regulating the composition of the membership and raising its ideological and political standards.

Party composition is perfected primarily by strictly observing Lenin's principle of careful selection and individual recruitment. By the time of its 10th Congress the BCP had almost 700,000 members. One adult in nine was associated with it both ideologically and organizationally. Workers accounted for more than 40 per cent of the membership, cooperative farmers more than 26 per cent, and white-collar workers over 28 per cent. This composition parallels the structure of Bulgarian society and enables the Party to exercise its leading role.

The Party's efforts are aimed at increasing its working-class core which is a reflection of the working class' dominant position in socialist society and of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard's understanding of the tremendous importance of further strengthening that dominant position. About half the new members who joined the Party in the last three years are workers. Party committees and organizations also strive to maintain the right balance of membership with respect to age and education. Efforts are being made to increase the number of women members. Of those who joined the Party in the last three years, 70.1 per cent were under 30, two-thirds had a secondary or higher education, and 38 per cent were women.

In its work to improve its composition, the BCP is guided by the consideration that its strength and influence depend first and foremost on the Marxist-Leninist education of its members, their devotion to the cause of the Party and socialism, their ability to keep in touch with the masses and give leadership to their efforts to carry out the tasks of socialist construction set by the Party. In this respect our Party keeps in mind Georgi Dimitrov's words that 'a Party member who does not want to study, does not want to learn and improve his education is not and cannot be a genuine member of our Party.'

After studying and creatively adapting the experience of Soviet Communists, the BCP set up an integrated system of ideological and political education for its members. Its basic element is the Party education year, making for regular and consisitent Marxist-Leninist instruction and providing opportunities for Communists to gear their studies to their educational level and interests. The February 1974 Central Committee plenum reaffirmed the need to master Marxist-Leninist theory and outlined measures for improving Party education.

However, by itself knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is not enough to make a Party member a genuine political leader of non-Party people; this is doubly true today when the scientific and technological revolution is gaining momentum and the general educational and polytechnical standards of the people are steadily rising. Communists

must also be professionally knowledgeable, have a keen sense for all that is new and upcoming, and not only promote it but also initiate useful undertakings.

In their work to raise the consciousness and activity of their members and foster communist ethics, Party organizations also take into account the educational impact of the milieu. Party members are required to show personal initiative, for the vanguard role of Communists cannot be reduced simply to carrying out assignments.

The demands on Party cadres are especially great. They have a decisive role to play in shaping Party policy and rallying the people for its implementation. True to the creative spirit of Leninism, the BCP does its best to take fully into account the specific conditions of each stage of national development in selecting, assigning and educating its cadres. The results of a study of the qualities of Party cadres were set forth in comprehensive detail in the documents of the December 1972 Central Committee plenum.

A leader, regardless of rank or position, must posess such political qualities as boundless devotion to the cause of the working class and the Party, deep understanding of Party and state policies and readiness to spare no effort to carry them out, ability creatively to apply Party policy to one's specific work, ability to educate the masses in the spirit of communist morality. His behavior should be an example for everybody. Equally, every leader should be able to direct a given work collective, keep abreast of the latest achievements of science and technology, know production and the newest methods of decision-making and control.

Today an administrator and manager must also be a political figure. The BCP places special emphasis on this quality of managerial personnel in view of the scale of the tasks involved, the higher political and cultural standards of the working people and the greater role of work collectives in the society. Modern demands on cadres have necessitated substantial changes in the organization of their education and advanced training. They are instructed in Marxism-Leninism, as well as in their own profession, managerial theory and organization and elements of psychology and pedagogy. Our Party posesses devoted and trained cadres who cope successfully with their assignments.

The question of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party is a key element of the theory of scientific communism. In recent years, as pointed out in the Central Committee report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, 'it has become the key issue in the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and representatives of various forms of revisionism.' Right-wing revisionists seek to belittle the Party's role in social development, accentuating objective factors. 'Left' re-

visionists, as a rule, exaggerate subjective factors, which inevitably leads to adventurism in Party activity. The views and actions of both wings undermine the Party's leading role which, as shown by experience, is fraught with deformations of socialism and is detrimental to the interests of the working people. The BCP's activities reaffirm the correctness of Lenin's teaching on the Party's leading role. Its consistent and creative application determined our country's achievements in building socialism. Communists and the whole Bulgarian people are firmly confident that further enhancement of the Party's leading role is the main factor in building a developed socialist society.

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political panorama

Visit to Portugal

A *WMR* delegation on a visit to Portugal had interviews with Francisco da Costa Gomes, President of the Republic, and with the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces Movement.

WE SHALL OVERCOME OUR DIFFICULTIES

Interview with Francisco da Costa Gomes

Q. Mr. President, what could you say of the state of the Portuguese economy?

A. The position now is very difficult, but potentially the outlook is encouraging. What do we have?

– Our revolution has coincided with a growing economic crisis in Europe and the world;

– the working classes, having won freedom, have stepped up their struggle, causing fear and confusion among the capitalist employers;

– the ties between the country's underdeveloped industries and the traditional colonial market which supplied raw materials and absorbed finished products are seriously impaired;

– some foreign enterprises that operated in Portugal, exploiting and underpaying our disfranchised working people, have suspended production;

– lastly, in the financial sphere, the worldwide decline in tourism, a decline in hard currency remittances from emigrant workers, and understandable uncertainty among small depositors, as well as among domestic and foreign investors, have caused a shortage of capital.

Thus, the situation is quite difficult. However, speaking of the relatively near future, one should remember this:

– we have sufficient gold and currency reserves to carry on for about three years in spite of the current difficulties;

– political developments enable us to conduct a dialogue in favorable conditions with all countries of the world, and the situation is conducive to cooperation with other nations;

– since the socialist countries with which Portugal has established diplomatic relations want to expand trade with us, we expect a good market for our products;

– foreign credits and investments not aimed at exploiting our working people will be granted most favorable political conditions in our country when confidence in the future permanent government becomes strong enough;

– we propose to cut our military spending by $800m. to $1,000m. in the next three years, which should enable us to make substantial investments and raise the living standard;

– the home market will expand and the turnover of capital increase as the purchasing capacity of the working class rises.

In these circumstances, we see no cause to fear the future. We are going through a serious economic crisis but in a matter of three years it may give way to a new life for the whole people of Portugal.

Q. What are the other important problems facing the country?

A. The main one, besides the economic problems I have mentioned is decolonization, which involves many difficulties. We must also press forward the revolution in people's minds. Legislation must be passed as soon as possible to organize the new national life in a climate of freedom. We must democratize the educational system by linking it with life and enable the various parties and the working classes to carry on their struggle in accordance with a social discipline favoring neither right-wing reactionaries, pseudo-revolutionary groups, nor other enemies of the people.

Q. Mr. President, what headway is being made in democratization and in eliminating of the legacy of fascism?

A. Democratization requires effort primarily in two spheres: legislation, where we must speedily replace laws restricting democratic freedoms and establish guarantees of genuine individual and public freedom; and secondly, in people's minds, where we are accomplishing a real revolution, using every suitable means, first of all the mass media.

Views on the quality and intensity of the work being done vary. However, no one questions either the intentions or the industry of the country's present leaders.

To end the legacy of the dictatorship is another task. It is not being carried out more quickly because it requires prudence and consideration. A faster pace would take up too much of the time of the higher decision-making bodies.

But the work is being done as fast as the existing limitations allow and, even more important, there is the firm conviction that a democratic Portugal cannot be created with the leaders and institutions of the old regime.

Q. Could you comment on the political situation and on the parties preparing for the coming election?

A. As far as the political situation is concerned, the most noteworthy development of recent date is the people's growing political consciousness. People wake up, work, eat, rest, talk and read but they also think about the domestic political situation or argue in freedom. Everyone realizes the need to arrive at the election with a higher standard of political consciousness and clearer ideas.

Genuinely democratic progressive parties, including some of those not in the government coalition, are doing the important job of educating our people politically.

I hope that in these conditions we shall overcome our difficulties and that the election will be free and genuine.

Q. Major advances have already been made toward decolonization. Guinea-Bissau has become an independent state, Mozambique has a provisional government and Angola is moving in the same direction. On the other hand, there were serious incidents in Angola and Mozambique with many casualties. What is your impression, Mr. President, of the progress of decolonization in the African territories?

A. The situation in Mozambique and Angola, those two vast territories, is by no means identical. Certain manifestations of racism, considerable economic difficulties and the existence of scores of ethnic groups created a complicated situation in Mozambique. However, the existence of only one major liberation movement makes it easier to stabilize the country politically.

Angola, which is richer and more culturally advanced and has fewer ethnic groups, could have done better. Unfortunately, the different parties fighting for liberation failed to come to terms and thus prejudiced our decolonization effort.

As was to be expected, decolonization is bringing out serious class antagonisms, creating very tense social situations. The result is that in the urban areas small incidents spark conflicts, which may have greater or lesser repercussions.

We do not preclude, therefore, the possibility of more suffering for the people before social and political stabilization is achieved.

In the end, however, there will be two more Portuguese-speaking states that will eventually join the international community as two great nations.

The decolonization commission is taking steps with regard to the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe. We want the peoples of these islands to shape their future as they see fit, by freely expressing their will.

In other respects the situation there varies greatly.

– The Cape Verde Islands are an arid and extremely poor archi-

pelago. At the moment there can be no question of its economic independence. We will accept its people's decision on political independence and include agreements on economic aid. As there are several political currents in the archipelago we think the formation of a transitional coalition government there will be no easy task.

– The two other islands, Sao Tome and Principe, have a very vulnerable economy, but it supplies enough to meet the needs of the population. There is only one representative political current there and we hope decolonization will be less complicated. It will not be long before a transitional government is formed.* When they are granted independence, we will help them in the spheres of education, public health and technology in accordance with agreements between the governments concerned.

Q. What do you think, Mr. President, of the significance which the alliance of the people and the armed forces has for democratization in Portugal?

A. The alliance is absolutely necessary. According to the concept of our revolution, the armed forces are part of the people, they are the people's mailed fist, but subject to the country's laws, their powerful arm obeying democratic procedure.

A GREAT ALLIANCE

Interview with the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces Movement

Q. What, in the opinion of the Armed Forces Movement, are the distinguishing features of democratization in Portugal today?

A. Decolonization is the cornerstone and earnest of genuine democratization. Fascism and colonialism were inseparable. Fascism in Portugal was largely nurtured by colonial exploitation and plunder.

Decolonization made rapid headway after official recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the withdrawal of all Portuguese forces from its territory and after the signing in Lusaka of an important agreement initiating the transfer of power to FRELIMO, the only lawful representative of the people of Mozambique.

After September 28, 1974 more favorable conditions appeared for the Armed Forces Movement to contribute to the decolonization of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome, Principe and Timor. The recent recognition of the MPLA and the Movement for the Liberation

*Portugal and the Movement for the Liberation of the Islands of Sao Tome and Principe have already signed an agreement granting this African colony independence, which will be declared on July 12, 1975. In the interim the islands will be governed by a transitional government and a newly appointed Portuguese High Commissioner. – *Ed*.

of the Islands of Sao Tome and Principe as parties to the dialogue was a further step toward settling the colonial problem.

The establishment of democratic freedoms after 48 years of fascist rule was a consequence of the total failure of fascism and colonialism, which were overthrown by the armed struggle of the peoples of the colonies and the ceaseless fight of the Portuguese people plus the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist support and solidarity of the peoples of the world.

The Armed Forces Movement sees its prime task in safeguarding freedom and the new democratic regime against any threat from fascism and imperialism or attempt to restore the overthrown regime in any form. It is fully supported in this by the Portuguese people.

Q. How far has the program of the Armed Forces Movement been carried out?

A. The program was, and still is, opposed by various reactionary forces. They also tried to prevent the completion of decolonization and urged neo-colonialist solutions and bargains with imperialism.

They resisted the extension of freedoms and tried to pave the way for a new dictatorship. They campaigned against basic civil freedoms to prevent the masses from organizing and becoming politically conscious. They went as far as to plan an armed revolt aimed at seizing power. The revolt was to have been disguised as a demonstration in support of the former President, General Spinola.

In the economic field, too, they tried to misrepresent the program and obstruct the fight against monopoly.

While the events of September 28 provided opportunities for a new offensive of the progressive forces the program still encounters great difficulties. Indeed, a continuous struggle is going on between the forces of progress and reaction, which would like to do away with the democratic regime set up after the fall of fascism.

Q. Could you comment in somewhat greater detail on the role which the events of September 28 played in the fight against reaction, for democratization?

Q. The events of September 28 spurred the Armed Forces Movement and progressive elements toward consolidating the gains of April 25.

Obstacles to the normalization of some vitally important spheres of national life have been overcome; the reactionaries who were out to discredit the new regime have been removed from power.

However, the struggle will continue until the enemies of democracy are completely eliminated. These enemies are backed and continuously egged on by imperialism, which wants to re-establish its domination in Portugal and prevent decolonization from going on in the peoples' interests.

Imperialism continues its maneuvering in the colonies. The bloody clashes in Luanda, recurrent riots and unrest in Lourenco Marques, and the activity of neo-colonialist groups in Cabinda, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe are designed to create a situation that could justify intervention and penetration by imperialism, which takes advantage of the existing disarray and aggravates it, hoping to divide the embattled peoples by undermining their national unity. With every victory of the democratic forces, the struggle assumes new, sometimes more involved forms.

Q. What about the problem posed by the activities of ultra-leftist groups?

A. There is considerable confusion over this concept. One should distinguish between organizations upholding democracy, democratic freedoms and decolonization irrespective of the current they represent, on the one hand, and groups really opposed to democratization, on the other. A distinction should also be made between action by the working people, which is occasionally alleged to be reactionary, and imperialist plotting and the action of certain groups, which have plainly nothing to do with the masses.

In fact, the activities of certain groups amount objectively to provocations playing into the hands of the enemies of freedom. There is, for instance, the activity of groups which recently boycotted a rally of the youth organization of the Social-Democratic Center party. They provoked clashes with the police and troops, giving rise to serious unrest and riots and creating a tense situation just before a visit of great importance for the national economy, to say nothing of the fact that such activity sets a precedent for encroaching on freedom of assembly and opinion.*

We must take a firm stand against such specific acts, expose and neutralize them, but without slipping into demagogy, and by stressing the whole situation, so as not to give rise to panic or blunder into a witch hunt that would only benefit the enemies of freedom.

Q. What does the Armed Forces Movement think of the alliance of the army and people?

A. The Armed Forces Movement is at present the guarantee and principal safeguard of the continuity of the present regime. The people are vigilant as they showed on September 28. It was the people that blocked the inflow of arms and rioters to the cities. They furnished proof of their genuine allegiance to the present regime and their unqualified condemnation of fascism and reaction, of those who threatened to rob them completely or partially of the freedoms won

*The reference is apparently to the visit of Robert McCloskey, U.S. special envoy, early in November and the arrival of an American economic mission. – *Ed*.

after 48 years of struggle against fascism and colonialism.

The unity of the people and the armed forces is a great alliance formed in the days of struggle for democracy and freedom, between April 25 and October 6, National Labor Day.

The unity of the people and the Armed Forces Movement is a vitally important progressive alliance. It has been developing in struggle against our common enemy, for democracy.

The technological revolution and the labor movement

Emil Bjarnason
Canadian Marxist Economist

CHANGES IN THE CONDITION AND DEMANDS OF CANADIAN TRADE UNIONS

The apologists for capitalism are never short of euphemisms to glorify the present stage of their system. In the last decade or so, they have coined 'the affluent society,' 'the consumer society,' 'the post-industrial society,' to cite but a few of the concepts designed to suggest that the era of exploitation has ended. Although the people advancing and upholding these 'theories' are many, ranging form such self-styled neo-Marxists as Herbert Marcuse to bourgeois liberals like J.K. Galbraith, and while the specifics of their prescriptions vary, certain common assumptions underlie the whole range of these concepts.

Common to all is the belief that the working class has developed trade union organizations rivalling the monopolies in economic and political power, and is thus able to demand and get a constantly rising standard of living, if not indeed a constantly rising share of the social product. It is usually asserted that the resulting affluence of the working class has blunted its interest in social revolution. Taking certain well-paid bureaucratically-led 'hard-hat' unionists as typical, its is asserted that labor is more reactionary than the middle strata. Those variants that claim to be socialist see the hope for revolution not in the working class, but in the struggles of students, the urban poor, and the newly free countries against a social order which exploits them in the joint interest of monopoly business and organized labor.

Class struggle against exploitation by capital is seen as a thing of the past. The scientific and technical revolution is held to have created such abundance of wealth that the main problem today is finding efficient ways of distributing income so as to allow everyone to live in comfort. Extreme variants of the apologetic theories hold that we are rapidly approaching the stage where all the work of society will be done by a handful of people. The preoccupation of the great majority would be, not getting an income, but the use of leisure. To the exponents of these theories, the terms 'capitalism' and 'socialism' have become meaningless. The post-industrial society is held to be a social order in which the evils of capitalism have been overcome and the benefits of socialism achieved.

At the same time many of the apologists of capitalism remain neo-Malthusian doomsdayers who see no contradiction between their own optimistic appraisal of imperialist social relations and the argument that we are overtaxing the resources of the planet and heading for disaster unless we opt for zero-growth.

Each of the competing theories of the post-industrial society, even if it focuses on some aspect of the problem distorts this aspect into a fallacy by failure to integrate it into a theory of the process as a whole.

Closely tied to these views are theories, widely current in capitalist and revisionist literature, concerning the place and functions of the trade unions in capitalist society in this age of the scientific and technological revolution. For instance, Galbraith's 'technostructure' theory, set out in his 'The New Industrial State.' It predicts the 'decline' of the unions and the gradual washing away of their social base.[1]

Understandably, it is of the utmost importance, for practical as well as ideological reasons, to expose these concepts of bourgeois and reformist ideologists, their attempts to exploit the scientific and technological revolution for belittling the role of the working class and its organizations. It is likewise important scientifically to analyze the effect of the scientific and technological revolution on the labor movement in capitalist countries. The specific features of the present stage in the development of the organized labor movement in Canada, the new tasks this poses for the unions, figure prominently in the proceedings and decisions of the Communist Party of Canada's 22nd Convention, held on May 18-20, 1974. We propose to examine some of the theoretical and practical problems, as set out in the Convention documents.

Changes in the economic and social base

The scientific and technological revolution is, but not merely, the logical extension of the industrial revolution. As Marx depicted it, the

accumulation of capital at a steadily rising technical level (organic composition of capital) generated monopoly through concentration and centralization. It also generated the industrial reserve army in all of its complex forms, a tendency to a falling rate of profit, and an inherent tendency to crisis. The accumulation of capital in the era of the scientific and technological rvolution still has the same effects, but not simply at a higher level. The process is qualitatively different. Accumulation of capital still promotes concentration and centralization, but with monopoly already the dominant form of business it does so in the main under the control of the existing monopolies.

The effects of a steadily rising technical level of production still operate, but it is no longer primarily a matter of more and better machinery displacing labor in the production of goods. Today, science and technology promote productivity at an accelerated rate in the whole complex of activities concerned with the production of the goods and services comprising material value. Office occupations, the arts, medicine, education, government, all are assimilated into the process. And just as the operation of the law of capitalist accumulation transformed independent producers into proletarians, so the analagous process today reduces essentially all who earn a living into wage slaves of one category or another.

Changes in the labor force, particularly in the working class, strongly influence the character of the trade union movement and the conditions in which it operates. First, the scientific and technological revolution is changing and extending the production and social base of the labor force. Another result is the emergence of higher skill categories and of new professions. This implies not only a bigger share of skilled workers, but also a change in their proportion to technical personnel. Employment in the service and distribution industries and in the white collar professions has risen substantially.

The scientific and technological revolution imparts to white-collar work the character of more of less direct involvement in the production process. Inevitably, the white collar workers lose the preferred character that once differentiated them from factory workers. Increasingly, they become simply workers with a high degree of skill or knowledge and are brought nearer to the highly-skilled factory worker in terms of conditions and wages. Under these circumstances, they are impelled to organize themselves into trade unions and to share the activity, political and economic, of their class brothers. Hence, organizing workers in the service industries, technical and clerical personnel and the other new categories, is of vital importance.

The dialectics of change in the industrial and skill structure of the working class and the work force generally under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the Convention noted, is ex-

tending the social and industrial basis of the trade union movement, presenting fresh opportunities for more organization and united action. This poses new, complex problems for the trade unions.

Bigger social role of the state

Extension of the social and industrial base of the trade unions, with their more complex social and political composition, has been attended by another major qualitative change – conversion of the state into a key instrument for accumulating capital and increasing exploitation.

The reproduction of capital and maintaining the rate of profit greatly increase the scale of investment and require a market for the product of the monopolies far in excess of what is paid out in wages to the producers. To maintain the necessary level of demand for their product, the monopolies turn to the state which provides that market. It does so indirectly by the payment of wages to the largely unproductive employees of the state sector and by welfare payments to the population in the form of pensions, unemployment insurance, etc. Directly, it provides a market by buying a large part of the product of industry itself, for public purposes or, as in the case of military expenditure, for pure waste. Thus the scope of government operations has grown steadily and is now estimated at 40 per cent of the gross national product.

The values thus disposed of by the state are not drawn out of thin air. They are real values produced by the workers of the nation. The manner in which they are financed constitutes an additional mechanism of exploitation under state monopoly capitalism.

The greater part of the expenditures of the state are paid for by taxes on the population. As the volume of taxes has grown, their incidence has gradually shifted, placing a larger burden on the workers. Thus in 1949, corporations paid 19 per cent of total Canadian taxes, but by 1968, the greatly expanded corporate sector bore only 10 per cent. As for the people, from 1965 to 1974, notwithstanding the 1971 'tax reform,' the percentage of the tax on real income of $5,000 (in 1965 prices) rose by 41 per cent, whereas the tax on a real income of $40,000 rose only 18 per cent.

However, government expenditures have also been largely financed by inflation. While this may reflect a reluctance to lose votes by raising taxes, it is perhaps to a much greater extent the result of the government increasing the money supply to accommodate the monopolies in their price-raising policies. If the level of investment (including research and development costs) grows more rapidly than employment or output, the rate of profit cannot be maintained at a constant price level. Thus inflation becomes, from the capitalist point

of view, a necessary and additional means of exploitation.

At the point of production, management and labor as before contend over the division of the product through collective bargaining, strikes and lockouts. But when the bargain has been reached, the laws of state monopoly capitalism dictate that the resulting wage rate remains fixed for a stipulated contract period, at least one year. In the meantime, taxes and inflation take back an ever increasing portion of the wage that was won in bargaining. Thus the monopolies seize, through the state apparatus, what they were unable to win at the bargaining table.

This phenomenon is producing a revolution in the role and methods of the trade unions.

On the one hand, in the collective bargaining process itself, unions are seeking to protect their members by means of shorter contracts and cost of living escalator clauses, seeking to match the rises in prices with equivalent rises in wages. In addition, they are negotiating benefits such as pre-paid medical and dental plans, etc. There has been, however, a counteracting tendency for government to relieve employers of the resulting escalation in their costs by nationalizing medical insurance and placing the burden back on the taxpayer, the worker.

On the other hand, the government is assuming the functions of regulating labor-capital relations through legislation in the interests of the capitalists. The right to strike is being restricted (the action against the general rail strike in September 1973 is but one example), wages are being frozen, compulsory arbitration is being imposed, etc. In the present social context it becomes increasingly clear to the unions that they cannot solve all of their problems at the bargaining table, and must more and more resort to political actions. In Canada, which lags a generation behind Europe in this respect, the politicization of the unions is uneven and inconsistent. However, in the three provinces that have elected social-democratic governments the trade unions are rapidly learning, and responding to, the necessity to maintain pressure on even these 'socialist' governments for pro-labor policies.

Moreover, in Canada, as in all of the imperialist countries, the continuing inflationary process has generated demands on the part of the bourgeoisie and of backward sections of the public for wage controls as a means of stopping the rise in prices. In the struggle over this issue, the fight to maintain real wages is drawn directly into the political arena.

We can thus speak of a definite evolution of trade union demands: traditional demands are acquiring a new content and new demands are being advanced. Among these, the Policy Resolution of the 22nd Convention stresses the demand for 'a decisive voice over technolog-

ical change and its consequences to ensure that the fruits of such development accrue to the working people in the form of reduced hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay, price reductions, earlier retirement with increased pension payments.'[2] Demands for defense and improvement of living standards, the resolution says, should be tied in with the demand for a decisive role for the unions in production and public life (including a labor bill of rights), and with the organization of the unorganized, particularly working women and immigrant workers.

The multinational corporations constitute a real threat to the very existence of the trade union movement, and the unions must meet the threat with stronger international solidarity and united action with progressive unions in other countries.[3]

All these issues, the Convention resolution says, combined with the continuing struggle for peace, democracy, Canadian independence and the fight for the economic and social needs of the working people, create conditions for strengthening the left, to challenge and defeat right-wing policies and their advocates and enable the unions to play a decisive role in the democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist alliance. Stressing working-class and democratic unity as a key link in making this alliance a reality, the Policy Resolution says that the Communist Party 'must continue to stand out firmly and clearly as the Party which stands for unity of action of the working class, trade union and democratic forces.'[4]

For social justice and progress

According to the ideologues of the 'post-industrial society,' exploitation is no longer an issue. Supposedly, trade union activity assures the workers comparative affluence, and welfare-oriented governments redistribute income to protect the interests of those who cannot work.

The reality is different. The more rapidly technological change proceeds, the more it undermines the workers' security of employment. Since the Second World War we have not seen the phenomenon of mass, long-term unemployment. Nevertheless, unemployment has remained at a more or less stable level of 5-6 per cent, with a higher figure in some industries and areas (in Québec and British Columbia unemployment is running at 3-4 per cent above the national average). Unemployment among youth (11 per cent in the 14-24 age group) presents a very serious problem. Instead, workers have been faced with constant displacement and re-absorption into employment with varying periods of unemployment in between, so that unemployment insurance has become a more or less regular source of income to large numbers of workers, with the amount and conditions of payment a major political issue.

Unions have sought, with some success, to deal with security of employment through the collective bargaining process. When automation made railroad firemen redundant, the railway unions succeeded in avoiding mass layoffs of firemen by means of an agreement that the employment of firemen could be terminated only by retirement on pension, death, or voluntary resignation. In the meantime, the railways could transfer the redundant firemen to other jobs when available.

A more comprehensive plan of the same sort was negotiated by the longshoremen, providing that all existing union members were guaranteed full employment, more or less for life, with substantial pensions on retirement. This provides excellent security for those in the union, but it also means that so long as technology can limit the work requirement to the number of men covered by the guarantees, this field of employment is effectively closed to the younger generation. Similarly, strong closed shop unions, by limiting the number of their members, can provide security of employment to the membership, but this increases the insecurity of employment of the workers who have not attained membership.

At the same time all workers, organized or not, are faced with the constant erosion of living standards through taxation and inflation. Thus in 1973, a year of exceptional prosperity in Canada, the unions succeeded in negotiating the highest wage increases in more than 20 years, averaging 8½ per cent. However, during the same period of time, the cost of living rose by 9.1 per cent. Consumer prices went up by 10 per cent in 1973, and food prices, by 18 per cent. When the additional impact of higher taxes on the higher money wages is taken into account, this means that the purchasing power of the average wage dropped by two or three per cent. Simultaneously, as William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, pointed out in his report, there has been a fantastic rise in corporate profits. Falconbridge Nickel in 1973 increased profits by 770 per cent over 1972. International Nickel increased profits by 107 per cent. Abitibi Paper Company increased profits by 260 per cent, Gulf Oil by 58 per cent.[5]

The casual observer thinks it a sign of opulence that ordinary workers can now earn $10,000 a year. The worker earning such a wage, however, pays over $2,000 in income taxes. If he has purchased an ordinary working class house in the present market, his mortgage payments will total $4,500 a year and his property taxes $500. This leaves him one third of his wages to cover all other necessities.

The truth of exploitation is revealed by the dynamics of national income (per cent of the total):

	1939	1949	1973
	%	%	%
Expenditures of the population on consumer goods and services	76	69	65
Business capital formation	10	18	21
Government expenditure on goods and services	14	13	14[6]

It turns out that in the 'comsumer society' of 1973 the proportion of production devoted to consumption was 11 per cent less than in the depression year 1939. Or to put it another way, the money value of consumption by the population had increased 17 times[7] while the money values disposed of by government increased 20 times, and by business 41 times.

At the present time, the anger of the workers and allied classes expresses itself in increasingly militant strikes and action by organization of tenants and of especially deprived groups such as welfare recipients and the native Indian peoples. Interest in left-wing political parties is definitely growing, though not rapidly.

Strikes in industry are complemented by increasing action of clerical workers, school teachers, technical and specialist personnel. The trend here is toward organization and new forms of struggle, such as mass demonstrations and general strikes. The extent to which this phenomenon has asserted itself may be seen in the fact that the largest unions in the country are now unions of civil servants. In the recent past, Canada has experienced strikes of postal workers, teachers, policemen, firemen and hospital workers. Clerical employees in private industry are also beginning to organize into unions. Thus, by and large, all sectors of the labor force are becoming organized and experienced in collective action for their class economic and political interests.

The growing scope and militancy of the strike movement led the Convention to this conclusion: 'These struggles while focussing on economic issues are more and more directed to change the status of workers in society and in production and to overcome social inequality.

'The trade union movement is increasingly widening its horizon and going beyond negotiations with employers,' the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party noted. 'It has been in the forefront of the struggle against the economic and social policies of the government

which have increased unemployment and intensified inflation. It has advanced its own demands for full employment, for extended social security, for an end to poverty, for decent housing, pollution control, and so on.' The Canadian trade union movement, the Convention pointed out further, has begun to react more vigorously against the repressive policies of imperialism and of the multinational corporations. What is significant in the recent period is the direct participation of trade unions in the organized struggle for peace.[8]

The trend in the trade union movement is to move increasingly to the left, to the adoption of more militant policies and toward stronger bonds of unity. An important step in this direction was the inclusion of two progressive unions, the United Electrical and Radio Workers and the United Fishermen into the Canadian Labour Congress, the country's main body of organized labor. The workers of English and French Canada are increasing their solidarity and unity of action. Mention should also be made of the elimination of anti-communist clauses in a number of union constitutions. The growing scope of the strike struggle and union political activity effectively refute the bourgeois concept of 'integrating' the unions in the system of state-monopoly capitalism.[9]

Consequently the trade union movement, all the difficulties in its path notwithstanding, continues to grow, though the mass of Canadian working people are still far from appreciating that only socialism provides a final solution for all their problems. One of the reasons for this is the Government's anti-labor policy. 'The class interests of the bourgeoisie,' Lenin wrote, 'inevitably give rise to a striving to confine the unions to petty and narrow activity within the framework of the existing order, to keep them away from any contact with socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 466).

Another reason is the compromising policy of trade-union bureaucrats. It is their divisive policy, their policy of class collaboration, that is hampering the strengthening of the unions and their bigger role and influence in Canada's political life.

'The trade unions are the best organized and most influential organizations of the working class,' says the Policy Resolution of the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party. 'Without their active participation no truly effective struggle can be waged against monopoly and its governments. They are the decisive factor. Because of right-wing policy which ties the trade unions to capitalist policies the full potential of this great social force as a decisive factor for fundamental social change is not being realized. The defeat of these policies and the adoption of policies of class struggle can change the situation. To accomplish this, cooperation of the left is essential.'[10]

In the increasingly acute struggle over these characteristic issues of

the 'affluent society' – inflation, unemployment, housing, monopoly price-gouging and the crushing burden of taxation – the workers are being gradually allied with other democratic forces in united action against the monopolies and monopoly-ridden governments, and are finding their way to the revolutionary transformation of society.

1. J.K. Galbraith. *The New Industrial State*. A Mentor Book. N.Y., 1968. pp. 270-278.
2. 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, Toronto 1974, p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 32.
4. 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, Toronto 1974, p. 38.
5. W. Kashtan. *Unite Against Monopoly*, Toronto 1974, p. 11.
6. This does not contradict the previous statement. A large part of government expenditures is in the form of interest, welfare expenditures and subsidies to business, whose end use, therefore, appears either as consumer expenditures or business capital expenditures.
7. Since in the meantime, the population had doubled, and the price of bread had risen from 8 to 40 cents a loaf, this 17-fold increase in total money value does not necessarily imply any large growth in real per capita consumption.
8. 22nd Convention Communist Party of Canada. p. 19.
9. In particular Galbraith has been at pains to substantiate that theory in his 'The New Industrial Society' and in his more recent 'Economics and Public Purposes' (Boston, 1973). Now he finds himself obliged to admit that the trade unions have actually strengthened their positions. In the past few years bourgeois ideologues and reformists have spoken much of an entirely new role of the unions. They, it has been said, have become an inalienable part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism, and their function is to help raise productivity and cut production costs. They allegedly renounce strikes and seek to resolve conflicts by negotiation.
10. 22nd Convention Communist Party of Canada, p. 29.

The position of women

DISCUSSED AT A CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The conference, held in Rome November 15-17, 1974, was attended by 68 delegates representing 19 Communist parties. It adopted a declaration stressing that 'the struggle for the emancipation of women is an integral part of the general struggle of the peoples of the capitalist

countries of Europe for democracy, socialism and peace.'*

L'Unita writes that the speakers at the conference noted that capitalism, which is in the throes of an economic, political and moral crisis, is incapable of providing the conditions necessary for full equality of women. Their position remains extremely difficult. For example, women's wages are 10 per cent lower than men's in Denmark, 17 per cent lower in France, 24 in Sweden, 33 in the FRG, and 37 in Greece. Unemployment is another burden weighing heavily on women, and in the FRG, for instance, female unemployment is double male unemployment. In virtually all West European countries women are offered less-skilled jobs; discrimination is especially harsh against immigrant women, and in many countries the inequities are legally codified.

The conference stressed the great contributions of women toward the defense and expansion of democracy, social progress and peace, the building of a more just and humane society. As the vanguard of all revolutionary forces, the Communists, speakers emphasized, play a decisive role in the fight for women's rights.

'The experience of history demonstrates,' the declaration says, 'that only socialism is really able to respond to the major problems confronting the masses in capitalist countries, to create real and reliable conditions for equality, do away with discrimination, and enable every woman fully to develop her talents.'

As is known, the United Nations has declared 1975 International Women's Year, and at the conference the delegates discussed some of the activities planned in this connection in various countries.

E. Yar

*Quoted from the full text of the declaration in *L'Unita*, November 22, 1974.

All peace-loving forces are with us

Nguyen Dinh Chi,
Member of Consultative Council, PRG of Republic of South Vietnam

Question: Two years ago the Vietnamese people won a great victory, forcing the imperialist agressors and their henchmen in Saigon to sign the Paris Agreement. Please tell us what the South Vietnamese patriots are doing to have it implemented.

Answer: For many years the Vietnamese people lived under the colonialist yoke, and even now imperialism has not given up efforts to preserve colonial ways in South Vietnam. That is why our people rose to the struggle to drive the aggressive forces out of the country. The Paris Agreement was certainly a victory, but only half a victory. Although the United States was forced to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam, it did not cease its attempts to impose a neo-colonialist regime or stop military interference in our internal affairs.

Imperialism refuses to accept the real state of affairs in our country, where we have two zones, two armies, two administrations and three political forces. Immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement the U.S. President declared the Saigon administration to be the only legitimate government of South Vietnam. The Pentagon strategists withdrew their troops, but thousands and thousands of American 'advisers,' i.e., officers and men, remain.

At present the U.S. is giving all kinds of aid to the Thieu administration to carry on the war in South Vietnam. By sending arms and financing the administration it is helping to step up repressions against opposition forces. The reactionary clique is continuing its policy of mass arrests and terror against those who want implementation of the Paris Agreement, democratization, peace and national concord. Instead of freeing all political prisoners, the Thieu clique has set up new concentration camps and strategic hamlets. Since the Paris Agreement another 50,000 have been added to the 200,000 political prisoners arrested during the war. Speaking in the U.S. Congress, Senator Kennedy acknowledged that U.S. military and financial aid enables the Saigon administration to strengthen the machinery for suppressing opposition forces.

Our people firmly denounce the actions of the imperialists and their Saigon puppets and can no longer tolerate such a situation. The population in the areas controlled by our government, as well as in those under the control of the Saigon administration, are ever more actively joining the struggle for implementation of the Paris Agreement, for peace, democracy, freedom, national reconciliation and concord. In South Vietnamese cities the movement is mounting to overthrow Thieu and form a government that would agree to negotiate with the Provisional Revolutionary Government and carry out the Paris Agreement. Lately the movement has acquired great scope, revealing its profoundly popular character.

Question: During the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against U.S. aggression peace-loving forces all over the world actively demonstrated against the aggression and for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam. What action by the peace-loving forces do you think could now help the Vietnamese people in their struggle for implementation of the Paris Agreement and a firm peace in South Vietnam?

Answer: There are many difficulties in our struggle. That is why we need the help of friendly nations, especially the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, which has been giving and, we are sure, will continue to give our people great and effective help. We are also grateful to progressive people all over the world for their unswerving support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against violations of the Paris Agreement by the United States and the Saigon administration, and for help in rebuilding the liberated areas.

The blame for violating the Paris Agreement rests squarely with the U.S. imperialists. That is why it is so important for the peace-loving public to demand an end to U.S. interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, an end to any kind of aid to the anti-popular Thieu regime. Demands must be stepped up for the immediate release of all political prisoners held by the Saigon regime, of all fighters for peace, freedom and independence, whatever their political affiliations.

The peace-loving forces of all continents are with us. Their help and support will enable us to carry on our just struggle for a lasting peace in South Vietnam until final victory.

From liberation front to construction front

Sadeq Hadjeres
First Secretary, CC,
Socialist Vanguard
Party of Algeria

Algeria and its many friends throughout the world are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the liberation war. The shots fired on November 1, 1954, after 124 years of colonial rule, were the first in a war that was to last seven and a half years.

Reflecting on that heroic and tragic period of their history, the Algerians recall not only its casualties – more than one million in a population of 10 million – but also the dedication, enthusiasm and unity that went into the defeat of French colonial rule. That rule could not be kept alive by an expeditionary corps of 800,000 supported by hundreds of thousands more in the so-called 'auxiliary forces,' nor by the economic might of a capitalist state, the political maneuvers of the French bourgeoisie, nor help from France's NATO allies. Algerians look back with justified pride to the days of the liberation war: their's was a victory for all the peoples, for the progressive forces everywhere.

The events of November 1, 1954 and the proclamation of independence in July 1962 had wide international implications. Following the breach of the French colonial system by the peoples of Indochina, our victory generated a powerful solidarity movement, infused new hope in all colonial peoples, and became a key element in the liberation process that shook the very foundations of imperialist domination in Africa and the Arab world in the 50s and 60s. Our victory paved the way to deep-going changes in Algeria itself. They were the prelude to the role Algeria now plays in the world anti-imperialist movement, as exemplified by the results of the 1973 conference of non-aligned countries held in our capital.

It is only logical, therefore, that all patriots, all true anti-imperialists should, on this anniversary of our liberation war, vigilantly guard against neo-colonialist plots to hamper Algeria in building up an

independent economy. And there is special need to preserve and expand the momentous gains of November 1954, frustrate the manoeuvers and blackmail imperialism and zionism are using to hold back, split and disorient the Arab liberation movement, in which the Palestine resistance plays no small part.

The 20th anniversary of the liberation war finds Algeria more closely associated with anti-colonial movements, primarily with the struggle of the former Portuguese colonies now entering an era of freedom. Algeria has consistently supported anti-colonial movements from the first days of its independence.

Algeria is anxious to play a bigger part in the world revolutionary movement and coordinate its activities with it. It is forming closer ties of friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These ties go back to the liberation war and have been strengthened by the mutually advantageous and fruitful cooperation that is helping us build an independent state.

Factors of victory

On July 5, 1962, after a national referendum, our people regained the freedom and sovereignty they lost when Algeria was conquered by the French exactly 132 years before, on July 5, 1830. Our victory was not won in open battle against the colonial armies as was the case at Dien Bien Phu. It was won by the Algerian people exerting every ounce of energy to paralyze the system of colonial oppression. The following were the two main factors in our political, military and diplomatic victories:

– unity of all patriotic forces to win independence; heightened political and ideological level of the people, which found its supreme expression in united action of all the national forces within the anti-colonial front;

– closer rapprochement with other revolutionary trends and with the world anti-imperialist front.

However, there were some in Algeria who opposed to this unity, the plurality of patriotic organizations and political trends before the rising. That, we think, was a superficial approach. The united front forged in the liberation war was not the negation, but rather the logical continuation of the struggle waged by these groups and political trends. They did not disappear in the course of the war, but were integrated in a single organization and contributed to the common goal, liberation. The record of the war and of the postwar period will show that their activity never stopped, though it took different forms. The development of these trends and groups provides a more accurate picture of the period than the behavior of individuals or the operation of minor factors. We believe that one of the great achieve-

ments of the National Liberation Front was to devise a form of unity which – though it could have been improved – enabled diverse social and political trends to make a distinct contribution to the fight for independence.[1] The fact that they differed in character, retained their independence and their particular field of activity was no obstacle to unity. Though one might have addressed justified and constructive criticism to the NLF, it formulated clear slogans, set out the main aims of the struggle and chose its main form, and this determined its victory. Armed struggle was the path to independence, but NLF successes were also due to the fact that it represented the aspirations of our people and enjoyed its confidence.

As the liberation war progressed, we abandoned our one-sided approach to the question of international alliances. At first the policy was to seek alliances only with suppliers of weapons, with those who gave us material assistance or helped deserters from the colonial army (which, incidentally, was sometimes exploited by Western 'special services' and adventurers). Later the Algerians adopted a more fundamental, realistic and political concept of alliances. They came to see the objective need for alliance with the world revolutionary forces: fraternal Arab peoples, the socialist world, the new independent states, the working class of capitalist countries, primarily the working class of France, and there was much greater appreciation of the French Communist Party's support of our struggle.

The war led to radicalization of the liberation movement. This found expression in its constantly developing social and anti-imperialist orientation, both during the war and after it. And though we cannot speak of the movement's 'socialist aims' (as some patriots do, without assessing the significance of these words), there can be no doubt that the war of 1954-62 brought to the fore slogans which in the beginning were supported only by consistent revolutionaries. Toward the end of the war they were incorporated in the Tripoli Charter[2] which called for agrarian reform, nationalization and a socialist orientation.

These tendencies must be borne in mind in analyzing the situation in the summer of 1962: a large part of the National Liberation Army had come out against the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. This, and the split in the NLF, came as a disappointment to millions of patriots who asked themselves: Can it really be that all our sacrifices have been in vain? There were grave misgivings about the future.

The events of the summer of 1962 led to differentiation within the liberation movement. The Communists and other progressive elements were working to put an end to these dangerous clashes, promote national unity and assure the widest democracy in building an

independent Algeria. But at the same time they supported all trends and all groups fighting imperialism and reaction, for social progress. It was especially important to support political trends whose representatives were prepared to put the Tripoli Charter into practice. Though some of its propositions were based on the populist ideas of Fanon,[3] the Charter did reflect the anti-imperialist and progressive aspirations of our people. Some groupings and organizations accepted it out of tactical considerations and had no intention of adhering to it when in power. In contrast, the leadership of the National Liberation Army (renamed National People's Army after independence) was solidly behind the Charter. Made up of heterogeneous elements, it was faced with the formidable task of organizing a well-trained regular army. Yet it played a decisive part in preserving the main gains of the liberation war. The Communists helped to bring to power the first, army-supported Algerian government. We did this, though five months after independence the government banned our Party and took anti-democratic measures against the Algerian General Confederation of Labor, organized in 1956. In this respect it inherited the old populist and anti-labor prejudices and was anxious – as is obvious from the Soummam Charter[4] – to create a vacuum around the working class and its organizations. Actually, throughout the war the AGCL was engaged more in representation abroad than in mobilizing the working class.

In defining their attitude to the national regime, the Communists were guided by the fact that the first Algerian government and the army were continuers of the movement of landless peasants, the rural poor, semi-proletarians and farm laborers who wanted land as much as they wanted freedom. And the movement showed the greatest vigilance and steadfastness in winning sovereignty and safeguarding the country's territorial integrity – it had no illusions about the French imperialists or their NATO partners.

Subsequent events were to show that the Communists had taken a correct stand. The first Algerian government legalized the seizure of lands owned by the big French settlers, and landless farm laborers began cultivating them immediately after the ceasefire. The government also supported urban workers who had taken over factories abandoned by their owners. This anti-colonial, democratic action foiled the plans of the big landowners and Algerian bourgeoisie to acquire these lands and factories through fictitious deals. The basis was thus laid for the future state sector; this was the forerunner of nationalization. The French naval base at Mers-el-Kebir was evacuated much earlier than provided for by the Evian agreements.[5] French nuclear tests in the Sahara were banned, the Evian agreement on oil revised and subsequently revoked: once a means of exploiting Algeria, oil became the basis of a strong state sector.

In these 20 years the liberation movement has gone through a number of crises, some of them of an extremely grave character. Memories of the anti-colonial war always meet with a patriotic response, but our revolutionaries never idealize the war. A while ago the government decided to set up special commissions to study all the documents and other materials for a truthful history of the liberation war. It is to be hoped that this undertaking, so important for our people, less than half of whom were adults when independence came, will fill a gap in our national history. All patriots and anti-imperialists are prepared to contribute to this project in order to provide an objective, scientific history, and show its relevance to our present constructive efforts. And though we are in a different stage of the struggle, the November 1 movement and the liberation war have left so strong an imprint on the country that even now, 20 years later, in tackling every new task our patriots ask themselves: Does this conform with the spirit of the liberation?

Algeria has gone a long way since independence. Its achievements are a matter of pride both for those who fought for liberation and for the new generation grown up after 1962. Our achievements are welcomed by the many friendly peoples and states who in one way or another contributed to them. What we have accomplished is measurable only when compared to the disastrous heritage left by colonialism and the seven and a half years of the liberation war. There were hundreds of thousands of casualties, widows and orphans, refugee camps in neighboring countries, thousands od destroyed villages, ruined or damaged factories. Add to this the flight of the French technicians, teachers, etc., and the fact that the economy was still largely controlled by the former colonial power.

Much has changed since 1962. Through nationalization or purchase, the republic regained nearly all its national wealth: the land held by the colonialists, industrial and commercial enterprises, the main transport facilities, banking and insurance, mining and oil. Large capital investments have been made. Algeria has built up the infrastructure essential for economic progress, and the very character of the economy has been changed. The state sector, which holds a monopoly position in many key industries, has played an important part in overcoming economic backwardness and dependence. The same can be said of heavy industry, that vital element in developing an integrated national economy. Our imports now consist largely of producer goods and exports have been diversified (though 90 per cent of our foreign trade is still with the capitalist world). Lastly, a system of economic and social planning, the need for which is keenly felt, is now being built up.

There are many unsolved problems in education, but here, too,

progress has been impressive: primary school attendance has increased threefold, secondary school sevenfold and college and university nearly 12-fold.

Good headway has been made in the social services. Thousands more families now live in houses with water, electricity and gas; new roads have been laid; there are more student stipends, more school canteens, social insurance and family grants for more categories, such as agricultural workers, members of agrarian cooperatives and their families. Veterans of the liberation war, their widows and orphans enjoy special privileges. Last but not least, free medical care for the entire population is now being introduced.

Conditions for political renewal

There have been difficulties, however, and the successes achieved are not irreversible. The present problem is to overcome the gap between the chosen orientation and its actual implementation, between the plans and their fulfilment. But how to eliminate the discrepancy between tasks still to be accomplished – and in the absence of which the revolution will come to a dead end or even begin to recede – and the political and organizational instruments for accomplishing them? Speaking in Constantine to NLF cadres in May 1974, President Houari Boumedienne drew attention to this problem, referring, among other things, to some of the reasons why the NLF had not acted the bearer and advocate of official policy, though that would seem to be its mission. Having, in effect, become an official party as a projection of the alliance of all anti-colonial forces during the 1954-1962 war, the Front has experienced serious difficulties, saw breakdowns in its ties with the masses, and was at times incapable of promoting the progressive orientation.

Take the example of the agrarian revolution, unfolded in 1972. Now that state and communal land has been distributed, it has come to the most difficult stage, that of limiting and distributing the estates of landlords, including absentees. Agrarian reform has been a central objective of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. It is in the national interests and accords with the aim of economic independence. But its reception in various quarters has been very cool, and the patent dearth of effort in implementing it is certainly not due to just technical reasons.

The many different ways in which it has been resisted led to a delay of nine years since independence. Even now it is running into tremendous difficulties. Urgent political means should therefore be assured to effect the reform, and also to align its implementation with actions changing the social-political balance in favor of the anti-imperialist and progressive trends.

Acting independently in the framework of the Marxist-Leninist Party,[6] the Communists try to concert efforts with other progressive groups and help the NLF play a leading and progressive role for the benefit of the country and the entire revolutionary movement. In the present conditions this can be done chiefly by invigorating and renewing the mass organizations, irrespective of how close their connection is with the NLF. They should be given new impetus, and drawn into the national construction planned by the authorities. The first results are certainly promising: institution of National Service,[7] working people's assemblies in state-sector enterprises, participation of student volunteers in the agrarian reform, and broadening of communal people's assemblies, the next elections to which are scheduled in the beginning of 1975. This shows the importance for political renewal and a new upswing of the revolution of the following four factors:

– revival of the spirit of unity, elimination of prejudices obstructing joint action by all anti-imperialist forces in a united national front based on the same orientation and envisaging, rather than excluding, original contributions to the common struggle by the constituents of this front;

– social, political and cultural democratization as an essential factor in promoting the initiative of the masses, the progressive forces, the activation of mass organizations;

– attention to satisfying the social demands of the working people;

– raising the political and ideological level to cope with the increasingly complex problems posed by refined imperialist and reactionary provocations. First of all, this means forming a more conscious, better organized and influential revolutionary vanguard embracing all followers of scientific socialism and the revolutionary-democratic patriotic forces.

The extent to which all this is implemented will be the measure of fidelity to the revolutionary traditions of November 1. The spirit of innovation that had fired revolutionaries in those days should yield a correct assessment of the present stage of the struggle.

The tasks of the present stage

During the liberation struggle nearly the entire people, including upper bourgeois strata and some of the feudal elements, had a stake in the quickest possible abolition of colonial dependence. This was the objective basis for national unity. But in the present stage, the main content of which is struggle for economic independence, the interests of big landlords and compradore elements are in jeopardy. To save their privileges, therefore, these people, who are too weak to defend themselves alone, are prepared to deal with imperialism and neo-colonialism, to sacrifice national interests and the nation's hopes of

social progress to their own class interests.

There is no question of any immediate construction of socialism in present-day Algeria. The struggle is for an independent economy and liberation from imperialist dependence. To solve the main contradiction – between the overwhelming majority of the nation, on the one hand, and imperialism and home reaction, on the other – the international and internal conditions of today impose a choice between the capitalist and socialist perspective and way of development. Acting on the socialist orientation proclaimed in the Tripoli Charter (loyalty to it has since been repeatedly confirmed, regardless of changes in government), patriots are fulfilling the vital tasks of the national liberation revolution under the slogan of 'revolution by and for the people.' Some of these tasks are reflected in the official formula: 'agrarian, industrial, cultural revolution.' The facts show that this national-democratic revolution, which rejects bourgeois-democratic solutions, follows the non-capitalist way and the socialist perspective. This is borne out, among other things, by the existence of the state sector, which occupies increasingly decisive positions in industry and agriculture, the self-managing sector in farming, the activity of working people's assemblies formed under the Charter on Socialist Management, the councils running farm cooperatives, and the like.

All those are just the first steps. And for the people to play the role it is accorded in our legislation, they must be consolidated. None of this is socialism. But in contrast to what occurs in bourgeois-democratic revolutions, it could pave the way to the higher phase of non-capitalist development – to socialist reconstruction. For this to happen, the anti-imperialist struggle must succeed and the appropriate economic, social and political preconditions must be created for the envisaged transformations.

Time and again, especially during the quick succession of crises, we faced the cardinal question which, to be sure, had never before attained its present urgency: Can the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces create the subjective conditions for the revolution to follow the non-capitalist way, the only way that can cut short all imperialist interference? With the growth of the productive forces that has now begun, and with the changes in the economic structure, the answer is doubly urgent.

Politically, this poses what seem to be conflicting but are really interconnected tasks:

– to consolidate the revolutionary orientation and invigorate the force that implements it;

– to expand the political and social base of power and create the broadest possible anti-imperialist national front.

The objective conditions for this are available. The head of state

has reminded us many times that the social basis for strengthening the coalition of revolutionary forces consists of the workers, working peasants, the army and intelligentsia (among the latter the students and progressive specialists). This reference concerns the most vigorous forces of the nation, the social groups involved in developing modern areas of life. And in the performance of the daily tasks there will doubtless appear good opportunities for welding an enduring alliance between the working peasants and the working class, which is growing rapidly since the adoption of the four-year plan (1969). That process will merge with the revolutionary activity of the foremost men in the army, of government employees and the intelligentsia. Organizationally, the creative activity of the most advanced fighters needs to be stimulated. They must be a model of how to coordinate action, avoid artificiality and excess haste in the political and even – in some aspects – ideological reconciliation under way among the advanced revolutionary forces. Certainly, the constructive efforts of the Communists for this reconciliation would be still more effective if their Party could act openly and without obstruction.

It is also highly important, as we see it, for the vanguard, the advanced revolutionary forces, to draw other social groups into the anti-imperialist struggle, to involve them in constructive tasks in which they have an objective stake regardless of whether or not they go along with the socialist option. The revolutionary movement must follow a correct policy toward the numerically large middle strata, whose political significance is as great as before: the middle peasants, small and middle proprietors, artisans and tradesmen, and the free professions. This also applies to that section of employers and industrialists who faithfully observe the country's economic and social legislation. The aims of the national-democratic revolution need not be abandoned at all in trying to find common ground with some of the bourgeois democrats, who are patriotic and sincere, but fail to understand that the capitalist way leads to economic stagnation and enslavement. This could be done on the basis of a constructive program, in which all these strata would, each in its own way, have a stake. The revolutionary movement must consider their legitimate aspirations and rights. They should be taken into account in formulating the aims of the anti-imperialist front. This would stymie the plans of reaction and imperialism (which they have been working on with frantic determination) to win these forces to their side in order to strike jointly at the anti-imperialist gains and fling back the revolution.

All these tasks are inconceivable in the absence of unity. Various measures, including such as could be taken on the occasion of the 20th anniversary, would create a favorable atmosphere.

To begin with, steps should be taken to create an atmosphere of

national conciliation of all the anti-imperialist forces. This would encourage the patriotic, progressive and democratic trends to give precedence to national interests and common aims, while overcoming the less important contradictions and difficulties of a subjective type that have lingered on from the past. Two such steps eagerly awaited by our people, are a general and full amnesty, and an end to the persecution of anti-imperialists.

Second, it is necessary to form rapidly an open united front encompassing broad patriotic groups, and to accomplish this in transitional forms without any coınpulsion. It would be desirable to work out a charter of anti-imperialist action. This could proclaim aims that have popular backing. The charter could be based on the various official documents, insufficiently known to the masses, in which these aims are already formulated.[8] Such a platform of united action would embody the cumulative experience of broad patriotic groups and help greatly in explanatory work, in mobilizing the people, drawing attention to the vital problems, and adding to our anti-imperialist capability. It would then also be possible to put aside the secondary problems until some later date, because dealing with them now would divert attention from the main tasks.

The plotting of the imperialists and reactionaries, their pressure and attempts to slander and discredit our revolution – all this is no imaginary danger. This is why the actions listed above would speak of a rise in the level and capacity of the revolutionary movement as a whole. They would show once again that the Algerian revolution has retained the potential that enabled it ever since November 1, 1954, to make steady headway and withstand so many hardships.

Our revolution benefits from the support of the world revolutionary movement, of which it is a constituent part. And nowadays that movement has become an invincible force.

1. In June 1956 agreement was reached between the NLF and the Communist Party on integrating Communists organized in the Liberation Fighters Groups in the National Liberation Army. The Communist Party retained its organizational and political independence and fully supported the NLF.

2. Adopted by the National Council of Algerian Resistance shortly before the proclamation of independence in 1962.

3. Franz Fanon (1925-61) ideologist and philosopher, participated in the Algerian liberation war, regarded the Algerian revolution as purely a peasant revolution. – *Ed.*

4. Adopted in August 1956 at the Soummam Congress of Resistance Forces. – *Ed.*

5. Concluded in March 1962, they provided for a ceasefire, Algeria's self-determination and her future relations with France. – *Ed.*

6. Named the Socialist Vanguard Party in 1966.

7. In the National Service framework young army conscripts participate in major national projects.

8. In October 1974 President Boumedienne referred to the possibility of revolutionaries uniting round a 'charter of anti-imperialist action.'

DIARY

A delegation of this journal composed of Bistra Avramova, alternate CC member Bulgarian CP, Vasilis Venetsanopoulos, Greek CP representative on *WMR*, and Vladimir Kadulin, assistant executive editor, visited Portugal at the invitation of its Communist Party Central Committee. Their tour of the country brought them into contact with local Party organizations, workers, peasants, farm laborers, dockers, fishermen, and representatives of the intelligentsia. They interviewed leaders of the Communist Students Union, Intersindical, the Democratic Movement Party, the Socialist Party and the National Journalists Union.

At a meeting at Communist Party headquarters, Sergio Vilarigues, member of the CC Political Commission and Secretariat, described the democratization process in Portugal and the tasks facing the Party.

The delegation was welcomed at the editorial offices of *Avante!* and met with its director, Antonio Dias Lourenco, and the staff of the Portuguese edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

The delegates were received by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and also by the President of the Republic, Francisco da Costa Gomes.

WMR Editorial Board member Jaime Schmirgeld and department head Vladislav Pokhvalin recently toured Argentina, Panama, Peru and Ecuador, where they met with Communist Party leaders, government personalities and trade union officials and attended the celebrations on the sixth anniversary of the Panamanian and Peruvian revolutions.

In Argentina there was a seminar on specific features of the structural crisis in Latin America. There were also readers' conferences organized by the Communist parties of Argentina and Peru at which suggestions were discussed for improving the contents of the journal and enlarging its circulation.

In Ecuador the delegation was received by the President of the Republic, General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, who described the aims of his revolutionary national government, gave a high appreciation of *World Marxist Review* and its coverage of the worldwide struggle for national liberation and social and economic progress.

A delegation of this journal composed of Adel Haba, alternate Central Committee member, Iraqi Communist Party, Laszlo Nagy, representative on the journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Vitali Petrousenko, secretary of the journal's commission on problems of peace and democratic movements, visited the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. They were received by the Chairman

of the Presidential Council, Salem Robaya Ali. They also interviewed Abdel Fattah Ismail, General Secretary of the National Front, Ali Saleh Obad, a member of its Political Bureau and chairman of its Secretariat, and Ga'im Saleh, alternate Politbureau member and head of the National Front organization in the Third Province, on the achievements and problems of building the new society in South Yemen.

The *WMR* delegation also met with Abdullah Badib, General Secretary of the Popular Democratic Union and Minister of Culture and Tourism, Anis Hasan Yahya, General Secretary of the Popular Vanguard Party and Minister of Communications, Mahdi Abdullah Said, Chairman of the General Confederation of Labor, and other political and public personalities. National Front leaders suggested closer contacts between political organizations in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and *World Marxist Review*.

A delegation of this journal composed of Tadeusz Wrebiak, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Alvaro Mosquera, Central Committee member of the Colombian Communist Party, attended the 11th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party.

Our editorial offices were visited by Henrique Rodriguez, Executive member and Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay. He described the struggle of the Uruguayan Communists against the dictatorship and for re-establishment of democratic freedom. Closer cooperation was agreed upon between the Uruguayan CP and *World Marxist Review*.

WMR circulation year 1974

IRAQ

World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism) is highly significant for Iraqi Communists and Democrats, for all who are involved in the world revolutionary process. And it has been widely read in the country – at first legally, and later underground – ever since its first issue in 1958. The Iraqi Communist Party considers study of its contents one of the main elements of Party education. The Party leadership has decided to give more space to *WMR* materials appearing between the covers of *Al-Thaqafah al-Jadidah* (New Culture), the theoretical journal of the ICP. Furthermore, we are promoting the circulation in Iraq of the Lebanese edition of *WMR* (*Al Wakt*), allowed into the country legally in the past several years.

The CC ICP plenary meeting of January 25, 1974, instructed Party organizations in a resolution to use the journal for obligatory reading in the study of theory and Party organizational activity. There is a program to promote the journal's circulation, with all Party organizations participating in the campaign.

WMR Circulation Year coincided with the 40th anniversary of the Iraqi Communist Party. The Party press abounded in accounts of the Party's glorious history. Marxist-Leninist literature was published and distributed on a large scale.

For us, the new year will be another promotion year. In July, the Iraqi Communists and their friends will mark the 40th anniversary of *Kifah al-Shaab*, the Party's first central newspaper. One of the important priorities in Party propaganda is to assist the spread of Marxism-Leninism among workers and the broad masses. The Party leadership has instructed editors to improve the appearance, content and diversity of Party publications.

Another objective is for our Party publications to reach more readers, not only Communists. We are confident in good results. Our press (the Arabic daily *Tarik al-Shaab* and monthly *Al-Thaqafah al-Jadidah* and the Kurdish-language weekly *Beri Noei*) promotes the consolidation of the Progressive National Patriotic Front and the country's revolutionary advance in the interests of the broad masses.

Abdul Razzak Al-Safi
member of CC, Iraqi CP,
Editor-in-Chief of *Tarik al-Shaab*

AUSTRIA

The CP of Austria Political Bureau examined the role of *World Marxist Review* and the question of its circulation in the country, and passed a relevant resolution. A message to regional Party committees recommends that members and functionaries should be told about the journal's importance for their political and ideological orientation. It also calls for a boost in subscriptions. Party committees have been instructed to discuss and decide on the best uses that can be made of the journal, and on ways of raising its circulation.

For promotion purposes, the message said, Globus-Verlag is prepared to mail sample copies to interested persons, including non-Communists.

E. Z.-Sch.

IRAN

The journal *International Problems*, the Persian-language edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, has been appearing regularly for 12 years. Its distribution has always been a formidable assignment for a Party working underground. Home reaction and imperialism employ terror against the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), and suppress all progressive ideas on the pretext of combatting 'communist ideas.' But braving the danger, there is never a shortage of Communists, especially young Communists, who volunteer to deliver the Party's periodicals, including *International Problems*, to readers.

Over the 12 years, the journal's circulation has gone up visibly due to the people's growing interest in Marxist-Leninist ideas, their wish to understand international events. The growth of the world communist and working-class movement and of the national liberation movement has also been a contributing factor. Promotion of the journal in other Party publications, which announce the contents of each issue, has also helped to increase its circulation.

It takes time to put out and deliver a journal if this is done underground. This is why the Party leadership has since January 1974 put out *WMR* articles of relevance to the specific conditions of the ideological struggle in our country, under separate cover as pamphlets. This draws readers' attention to the most topical subjects and, furthermore, serves as additional advertising. Many of those who got to see the pamphlets said they would like to have the full issues of the journal.

The question of raising the circulation and assuring timely publication of the journal was discussed by the Party's Executive Bureau at

two of its 1974 sittings. The young people want to learn more of the theory and practice of scientific socialism. And the Party is doing its utmost to help them. *Problems of Peace and Socialism* is an invaluable aid in this respect.

H. Safari
Alternate member of Executive Bureau,
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

ARGENTINA

The National Commission for Propaganda of the CC CP of Argentina recently held a discussion of the role and significance of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. Representatives of provincial, district and residential organizations, distributors of Marxist-Leninist literature, and students of the CC CPA Party School, participated. All agreed that the circulation of the journal should be raised. As one girl Communist put it, it should even be read in Laguna Blanca (a small settlement 2,300 kilometres north of Buenos Aires. – *Ed.*). The Mar del Plata representative siad more copies should be distributed at the larger industrial enterprises, among farmers, in the armed forces, among intellectuals and students. The Santa Fe representative described how Party groups studied B. Ponomaryov's article, 'The International Situation and the Revolutionary Process.' This article, like the 'Letters from Chile' by R. Castillo, many speakers noted, aroused considerable interest among Argentinian readers. They were put out by the CPA under separate cover in several thousand copies.

J. Schmirgeld
member of CC, CP of Argentina

PERU

A meeting of *WMR* readers recently held in Lima under the auspices of the CC of the Peruvian CP, surveyed the contents of the journal and made some constructive suggestions.

The journal's ideological role, readers pointed out, has grown immensely in the political atmosphere prevailing in Peru since October 3, 1968, when the anti-imperialist, anti-latifundian and anti-oligarchic process was put in motion. Peru is in a state of transition. The journal's studies of such subjects as the role of the state, unity of the anti-imperialist forces, the non-capitalist way in developing countries, and the like, have therefore acquired special importance. The meeting noted that they should be the subjects of special seminars, round-table discussions and academic conferences in Peru or some other Latin American country with the participation of different political forces.

J. Figueroa

PANAMA

A national edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has begun last June. Now, the monthly circulation of the Panamanian edition is 1,000 copies where only 75 copies were distributed just a few years ago. It is safe to say that this year the journal will reach all the provinces, and the broad mass of workers, peasants and middle strata.

L. Thomas

Dear friends,

1974, which a special conference of Communist and Workers' parties had proclaimed *WMR* Circulation Year, is over. In past issues we reported on what Communists in different countries did to build up the circulation of *WMR*. We are sure that their work to this effect will continue in 1975, and shall duly report about it in our columns.

The Editorial Board and Editorial Council, and the entire international staff of the journal are dedicated to the further improvement of the journal's contents and appearance and will do their utmost to satisfy the wishes of our readership.

We are looking forward to readers' letters in the New Year.

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