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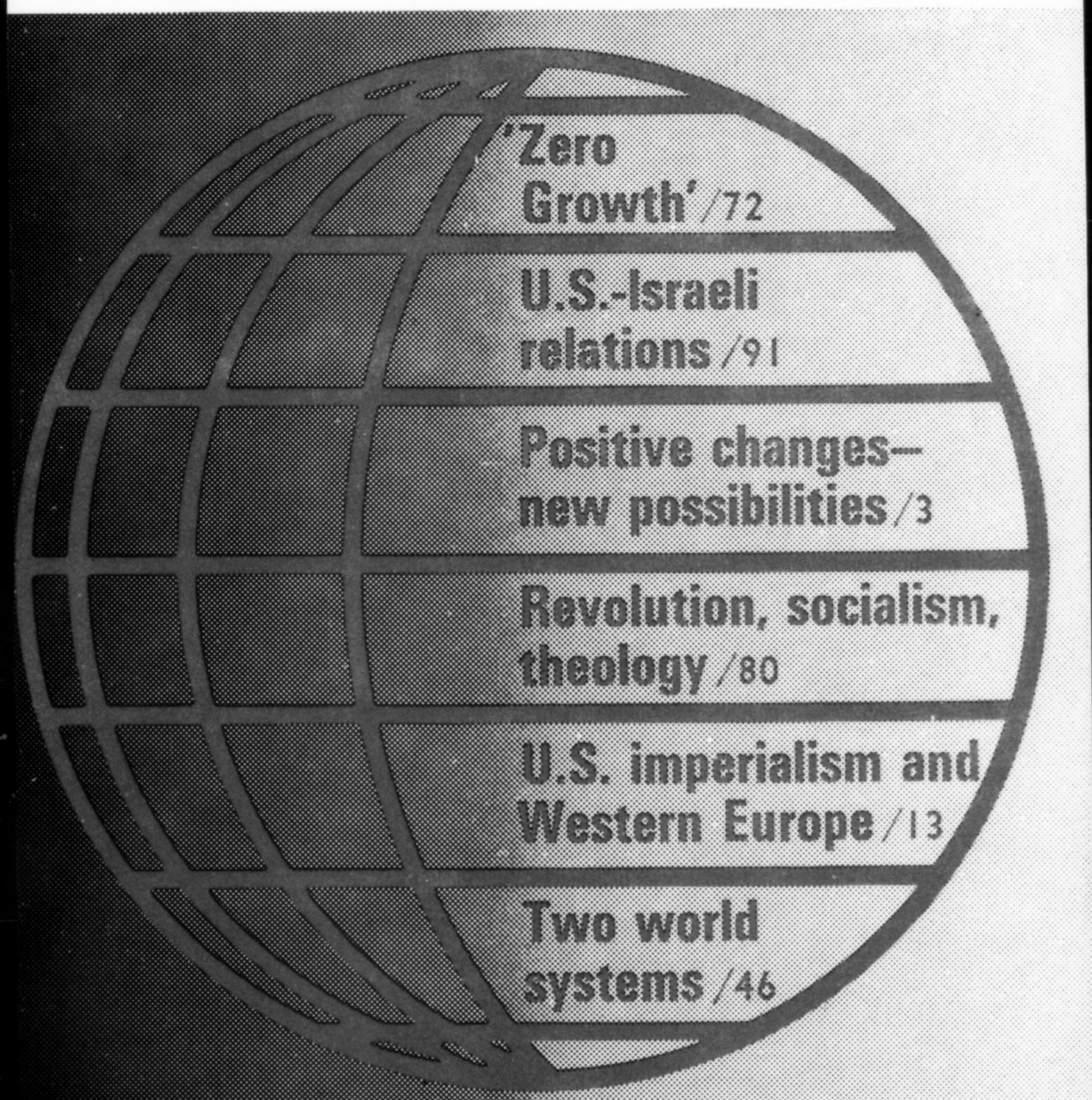

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Positive changes in the world and new possibilities in the revolutionary struggle

William Kashtan
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Canada

The changes coming about in the world before our eyes are all interconnected and condition each other and their totality constitutes an important *objective factor* in international politics today. But they are not alike in character, fundamental causes or international impact. Events and phenomena which add up to détente take place in many parts of the world and involve the masses, governments, social alignments and whole classes.

A mere six years ago the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties set the task of imposing peaceful coexistence on the imperialist powers. Great strides have been made towards accomplishment of this task as a result of the Peace Program of the CPSU and the positive foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community supported by fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and due to the efforts of the international working class and the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy.

The past years have seen the adoption of important general declarations and the conclusion of bilateral agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, Britain, Canada, France, the FRG and Italy, between many socialist and capitalist countries. These documents establish the principles of peaceful coexistence in this nuclear age. They mark a highly important change for the better, for it was not so long ago that many imperialist countries refused to recognize peaceful coexistence as the rule of international relations.

For decades the finest minds of mankind have longed to stop the arms race. All sorts of plans to this end were proposed before both world wars. But only today the removal of the menace of war and the stopping of the arms race have become realistic objectives.

Documents signed by Soviet and United States leaders, first of all the treaty permanently limiting anti-missile defense systems and the provisional agreement on certain measures to limit strategic offensive weapons, show that not even the most complicated disarmament

problems are beyond solution. The 1974 meeting at Vladivostok between L.I. Brezhnev and President Ford led to an important agreement regarding the need to conclude a comprehensive and long-term treaty limiting strategic offensive weapons. These and other steps are unquestionable evidence of progress towards détente.

Greater cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries reduces the danger of an armed conflict between the two world systems. The objective necessities of the 70s are to remove the remnants of the cold war; to impart a tangible content to the agreements that have been signed; to carry forward a political dialogue between governments; to expand economic, scientific, technological and cultural contacts and cooperation; and to develop joint efforts in solving environmental problems, combating diseases, exploring the atom, outer space, the ocean. Détente, which reveals more and more new facets, is *determining the development of international relations on the European continent and throughout the world*.

Détente is becoming the main road which mankind follows in advancing from cold war to a democratic, just and durable peace. This trend is natural as far as the socialist countries are concerned; their system is peace-loving by nature, demonstrating its superiority through constructive labor. As for the rulers of the imperialist world, they are now compelled to accept détente.

This brings us to what we consider the main positive change in the world, the *new alignment of world forces* due to the strengthened economic and defense positions of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, and the increased influence of the world communist movement and the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. It is this that provides the basis for making the present processes of détente irreversible, and for extending them to include military détente.

Even those who clearly do not like the new alignment of forces are compelled to reckon with it. Paul Nietze, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense and Secretary of the Navy, writes that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries 'have reason for their stated belief that the net correlation of forces has been changed and is changing in their favor.'* Of course, admissions of this nature do not mean that imperialism has resigned itself to its loss of superiority, which it tries to restore. Programs aimed at remedying its situation are put forward. Their purpose is to remove friction in the Western alliance, solve economic and monetary problems of the 'free world,' and so on. However, even their authors show little optimism about the possibility of putting them into practice. The growing social difficulties of a

**Foreign Policy*, No. 17, Winter 1974-75, p. 147.

society in which exploitation, inflation, unemployment and recession are the rule, and increasing inter-imperialist antagonisms are together eroding the capitalist system more than ever.

It is not surprising that in these circumstances the governments and business sectors of bourgeois countries find it harder and harder to reject mutually advantageous economic relations with socialist countries. The economic stability of these countries makes economic relations with them attractive for capitalist companies. Broader trade with the socialist world opens possibilities for greater industrial and business activity in the capitalist countries, thus providing more jobs.

The economic crisis affecting the imperialist states today coincides with the deterioration of their relations with developing countries. The strengthening positions of these countries, especially those that not only have oil but use it as a weapon in their struggle for a new economic order based on equal relations, are a serious factor weakening imperialism and reducing its sphere of influence. The objective character of the new standing of the developing countries on the international scene helps to advance the alignment of forces in favor of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

The process of deepening détente will evidently continue for a considerable period of contemporary history. The Communists take this into account in their strategy and tactics. They realize the complexity of this process, which does not proceed smoothly, involving two opposing trends – the growing trend towards détente and the still remaining trend towards going back to cold war and direct military confrontation.

Masses of people are today increasingly aware of the contradictions within the bourgeoisie, between the exponents of realistic views on foreign policy and the advocates of militarist concepts. Imperialist propaganda allegations about the indifference of the 'lower' classes to international issues are often maneuvers of reactionary forces aimed at diverting public attention from the acts of aggression they are planning and, still more often, are attempts to deny the people any influence on foreign policy decisions.

Yet the activity and influence of the public in the sphere of international relations have lately grown to an unprecedented extent. Communist and Workers' parties have done more than others to stimulate the people's interest in problems of war and peace and in international policies in general. This is very important because at a time when the threat of a nuclear war has not yet been fully extinguished, the life of the people often depends on how foreign-policy problems are solved. It is essential, therefore, to win the masses in capitalist countries for a foreign policy of peace. In carrying out this task, we are guided by the Communist philosophy of peace, which is based on analysis of the

real alignment of the forces of war and peace. Its lofty purpose is to find a dependable way to détente, security and cooperation in a complicated world, to prevent disaster.

Communists, including those of Canada, expose the plots of bellicose groups of state-monopoly capitalism. In taking sober stock of progress towards international détente, we do not close our eyes to the fact that it has yet to stop the world arms race, which swallows about $250,000 million a year.* It may well be that in view of the deepened imperialist crisis certain reactionary quarters will try to induce their governments to seek a way out through aggressive policies and sabre-rattling. The threats against Arab countries of the Middle East and other countries made by top U.S. leaders showed the importance of vigilance. It is no secret that in view of the new alignment of world forces these threats failed. They were decisively rebuffed by the countries against whom they were directed, and by all peace-loving countries. In the United States itself, the majority of the population declared against the dispatch of U.S. forces to the Middle East, as a recent poll revealed.

But while imperialism has been weakened and its more aggressive groups find themselves in increasing isolation, it is still a strong, cunning and dangerous enemy. The Communists of Canada are fighting against U.S. imperialism, which interferes in the sovereign affairs of Canada, pressures Canada to step up the arms race and makes threats with regard to its natural resources and energy.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to oppose the tendency to 'Canadianization' of our economy; they seek to compel Canada to play the servile role of an instrument of the Pentagon. U.S. interference in the sovereign affairs of Canada is stimulating and widening anti-imperialist sentiment in our country. And this sentiment, in turn, merges with a widening struggle against Canadian monopoly, against multinational corporations, and in support for measures which would strengthen the real independence of the country through their nationalization.

We do not for one day relax our struggle against U.S. imperialism or our exposure of the dangerous plans of its reactionary groups. It has become a firm tradition with Canadian Communists to exchange experience in this field with fraternal parties, who also have no illusions about imperialism as a whole or its most powerful contingent, U.S. imperialism.

One is surprised, therefore, by assertions that 'a new variety of beautification of U.S. imperialism' has appeared lately in the world communist movement, and that the ability of U.S. imperialism to

**Communist Viewpoint,* Vol. 7, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1975, p. 13.

impose political, military and economic diktat on its 'medium' and 'small' partners, as well as on some developing countries, is discounted.

We Marxist-Leninists of Canada consider such assertions to be groundless. The Communists have never beautified, and they do not today beautify U.S. imperialism. They are the first to call for vigilance, taking into account that the United States still commands immense military and economic strength that could cause serious misfortunes for the the peoples.

At the same time the Communists see the world situation in its entirety: that the socialist countries' united power curbs the urge for aggression shown by the most rabid U.S. reactionaries, and that the growing struggle of the working class and other democratic forces in capitalist countries increasingly restricts Washington's opportunities to impose its will on even its allies and partners. Anyone who does not see this cannot be considered a realist.

Extremes are always open to question. It is hardly correct to regard U.S. imperialism as absolutely omnipotent, or the imperialism of other countries, for example of Canada, as a 'little boy in short pants' running errands for Uncle Sam. This view may cause one to fail to see the sameness of the class nature of both domestic and U.S. monopolies, to lessen blows at the former while concentrating on the latter. Such a tactic is bound to benefit the national big bourgeoisie and strengthen its positions to the working people's detriment.

The Communists of Canada are engaged in struggle against Canadian imperialism, U.S. imperialism, against world imperialism. We maintain that whatever the disguises it uses, imperialism everywhere remains aggressive and reactionary. But we realize that at a time of growing internal political, social and economic difficulties, with inter-imperialist contradictions sharpening and the capitalist strategy in regard to the Third World miscarrying, bourgeois governments cannot now bring themselves to attempt direct attacks against the socialist community and are becoming more receptive to the socialist countries' realistic proposals.

Take, for example, the Canadian government. During the 1974 federal election campaign Premier Trudeau declared repeatedly for détente. Canada is taking part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, although we think our government could play a more constructive role in its work.

It is also true that the Western powers, while refraining from frontal attacks on the policy of détente, try to check it. There is no other way of describing the delaying tactics which have marked the second phase of the European Conference. Under pressure from reactionary groups in their countries, the delegations of some Western powers

insisted, in particular, on the socialist countries making concessions in the ideological field as the price of détente, specifically, on opening the frontiers of sovereign states to the invasion of bourgeois views, standards and habits.

Bourgeois apologists put forward explicit and implicit, unceremonious and 'polite' proposals for an end to the ideological struggle as a prerequisite of peaceful coexistence. The sharp contrast between the stable growth of the socialist economy and economic crisis in the capitalist countries, the moral superiority of socialism and the victorious advance of scientific communism compel the monopoly bourgeoisie to intensify ideological subversion against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against Communist and Workers' parties. The evident purpose of our enemies is to impose the bourgeois concept of life on the forces championing social progress and to disarm them ideologically and theoretically. Hence the importance of the Communists collectively evolving the strategy and tactics of their ideological offensive, to defeat the efforts of anti-communist and anti-Soviet forces.

The ideological struggle between the two systems will inevitably go on. Even bourgeois scholars do not deny the increasing role of ideology in international relations. It is therefore absolutely wrong to think that ideological principles can be a matter for bargaining or that the socialist countries would renounce the principles of Marxism-Leninism in exchange for political and economic concessions.

Reactionary resistance to peace and international détente is backed by the Maoists, who strive for confrontation and greater international tension, because if the cold war were revived it would be easier for them to camouflage their hegemonic policy and their absurd territorial claims against virtually all neighboring countries. Peking's recent forecasts of an 'inevitable war' between the Soviet Union and the United States smack of the worst kind of warmongering and give away their authors' intentions.

Genuine revolutionaries have never wanted and never can want war, because war means the greatest misfortunes for the masses and destroys the productive forces. 'War is our enemy,' the Communists stress. 'From now on, let countries with different social systems demonstrate their advantages, not on the battlefield, but in competition for progress and a higher standard of living for the people.'

This thesis was contained in the 1957 Peace Manifesto, and the Communist Party of China was one of its signatories. However, the Maoists' present stance, prompted by their undisguised expectation of a 'big war' between the two great powers, coincides with the interests of the most reactionary imperialist quarters, which cling to plans for aggression against socialism and its bulwark, the Soviet Union.

The Marxist-Leninist proposition that positive changes in the world, primarily détente, create new opportunities to expand the struggle for social change, is appreciated and supported by broad masses of the people, who are uniting against monopoly and reaction. The foreign policy of individual countries and of whole alliances is an expression and form of class struggle on the international scene. Shifts in international relations to an ever greater degree influence internal developments just as the latter affect the international climate. The struggle for progressive social change, an inalienable part of the daily life of capitalist society, is shaped by the interaction of internal and external conditions.

Peace and détente strengthen the positions of all patriots fighting for an independent Canadian foreign policy, they favor the working class and the democratic movements. Détente, the turn from cold war and confrontation to negotiation, the reduction of the number of conflict situations that could erupt into local wars, are processes which make it possible to strengthen Canadian control over industry, the economy, natural resources and energy. They enable Canada to extricate itself from the U.S. embrace that increases the economic crisis, inflation and unemployment in Canada and undermines its sovereignty.

Changes in a country's foreign policy, such as opting out of the NATO military structure or simply reducing participation in it or attempting to revise unfavorable agreements with the United States produce repercussions. They stimulate anti-war sentiments, or prompt the expansion of the coalition of forces fighting for the immediate demands of society.

Détente creates conditions for accelerating the tempo of social progress. And there are graphic examples of this. About the middle of 1973, fears were voiced in certain quarters, including within the Communist movement, that détente would hinder the struggle against imperialism, restrain revolutionary change and result in a world socio-political status quo. Less than two years have passed, a very brief historical period. But what do we have on the socio-political scene? Substantial changes in Portugal and Greece, where the peoples have cast off the chains of fascist regimes; advances along the road to freedom in Mozambique and Angola, where full independence is soon to be proclaimed; emergence of the state of Guinea-Bissau; successes of the liberation movements in Cambodia, Oman, Rhodesia and Namibia; powerful blows against the apartheid system in South Africa; an unprecedented upsurge of the democratic movement in Spain. Do all these amount to a socio-political status quo?

At the same time, we are very conscious of reversals. The sorrow and anger bred by the temporary defeat of the revolution in Chile are

alive in our hearts. But even such retreats of the revolution have not made imperialism's overall positions any better, all the more so because all fighters for revolutionary change are drawing the necessary conclusions with regard to the plottings of imperialism and local reaction.

The exposure of the role of the CIA and multinational monopolies in the overthrow of the Allende government hinders imperialism's export of counter-revolution. It is significant that the appointment of Nathaniel Davis, the U.S. Ambassador in Chile at the time when Washington's special services were organizing the Allende overthrow, as U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs was unanimously denounced by the 43 members of the Organization of African Unity. This is testimony of the growing vigilance of peoples and governments.

Imperialism and reaction exploited world tensions to tighten their grip over the masses at home, interfere in civil wars and revolutionary actions abroad, and foster neo-colonialism, this last in the hope of perpetuating their control over the raw material resources of the former colonial peoples.

Tke changes in the political climate bred by détente make it possible for revolutionary forces to seek and find new ways and means of winning socio-political positions from which to successfully attack monopoly capital. The swiftness and apparent suddenness of the events in Portugal and Greece have alerted imperialist strategists, who continue to eye these countries with apprehension, evidently realizing that the events there were favored and accelerated by international détente as well as by Communist efforts in those countries.

Monopoly suffers defeats in the face of new worker demands. Today the accent is on anti-monopoly, general democratic demands: nationalization in the interests of the working people, curbing the power of banks and corporations, measures to combat unemployment and inflation, worker participation in factory management, the comprehensive development of backward regions. The greater pressure of the working class and its parties in the political, economic and cultural fields, long the preserves of the ruling classes, will continue and expand.

The experiences of Canada and other countries where the positions of monopoly remain very strong, the struggle for basic democratic reforms capable of opening the road to fundamental socio-economic changes and socialism have advanced the unity of anti-imperialist action. Stressing the difference between reforms and reformism, Lenin wrote: 'We pursue an independent policy and put forward *only* such reforms as are *undoubtedly* favorable to the interests of the revolutionary struggle, that *undoubtedly* enhance the independence,

class-consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat. Only by such tactics can reforms from above, which are always half-hearted, always hypocritical and always conceal some bourgeois or police snare, be made *innocuous*' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 71).

During the election campaigns of the last few years in Canada and other capitalist countries, Communist and Workers' parties, often jointly with the Socialists, put forward comprehensive programs of reforms that met with a positive response from the people. In their drive for radical change the working class and its allies accumulate experience in political struggle. Looking back over the last few years, we see that they have achieved great new successes in mastering many methods to carry out the dual task bequeathed us by Lenin: to *know how* to fight imperialism, to *know how* to help revolutionary development and the emergence of socialism (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 65).

The imperialists are worried by the growth of anti-monopoly sentiment and the new upsurge of class struggle. Nowadays it is not the outworn, so-called 'threat of Soviet aggression' that is seen as endangering the security of the 'free world' or stability of 'Western democracy,' but the fact that the working people, the trade unions have 'got out of hand' and lost their sense of social loyalty to bourgeois society.

That is why imperialist ideologists have been floating the idea of a summit conference of capitalist countries to discuss the social instabilities of bourgeois society and find a way out of them. One of the exponents of the idea is the notorious anti-communist Zbigniew Brzesinski. If steps are not taken to strengthen 'democratic institutions' and reduce internal contradictions, he declares, the Communists are 'bound to step in.' In fact, fear of the mounting strength and influence of the organized communist movement is the common motive of the most diverse bourgeois political parties, seeking joint action and unhesitatingly discarding the very principles they once proclaimed as sacred. To this trend in the imperialist, anti-communist camp the working class and all democratic forces must respond with the unity and cohesion of their own ranks.

More than ever before it is essential to forge the unity of all anti-monopoly forces within each capitalist country, and of all anti-imperialist forces on the international scale. Of tremendous importance in achieving these objectives is the formulation of correct, rallying slogans and well-thought-out, clear programmatic declarations. The speed of events makes it incumbent on a number of Communist and Workers' parties to formulate bolder tactical tasks. Of course, every party decides its tactics, strategy and slogans for itself, but the present new situation, of which détente has become the main characteristic, makes it necessary for Communists to pool their

efforts to formulate a scientifically-based *theoretical and action platform* of the working people for peace, security, cooperation and social progress. The new favorable conditions must be utilized in the anti-monopoly struggle and this, of course, requires revolutionary experience and ability.

In this connection I would like to state my impressions of a recent proposal for West Europe's way out of the present economic crisis. The proposed plan centers on 'reconstructing' the 'present low-ceiling capitalist edifice in Europe' which would 'enable a progressive way out of the crisis.' The 'rebuilt Europe' is designed to perform a specific role, to oppose hegemony of any kind. Significantly, however, in their struggle against 'North American hegemony' the authors of this plan would push Europe into a special role of its own and seek a special relationship between Europe and the Third World. As far back as 1916, Lenin criticized the 'United States of Europe' slogan and warned working-class parties of the dangers of 'European chauvinism.' To accept such a slogan today would mean to succumb to the virus of chauvinism, disregard the revolutionary energy and potential of the fighters for social progress in all continents, and objectively play into the hands of the enemies of the working class, promoting division rather than unity among anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces.

It is an unshakeable rule for Communist and Workers' parties to check their slogans and tactics against the changing situation. One of those slogans – the fight for peace – is especially important and relevant. It continues to rally people to the fight for democracy and socialism, against reaction and aggressive plans. Its correctness and relevance were reaffirmed by the choice of topic of the conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties to be held this year in the GDR: 'The Fight for Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe.'

The conference will be a major landmark in the peoples' fight for peace, not only in Europe but in other continents as well. It will play an important part in rallying the broad masses to the movement to make international détente irreversible. An essential condition for this is ever greater unity of action of Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is significant that the European conference of Communist and Workers' parties will be held in the GDR. The year 1975 is the 30th anniversary of the victory over German fascism. A consequence of that historical accomplishment was the emergence of socialsim as a world system of states whose peoples of labor, masters of their lives, look confidently towards the future. The prestige of socialism has

risen immeasurably with the formation in the socalist community of the new type of relations between peoples and states based on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, on solidarity, fraternal mutual assistance and mutual support.

There is no denying the importance and significance of regional conferences of Communist and Workers' parties, of bilateral and multilateral meetings. Greater cohesion in our ranks is an important factor in further tipping the balance of forces in favor of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The Communist Party of Canada, as pointed out at its last convention in May 1974, favors the holding of an international communist conference. It could, we think, discuss the problems generated by international developments since 1969, when the last world forum of Marxist-Leninists was held.

The international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties held in the 1950s and 1960s were of historical significance for mankind's struggle for peace and social progress. In the 1970s the processes of world development are accelerating and many problems linked with it are becoming more and more complicated. The collective thought of Marxist-Leninist parties, permeated with confidence in the future, should illumine the road of revolutionary struggle and the building of a new life by the peoples. It is the Communists' international duty to consolidate the initiative now in the hands of the fighters for peace, security, détente and social progress, and they will perform it.

U.S. imperialism and the destinies of western Europe

Knud Jespersen
Chairman,
Communist Party of Denmark

In a joint statement issued in January 1975, West European Communist and Workers' parties firmly denounced the aggressive aims of U.S. imperialism and called upon the peoples, the working masses, all democratic forces, to rally to repulse U.S. imperialist policies and preserve their countries' freedom.

This collective Communist appeal is both politically relevant and

urgent for Danish Communists. Our country's independence, already circumscribed by participation in NATO, was additionally restricted in several important spheres with its accession to the EEC. Multinational corporations, most of them of U.S. parentage, can now use the provisions of the Treaty of Rome to further strengthen their positions. At issue is freedom of movement of capital and the corporations' legal status or, in other words, basic commitments intended to deny our country control over the activities of foreign monopolies. The consequences of U.S. expansion can be increasingly felt in all spheres of life in the countries of Western Europe.

The United States' offensive against Western Europe continues today in the framework of complex ties and relationships between these two centers of world imperialism. On the one hand, there is a kind of transatlantic class alliance based on the common interests of U.S. and European monopolies. On the other, their rivalry for markets constantly breeds serious contradictions, which lately have acquired such dimensions that the monopoly bourgeoisie's own ideologists and politicians have been constrained to speak of the Atlantic alliance stalemates and the need to find a way out.

Of course, Western Europe's socio-political destinies will be decisively affected by the development of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism: the conflict between labor and capital, the expansion of the mass anti-monopoly struggle in depth and breadth, a struggle directed against monopoly power as such, against 'domestic' as well as foreign monopolies. Also, it should be emphasized, for decades the monopoly bourgeoisie in West European countries has been able to maintain itself in power thanks to the active support and assistance of U.S. imperialism.

The end of the Second World War was immediately followed by a massive U.S. economic and political invasion of Western Europe. The mechanism that ensured its rapid expansion was created in the two years, 1948 and 1949, through the adoption of the Marshall Plan and formation of NATO. Decisions guiding the strategy of postwar economic rehabilitation were taken not in the capitals of the countries concerned but in Washington. In foreign affairs, the thirteen European nations bound by Atlantic ties lost a considerable part of their national sovereignty. Direct U.S. intervention in internal politics became the rule.[1]

To all intents and purposes, the national independence of West European countries was being limited. The victims included powers which for more than a century had ruled colonial empires of their own. There was bitter irony in this for the ruling classes: the national-liberation forces of Asia and Africa were on the verge of decisive success in their fight to destroy the colonial empires.

Indeed, Western Europe had largely lost its place at the top of the colonial pyramid to the United States and itself become one of the targets of the global expansion of U.S. imperialism. Denmark is a case in point. In 1951, the Danish government signed a treaty with Washington giving the U.S. bases and extensive rights in Greenland. Early this year, through a series of concession deals between the Danish ruling circles and U.S. capital, and in utter disregard of the interests of the people of Greenland, a group of multinational monopolies were given exclusive rights to exploit the natural wealth of the world's largest island. In fact, several years ago Denmark's own natural resources, including North Sea oil, were also taken over by a consortium of local big shipowners and several U.S. oil companies. The concession was wrested from Denmark by a combination of tantalizing promises and high-power pressure on the government.

In the postwar decades changes in the export of capital, which Lenin defined as 'one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism' (*Coll. Works,* vol. 22, p. 277), made Western Europe the main sphere of U.S. investment in much the same way as the colonies and dependent countries were once for the imperialist powers.[2]

In fact, the philosophy used to justify U.S. claims to subordinate and exploit Western Europe was borrowed from the colonialists. Based on assertions that the people of Western Europe were incapable of coping with their problems, a set of arguments was evolved in three directions, claiming to justify an active U.S. role in the western part of our continent.

The number one argument was that Western Europe, because of its military weakness, would be unable to defend itself. It was therefore claimed that the only effective solution to this 'defense problem' was 'aid,' that is, continuity of the U.S. military presence and Western Europe's own rearmament in close collaboration with, and under the guidance and supervision of, the Pentagon. As no threat actually requiring such measures existed it had to be invented: the mythical 'Soviet menace.' An all-out campaign of lies was launched with the purpose of fanning public fears. Many people in Denmark remember the Easter of 1948, when the bourgeois media declared a flock of geese that had appeared on radar scopes to be 'Soviet aircraft,' and a dense fog rolling into Copenhagen from the Oresund was reported as 'a smokescreen to conceal a Soviet naval attack.' With variations the methods used to create the ill-famed 'Easter panic' in Denmark have been used in other Western European countries with the obvious purpose of justifying the existence of NATO and, in the final analysis, the military and political dominance of the United States.

Untenable from the outset, the argument based on the mythical 'Soviet menace' has become totally absurd in the light of the turn to

détente brought about by the initiatives and peace policies of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. It is only natural that the normalization of the international climate, especially apparent in Europe and in Soviet-U.S. relations, has helped promote the idea of an all-European collective security system. This, naturally gives an entirely new meaning to the 'problem of the defense' of Western Europe and tends to make an utter anachronism of NATO, that main military-political mechanism of subordination to the United States.

The second argument once advanced to justify U.S. interference in West European affairs was the claim that the acuteness of domestic problems and differences between countries created an atmosphere of instability which could be coped with only by firm political guidance. And since Western Europe was incapable of providing such guidance it was only 'natural' for the United States to come to the rescue.

Actually, the situation in Western Europe immediately after the end of the war was characterized by broad cooperation of national forces brought together by the common anti-fascist struggle. It was an excellent prerequisite for stable socio-political progress which, however, was soon undermined by U.S.-supported local reaction.

Today the idea of seeking U.S. 'political guidance' is absurd even in the eyes of the now much stronger West European bourgeoisie. For the democratic forces, it represents a direct challenge. Clear warning of the threat to democracy latent in these claims of U.S. imperialism were the events of April 1967 in Greece, when the NATO 'Prometheus' plan was used as a blueprint for the fascist coup. There are indications of a similar evil design in Denmark where, in response to NATO demands, an extensive file of activists in popular movements has been compiled and 'contingency plans' similar to the 'Prometheus' have been drawn up.

Finally, the third argument: that Western Europe had neither the capital nor technological know-how for rapid economic growth and modernization. Hence the United States, the richest capitalist country, was the only source of hope for economic progress. The fact that the United States demanded inflated military expenditure in Europe is sufficient to expose the insincerity of U.S. claims of economic altruism.

This argument steadily lost all meaning with the economic advance of Western Europe, on the one hand, and the mounting symptoms of weakness of the U.S. economy, on the other. The law of uneven political and economic development under imperialism continued to operate as West European economic strength grew steadily, contributing to the decline in the United States' share in the capitalist world economy: between the late 1940s and early 1970s it fell from 55

to 41 per cent in industrial output and from 24 to 14 per cent in exports.[3]

All this is not only an indication of the collapse of certain doctrines and ideological positions formulated to serve the needs of the U.S. imperialist invasion of Western Europe. Real changes have also taken place undermining the structure of U.S. domination in this part of the globe that now make it possible for the West European countries and peoples to get rid of U.S. domination and expand and strengthen their national independence. But besides greater possibilities there are also greater dangers emanating from U.S. imperialism, and they are making themselves keenly felt.

The mounting U.S. pressures stem largely from the growth of crisis phenomena in the capitalist world. The U.S. is trying to shift a substantial share of its own economic difficulties to Western Europe. All countries in the non-socialist part of the world, West European included, have had to pay for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, since one of the prime causes of the collapse of capitalism's monetary system was the enormous deficit in the U.S. balance of payments.

Washington's efforts in the diplomatic campaign known as the 'Year of Europe' were prompted by the desire to bolster the United States' wavering economic positions and political prestige in the capitalist world. They included demands that West European countries increase their military expenditures, grant trade and economic concessions and reaffirm their loyalty to the Atlantic alliance. The latter was to take the form of a widely publicized document breathing new life into NATO. Small wonder, these suggestions encountered opposition in West European capitals and became the subject of a protracted round of negotiation.

Nor were matters improved by Washington's actions during the Middle East military conflict in October 1973, when the U.S. suddenly placed its armed forces in the Mediterranean on the alert and activated the system of European bases for transporting troops and arms. This confronting its NATO allies with a fait accompli could have only one meaning: at any time, without forewarning or consultations, Western Europe could find itself embroiled in a U.S. military adventure. This could not but further widen the cracks in the Atlantic alliance. Nevertheless, the U.S. continued to insist on its demands to Western Europe, and in an increasingly stern tone. According to press reports, the Danish Foreign Minister, delegated to present West European counter-proposals to the State Department in the autumn of 1973, met with a discouragingly cool reception in Washington.

Since then the situation would appear to have changed. In June 1974 a declaration reaffirming Atlantic unity was signed in Brussels. At present, the bourgeois press claims, differences are giving way to

constructive harmonization of interests. And Washington, according to the London *Economist,* is 'happy that the United States and the EEC are no longer shouting at each other' (Feb. 15-21, 1975, p. 62). But are there grounds for Western Europe to be happy?

The real reason for the decline in the external manifestations of U.S.-West European dissension lies not in its alleviation but in the fact that, with the crisis of the capitalist world more acute than ever, U.S. imperialism has again succeeded in gripping Western Europe in the vice of dependence. The accumulation of economic difficulties in the capitalist world, especially the energy crisis, has laid bare many weaknesses of the West European economy. Denmark is one of those countries where this has been felt especially painfully. The 'welfare state' so vociferously acclaimed by the Social-Democrats has deteriorated into a state of mass unemployment.[4] The balance-of-payments deficit, external debt and inflation have reached dangerous proportions and the years of politico-administrative 'stability' have given way to a profound political crisis that has struck at both the Social-Democrats and the traditional bourgeois parties.

Western Europe's economic dependence, its vulnerability from the point of view of fuel and raw materials supplies, and its sensitivity to fluctuations of the U.S. economy – all this is interpreted in the United States as licence to speak from 'positions of strength.'

In recent months official statements from Washington have repeatedly emphasized the United States' leading role binding for all capitalist countries. The International Energy Agency has been set up at U.S. insistence and under U.S. pressure as a united front of capitalist countries against the oil-producing nations. In effect this is a new formulation, under U.S. aegis, of a strategy of collective colonialism to combat the national-liberation movement. The deepening and ever more apparent crisis of NATO, a consequence, among other things, of the events in Cyprus, has not kept Washington from trying to revitalize that imperialist bloc.

The U.S. is persistently trying to increase Western Europe's arms burden. A consequence, for our country, was a 23-per cent increase in the military budget for the coming fiscal year, coupled with a cut in allocations for education and social needs. Such U.S. arms monopolies as General Dynamics and Northrop are competing with French and Swedish big business in an effort to sell 350 combat aircraft to Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland, despite angry protests by the people of those countries.

The U.S. is openly reviving its claims to dominate the 'Western world' and guide the destinies of Western Europe, which creates new dangers of greater imperialist expansion. They are opposed by the masses and various public circles and have provided the soil for the

rise of a number of decidedly anti-American ideological and political trends. There is what one could term a romantic school whose representatives are troubled by the unbridled proliferation of the symbols and accessories of 'Americanism' and call instead for the preservation and active restoration of European cultural traditions and identity. There is the 'technocratic' trend which, on the contrary, advocates the speediest introduction of U.S. organization methods and technological know-how so as to overcome Western Europe's lag and thus assure more effective resistance to U.S. expansion. Entirely different in character and much better organized is the resistance of the labor movement to the multinationals.

A poll conducted by the universities of Copenhagen and Aarhus in connection with the energy crisis revealed that 73 per cent of the Danish people favor nationalization of the oil monopolies.[5] This is convincing proof of the extent of dissatisfaction with the painful consequences of the presence of U.S. capital.

The overbearing U.S. monopoly presence has long been a major irritant for the West European bourgeoisie, and many sections are prepared to support the mass dissatisfaction with U.S. *diktat* – in their own interests, of course. They tolerate romantic and 'technocratic' formulas, but their prime concern is to strengthen the European Economic Community as an economic and political counterbalance to the United States.

In these circumstances we Communists are faced with the important task of clearly defining our positions in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and explaining them to the masses. All the more so as class-hostile propaganda studiously peddles the view that the Communists proceed from 'anti-Americanism per se.' Needless to say, such a nationalistic approach is alien to the very nature of the Communist movement. For Marxist-Leninists there are no 'right' or 'wrong' parties in the conflict between U.S. and West European monopoly capital. That is inter-imperialist contradiction. It concerns us only as a factor weakening imperialism as a whole and creating better conditions for the democratic struggle against monopoly oppression, whether 'domestic' or 'foreign.'

As for the public currents opposing U.S. attempts to shackle Western Europe, we know that they are often linked with local monopoly interests. But they attract a variety of social forces, which opens up a field for explanatory work capable of helping to shape a broad movement in defense of national independence and against U.S. imperialist *diktat*.

National independence is the prime and readily understood demand of our program on these issues. It acquires special importance in the conditions of détente, which create better prerequisites for its im-

plementation. Changes have taken place in the last few years even in Social-Democratic parties, whose leaders traditionally espouse 'Atlanticism.' A new development in the Danish Social-Democratic Party has been the emergence of a group opposing NATO. Significantly, a memorandum published in January 1973 by the Social-Democratic Party's foreign policy and national security committee states: 'Specifically, the committee holds that sooner or later Europe must get rid of U.S. influence through a collective security system, and that such a system can be achieved, can be set up only provided the American influence is removed.'[6]

But within the framework of these aspirations and the greater possibilities for their realization there remains the basis for differences of views linked, in the final analysis, with the fundamental difference between the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the working masses. The bourgeois tendency is to insist on Western Europe's eventual 'equidistance' from the United States and the Soviet Union. The reasoning is often based on the 'two superpowers' concept, the Maoist version of which has evolved into something truly incongruous, with incantations regarding the 'Soviet military threat' to the countries of Western and Northern Europe. The absurdity of this is on a par with the 1948 'Easter panic.'

Where do such views and moods lead? Only to attempts to detach Western Europe from its socialist neighbors, the international force most effectively assuring the movement towards lasting European peace and security, and, ultimately, to quests for new forms of a 'defense alliance' with the United States in which Western Europe would inevitably be assigned the role of junior partner.

On this issue, the stand of the Communists, who advocate broader cooperation with the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist community as a reliable factor of peace in Europe, can and should become an important element in the democratic movement's program for national independence.

Another Communist demand is to harness the multinationals and get rid of the exploitation to which they, and hence, essentially, U.S. capital, subject the West European economy. Even some governments have voiced dissatisfaction with the multinationals, notably their efforts to avoid paying local taxes. But for the bourgeoisie and its political representatives the issue usually ends with attempts to settle financial relations with the multinationals. Working-class interests require a deeper approach to the problem. After all, one of the main reasons for the redirection of U.S. capital from the developing countries to Western Europe was its search for manpower that would be both skilled and relatively cheap. That is why the whole structure of the U.S. economic presence is based on opposing any major pay

increases and on fierce opposition to the labor movement. This is the key aspect of the problem, which Communists never forget in their struggle to free the national economy.

The Danish labor movement received an object lesson on this score in 1973, when a subsidiary of the U.S.-owned Hope Computer Company backed away from the usual practice of collective bargaining with the trade union. The event proved instructive in another way as well: it exposed the class nature of the bourgeois judiciary, for one active trade unionist was sentenced as a common criminal for his efforts in defense of the workers. To be sure, in this case the Danish trade union movement showed its mettle, with mass labor action all over the country forcing the company to sign the agreement and allow its employees to join the union, while the trade unionist's conviction was reversed. Danish Communists attach very great importance to this experience in the struggle against local and foreign big capital.

Communist demands fall well within the framework of the tasks whose solutions are in one way or another accepted as necessary by all democratic forces in Western Europe. These demands are national in character and can be a rallying point for united popular action. However, in the struggle for their realization it is essential to take into account differences due to class contradictions and apply special efforts to resolving any problems that may arise in the best interests of the working people.

The class aspect of the struggle against U.S. imperialism is most important as it also determines the prospects of that struggle and the criteria for judging its effectiveness. We Marxist-Leninists know that every upsurge in the general democratic struggle strengthens the social and political positions of the working class and all working people and weakens their class enemies. In the present instance, this means that active opposition to U.S. imperialism also creates opportunities for more successful struggle against its class ally, the monopoly capital of Western Europe. Consequently, national resistance to the U.S. imperialists provides solutions of problems closely associated with the social, as well as the political and economic, destinies of Western Europe.

1. A fact flatly denied for decades by bourgeois propaganda on both sides of the Atlantic as 'Communist lies.' Yet it has been repeatedly confirmed, most recently by documents of the U.S. State Department published early this year in a volume entitled 'Western Europe, 1948.' It cites, for example, a recommendation of the President's National Security Council to 'continue efforts, by all feasible means . . . to detach the Italian left-wing Socialists from the Communists.' See *International Herald Tribune,* Feb. 13, 1975.

2. On the eve of the Second World War, 68 per cent of all foreign investments were in colonial and semi-colonial countries (C. Lewis. *Debtor and Creditor Countries, 1938, 1944*. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1945). By the beginning of the 70s the

very same percentage of foreign investment was in developed capitalist countries, with Western Europe in the forefront. Thus, in 1973, the increase in direct U.S. private investments, which ensure control of the respective enterprises, totalled $3,000 million in Western Europe and $1,200 million in developing countries (*Survey of Current Business*. No. 8, part II. August, 1974. Tables 10A, 10B, pp. 18 and 20).

3. *U.N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. October 1969, November 1974, December 1974.

4. Unemployment is running at 13 per cent, a figure which takes account only of people on unemployment relief. But many jobless, especially young people and women, are not covered by social security.

5. *Fagbladet*, Oct. 25, 1974.

6. L. Budtz og S. Christensen. *Udenrigspolitik set med Socialdemokratiske òjne*. Copenhagen, 1974, p. 95.

the Party

Ideological work today

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The Eighth SUPG Congress (1971), which ushered in a new stage in the building of a developed socialist society in the GDR, emphasized the need to extend and improve the Party's ideological work. As First Secretary Erich Honecker told the Congress: 'We are working on the premise that the socialist consciousness of the working people is the basis of their creative activity.'

In keeping with Marxism-Leninism and the experience of our own and fraternal parties, we consider ideological work the very core of all our guiding activity.

In the Communist Manifesto, which heralded the birth of scientific communism, Marx and Engels wrote of the Communists that, 'theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.' The Communists' right and ability to lead the working class and its allies in overthrowing the exploiting system and building communist society are based primarily on the fact that in all its actions the Party is guided by its knowledge of the laws of historical development. Marx and Engels indicated how the Party should discharge its mission of guide and leader: first by disseminating the scientific world outlook among the working class and its allies, bringing to the laboring masses its views and convictions, i.e., by conducting ideological work that permeates every aspect of political activity.

In capitalism's transition to imperialism this function of the Party was the subject of bitter struggle between the opportunists of every hue and the Marxists. The crisis of the German Social-Democratic Party and of a number of other parties before World War I, followed by their betrayal of the working class and the loss of their revolutionary character, were accompanied by disparagement of revolutionary theory and by contempt for ideological work within the Party and among the workers. The struggle waged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks

for a new-type party was a struggle also for the purity and further development of Marxist theory. Lenin's Party attached the utmost importance to ideological work and to the promotion of socialist consciousness among the workers.

The Communist International, which under Lenin's leadership re-established the role and prestige of Marxist theory in the international working-class movement, defined the place ideological work holds in the party. Its Second Congress emphasized: 'The task . . . is to raise the whole working class to the level of the Communist vanguard.' The history of the Communist and working-class movement contains ample evidence to show that our victories in the class struggle depend on closely uniting ideological and theoretical with political and economic struggle, and with the Party mastering all forms of the class struggle.

This applies in equal measure to the period after the conquest of political power. Indeed, in many respects the ideological struggle acquires even more significance and assumes wider scope, for the constructive aspect is brought to the fore as work begins on building the new society and transforming the people's way of life. And in contrast to the bourgeoisie which captures political power after capitalist property and production relations have, in the main, taken shape within the feudal system, the working class wins power before the revolutionary transformation of society's economic basis. For socialist property and production relations cannot arise within the exploiting system. Hence the need for planned building of the socialist mode of production through purposeful action by the working people relying on the political power of the workers and peasants. That is achievable because the Marxist-Leninist party which guides the masses is well armed theoretically, understands the objective march of events and the objective laws of social development, and transmits its knowledge and understanding to the masses.

Once brought to life, the new social relations lay a definite imprint on the thinking of the masses, for 'consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process,' Marx and Engels wrote in 'The German Ideology.' Nonetheless, the Party's ideological work after socialist relations have come into their own, does not lose its significance. Socialist consciousness is, essentially, scientific consciousness. It does not arise spontaneously, as the result of experience, but requires scientific preparation through the Party's ideological work. Comrade Brezhnev pointed to these two aspects of the formation of the new consciousness in his report to the 24th CPSU Congress: 'The moral and political make-up of Soviet people is moulded by the *entire* socialist way of life, by the *entire* course of affairs in society and,

above all, by purposeful, persevering ideological and educational work by the Party, by all its organizations' (my italics. – *W.L.*).

That is why the following remain constant tasks of the Party:
– augmenting its arsenal of theoretical knowledge, scientific interpretation of the experience of the working class and the working people generally;

– assimilation of this knowledge by Party cadres;

– using all Party forces to disseminate the scientific world outlook within the working class and among the people, thus enriching the mass-mind with the new achievements of science.

The importance of these tasks, central to all stages of socialist construction, steadily increases. Lenin pointed to this fundamental proposition of Marxism: 'The greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 498). That has been fully corroborated by the experience of the SUPG.

It will thus be seen that constant improvement of ideological work in the course of socialist construction is an objective necessity. And like the economic laws of socialism, this objective necessity cannot be ignored, discounted or 'outwitted.'

In the nearly 30 years of dedicated effort, our Party has always sought to act in accordance with these principles. From the very outset the specific conditions in which we have had to apply them have dictated intensification of ideological work.

Our people's progress was possible only through rapid and thorough eradication of the corrupting fascist spirit, the development of class consciousness among the workers and their alliance with all anti-fascist democratic forces. Founded in 1946 by merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, the SUPG was faced with the formidable complex task of ideological re-education of the masses. And to achieve that, the Party had securely to unite its ranks, become a Leninist party, a party of the new type and steeply raise the ideological level of its members, most of whom lacked political experience. But first of all we had to instil in the Party and the working-class movement the ideas of Leninism as Marxism of our time.

In persistent ideological struggle against Social-Democratic ideas, nationalism and sectarianism, the SUPG achieved acceptance by the Party membership of Leninism and the role of the CPSU as the most experienced and battle-tested contingent of the world Communist movement. It was in this way that we forged the unbreakable fraternal

alliance of the SUPG and CPSU which subsequently was to become the reliable foundation for the rapid advance of our people and state.

True to the behests of Thaelmann, our Party has consistently maintained that a Communist's attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU is the touchstone of his fidelity to the revolutionary cause. Organized and systematic Party education naturally began with the study of the history and experience of the Party of Lenin.* At about the same time we organized the study of the main Marxist-Leninist classics.

This systematic study of the Marxist classics and the experience of the CPSU helped our Party to resolve, in a relatively short time, a fundamental question of vast practical importance, one that arises in every country where the working class and its allies have won political power. I refer to the question of the relation between universal regularities and national specifics in the building of socialism. In those early days there was the opinion in some Party organizations that we should follow a 'special German road to socialism,' which, in effect, meant negating or at any rate underestimating the universal, international significance of the lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of socialist construction in the USSR. And there was the opposite opinion: no need to analyze and reckon with the concrete position in Germany, all we have to do is to repeat, step by step, the path travelled by the CPSU. We rejected both these views as deviating from Marxism-Leninism, which requires creative application of the general propositions formulated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and also of CPSU experience, to the concrete conditions in each country, with maximum regard for universal regularities.

We know from our own experience that the Party's unity and action-ability increase with the increasing theoretical knowledge of its members. And that knowledge is acquired by studying the classics, drawing on the fund of theory accumulated by our own and fraternal parties, and by participating in the fight against bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations, right or 'left' revisionism. That is why the SUPG has always been concerned that its members be able to exercise ideological influence at their place of work, that they be able to influence non-Party people, establish close ties with them and popularize the Marxist-Leninist ideas.

In its mass agitation and propaganda the SUPG is guided by Lenin's injunction that 'all our propaganda must be based on the political experience of economic development' (*ibid.* p. 37). The formation of mass political consciousness should not be isolated from the people's

*This found expression in decisions of the Party leadership of September 20, 1948, and May 4, 1949.

day-to-day practical experience. Nor should our purpose be merely to explain economic processes and interconnections, but rather to disclose and demonstrate, using the experience of the workers in material production, the interconnection between their day-to-day work and the long-range political aims of the revolutionary movement, the worldwide battle against imperialism, the fight for lasting peace and socialism.

The more deeply people come to understand the political significance of their own particular job, the stronger will be their political motivation to work and live according to socialist principles. We devote special attention to this aspect of ideological work. But it is not enough to arm our people with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, though this, too, is highly important. We must, besides, give them unshakable confidence, deeper political motivations for their actions and behavior so that the sum-total of their actions leads to fulfilment of Party decisions and to more practical results in the revolutionary transformation of society.

An understanding of the political essence of economic development gives the people a clear understanding of the essence and necessity of the new measures the Party is planning in building developed socialist society, and a meaningful part in the process. That approach to ideological work guarantees that the Party will not be running ahead of the masses, nor limping in their wake.

The experience of the SUPG shows that a correct combination of long-term aims with current needs is an effective means of propaganda. Study of the Marxist classics must be so organized as to contribute to the goals set by the Party for the current period. On the other hand, the Party must quickly and effectively explain pressing issues, and the explanation must be based on the fundamental theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism. This makes for a deeper understanding of our scientific world outlook.

The dissemination of theoretical knowledge and the explanation of current problems can achieve the best results only if both are linked up with irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology. Our Party's experience shows that this is not a transitory principle intended for one or another stage, nor a definite situation, in socialist construction and in the worldwide class struggle. It is always pertinent – from the very beginning of our scientific world outlook and right up to the victory over world capitalism.

From its very inception the SUPG has devoted special attention to ideological polemics, the fight against hostile ideology, for it has always been in ideological confrontation with an experienced adversary, German imperialism. There was much more to contend with than just the ideological backlash of nazism. The border with West

Berlin was wide open until 1961, and people could cross to and from the capitalist to the socialist world without so much as a passport or visa. Today, the class enemy's radio and television, whose anti-Communist and anti-Soviet content has in some ways become more refined, can be heard and seen practically in all parts of the GDR.

However, it is not just, and not even mainly, our specific historical development that necessitates propagation of our world outlook in continuous polemics against bourgeois ideology. Nor is it necessitated solely by the fact that remnants of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sentiments and views, and the related habits, must be overcome (as we know, this is a multifold and long process covering several generations). The offensive against bourgeois ideology is necessitated most of all by the objective sharpening of the ideological contention between the two social systems accompanying the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between socialist and capitalist countries. Our successes here are all the greater, the more forcefully we present the example of the existing socialism, show its advantages and superiority over the exploiting system, that is, make the practical experience of people living in the countries of the socialist community an effective weapon in the ideological struggle.

Under the direction of our Central Committee the Party has made the most of the abundant Soviet experience and created a sweeping system of ideological work, constantly enriched with the new experience of the most advanced of our Party branches.

The Marxist-Leninist steeling of the Party ranks is a matter of constant concern. Apart from the Karl Marx Higher Party School, there is a network of Party schools at enterprises, in districts and regions. The Party education year has been a regular feature for all of the past quarter century. Its various forms are the main source of Marxist-Leninist knowledge for the majority of Party members. Marxist-Leninist social science is taught in general schools and in the system of specialized secondary and university-level educational establishments.

The mass media occupy a conspicuous and ever more important place. For the Socialist Unity Party they have never been media of entertainment or pure and neutral information. For us they are an effective vehicle of objective and partisan information and of our scientific world outlook. The breadth and diversity of the content and forms of expression essential for mass media are not an aim in themselves. They assure effective popularization of our standpoint through political analyses, atheistic essays, and art broadcasts and articles cultivating ethical and aesthetic views.

In the autumn of 1972 the CC SUPG Political Bureau passed a

comprehensive resolution on the objectives of agitation and propaganda in promoting the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. It summed up the available experience and defined long-term tasks relating to content and method. The resolution itself, and the Central Committee conference at which it was elucidated, encouraging an exchange of views and experience, have a strong bearing on the activity of all Party organizations.

The ideological preparations for the 25th anniversary of the GDR and the 30th anniversary of liberation from fascist rule – two outstanding events in the history of our Party and people – are evidence not only of quantitative changes, but mainly of a qualitative advance in ideological work following the Eighth SUPG Congress. And they also gave bolder outline to the greater tasks to be performed in the coming period. There are three factors behind this:

First, the building of socialism in the GDR has entered a new phase, and the structuring of developed socialist society is in full progress.

In this stage, economic and social-political objectives intertwine ever more closely with the promotion of man's all-round development and culture. Growth of the production forces, improvement of social relations and harmonious development of the personality are taking on the character of an integral process. No substantial progress can be achieved at this stage by means of contingency solutions in one or another sphere, as was the case in, say, the initial phase of socialist construction, when we occupied ourselves with building our own heavy industry. The requisite for progress in the present day is harmonious development of socialist society as one organism with multiple ties among its various spheres.

In effect, the only way to increase production in the GDR is by raising the productivity of labor. Hence the need for fundamental and applied research and for all the facilities servicing production. Rapid passage of new achievements from laboratory to shopfloor requires close creative socialist cooperation between workers and intellectuals. The development of new production techniques and assimilation of the latest technology require an abundant supply of highly trained personnel, to be assured by the educational system. The effectiveness of the new techniques hinges on scientifically organized labor and control. But it also hinges on what the new techniques do to improve the workers' conditions of life and work, particularly to reduce hard physical labor and health hazards, and to make the work more creative and interesting. This is also of political significance, because it shows that, given an organic harmony of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, socialist society can solve all problems in the interest and to the advantage of the working people.

This list of interlocking problems shows that efficient control of the ties among the different social spheres is increasingly important for general progress, and notably for higher production and higher labor productivity.

This is why the Party and the people must know these relationships and regularities. Our cadres will then be able to take intelligent decisions in enterprises, communities and agricultural cooperatives. For this reason ideological activity, notably in the Party educational network, in political courses, lecture halls, and the like, is chiefly directed at elucidating the laws and regularities of the development of socialist society. The aim is to assure a more profound understanding of the main task set by the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, an understanding of the multi-faceted dovetailing process of raising the material and cultural standards, raising labor productivity, and raising the effectiveness of social production.

Second, the new objectives in our ideological work flow from the international position of our country since the Eighth Party Congress. The new factors include the more solid place of the GDR in the community of socialist states, its increasing participation in socialist economic integration, and the final collapse of the imperialist diplomatic blockade. We now maintain relations with almost all the countries of the world. Apart from opening up new opportunities, this also poses new tasks in internationalist education.

The new opportunities derive from the fact that membership in the fraternal family of the peoples of the socialist community is increasingly felt by our people and has a bearing on their daily lives, on the growth of economic contacts through exchanges of delegations, mutual comparing of experience, tourism, and the like. For many people, especially the youth, solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle has become an immediate and vital involvement since meetings have become more frequent with representatives of developing countries, young Communists from imperialist states, and especially with Chilean anti-fascists.

Also, socialist economic integration has added to the responsibility of our working people for the general progress of all the fraternal countries. This is what ideological work must bring home to all and everyone. The nature of our economic plans is increasingly international. Their fulfilment is no longer an 'internal' affair, and has a bearing on the development of our entire community. It is therefore important to show that this community is our broader socialist homeland. Consequently, the mass media devote a conspicuous place to accounts about the fraternal countries.

Worldwide diplomatic relations and admission to the United Nations have added to the responsibilities of the German Democratic

Republic as a member of the socialist community, particularly its responsibility for supporting the anti-imperialist movement in developing countries. That is why the Party is trying to impregnate the ideas and feelings of solidarity in the people's consciousness more and more deeply.

Third, ideological work faces new demands because of the sharpening of the ideological class struggle as the principles of peaceful coexistence gain currency in relations with the capitalist countries.

Peaceful coexistence enables us to influence the thinking of the laboring masses in the capitalist world, and to spread the truth about the existing socialism. On the other hand, however, our class opponents have gained opportunities for acts of ideological subversion. Here are a few facts. Since the relevant treaties and agreements with the GDR (population 17,000,000) entered into force, the country is annually visited by seven to eight million people from capitalist countries (most of them from the FRG and West Berlin). In addition, there are about 12,000,000 travellers across GDR territory to and from the FRG and West Berlin. Also, some 2.5 million GDR citizens visit capitalist countries every year. Then there are the radio and television broadcasts of our ideological adversary, which, as we have already said, reach practically the entire territory of the GDR. For geographical reasons, on the other hand, our own television and ultra-short-wave radio reach only part of the FRG.

This adds greatly to the importance of our ideological work. Though the adversary has not entirely abandoned crude and inept forms of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, he is now showing a preference for more refined methods of ideological subversion. More often than not, he presents himself as a friend wanting to 'improve' socialism and peddles the idea that a few corrections, either 'left' or 'right,' will do the trick. He pleads for trust, and parades in 'all-German' or 'European' garb. He has almost entirely ceased openly to defend capitalism, let alone imperialism. He tries to create the impression that his sole concern is to eliminate existing flaws within his own realm, and in the socialist states. But to follow his logic this would require abolition of the system as such in the socialist world, and no more than a few cosmetic touches in the capitalist 'free market economy.' To counteract the influence of bourgeois theories and to expose demagogy, the working class and all the working people of our country must possess a good knowledge of the laws of socialist development and of the true state of affairs in the capitalist countries.

The higher demands set on ideological work predicated by the special features of the present stage of the world revolutionary process require a higher standard of propaganda. It should take note of the rising cultural requirements of the working people, and likewise of

the typical features of present-day foreign propaganda. The CC SUPG Political Bureau resolution outlined measures to increase the effectiveness of our ideological work and to coordinate all its sectors.

To be sure, nowadays this objective transcends the limits of one country and necessitates closer cooperation among the fraternal parties of the socialist community in the ideological domain. The new demands stem not from national features, but chiefly from development processes common to all the countries and peoples of our socialist community. It is therefore not merely desirable, but also necessary, to coordinate fraternal efforts in social science, propaganda, agitation, Party education, and the mass information media.

Integration in ideological work, experience shows, yields far better results than isolated efforts by each of our countries. For this reason, the SUPG supports all initiatives helping to extend and intensify bilateral and multilateral ideological cooperation among the fraternal parties. We have treaties and agreements on this score with the parties of nearly all the socialist countries. The conferences of the Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties on ideological and international questions, held in recent years, have been extremely valuable. Also valuable is the experience of the Communist and Workers' parties still fighting for political power.

Leaning on the joint ideological strength of the Communists of the entire socialist community, coordinating action and consolidating ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, socialism's ideological offensive is sure to be successful.

Unity against the dictatorship

Pedro Vasquez
Member Political Commission,
CC Paraguayan CP

Extreme aggravation of class antagonisms and a skein of social and political contradictions are the outstanding features of the Latin American scene today. Many of our countries have to choose between reaction and democracy. And in all of them the subjective factor in the revolutionary process has acquired greater importance. In practice this means close cooperation between Communists and all

the revolutionary democratic forces and the organization of broad popular fronts.

Unity of the revolutionary movement is an imperative of the times. The unity trend is manifest in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and popular forces against imperialism and reaction and in the international struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. Conditions in Latin America are conducive to waging that struggle: Cuba is successfully building socialism; the progressive governments in such countries as Peru and Panama are strengthening their position, and in Argentina, Colombia and other countries the working class is applying its accumulated experience in the confrontation with the enemy.

An analysis of this situation will show that in Latin America, as in the world generally, the prevailing trend is towards extending and deepening the revolutionary process, though in concrete situations success can alternate with setbacks. Imperialism has been making desperate attempts to win back the initiative. And though this is not the determinative feature of the Latin American situation, the events in Bolivia, Paraguay and especially Chile are indicative of the obstacles to social progress.

In Paraguay the revolutionary movement is entering a new stage. A long step has been taken towards uniting the Party on a principled basis. We see this as a major success in the fight against the Stroessner dictatorship and for an anti-dictatorial front.

The road to unity was not an easy one. The turning point in the Party's development as a Leninist party of the new type came in 1971, at the Party's Third Congress. Nonetheless, the all-vital problem of monolithic unity was not resolved.

Our unity efforts culminated in the conclusion, on December 17, 1974, of the General Agreement which re-established Party unity on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It emphasized that the program, Rules and policy approved by the Third Congress were binding on all Communists loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

This was a signal achievement for our Party, the result of sustained effort, and proof, also, of our sense of responsibility to the working class and people. We fully appreciate, of course, that we would not have been able to achieve unity without the solidarity and assistance of fraternal parties on the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in our internal affairs. There were some who alleged that international assistance was 'undermining the Party's independence,' that unity was being 'imposed,' etc. We rejected all that: 'Party independence,' in its bourgeois interpretation, is but one way of supplanting nationalist for class, internationalist criteria.

The Paraguayan Communist Party is independent in all its ac-

tivities: no one dictates its decisions, its views or actions. What other kind of independence do we need? Independence from the world Communist movement, the epochal confrontation of socialism and capitalism, the revolutionary struggle of our people? We cannot be independent of that, for we are part of a worldwide movement and to it, and to the revolutionary struggle in our own country, we devote all our energies.

United, the Party achieved a new level and has even more freedom in working to rid the country of dependence, economic underdevelopment and exploitation.

We have every reason to be proud of this, and no reason to fall into complacency. For unity has to be guarded as the apple of the eye. We must always be mindful of Lenin's warning that to found and strengthen a party is to found and strengthen unity of all Communists of the given country, and 'such unity cannot be decreed, cannot be brought about by a decision, say, of a meeting of representatives; it must be worked for' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 323).

We must stand firm where the ideological purity of the Party is involved, making no concessions whatever to factionalism, always adhering to the Leninist organizational principles, always unswervingly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Unity is already paying off. After a long interval, the leading Party bodies are once more functioning within the country. The Central Committee plenum held early this year greatly stimulated fulfilment of the Third Congress decisions. Party membership is growing, chiefly by recruiting more workers. The Young Communist League is more active and is preparing to hold a national conference.

Time and again the regime announced the 'destruction' of our Party. Last year Stroessner told his friend Pinochet: Paraguay is a democracy because there are no Marxists in the country ... Why, then, is martial law prolonged every 90 days, and this has gone on for 20 years? *El Radical* writes, citing the Ministry of the Interior, that this is due to the presence of 'leaders of international Communism.' The contradictory government statements are part of its wishful thinking and have no relation to the actual state of affairs, which from time to time compels the dictatorship to admit that the Communist Party is becoming a powerful and potentially explosive force.

The improvement of organizational work is evidenced by the regular publication and wide circulation of *Adelante*, the Party's fighting paper. Despite the wave of repressions that swept the country in November-December 1974 and January 1975 (when over 1,000 were arrested and 10 died in the torture chambers) the paper continued to reach its working-class readers. We have also begun publication, after overcoming many difficulties, of a bimonthly edition of *World Marxist*

Review. Our priority task now is preparing the Fourth Party Congress which will consolidate its monolithic unity and help solve many problems, including those involved in the organization and development of the national anti-dictatorial front.

That is the key question today. The scale and social base of the front will depend chiefly on its ability to voice the interests and direct the struggle of all classes and strata of society suffering from dictatorship. Of course, the core of the front will be the workers and peasants, their struggle for economic demands, democratic freedoms, radical agrarian reform and independence from Yankee imperialism.

To bring that to reality, our First Secretary, Comrade Marin, has said, we shall need more than agreements between leaders, propaganda, speeches and political education, though all these are, of course, necessary. Our efforts must center on mobilizing, organizing and uniting the masses, primarily the laboring masses of town and country, for the strength of the front will lie in its mass support. And to make the front a viable and fighting organism, Comrade Marin emphasized, we shall need a network of unity committees or coordinating councils.

That is the basic condition and guarantee of the front's viability and unity, both nationally and locally. But acceptance of that position is hampered by the narrow, liberal-reformist concepts of the class struggle which have won fairly wide currency. We must therefore scotch attempts to substitute such concepts for revolutionary theory.

Unfortunately, our working class does not yet play the role it is destined to play. This is due, in particular, to the large share in its composition of erstwhile artisans, peasants, people of non-proletarian ideology. Its political maturing is impeded by nationalist, petty-bourgeois and religious prejudices.

'All over the world,' Lenin wrote, 'in every capitalist society, the proletariat is inevitably connected with the petty bourgeoisie by a thousand ties, and everywhere the period of formation of workers' parties was attended by its more or less prolonged and persistent ideological and political subjection to the bourgeoisie. This is common to all capitalist countries, but it assumes different forms in different countries, depending on historical and economic factors; (Vol. 20, p. 268).

The first step toward uniting the proletariat and giving its struggle a more distinct class character is to make the trade unions the militant weapon of the working class, remove from the leadership of the Paraguayan Confederation of Labor agents of the capitalist class and the Stroessner regime. And this can be done: the working class is growing in number, particularly with the development of capitalism in

agriculture, and the political consciousness of the industrial proletariat is reaching a new level.*

But the tasks of the Communist Party, the subjective factor, are much wider. We must not only unite the working class and make it conscious of its mission, but become the motive force of the anti-dictatorial front. And to do that we must first be clear on this vital point: Unity with whom and for what purpose?

The bourgeois reformists would 'expand' the front to an extent that would turn it into an unprincipled conglomeration. There is also the dangerous tendency to narrow the political basis of united action. But the greatest danger comes from reformist criteria.

The anti-dictatorial opposition in Paraguay covers a very broad spectrum, from consistent fighters against the regime to those who would settle for some minor concessions. More, the opposition has been joined by avowed enemies of the revolutionary democratic movement, in particular the so-called Levirals.**

Following the convention of the opposition Liberal-Radical Party, the Levirals published a manifesto. It proclaims 'international communism . . .' 'the common enemy of the people.' It calls for war, but not against the fascist Stroessner and his ilk, those directly responsible for the tragedy of our working people, our democrats and patriots, but against 'Marxist imperialism.' Their war appeals are a paroxysm of anti-Communist hysteria.

This type of ideological subversion is by no means harmless. The Levirals use the world 'imperialism' not to expose U.S. imperialism, but to mislead the masses by lumping together two incompatibles, imperialism and communism.

The Levirals urge the government to 'put an end to a system based on contraband, privilege, corruption, torture and the fanatical sectarianism that is dividing our democratic community.' Whom are they trying to convert? A gang of contrabandists, owners of gambling casinos, drug-traffickers, henchmen of the dictatorship. Verily, political opportunism and ideological mimcry reduced to a caricature. The explanation is simplicity itself: the Levirals are in the opposition to divide it.

From the standpoint of class alliances, the anti-dictatorial front cannot be limitless. We cannot have rabid anti-Communists for our allies. However, the line of demarcation is not between Communists and non-Communists, but between the real opposition working for

*Important in this respect were the two successful strikes at the Acar No. 2 Power Plant, and the strikes at the Texaco, Ceramica Helmers and the Acaray No. 1 Plant.

**A breakaway group from the Liberal-Radical Party led by Levi Ruffinelli.

political freedoms, and the sham opposition using the poison of anti-communism to disrupt and paralyze the revolutionary democratic movement. At one pole are the anti-dictatorial forces and at the other, the rabid anti-Communists: Stroessner and the Levirals. That is the line of demarcation.

Nor should we discount the damage to the united struggle done by those who want to change the situation without revolutionary upheavals and class struggle; in short, those who would settle for an opposition 'permitted' by the dictatorship. To them we explain that 'permitted' opposition is a useless exercise, for the regime permits only that which holds no dangers to it. If the anti-dictatorial front is to employ only 'permitted' forms of struggle it will land in the morass of reformism and will betray the interests of all opponents to the regime.

A viable and united front can be forged only in intensive ideological struggle, in the course of which we thwart all the maneuvers of imperialism and the oligarchy and expose and isolate the sham opposition which wants to maintain the status quo or steer a 'middle' course.

If the front is to make headway, it must have a high standard of political leadership capable of shrewdly assessing the alignment of class forces and changing it in favor of the people. Many of our setbacks are attributable to our inability to assess the correlation of forces and the changing political situation. In this day and age the scope and strength of a popular front is measurable not only by its national potential. We have to take into consideration such objective factors as the existing socialism, détente and the general crisis of capitalism. They have a definite impact on the thinking of the broad non-proletarian masses which only yesterday were regarded as 'apolitical' or 'neutral.' These factors narrow the ability of our principal enemy, imperialism, to suppress the people's struggle for democracy, peace and socialism.

All this inspires optimism, faith in our ultimate victory, confidence that the sun of freedom shall again shine over our much suffering country.

Brief information on Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

The first Communist organizations appeared in 1918-20 and the congress held on September 10, 1920, united them into the Communist Party of Turkey (CPT), adopted its Program and Rules and elected its leadership.

The Party has industrial and territorial units directed by vilayet (provincial) committees.

The Communists took an active part in the 1918-22 national-liberation movement and in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people.

Fearing the growth of Communist influence, the reactionaries subjected the Party to harsh repressions. It was dealt a very heavy blow in January 1921 with the dastardly murder of 15 of its leaders, among them General Chairman Mustafa Soubhi and General Secretary Ehden Nejat. The Party was banned in 1923 and since then has been working underground, constantly subjected to persecution. Many Party activists and leaders were arrested in the repressive campaigns of 1925, 1929, 1932, 1944 and 1951.

Despite the harsh conditions of underground work the CPT has never ceased its struggle for the interests of the working people. It conducted active mass work during the Second World War when it campaigned against the Turkish reactionaries' cooperation with nazi Germany and for good-neighbor relations with the USSR.

The Party has made numerous sacrifices, but persecution and terror have not broken it. The CPT continues to fight for national independence, peace, democracy and social progress, for Turkey's withdrawal from military blocs and dismantling of foreign war bases. It supports the international Communist and working-class movement on basic issues.

Since its inception the Party has published many newspapers and magazines. At present it puts out, illegally, the monthly *Atilim*, the central Party organ, and the fortnightly bulletin *Durum*. It also runs a clandestine broadcasting station, Voice of the Communist Party of Turkey.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF SENEGAL

Founded in September 1957, it was the first inter-territorial political party in the former French colonies of Black Africa to come out resolutely for independence. In its Manifesto it declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party supporting the line of the international Communist movement. As a federated organization it was active both in Senegal and other French possessions. It has been operating illegally since 1960.

At its First Congress, in 1962, the AIPS, noting that France had been forced to grant autonomy and even independence to the territories of its former colonial federations, decided to restrict its activities to Senegal. The congress set the following tasks: unity of patriotic and democratic forces, establishment of an anti-imperialist regime in Senegal, liquidation of foreign monopoly domination in modern branches of the economy and creation of a powerful state sector, democratic freedoms, dismantling of French military bases, etc. Orientation on non-capitalist development is in keeping with the Party's ultimate goal of building socialism.

The AIPS played an important part in mobilizing the masses for the struggle for national independence, and it was subjected to colonialist terror and repression like no other party in Senegal.

Despite continued repression and various disruptive acts engineered by the authorities (including the use of various extremist groups), the AIPS remains active. That it was able to hold its Second Congress in 1972 is an indication of the futility of the repressive measures against it. The congress reaffirmed the Party's Marxist-Leninist platform and emphasized the need for a consistent struggle for worker and peasant power in Senegal.

The Party's main efforts are concentrated on establishing a front of patriotic and democratic forces, bringing down the present pro-imperialist regime, achieving full national independence, and pursuing a genuinely democratic policy in the interests of the nation. This orientation has met with wide response. Forced to reckon with this, Senegal's ruling circles have even been speaking of readiness to legalize the AISP and to cooperate with it, on condition that the Party get rid of those whom they persist in labelling 'foreign agents.' Government statements are in crying contradiction to its policies: democratic organizations, trade unions, youth and students associations have been banned under the pretext that they are influenced and used by the AIPS. The AIPS stand is clear: struggle for the repeal of all bans of patriotic and democratic movements, for the legalization of all organizations as provided by the Constitution.

The AIPS leading bodies are the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Politburo Secretariat.

The Party publishes a monthly *La Lutte* (Struggle) and weekly *Momsarev* (Independence; it appeared regularly from the Party's foundation up to 1964; publication was resumed in 1974). The Party also publishes its statements on all major national issues.

DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The DCP, founded underground in 1944, was called the Dominican Revolutionary Democratic Party until 1946 and the Dominican People's Socialist Party in 1946-65. It came into being on the basis of Marxist groups at a time when the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movement surged high under the impact of World War II.

In 1947 the regime took drastic measures against the DCP. It arrested and then deported all the more prominent Party leaders.

In June 1955 a DCP conference with the powers of a congress adopted Party Rules, passed a resolution on drafting a program and elected a CC Secretariat. In June 1959, the Communists joined in armed action against the dictator, Trujillo. Six members of the CC DCP fell in battle. After the Trujillo dictatorship was toppled (May 1961), the Party stepped up its activity, increased its influence among the masses and resisted reactionary attempts to drag the country back to dictatorship. 'Our people's strategic objective at this stage of history,' said a CC document on the political situation, The Road of the Revolution and the Party's Tasks (September 1962), 'is a national-liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution ... to end the latifundium system through a far-reaching agrarian reform, stimulate independent economic development, free the country from the U.S. imperialist yoke, establish real freedoms for the people and substantially raise their standard of life.'

From 1963 on, the Party operated as a semi-legal organization. It fought for the country's independent progress, built up its influence among the masses and took part in the formation of democratic trade unions, whose leadership came to include a number of Communists. That period was broken off by a coup and the seizure of power by a military clique on September 25, 1963. In October the DCP was outlawed and had to go back to clandestine methods. Restoration of the constitutional system and the establishment of democratic order became its main slogan. A patriotic movement against the junta, for the 1963 Constitution, grew in April 1965 into a mass revolutionary struggle against reactionary army units. The Communists took an

active part in the fight against domestic reaction and against U.S. troops engaged in an open armed intervention.

After the assumption of power by the Balaguer government the DCP set out to achieve a reorganization of all national democratic forces with a view to frustrating counter-revolutionary plans and exposing the regime, which tries to disguise its pro-imperialist nature with talk about defending national interests.

The DCP is based on the principles of democratic centralism. Its highest authority is the Congress and the Party's activities between congresses are directed by the Central Committee and the Secretariat.

The Party publishes the newspaper *El Popular*.

In brief

PREPARATION FOR CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The working group of the drafting commission of the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties met for its second session in Berlin. Its meetings were attended by representatives of 20 parties.

The working group continued, in a democratic spirit, an extensive exchange of views and elaboration of the draft of the final document of the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties. Agreement was reached on further relevant measures. The group's meetings were attended by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and CC Secretary, SUPG.

A meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties on the subject "The Current Situation and Prospects of Economic Cooperation in Europe" took place in Rome. Sponsored by the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party in the framework of preparations for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, it was attended by representatives of 28 parties. The welcoming address was by ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer.

CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF ARAB COUNTRIES

A conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries, held at the beginning of April, was attended by representatives of the Jordanian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Sudanese Communist Party, Syrian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party and the Moroccan Progress and Socialism Party. They discussed the situation in the Arab region, specifically the struggle for the liberation of occupied Arab territories, strengthening of progressive national regimes, and restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They also discussed questions of promoting the Arab liberation movement and the situation in the international Communist and working-class movement.

After the debate, held in a friendly atmosphere and in a comradely spirit, the parties adopted resolutions on the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, on International Women's Year, and on the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The participants sent a message of greetings to the CPSU in connection with the anniversary.

The conference adopted a document on the situation in the Arab national-liberation movement, its tasks and prospects.

COMING PARTY CONGRESSES

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to convene the 25th Party Congress February 24, 1976.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba published an appeal to the nation announcing the convening of the Party's first congress in December of this year.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka will be held August 20-24, 1975, in Matara in the south of the country. The decision was taken at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia decided to call the 12th Party Congress December 8-9, 1975.

BULGARIA

'Raising Scientific Standards of Party Organizational Work' was the subject of a conference sponsored by the BCP Central Committee. It took place in three stages. In the first, there were more than 34,000 primary branch meetings, 350 study seminars in cities, and 1,300 conferences and meetings of Party activists in rural communities and agroindustrial complexes. The second stage involved debates on an inter-district level and culminated in five zonal conferences attended by Party committee leaders, representatives of local YCL organizations and the Fatherland Front, scholars, and functionaries of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. The conference in Sofia, which was attended by BCP Politburo member and CC secretary B. Velchev, was the final stage. Thus, 520,000 people took part in summing up the experience of introducing scientific methods in Party work and discussing the guidelines to ensure continued enhancement of its scientific standard.

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the FCP has decided on measures to increase the number of industrial Party branches. The decision emphasizes the role of the working class in social development and the consequent need for substantially increasing the number of Party branches and their membership at factory floor level. The Central Committee considers it necessary and possible to increase the number of factory branches by 1,500, to a total of 8,000, by the end of 1975.

INDONESIA

On the eve of the 55th anniversary of its foundation the Communist Party of Indonesia issued a new policy statement, 'For Democracy, Social Justice and the Welfare of the People,' adopted in Djakarta in January 1975. It presents a detailed analysis of the situation in the country and sets the Party the main task of forging a front of national unity.

ITALY

More than 121,000 persons joined the Italian Communist Party in the course of the annual card exchange and membership drive launched last November. As of April 3, the Party had issued 1,631,713 party cards for 1975, substantially higher than the figure for last year's drive, which confirms the growing influence and prestige of the Party among Italy's working people.

POLAND

A discussion of ways of improving Party work was held at the editorial offices of *Nowe Drogi,* theoretical journal of the Polish United Workers' Party. It was attended by province, city and district Party secretaries and functionaries, and secretaries of Party committees of major industrial enterprises, higher educational establishments and local government offices. An analytical assessment was made of such forms and methods of Party work as Party consultations among various sections of the society and at enterprises, processing of public opinion polls and of worker proposals, formation of worker and peasant activist groups and their participation in the work of Party bodies, etc. Considerable attention was devoted to coordinating all aspects of Party work. This, it was noted, could be achieved by employing modern methods of programming and planning in Party work.

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Communists in struggle for democratic unity

International Theoretical Symposium on the 40th Anniversary of the Seventh Comintern Congress

This July-August sees the 40th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The occasion was marked by a theoretical symposium sponsored by *World Marxist Review* and held in Prague April 8-10. It was attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties and scholars from 49 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Syria, the United States, and Uruguay. Among them were prominent personalities of the Communist and working-class movement and participants in the Seventh Comintern Congress: Rodney Arismendi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco, Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the CC Executive of the Communist Party of Argentina, Tsola Dragoicheva, member of the CC Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Friedl Fürnberg, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Austria, Helena Berg, member of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and veteran British Communist Idris Cox. The symposium received messages of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and from participants in the Seventh Comintern Congress Dolores Ibarruri, John Gollan and Peter Kerrigan.

The symposium was opened by *WMR* Editor-in-Chief Konstantin Zarodov, who also delivered the concluding address.

The symposium examined topical theoretical and political problems of the struggle of fraternal parties for democratic unity and the cohesion of all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces. The participants cited the experience of their respective parties in discussing problems

of the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliances and the connection of the struggle for democracy, national liberation and against imperialism with the struggle for socialism; they showed the historic role of the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress and the significance of its ideas today.

Considerable attention was given to Communist principles of political cooperation with various progressive, patriotic and anti-imperialist movements and organizations within the framework of a united front, the relationship between cooperation and ideological struggle of groups with different political and philosophical convictions, and the extent to which peaceful coexistence could promote favorable conditions for the social progress of all peoples.

The discussion showed the attention the fraternal parties give to problems of unity of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces. The symposium proceeded in a comradely and creative atmosphere of fraternal cooperation.

Its materials will be published in *World Marxist Review*.

The competition of the two world systems in the present stage

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCE

At an academic conference held under the auspices of *World Marxist Review*, scholars and political personalities of the fraternal parties of 33 socialist, capitalist and developing countries examined aspects of the present stage of the competition between the two social systems and its bearing on the world revolutionary process.

The discussion centered on three main topics:

– the impact of the competition on world affairs and different aspects of the dialectical connection between the competition as a form of class struggle and the global relation of forces;

– the main factors bearing on the competition at present and in the long term;

– the main spheres of competition and the criteria of its results; two systems – two ways of life.

Papers were prepared by three academic centers – the Academic Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the economic competition between the two systems (the dialectics of competition and cooperation), the Hungarian Institute of International Politics

(methods of analyzing the present stage of the competition) and the Commission for Theory and Marxist Education of the German Communist Party (the scientific approach to comparing the socialist and capitalist ways of life). The main points in the papers are reflected in the following survey.

Crucial sphere of the class struggle

The beginning of the worldwide contention between the two systems dates back to the beginning of the victorious socialist revolution in Russia. But the competition did not reach its present-day level overnight. Delving into this proposition, the paper of the Hungarian Institute of International Politics suggested the following periods: from the October Revolution to the emergence of the socialist world system, in which socialism represented by the Soviet Union concentrated efforts on maintaining and consolidating the new social system in a capitalist encirclement, proving the fundamental advantages of the socialist mode of production and strengthening the material basis of the world revolutionary process. The second period is that of the emergence and consolidation of the socialist world sytem, which, in effect, tilted the scales in socialism's favor. In the third period, socialism asserted itself as a force determining the course of world development.

However, irrespective of the succession of periods, the economic competition was, and still is, an important form of the class struggle on the world scale. What changed from period to period was its relative significance among the other forms of the struggle.

Academician *A. Rumyantsev*, member of the CC CPSU, stressed that the division of the world economy into capitalist and socialist was a projection of the historical contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The working class is at the center of the epoch. It determines the main trends, the content and the main features of world development. This is fundamental in assessing the essence and perspectives of the competition of the two systems, because the competition is not a 'contest of equals' but of forces out of which one – the bourgeoisie, capitalism – is historically doomed. The emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system accentuates the leading role of the working class in the modern world, its ability to impose its own forms and methods of struggle – here, specifically, competition in conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Dr. *H. Swoboda* (Institute of Social Sciences, CC, SUPG) noted that peaceful coexistence and competition are not a mere reflection of the world's division into two systems, but rather the result of the ascendancy of world socialism, its active influence on its antipode. The present swing to détente, with economic competition growing in importance, is a new phase in the historic dispute between the two

systems. Socialism has, in effect, compelled the bourgeoisie to acknowledge its impressively increased power, influence and capability.

Docent *Laszlo Nagy*, representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the *WMR* Editorial Board, said that in general the correlation of the forms and spheres of struggle between the two systems is a derivative of the world balance of forces. This, in his view, explains why the economic domain is gaining importance in the changing international situation as a sphere of the worldwide class struggle and why economic competition is superseding political and military confrontation.

D. Baranyi, Editor-in-Chief of the Hungarian journal *Foreign Policy*, pointed out that the prominence of economic competition in the present stage did not totally eclipse the other forms of the contention – military, political or ideological. As before, the struggle between socialism and capitalism contains all these elements, though in a different relation. Furthermore, the changes in the forms of struggle have not altered its main content.

Other aspects of the dialectical connection between the competition and the relation of world forces were also examined. In the final analysis, it was pointed out, it is the successes of the socialist economy, its achievements in the competition against the capitalist economy, that has impelled changes in the balance of forces in socialism's favor. And these changes make the economic competition all the more significant. *M. Dias*, representative of the CP Cuba, observed that this gave the socialist countries more favorable conditions for their constructive development, for using the advantages of their social system and the opportunities this afforded in capitalizing on the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

A. Mileikovsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor *L. Georgiev*, Director of the Ivan Bashev Institute of International Relations (Bulgaria), *V. Kudrov*, Dr. Econ. (USSR), Professor *M. Nedelea*, sector head, CC Rumanian CP, and *K. Roubal,* Deputy Director of the CC CPC Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Prague, showed in their contributions that the peaceful coexistence policy and active participation in the economic competition against capitalism is the form of world contention most consonant with the interests of socialist and communist construction, and conforms fully with the class nature of socialism and its international role as the principal factor of world peace and security. The results so far show an unquestionable consolidation of world socialism.

John Pittman, member of Political Committee, CC CP USA, *S. Mitra*, member of National Council, CP India, and several other speakers stressed the significance of socialist success in the economic

competition against capitalism for the struggle of the revolutionary working class in capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. *Willi Gerns*, Member of Presidium, GCP Board, said that the competition of the two systems lay at the root of the reorganization of international relations along the lines of peaceful coexistence, adding that the combination of these two processes – the economic and the political – had created exceedingly favorable conditions for vigorous action by the working class and other democratic forces. The movement for peace and détente is becoming more effective, he said, and is a splendid school of political education. Socialist achievements provide the model for the working people's struggle against monopoly oppression and for their economic and social demands. Better conditions are also shaping, Gerns said, to combat and eliminate anti-communism as the ideological obstacle to the involvement of the majority of the working class in the struggle for a radical transformation of society, for socialism.

The conference also discussed the imperialists' motivations for changing the forms of the competition. L. Georgiev recalled Lenin's important observation about the bourgeoisie's two methods of fighting for its interests: 'The first of these is the method of force, the method which rejects all concessions to the labor movement, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions, the method of irreconcilably rejecting reforms .... The second is the method of "liberalism," of steps ... towards reforms, concessions, and so forth' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 350).

The present-day monopoly bourgeoisie resorts far more frequently to the second method, that is, to concessions to the working class at home and to socialism in international affairs. But, Georgiev added, the method of force is not altogether abandoned. There is still the danger of rightist reaction in capitalist countries and renewal of imperialist cold-war policy in world affairs. However, favorable conditions have shaped for making the détente irreversible. Socialism has proved capable of setting this course, and the more far-sighted imperialist groups have begun to reckon with the fact that economy, ideology and diplomacy – spheres known as 'peaceful' – are now the decisive battlefields in the struggle of the two systems. Imperialism, as we see, is adapting to the new historical reality. But we should distinguish between adaptation and the 'general changes' implicit in capitalism as they are in every society that has its own laws of development, Georgiev stressed. Modern capitalism is both a 'closed' system (governed by internal laws) and an 'open' system influenced by outer forces, in this case the growing economic power and politico-ideological influence of socialism. The changes in the capitalist world, in the policy of its ruling circles are, so to speak, of

an obligatory nature and made under the impact of world socialism. To some extent, therefore, they are limited by the immanent spontaneous forces and tendencies of capitalism, such as imperialism's tendency towards war and aggression.

The extension of the détente is accompanied by a substantial extension of economic, scientific and technical cooperation among states with opposite social systems. This is one of the distinctive features of the competition in the present stage. 'Competition and cooperation,' it says in the paper of the Academic Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 'are not mutually exclusive in the relations now shaping between the two systems. On the contrary, cooperation is possible only due to socialism's gains in the economic competition against capitalism and the gains of the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence. And greater economic and technical cooperation is becoming an important condition of further success. It enriches the dialectical content of the struggle of the two systems, of the world revolutionary process.'

Bourgeois propaganda, notably in the United States, said John Pittman, tries to create the impression that it was the imperialist governments representing monopoly capital who initiated economic cooperation as a complement to political détente. However, the measures to expand economic, scientific and technical cooperation among countries with different social systems are a direct result of the socialist peace offensive. Seen in the broad historical perspective, this is the fulfillment of Lenin's idea of extending trade relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. A commercial agreement between the Soviet Republic and the United States was first drafted on Lenin's instructions as early as in 1918. Speaking of latter-day U.S. policy one cannot help noticing that it did not begin the search for a constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union until its own strategy of military 'roll-back' and 'containment,' of economic blockade and the Vietnam aggresssion, proved wholly ineffective. For the United States rulers economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries is a forced revision of their former international line. Certainly, they have their own aims and hope to benefit. For one thing, they do not want to tail behind the FRG and Japan, which have been expanding cooperation with the socialist countries. Furthermore, some bourgeois ideologues and politicians evidently expect that economic ties between countries with different social systems will enable imperialism to influence the socialist society. The motivations of the economic cooperation of bourgeois governments and monopolies with socialism are, therefore, highly conflicting and different. But the main motive is the bankruptcy of the policy 'from positions of strength' and the mounting pressure of the masses.

Certainly, there are many foes of détente in the United States, including influential forces, who are trying to torpedo the Soviet-U.S. agreements. They want Washington to revert to cold war and nourish the absurd illusion that concessions can be wrested from the Soviet Union by pressure, particularly by discriminatory economic practices.

A. Haba, alternate member of the CC Iraqi CP, asked Pittman: the U.S. Communists are fighting against the home and foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. Is this made more complicated by the fact that the U.S. ruling circles have accepted constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union?

In his reply, Pittman said enrichment rather than complication was the right term in reference to the tasks and content of the Communists' political and ideological work in the new conditions. The CP USA, for example, explains to the people that, while pursuing the Leninist policy of economic cooperation with the United States, the Soviet Union stands firm in countering U.S. imperialism. We rebuff the notion that Soviet-U.S. cooperation is an attribute of the notorious convergence theory. What should be stressed is that cooperation is clearly a form of international class struggle.

Laszlo Nagy, too, called attention to this aspect of the matter. He suggested defining the substance of the dialectical connection between competition and cooperation. They are not two poles of a contradiction, he said, but two different forms of one and the same phenomenon. Communists will bring this home if they show that both competition and cooperation are peaceful forms of struggle against capitalism. Lenin reached to the very essence of economic cooperation between states with opposite social systems when he said: 'Concessions do not mean peace; they too are a kind of warfare, only in another form, one that is to our advantage .... Concessions are a continuation of war on the economic front, but here we do not destroy our productive forces, but develop them .... We do not imagine that we shall defeat the world bourgeoisie by force of arms alone' (Vol. 31, pp. 432, 433).

A. Rumyantsev, too, stressed the fallacy of opposing competition to cooperation. In both cases, he said, we see the bourgeoisie adapting to the new conditions in the world, to the changed relation of world forces in favor of socialism. The bourgeoisie hopes that economic cooperation with countries of the socialist community will prolong its existence. No matter what its ideological position and political designs, there is in the long term always a more potent force guiding its hand: the economy, economic interests. This also includes the advantages of the international division of labor. We should therefore remember that apart from other motives, as Lenin

explained, the bourgeoisie is driven to economic cooperation with socialist countries by the economy itself.

No stable economic, scientific and technical cooperation is conceivable between countries with opposite social systems, unless based on mutual advantage. This gave rise to the following question: We maintain that cooperation is a form of struggle; on the other hand, however, it is supposed to be beneficial for all concerned. Does this not create an illusion of struggle?

Cooperation is in the interest of both sides, the discussion showed. But the level and content of this interest requires analysis to show how cooperation influences or can influence the competition of the two systems.

Many of those representing Communist parties of capitalist countries noted that economic ties with socialist countries are tending to mitigate the hardships of working people caused by instability and capitalist economic turmoil. Working people in capitalist countries have a vital stake in higher wages and production stability, which can be facilitated through the socialist market. Cooperation with socialist countries often helps enterprises exposed to the cutthroat competition of multinational monopolies to remain in business. In many cases it is an instrument helping to protect the independence of the national economy.

Mel Doig, member of the Central Executive, CP of Canada, said his country's economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a matter of vital concern for Canada's liberation from U.S. imperialist bondage. With monopoly slashing at the jobs and the living standard, this cooperation spells greater employment. Economic ties with socialist countries create more favorable conditions for the working class, in unity with the democratic forces, to lead the struggle for Canadian control over the economy and for independence. This is why the policies advanced by the CP of Canada at its 22nd Convention stress the need to further extend this cooperation. For the working class and democratic forces in Canada this will contribute to forward-moving political changes.

Apart from opportunities to sustain business and employment, John Pittman said, cooperation with the socialist countries, first of all the USSR, is helping to contain militarism, which may liberate resources for urgent problems in education, health, etc.

For the socialist countries cooperation with capitalist states is first and foremost a means of benefiting from the international division of labor and thereby enhancing the general effectiveness of their economy. Georgiev, Nagy and others noted that socialism possesses enough intrinsic resources for the necessary intensification of its economy, but that cooperation with capitalist countries accelerated

this process. Furthermore, it assured rapid introduction in the socialist economy of the achievements of world science and technology, and realization of the advantages objectively implicit in socialism for assimilating advanced industrial organizational forms and methods, and new techniques. Willi Gerns stressed that this policy is fundamental and permanent. In the early 1920s, in the midst of the dislocation caused by the world and civil wars, he recalled, Lenin said that Russia's economic revival, the rehabilitation of her productive forces, could be greatly speeded by business contacts with capitalist countries (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 191). Lenin said in so many words: 'Shovel in the good from abroad' (*Complete Works*, in Russian, Vol. 36, p. 550).

Several speakers also pointed out that, besides immediate economic benefits, cooperation with capitalist countries also increases the socialist states' participation and share in the world economy, thereby enhancing their impact on social processes. Kudrov and Mitra noted that countries in the national-liberation zone suffer substantial economic losses because of the imperialist powers' dominant positions in world trade evolved over many decades. The socialist countries' share remains very small (slightly more than nine per cent), in total contradiction with their share of the world economy as a whole, and of industrial output, in particular.

The prospects and tasks in this sphere were examined by *A. Czepurko*, department head at the Foreign Trade Institute (Poland). As he saw it, the expansion of even such a classical and simple form of cooperation as trade could substantially enhance the role of socialism in world affairs. But first some important problems had to be resolved, notably, that the socialist countries' exports more closely reflect their industrial development. There is, for example, a glaring disparity between the share of machinery and equipment in exports from the socialist countries to the capitalist countries of the West, and vice versa: in 1960, it favored the latter by a factor of 6.2, and in 1970, almost fourfold. Although the gap has narrowed substantially, it still remains wide. Obviously, this is an unjustifiable restriction in East-West trade. Czepurko held that the opportunities for a dynamic expansion of trade between the countries of the two systems would in future be increasingly determined not by current conjunctural transactions, but by firm and stable ties, as confirmed by the experience of contracts signed by socialist countries with France, Austria, Finland and other countries.

It was specifically emphasized at the conference that cooperation of states with opposite social systems should not be judged by economic criteria alone. All aspects were important, including the political and social. Rumyantsev pointed out that cooperation was a prime struc-

tural element of international détente. Therein lay its great positive political significance. Its impact on social life and class relations in the countries involved was basically different in socialist and capitalist societies. It is right to conclude that it strengthens socialism by helping to consolidate its economic foundations. On the other hand, the changing international situation, which includes greater cooperation, creates new conditions that deepen the internal contradictions of capitalism.

The general consensus was that in the long term cooperation between states belonging to the opposing social systems helps strengthen the positions of world socialism, even though current economic results are of necessity determined by the principles of mutual benefit.

In the light of this conclusion, a number of speakers challenged revisionist and other ideas hostile to Marxism-Leninism which distorted the class content and prospects of the competition and cooperation of states with different social systems. Gerns noted that in the FRG, Maoist, Trotskyite and other leftist ultra-revolutionaries denounce economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries as 'class betrayal' and rejection of 'revolutionary struggle.' At the other pole, Strauss and the ultra-right cold-warriors see the policy of peaceful coexistence as 'Western surrender to the Soviet Union.' The ultra-leftists, branding peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and cooperation as revisionism, only show how remote they are from the basic interests of the working class and the vital tasks of the labor movement. For it is primarily the workers who have to foot the arms bill, die in wars, lose their health and endure want and deprivation. The struggle for peace has always been a part of the working-class movement, and from the day socialism came into existence it has been a prime principle of proletarian foreign policy, which has consistently sought to transfer the world struggle between the two systems into the non-military sphere of economic competition. Incidentally, the ultra-right oppose greater economic cooperation on the grounds that it helps the socialist countries overcome a 'crisis.' But, it may be asked, in which of the two systems has the word 'crisis' become a household word? Where are the real crises of today: economic, financial, energy, education, health, morals? Not in the socialist countries, but in the capitalist, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

There is absolutely nothing to ultra-leftist claims that greater economic cooperation with socialist countries weakens the revolutionary struggle in capitalist states because it allegedly helps overcome capitalism's inherent evils. This line of argument is indicative of a total lack of understanding of the contradictions and laws of capitalism.

We Marxist-Leninists have never accepted the formula, 'The worse the better: the worse for the working class, the better for the cause of the revolution.' Communists favor winning every possible benefit for the masses under capitalism. That is why the Communists of the FRG are for expanding relations with the crisis-free economy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These relations will not rid capitalism of its ills, but in certain spheres they can create more favorable conditions for the proletariat's struggle for jobs and a better life.

R. Padilla, Political Commission member and CC Secretary, Communist Party of Honduras, noted that in Central America Marxist-Leninists have had to sharply step up their ideological and political struggle with ultra-leftist trends seeking to represent world politics as something final, as ossified at a point suitable to the most rabid anti-Communist, imperialist circles and advocates of repression, political intolerance and cold war. From the theoretical and political standpoint, it is extremely important to reveal the meaning of cooperation between countries of the two opposing systems as a form of struggle, not class reconciliation.

The appearance of numerous fallacious and openly hostile interpretations of the essence of cooperation between countries with different social systems, participants in the discussion stressed, is an added reminder that the development of peaceful forms of confrontation between the two systems does not take the heat out of the ideological struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism.

Prospects of competition

A consensus was achieved at the conference that an analysis of the factors determining the basic trends of development in the socialist and capitalist economies is essential in assessing the prospects of the competition between the two systems.

Rumyantsev, Mileikovsky, Nagy, Roubal, Georgiev, Czepurko and Nedelea noted that over the last few years the socialist countries had been taking active measures to improve economic management, raise efficiency, reduce production costs, effectively use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, and expand economic democracy.

All these questions of raising economic effectiveness are of prime concern to the fraternal parties heading socialist and communist construction.

Rumyantsev: Our Party's activity in this sphere is guided by L.I. Brezhnev's statement at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that the Soviet Union had 'embarked on

a course of building up the most advanced national economy in the world both for economic efficiency and for its scientific and technological level.'

Roubal: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is working to substantially speed up the scientific and technological development of the economy.

Georgiev: A national conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1974 was devoted to labor productivity as a key factor in building socialist society and decisive for the full victory of socialism in the competition with capitalism.

The main, determining feature of the present stage in the development of socialist economy, it was pointed out, was steady growth of output coupled with a qualitative improvement of the whole economic process and more effective utilization of the resources latent in the socialist socio-economic system. At the same time, it was noted that the relative importance of different tasks arising in this general process may differ depending on the economic level actually achieved by a given socialist country. This was emphasized, in particular, by Mongolian economist *L. Gurzhav*, D.Sc., who pointed out that the problem of optimizing economic structures and production processes was as relevant to Mongolia as to other socialist countries. It is approached, however, with due consideration for the fact that, for example, the predominant branch of the national economy is agriculture, within which livestock accounts for 80 per cent of the gross output. Hence one of the prime tasks is steadily raising its productivity.

Socialism's world prestige, said Professor *A. Puiu* of the Rumanian Academy of Economic Sciences, depends directly on the extent to which each socialist state assures steady progress, especially in the economy, on its use of its own manpower and material reasources, on its ability to master the achievements of modern science and technology. At the same time, he said, it should be borne in mind that the economies of different countries, including socialist, have many specific features of their own. That is why the problems of the competition between the two systems, or more specifically, the forms in which they manifest themselves, are not the same for such industrially developed socialist countries as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or the GDR and such less developed countries as the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

A number of speakers suggested that there was a direct link between ensuring optimum economic structures and better qualitative indices of economic development in each socialist country and the expansion and perfection of cooperation among them. This stems from the tremendous advantages of the international socialist division

of labor for economic effectiveness. The participants in the discussion were in agreement with the positions formulated in the paper of the Academic Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences: 'One of the main advantages of the socialist international division of labor over capitalist is the planned way it is carried out ....

'The last few years have seen a substantial improvement in the forms of cooperation between CMEA member-states, with better planning, integrated solution of economic problems and more effective cooperation. It offers the CMEA countries the opportunity of applying international cost criteria in determining the effectiveness of individual national economic programs, creates conditions for the gradual evolution of the most rational economic structures, and makes it possible to specify commodity output for the purpose of ensuring economically effective mass production of specific items. A similar situation is also emerging in the sphere of scientific and technological research and development.

'All this assures the most rational utilization of the material and manpower resources of individual countries and the socialist community as a whole.'

It was noted in the debate that one of the main advantages of the international division of labor and integration processes in the framework of socialism was the resultant trend of narrowing the differences in the economic development of individual countries. Speaking at length on this, Gurzhav showed that in large measure Mongolia owed its rapid economic progress to its participation in the fraternal cooperation of the CMEA countries, the great economic assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the consistent implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration. At the same time, he stressed, the narrowing of the gaps between different national economies in no way implied that they were becoming structurally more alike. Narrowing the gap in terms of economic indicators meant that equally efficient economic structures were being established in each country, though the structures themselves may differ. Puiu noted the significance of the work carried out by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in evening out the levels of economic development. As Comrade Ceausescu has stressed, Puiu said, our Party appreciates particularly the CMEA, an organization of equal cooperation to ensure a more rapid advance of all countries belonging to it, and hence of Rumania too.

V. Butashkov, consultant of the International Department of the CC of the Bulgarian CP, suggested that the participants sum up briefly the latest trends and developments in socialist economy which may in future have the greatest impact on the course of the competition with capitalism. The speakers had emphasized the prime significance of

economic intensification processes on the basis of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, as well as of the processes of socialist economic integration. It was noted that factors beyond the boundaries of the socialist system also influenced the competition and the successes of socialism.

Obviously, said *B. Ladygin*, consultant of a department of the CC CPSU, success in the peaceful competition of the two systems is determined by a wide range of interrelated factors. In essence they are factors that determine the correlation of world forces. Socialism's efforts are directly dependent on the mobilization of the internal resources of individual socialist states as well as on the level of their cooperation and cohesion. In present-day conditions the one is virtually inseparable from the other. But besides the factors associated with the strengthening of socialism there are those that stem from the weakening of capitalism.

The changing situation in the capitalist world was discussed by *John Purton*, member of the Economic Commission of the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He pointed out the need to take into account the impact of the general crisis of world capitalism on economic competition and cooperation and defined the specific conditions that had formed since the war and made for a temporary stable growth of the capitalist economy. The development of a larger and more powerful socialist sector, the rapid spread and success of movements of liberation and the growth in the organized strength of the working class in capitalist countries: all these, Purton said, were challenges which monopoly capitalist states sought to deal with by maintaining through economic intervention a fast pace of economic growth and Keynesian methods of demand management. This policy partially suppressed the tendency to depression during the economic cycle and helped to create a series of economic booms. At present, however, the situation is changing rapidly. The inflation and the characteristic unevenness of development of monopoly capitalism have disrupted the stability of the capitalist system. The further deepening of the crisis would lead to the sharpening of all the contradictions in the capitalist sector: those between the various individual monopoly capitalist states and groups of states, those between advanced capitalist states and developing countries, those between the capitalists and the working class.

The inevitability of crisis phenomena in the capitalist world was re-emphasized by *H. Kloster*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, who cited his country's example to show how economic growth under capitalism is accompanied by

mounting class conflicts and efforts to shift the burden of all economic difficulties to the shoulders of the working people.

A. Haba spoke of the effect of the scientific and technological revolution on the capitalist economy: could it be said, he asked, that the scientific and technological revolution, the achievements of which are widely used in capitalist economies, especially the United States, has given capitalism added impetus for accelerated economic growth. And how in general do the obvious achievements of science, engineering and technology in contemporary bourgeois society square with the tendency towards decay and restraints on the growth of the productive forces bred by imperialism? The view that emerged from the discussion of these questions was that the impact of the scientific and technolgoical revolution on capitalism should, firstly, be viewed in the long-term perspective, and secondly, taking into consideration not only its immediate influence on the productive forces, but its social consequences as well. Even if the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution may accelerate capitalist economic development at some stage (which is inevitably linked with the renovation of fixed assets), said Professor *D. Szanto* (Hungary), this does not do away with the fundamental contradictions of capitalism; on the contrary, it aggravates them, opening the road to new deep crises, recessions, freezing of production capacities and mass unemployment. In fact, the present accumulation of acute crisis phenomena could to some extent be seen as an economic and social consequence of the scientific and technological revolution, as a consequence of capitalism's inability to turn its achievements into a tool of stable progress. Economic recession and mass unemployment are both a social evil and a direct squandering of production resources, not simply a slowing down of their growth. The depth of such crisis phenomena is clear testimony of the historic trends in a decaying social system.

What this means for the prospects of the competition between the two systems is that while one should not underestimate further possible technico-economic achievements of capitalism, it can safely be said that they will inevitably be accompanied by social upheavals and that the capitalist economy will be unable to achieve long-term stable progress.

In assessing the prospects of the competition between the two systems, said Meleikovsky, it is of course also necessary to take into account the fundamental laws that determine the development of the world revolutionary process and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The events of the last few years irrefutably testify to the weakening world political and economic positions of imperialism, and of its inability to resolve the outstanding problems of bourgeois socie-

ty. This is the objective aspect of the matter. But one must not overlook the growing role of the subjective factor. We are witnessing a qualitatively new phenomenon, namely, that in the conditions of détente the class struggle in developed capitalist countries has achieved unprecedented intensity and scored major successes. The working class is dealing powerful blows at the system of state-monopoly capitalism. Civil servants are using proletarian forms of class struggle. Broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle strata are joining the class struggle. Many fraternal parties note that favorable conditions are developing that will enable the Communists to lead the majority of the nation.

The gains of socialism in the competition between the two systems benefit the world revolutionary process. Furthermore, the increasing class activity of the workers of capitalist countries, their key role in uniting anti-monopoly forces and the fact that national-liberation revolutions tend to develop into social revolutions all help socialism in its competition with capitalism. This idea ran through many contributions, which stressed thereby that the intensifying struggle of the international working class and the mounting national-liberation movement should be classed among the most important factors determining the trend and prospects of the competition between the two systems.

There is no way of solving the basic contradictions of monopoly capitalism withing the system itself, said J. Purton. However, the working class can achieve much by fighting for a democratically controlled economy planned on the national level and for a reconstruction of the whole network of international economic relations. This would add greatly to the content of economic cooperation between countries of the two opposed systems. It would make their competition more fruitful for socialism, and for the working people in countries where gains may be achieved. To be sure, reactionaries will fiercely resist all popular action likely to afford new opportunities for the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism..

The peoples of developing countries have a stake in socialism competing successfully with capitalism, said *J. Safari*, alternate member, CC Executive Bureau, People's Party of Iran. Success in this competition helps socialism to increase the economic potential of the socialist community and consolidate the material base of its cooperation with developing countries. Coupled with a corresponding decline in the influence of imperialism, this provides peoples with more opportunities to fight for economic independence, as the gains scored by the oil-producing countries against the powerful oil monopolies show. More and more developing countries are adopting an independent foreign and home policy in trying to end imperialist

domination, which means that they, too, seriously undermine the positions of capitalism in the competition between the two systems. With socialism and capitalism competing peacefully, it is becoming possible to bring about a new system of international economic relations safeguarding the new states' legitimate rights and meeting their needs.

The competition between the two systems has a strong impact on the international situation, said *L. Padilla*, CC member, CP Bolivia. What are its effects on Latin American politics? Does it foster the revolutionary movement on the continent? Analyzing the situation in various countries and on the continent as a whole, L. Padilla came to the conclusion that world political détente and the development of peaceful forms of struggle between the two systems have created a climate in which imperialist supremacy in Latin America is no longer absolute and there are opportunities for the popular and working-class movement to cast off imperialist tyranny, win national independence and pave the way for socialism.

P. Vasquez, Political Commission member, CC Paraguayan CP, pointed to the close though not direct connection between the situation in his country and changes on the world scene. He believes that the growing importance of peaceful competition puts the Stroessner neo-fascist dictatorship in a most difficult and complicated position, reducing its already narrow social base while extending the base of the national anti-dictatorial front. It also tends to increase the international isolation of the dictatorial regime, which persists in rejecting elementary principles of détente and is censured even by its own master, U.S. imperialism.

S. Mitra, A. Haba, M. Dias and *H. Safari* stressed that the developing countries' effort to end their economic lag logically finds itself closely linked with the competition between the two systems. The new national states are in urgent need of funds and technological aid from both imperialist and socialist countries. Economic and technological cooperation with countries of the socialist community provide developing countries with substantial advantages compared with what they obtain from developed capitalist countries. This applies to the principles of third world countries' economic relations rather than the amount of credits.

Imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, bases its relations with developing countries on hegemonic principles, said *M. Dias*. The U.S. considers that a strong country has a natural right to control other countries. It tries to use this 'right' everywhere, including Latin America, where the situation today is characterized by an expanding revolutionary process and by growing unity of the forces committed

to it and, on the other hand, by desperate U.S. imperialist attempts to hold up revolutionary change.

The main purpose of the credits and loans granted by imperialist countries and international monetary organizations, said *S. Mitra*, is to set up an infrastructure facilitating the activity of foreign capitalists and to provide the monopolies with a market. The socialist community's policy towards developing countries is, in effect, the antithesis of that of world capitalism. It is based on the principle of mutual benefit and contributes to the struggle for independence.

Socialist countries offer developing countries a genuine long-term alliance of equals in a common fight against imperialism, said *F. Malaya*, CC member, CP Philippines. They build up their diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with developing countires and help them to speed economic progress unshackled by monopoly control. They concentrate their aid on promoting the state sector, especially in socialist-orientated countries, and build plants to produce items which these countries can put out at a profit, paying the credits they have obtained with products of these plants. As for countries which still prefer or are compelled to remain in the orbit of imperialist 'protectors,' socialist countries seek normal trade relations with them and help them to extend their import opportunities and export markets, which, in turn, reduces these countries' dependence on imperialism.

In the area of the national-liberation movement, anti-capitalist trends are on the rise, with the masses protesting ever more strongly against the imperialist policy of plunder and capitalist social relations. Increasingly large national forces searching for ways of further progress demand a restructuring of the economy and social institutions on non-capitalist lines, with socialism as the ultimate goal. The example and experience of socialist countries, said *S. Mitra*, are winning more and more people for socialism in developing countries. Success in winning over the masses hinges largely on the active participation by all socialist countries in the fight against neo-colonialism, for the interests of developing countries.

Communist and revolutionary progressive parties play a key role in the third world countries' choice of road, *A. Haba* stressed. Another key factor is the alignment of national and international forces. Political, economic and moral support from socialist countries is particularly important.

Summing up the significance of social and political processes in developing countries, many speakers noted their active part in the worldwide contest between capitalism and socialism. The national-liberation movement strikes imperialism more and more telling blows.

And as national revolutions develop and acquire social content, the socialist-orientated forces become stronger.

Choice of criteria

The competition of the two systems, the most important process of our time, should be analyzed and assessed from class positions. This was the starting point in discussing methodological problems of assessing changes in the world balance of forces.

In assessing the more general trends of economic competition, it is undoubtedly advisable, participants noted, to use certain summary quantitative indices. Data on the comparative growth rates of the socialist economy and its capitalist counterpart is one such indicator. Reference was made to UN statistics showing that in 1958-73 the European CMEA countries' manufacturing industries increased output by 280 per cent against 150 per cent in developed capitalist countries (120 per cent in the case of Common Market members). In heavy industry the percentages were 390 and 180, respectively. Socialism showed similar advantages in farm output. The index of per capita food production in 1971 (1963=100) rose to 129 in CMEA countries against 114 in Western Europe, 111 in North America and still less elsewhere.

Participants criticized the bourgeois economic concept which sees the main reason for the higher economic growth rate of socialist countries in their relatively low initial level of economic development. This contention is manifestly disproved by the fact that under socialism a steadily high rate is typical of countries which inherited a backward agrarian economy, as well as those which inherited a relatively advanced industry.

Besides, *W. Gerns* said, imperialist ideologists forget all about differences in initial levels when it suits their ends. In West Germany, for example, bourgeois propaganda tries to minimize the economic progress of the German socialist state by ignoring, say, the fact that of the 128 blast furnaces of the former German Reich, only four were in what is now the GDR or that West Germany manufactured 95 per cent of the casting machines and 93 per cent of the blast-furnace, rolling and mining plant.

At the same time, *K. Roubal, R. Kowalski*, D. Sc., (GDR), and other said, overall, purely quantitative indices are no longer adequate for a deep analysis of the competition between the two systems. There are two basic reasons for their inadequacy and, sometimes, inconsistency. First, today's economy necessitates increasingly detailed qualitative and not 'overall' evaluation. Second and more important, summary statistics are generally in the nature of averages and

hence often conceal the social character of phenomena, especially phenomena affecting an antagonistic society.

The high level attained by the socialist economy reduces the relative value of 'overall' indices, but at the same time it necessitates much greater use than before of economic statistical criteria to evaluate the social effect of production. Labor productivity indices are, needless to say, particularly important.* This applies to a factor, which to use Lenin's expression, is in the long run decisive for the complete victory of the new social system.

In making a strictly scientific comparative analysis of the economic growth of the two systems, it is essential to take account of many components, said *R. Kowalski*. Bourgeois economists usually put per capita income first and use this as an apologia for the capitalist system, portrayed as an 'affluent society.' Yet under capitalism 'average income' is admittedly a screen concealing the incomes gap between the capitalists and the working people.

V. Venetsanopoulos, member CC, CP Greece, and *L. Georgiev* compared the development of Balkan countries belonging to different social systems first of all in the light of the primacy of qualitative criteria. The rate of economic growth is high in both Bulgaria and Greece. In Bulgaria, per capita income is 20 per cent higher than in Greece. The overall economic indices of Bulgaria are above those of its southern neighbor, although in some traditional industries Greece is ahead. And what about the social, qualitative aspect of competition? In Greece the rich, or five per cent of the population, appropriate 22 per cent of the national income, or as much as goes to 55 per cent of Greeks belonging to the working sections of the population. There luxury exists along with poverty as everywhere else in the capitalist world. Yet that country is considered a Balkan showcase of capitalist affluence. It goes without saying that socialist Bulgaria knows no such contrasts.

Neither quantitative, nor qualitative indices of economic growth, while important in themselves, *R. Kowalski* said, give a complete and historically authentic picture of the situation in economic competition. The amount and quality of output should be viewed in terms of how far they meet the material and cultural requirements of society. Marxist-Leninist political economy examines the progress of competition from the standpoint of the dialectical unity of the level and growth rate of the productive forces, on the one hand, and the nature and objectives of production, on the other. Capitalism is dominated

*UN data cited at the conference showed that from the mid-50s to the early 70s, labor productivity in industrially developed CMEA countries grew roughly 1.4 times as fast as in developed capitalist countries.

by the law of surplus value. As for the socialist mode of production, its purpose is to develop the productive forces of society to meet the people's material and cultural requirements. Evolving precise economic criteria and indicators of this social and political goal make for a fuller appreciation of the nature and advantages of socialism.

K. Roubal, however, questioned the possibility of evolving criteria and indices that could be applied without qualification and, moreover, as *precise* criteria. He said that in speaking of the criteria of competition between the two opposite systems, it is important to remember that usually it is, in fact, a question of comparing incomparable things, even in the case of purely technical elements, for the social effects of their functioning are entirely different under socialism and capitalism. Comparisons will be warranted only if these class distinctions are taken into account and if every quantitative index is supplemented with social ones. Only criteria and methods of comparison with a class content can be regarded as genuinely scientific.

The exchange of opinion led to the conclusion that while the main sphere of competition between the two systems is economic, the struggle goes actually far beyond purely economic activity to include social relations and the spiritual life of society. Economic competition is gaining in scope, becoming also a competition between two ways of life.

The point was made that economic competition cannot be confined to the production sphere; consumption, and problems relating to it, play an increasingly prominent part. In this context it was noted that the socialist countries can now tackle the cardinal problems of higher prosperity standards. And they are doing that: at their congresses in recent years the fraternal Parties of socialist-community countries set higher material standards.

There was a consensus that the interaction of production, consumption and the way of life is of a complex, dialectical nature. But neither production nor consumption can be regarded as an aim in itself, as an independent value-element of socialist society, though the Party and the state must work to increase both. Since the supreme aim of communism is full scope for the physical and spiritual abilities of the individual, production and consumption should be seen as subordinate to the way of life.

The German Communist Party Commision on Theory and Marxist Education has defined 'way of life' as the sum-total of political, economic, social, cultural, ethico-moral and psychological conditions of life and work. This is a much wider concept than 'living standard,' particularly in its bourgeois interpretation, which reduces everything to the level of consumption, that is, equates life with consumption.

Marxist-Leninists have never, of course, underestimated the impor-

tance of higher living standards. In the socialist countries, personal and public consumption are increasing from year to year as a result of increasing production. The way of life here includes such factors as freedom from social upheavals, even though production and consumption levels are, so far, lower than in one or another developed capitalist country.

Besides material security, the 'way of life' includes the opportunities for man's self-expression both as an individual and a social being, the right and opportunity to engage in useful, satisfying work, the right to education, recreation and health protection – the right, in short, to be an equal and respected member of society with a share in shaping its future.

An important qualitative factor in assessing a way of life, *H. Swoboda* said, is work and its social significance. Socialism regards work as the decisive criterion of a person's share in the wealth of the community. There are no classes or strata in socialist society that appropriate the results of the labor of others. A person's share in the wealth of the community is determined solely by his abilities and labor effort. Socialism is steadily obliterating the differences in the way of life between urban and rural communities, between manual and non-manual labor, between men and women.

Socialism teaches people to understand that their personal well-being is inseparable from the well-being of society. Life under socialism is permeated with the spirit of collectivism, humanism and internationalism fused into one. Socialism has eliminated the factual inequality of nations and ethnic groups and has brought closer their economic, political and cultural levels. Generations have grown up that have never experienced crises, or unemployment or inflation – men and women for whom such things as dosshouses and labor exchanges have no meaning.

Democracy is an essential element of socialism, *V. Butashkov* said. It assures the worker real and effective rights, and above all the right to work, education, social maintenance, free medical care. These are all guaranteed by law. Socialist democracy means all-round concern for man. As socialist democracy develops and as its advantages stand out more saliently, *M. Nedelea* emphasized, it exerts a greater attractive power on the struggle workers in the capitalist countries are waging for democratic rights and freedoms.

In the view of *K. Roubal* it is already necessary to work out an integral conception of the future socialist way of life in order to make the appropriate changes in our economic plans. In this context such problems as the greater amount of leisure time and its rational use to bring out all the constructive abilities of the individual and raise the

general cultural potential of society deserve more thorough investigation and should be taken into account in our economic planning.

Speakers *W. Gerns, H. Swoboda, V. Kudrov* and others noted in their contributions that the way of life cultivated under capitalism is meant to keep the worker tied to capitalist production. And this way of life is formed against the background of periodic crises, unemployment and inflation, in an atmosphere that instils in the worker a gnawing and oppressive feeling of fear of the future, a feeling of impotence and helplessness in face of economic powers beyond his control. Nor is this feeling removed by higher wages, or by appeals to see oneself as a free citizen, as an individual, as part of the state.

What money can compensate for the feeling, induced by capitalism, of alienation and disappointment in being denied any share in the affairs of society? What money can compensate for the humiliation that is part of the exploitive atmosphere, for racism and political and economic inequality? In the Common Market countries 10 per cent, the lowest income groups, account for only one per cent of national income, whereas another 10 per cent, in the higher income groups, account for 30 per cent. And this in the richest countries of the capitalist world. One is reminded of the saying attributed to Aristotle that poverty stands out in ugliest form against the background of wealth.

Sometimes a damning indictment of the capitalist way of life comes from a representative of the ruling class. One example was cited by *H. Swoboda:* Herr Bischoff, director of the Badische Werke in Ludwigshafen, Federal Germany, has given the world this piece of wisdom: 'The factory needs man not as such, but as a function. Man per se is nothing to the factory. What he can do is everything. Whole professions are being eliminated and men with certain skills are becoming redundant (unless they can be employed on some other job). And since they are part of a whole, they can be replaced easily by other spare parts. But spare parts must always be at hand, properly labelled, stocked and catalogued, each with its own number. The number is important: when men are numbered they can be used as spare parts. But once numbered, man himself becomes a number.' Man as a simple number – such is the bitter reality of capitalism.

When the truth of the socialist way of life reaches the masses in capitalist countries, this helps to bring them into the anti-imperialist struggle, raises the prestige of socialism and makes people feel its advantages and attractive power.

In the FRG, G. Swoboda said, workers, peasants and intellectuals naturally compare their life with that in the GDR. And they see that political power of the working class in alliance with other working people, socialist production relations. Soviet assistance and socialist

economic integration have enabled the GDR to spare its people the effects of crises, inflation, unemployment, short-time working, high rents, poor education facilities, mounting crime – everything that is part and parcel of life in the Federal Republic.

The situation in the GDR is expressive of the superiority of socialism also in catering to the workers' material and cultural requirements: 10-year polytechnical schools, more kindergarten and day nursery accommodation, and at one-quarter the charges in the FRG, holiday homes run by the trade union, lower accident rates in industry and fewer occupational diseases, receding crime. These are all irrefuatable facts, and all of them are evidence of incontestable superiority compared with the FRG.

Precisely because capitalism is continuously losing ground in its competition with socialism in such an area as the way of life, bourgeois ideologists have turned their attention to the social and cultural climate, and bourgeois propaganda, *W. Gerns* remarked, has acquired a new term, 'quality of life.'

Its theoreticians are looking for something to replace the discredited 'consumer society' concept. Now the accent is on 'enriching our life beyond the realm of material consumption' (the formula used by the Social-Democrats in the 1972 election). The purpose is to sidetrack attention from the workers' vital economic needs – wage demands are of minor importance compared to the 'quality of life.'

Now as in the past, W. Gerns said, we Communists maintain that betterment of the workers' conditions – better food, clothing, housing – better schools for the children and more leisure time, depend primarily on the level of real wages. Accordingly, we urge the working class to repel all attempts to counterpose the 'quality of life' to higher wages. This is a Big Business ploy to divert the workers from pressing their just demands.

The Communists assess the 'quality of life' concept from two aspects. First, we show the workers, and especially the youth, its underlying purpose, what the capitalists hope to gain by popularizing it. Second, we support any movement aimed at improving the conditions of the working people. We must inject an element of understanding into every such movement, in other words, disclose the reasons for the shortcomings, and the objective potentialities of the capitalist system, explain why fundamental solutions in the interests of the working people are possible only through struggle against the power of capital, for anti-monoply democracy, for socialism.

The experience of the socialist countries, H. Swoboda remarked, shows that a new quality of life can be achieved only through revolutionary transformation of property and political relations.

There was general agreement that comparison of the ways of life,

analysis of the determinative features, are acquiring increasing importance in assessing the competition of the two systems. They also give us a fuller picture of the social and class aspects and prospects of the competition.

The dialiectics of struggle, competition and cooperation

Reviewing the viewpoints expressed in the debate, *K.I. Zarodov*, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, alternate member of the CC CPSU, said in summing up:

The first important conclusion to be drawn from our discussions is that they have confirmed the correctness of Lenin's definition of the role and place in history of the competition of the two systems. This definition is set out also in policy statements of fraternal Parties and of the international Communist movement. In this context, I should like to draw attention to the following.

First, competition of the two systems is a development law of our era. It takes place independent of the will and wishes of people and is an objective form of peaceful coexistence and struggle of states with different social structures. Peaceful coexistence enables socialism more fully to reveal its advantages, for peace accelerates the building of the new society and facilitates the revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries and the worldwide process of transition from capitalism to socialism. Having become a material force of worldwide significance, socialism transforms the world not, of course, by 'exporting' revolution, but by its achievements in the economic, cultural, scientfic and technological fields, by its socialist democracy, by its success in building a community of free nations – in short, by the immense attractive power of its example.

The struggle and competition of the two social systems is a powerful accelerator of the march of history. As Lenin foresaw, the world is increasingly shaped by the struggle and competition of 'two formations, two economies, the communist and the capitalist.'

Competition and cooperation of the two systems, K.I. Zarodov stressed, is not a new theoretical problem. It was analyzed by Lenin. We need only recall his remarks that we must either coexist with capitalism on earth or fly to the moon, that we are prepared to cooperate with capitalist countries. All that is so. But as I understand it, in posing the question of competition and cooperation, Lenin and present-day Marxist-Leninists have never even hinted at class cooperation, cooperation between the capitalist and socialist systems. The discussion has always been of cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries, between peoples, nations. This is an important aspect of the dialectics of the world class confrontation.

Cooperation of countries, possibly groups of countries, but competition of the two systems. That is one aspect.

The other is that, in discussing competition and cooperation it would be wrong to put the accent on one element of this dialectical unity, for instance, to emphasize cooperation and belittle the fight to bring nearer victory over capitalism. This would be contrary to the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism, our aims, and would tend to inhibit the revolutionary intitiative of the working class and its parties. That is the only way we understand the dialectics of competition and cooperation of the two systems.

The conference is in full agreement (Zarodov continued) that socialism has the advantage in all areas of the two-system competition and cooperation. But though adding greatly to the strength of socialism, these advantages do not of themselves, automatically, resolve the outcome of the competition, all the more so since capitalism, too, tries to get the most out of competition and cooperation. The outcome depends in large measure on the subjective factor, on the ability of the Communists, the working class, the working people, to utilize the situation to make the change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism irreversible, give it greater momentum and achieve convincing superiority over capitalism in every field without exception. How best to utilize a situation in which the initiative is held by socialism, with the technological revolution 'working' for socialism and with all the contradictions of capitalism being aggravated – how best to utilize all this to assure the triumph of socialism in the two-system competition? That is a complex question. Several speakers noted that it has many aspects. I should like to dwell on two.

First, when we speak of competition (as distinct from cooperation) we are dealing with two systems. Hence the question of competition between individual countries – and there is such a question – is not the predominant one. The competition is between two systems, and building up the strength of the socialist community (economic, political, military) by concentrating on international tasks (sometimes, for tactical reasons and for a certain time, to the detriment of national tasks, but always with full respect for equality, sovereignty and non-interference) is a law of life for every fraternal party in the socialist countries.

The second aspect: the factors that hasten the victory of socialism in the competition with capitalism – closer unity of the main currents of the world revolutionary process. In this respect the key element is closer international solidarity between the socialist countries and all contingents of the workers' and Communist movement, all the forces battling for national liberation and social progress, for democracy and peace – in short, solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces

that are undermining and weakening capitalism. Of course, world socialism is competing with developed capitalism, but we should not, I think, belittle the role of the international working class and the national-liberation movement.

In connection with the discussion of scientific criteria of the two-system competition, Zarodov posed this question: Can we formulate an integral, concentrated indicator to assess the course of the competition, the achievements of socialism and its superiority in all fields of endeavor? Marxism-Leninism permits of such an indicator: *development of the human personality*. It enables us to measure to what degree the material and technical, social and economic, political and other conditions best serve the free and comprehensive development of man's creative potentialities and talents. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the character of productive forces and production relations finds expression in the development of the human personality.

We thus have a group of indicators to measure the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism. These indicators are constant throughout the competition, but there is another group of variable indicators that change with the advance to every new stage of the world's economic and technical progress.

In this age of the scientific and technological revolution and with all economic processes proceeding at a faster pace, more importance attaches to indicators in such fields as research and experimentation, the use of science in production, occupational training, etc.

In dealing with the present stage of the competition, we must also reflect on its prospects and, in this connection, on the indicators which will probably predominate in the future.

There was much discussion here about the two ways of life. The time is coming when living standards in the socialist countries will catch up with and surpass those of highly developed capitalist countries. The socialist community is advancing to that goal, and that is gratifying, for Marxist-Leninists reject the nihilistic attitude to man's material requirements and the fanatical asceticism some 'revolutionaries' would elevate to a virtue. But higher prosperity standards pose the important problem of shaping a socialist way of life in which higher consumption is not an aim in itself, in which there is no consumerism.

The indicator will thus be not *how much* is consumed but rather the *spiritual quality*, so to say, of consumption.

The time is relatively near, as some comrades have pointed out, when the question will arise of how best to use free time to promote harmonious development of the personality. But both the volume of goods and services and the amount of free time depend on the level of

labor productivity, and we must already lay the foundation for a very high level. That is why the socialist countries attach so much importance to automation (and subsequent cybernetization) of production processes, mastery of new energy sources, wider use of chemicals, the shift from macro to micro technology and making science the universal and leading productive force. 'It is no exaggeration to say,' Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has remarked, 'that precisely in this area, in the sphere of scientific and technical progress, we have one of the main fronts in the historic competition of the two systems.' That accords with the long-term, strategic aims of socialism.

In the struggle and competition of the two world systems (K.I. Zarodov said in concluding his remarks) we have the concentrated expression of the principal contradiction of our era, between socialism and imperialism. At one pole there is the world of socialism, gaining in strength with every passing year and representing the continuous development of the new socio-economic formation. It includes a system of states and has a practically unlimited historical perspective. At the other pole is capitalism, economically and technically developed, but passing through its last, monopoly stage and its general crisis, though still holding influential positions in the world and capable of offering relatively strong resistance to the new social system. We Communists do not doubt the outcome of this struggle. It may be a complicated and hard struggle, but we know with true scientific certainty that the future belongs to socialism and communism.

'Zero growth': ideology and politics

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Technocratic models and practice

At a press conference in April 1972, Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, revealed the plans behind the semi-secret memorandum of Mansholt, then Chairman of the Common Market Commission. This was the gist of his memorandum:

capitalist governments can no longer 'assure stable expansion of the economy,' there are 'all the elements of a new crisis,' and the biggest danger of all is overpopulation and overconsumption; the only way out is through a rigorous Malthusian policy aimed at 'ecological equilibrium,' with production growth at zero level and consumption substantially reduced. The whole scheme was to be brought to reality by the European Community.

The Mansholt memorandum was based on research conducted at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the consequences of exponential growth* of population, industrial output, food and raw materials consumption, and ecological pollution. The exponential models designed by American researchers suggest that expanding energy consumption, coupled with ecological pollution, might precipitate a sudden crisis. One of their leading theorists, Meadows, maintains that, 'under the assumption of no major change in the present system, population and industrial growth will certainly stop within the next century,'* and mankind will find itself on the verge of catastrophe by the year 2100. How to prevent that? By changing the system of demographic and industrial growth, Meadows says, and stopping or at least regulating the growth of consumption.

These and similar models and hypotheses of U.S. origin became the subject of heated controversy. Many economists argued, rightly, against equating the mathematical regularities of exponential growth with the real dynamics of increasing production, population and consumption of natural resources. Besides, much of the reasoning depended on 'slanted' statistical data, disregarded social and political conditions, etc. Others pointed to the vast reserves of raw materials and the new vistas opened by science and technology.**

Leaving aside these specialist arguments for and against the Meadows estimates of the world's resources and how long they are likely to last and the suitability of his mathematical methods for appraising production and consumption trends, it has to be said that his conclusions have strongly influenced public opinion in France and other capitalist countries.

The reactionary press widely popularized the MIT findings, using them, in turn, to popularize the Malthusian theories always trotted out to justify the logic of private profit and its exponents, who cannot, nor want to, make economic development serve society and universal

*A stable growth-rate over a fixed period, but with capabilities of generating much higher rates and, conversely, of limiting growth. – *Ed.*

*D. Meadows and others. The Limits to Growth, N.Y., 1972, p. 126.

**See, for instance, The Limits to Growth Controversy. *Futures* Special issue, No. 1-2, 1973; Models of Doom. A Critique of the Limits to Growth. N.Y., 1973.

progress. Even before it was subjected to serious discussion, The Limits to Growth was used to provide ideological justification for political, social and economic measures directed against the vital interests of the working people.

And so, the controversy around the MIT findings and the Mansholt memorandum has gone far beyond the specialist fraternity. With capitalism's economic situation deteriorating, technocratic hypotheses, such as Meadows' 'global model of the world,' have been seized upon and concretized by bourgeois ideologists. More, they have strongly influenced government policy in France and other West European capitalist countries. The French government used them in its campaign to decelerate economic growth and to justify its retrenchment policies. The leftists and utopians have joined the zero growth supporters, but in the name of 'ecological salvation,' a return to nature, an end to the consumer society, etc.

It should thus be clear that the exposure made by our Party was not an electioneering exercise on the eve of the 1972 referendum on expansion of the Common Market. We had to strip the mask from the perpetrators of the crisis and show the way out. And speaking for our Party, Georges Marchais warned the nation: 'We do not want our people again to have to say, a few years from now: "Yes, the Communists were right in 1972 in rejecting the Europe of the monopolies proposed by Messieurs Mansholt and Pompidou".' A grim warning was sounded also by *L'Humanité*. It wrote on April 5, 1972: 'The Europe of the Ten, the plan for which Pompidou is concealing from the French people, will mean an end to economic growth, lower living standards and restriction of national sovereignty.'

Subsequent events fully confirmed the correctness of the Communist Party's warning and its campaign against the Mansholt memorandum. On the pretext of combating the adverse consequences of 'excessive' economic growth and eliminating the extravagance of the 'consumer society,' the government launched an offensive against the workers' living standards through its policy of austerity and other anti-inflation measures, backgrounded by the demagogic election campaign following the death of President Pompidou.

Some of the practical results of this ruinous policy are already evident. The National Statistical and Economic Research Institute says production has considerably slowed down in all industries. Living standards are being depressed. The purchasing power of a provincial family with five children declined 3.5 per cent between April 1973 and April 1974; the decline for a similar Paris family was 4.3 per cent and for a Paris family with two children above the age of three, 3.8 per cent.

There are any number of facts to show that contempt for national

sovereignty, whether in currency matters, agriculture, energy or defense, has reached a stage when we can speak of bartering away France's national interests.

Crisis of monopoly growth

About two years ago, the government promised to double industrial output within the coming eleven years. Giscard d'Estaing, then Minister of Finance, was one of the most zealous advocates of stimulating annual economic growth to at least 6.5 per cent. Today, as President of the Republic, Giscard d'Estaing is against 'uncurbed growth,' which he blames for the present crisis.

Actually, the crisis is due not to increased industrial output, but to government-encouraged monopoly expansion. The monopoly growth policy is not based on an expanding home consumers' market and higher living standards, but on stimulating monopoly investment and expanding exports. To cite one example: the proportion of wage-earner families in France rose from 54.3 to 58.8 per cent between 1965 and 1972, but their share of the national income declined from 62.6 to 61.2 per cent. Monopoly growth is achieved through super-exploitation of the workers, the crushing of all non-monopoly strata, plunder of the developing countries and squandering of the national wealth.

It is this policy, so profitable to the big monopolies, combined with operation of the economic laws of capitalism, that is behind the profound crisis of French society. Things have reached a point where the monopoly-controlled mechanisms have become so unmeshed that it is doubtful whether they can achieve the aims for which they were designed.

The huge accumulation of monopoly capital requires a commensurate accretion of total profits to maintain the norm of profit at a definite level. But the process can't go on forever. The surplus value resulting from exploitation is no longer enough to assure profitability of the entire mass of capital. In other words, the difficulties the monopolies now experience in increasing profitability are caused by their own inherent contradictions. That is why they resort to inflation and price increases to increase profits, depress the purchasing capacity of the working people and rob the small proprietors. For inflation has reached dimensions that have disorganized the international capitalist currency system which, apart from everything else, plays into the hands of the financial speculators.

Export of goods and capital at the expense of home consumption is making the French economy more vulnerable still. That is obvious from the widening disproportions between the various industries and areas. The foreign trade disequilibrium is aggravated by concentrating

trade expansion on the FRG and other EEC countries. Foreign-controlled French firms and those with close foreign ties are directly affected by all the upheavals in the capitalist market, and trade and currency troubles are more acutely felt.

Nor is the situation being improved by government policy on energy (closure of mines), agriculture (ousting the small and middle farmer), industry (ruin of the handicraft industry, bankruptcy of small and medium businesses), urbanization, town planning, education, occupational training, scientific research, etc.

In emphasizing 'moderate growth,' the government did not try, or intend, to revise its previous policy of favoring and supporting monopoly capital. When the Finance Minister blames the present inflation on private investments, he is actually attacking the small and medium entrepreneurs and, in effect, helping big business. That is borne out by the conclusions of a memorandum submitted to President Pompidou shortly before his death.

To reduce the balance of payments deficit, it recommended facilitating French investments abroad, encouraging foreign investments in France and discouraging investment in food, agriculture and other industries the monopolies regard as of lesser importance. The idea, obviously, was to help the big exporters to the detriment of all the others.

The 'moderate growth' advocated by Giscard d'Estaing and inspired by the 'zero growth' theory will, in the final analysis, serve the same interests as the 'uncurbed growth' theory now rejected by the President.

The 19th and 20th Communist Party congresses noted that in the late 60s France and most other leading capitalist countries had entered a new stage of state-monopoly capitalism. These are some of its main distinguishing features:

– intensified industrial and banking concentration on a national and international scale. France's top monopoly groups took final shape in 1966-71, and since then the accent has been on international, rather than French, operations. A large number of international agreements between leading industrial and banking interests were concluded in 1973.

– increasing state interference in the economy – and not only via the budget and the state sector – but mainly through direct support of the private capitalist sector. This has been accompanied by intensive siphoning off of national funds by financing, say, projects that primarily benefit the big monopolies (super highways, seaports, etc.);

– stimulating foreign investments. Over one quarter of sales of French industrial products and over one fifth of total investments are

accounted for by foreign-controlled companies, chiefly American and West German;

– orienting foreign policy on closer links and cooperation with other imperialist powers, notably the FRG and USA, through supranational imperialist integration and coordination of currency and trade policy;

– a social policy designed to 'integrate' the workers in the capitalist system (through bogus participation in management and profits, collective agreements, etc.) and, at the same time, exert pressure on wages and social expenditure on education, research, public health and urban development.

The government is using a good deal of demagogy in carrying to extremes the negative aspects of its predecessor's policy. It uses the pretence of improving economic structures for an all-out onslaught on small and medium businesses (and even on the big ones not yet multinationalized). It favors the multinationals, encourages exports and helps French monopolies strengthen their positions abroad. In short, government activity is geared to the cosmopolitan financial giants.

That policy has meant more hardship for the workers. Exploitation is being stepped up both of French and immigrant workers; there is more unemployment and less job security, deeper cuts into consumption by workers, intermediary supervisory personnel and the middle strata in general; reduction of the peasants' purchasing power, and less money for the social services.

The 21st Party Congress declared in its resolution: 'Giscard d'Estaing's international policy is based on an orientation that jeopardizes French independence and is contrary to the spirit of our times ...' The government is accelerating France's integration into the 'Europe of the Trusts,' is seeking a new rapprochement with the Atlantic bloc, is strengthening the Paris-Bonn Axis, is trying to hold back détente and supports the armaments trade.

But the monopolies are meeting with increasing resistance, and not only from the working people, but also from widening non-monopoly groups in the capitalist countries and from the developing countries, notably the raw material producers fighting for economic independence.

The government and the top monopoly groups are trying to find a way out of the crisis by shoring up the domination of the multinational groups. This policy is only aggravating the contradictions and is at variance with France's national interest.

Neo-Malthusianism in the service of the multinationals

The government cannot deny that there is a profound crisis affecting

all social strata and classes with the exception of the privileged handful of the rich. Nor can it deny that the crisis is spreading to every area of economic and social life. That process can be observed in other capitalist countries too.

The sharpening of the crisis of capitalism, the result of the French presidential elections, when 13 million (over 49 per cent of the electorate) voted for the common government program of the three Left parties – these and similar developments are a menace to monopoly rule. That is why the government is so anxious to conceal the real causes of the crisis and prevent their understanding by the majority of our people, and to prevent, also, unity of the non-monopoly strata and classes. To that end it is using the media, radio, television, the national and local press, special literature for women, teenagers, etc. It is setting up institutions expressly meant to mislead public opinion – one of these, the Ministry of the Environment, has recently been renamed the Ministry for the Quality of Life. And since the crisis has spread to all capitalist countries, these ideological campaigns are being conducted also in such international organizations as the European Council, NATO, OECD, even the United Nations.

Nor is ideological subversion the only object of these campaigns. They reflect the new international reality that is compelling national and 'supranational' institutions to interfere in order to prolong monopoly domination. Evidence of that was provided at the August 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest. It was an important conference, and at it the Malthusian ideas in the keynote speech prepared by the UN were subjected to sharp criticism and, in the end, rejected by the socialist and developing countries and also by progressive churchmen.

Monopoly ideological propaganda is short-lived, irrational, obscurantist. Following the May 1968 events, government propaganda was built around the 'crisis of civilization' and the 'moral crisis:' the family, teachers, the young people themselves were blamed for what had happened. Now the government is blaming other capitalist countries for the rise in prices and inflation and is camouflaging its Atlantic policy by a show of anti-Americanism. It follows much the same line on unemployment and the difficulties caused by the fuel shortage; this time the immigrant workers and the Arab countries are the culprits.

For a long time, monopoly ideologists maintained that social progress was an automatic sequel to technical progress and growing production. But what yesterday was presented as a cure for all the ailments of society, is now denounced as their cause. The apostles of higher productivity, the zealous advocates of more output (and more

profit), are now – when it suits their purpose – vehemently opposed to economic growth.

A new ideological cliché has now come into vogue. After the celebrated 'all of us are polluting the atmosphere,' the government now says things are going from bad to worse because – of all things – the workers are 'living it up,' spending too much. And it should be observed that this idea comes very close to the illusions held by the leftists, who reject the 'consumer society' and call for a return to nature or, failing that, to the medieval 'small farm' and cottage industries.

The social implications of the 'zero growth' theory and the Mansholt plan are clear enough: behind all the disquisitions about the natural, physical limitations to economic growth is an obvious attempt to hide class antagonisms behind a welter of ecological problems and maintain and strengthen monopoly capitalism by new social maneuvering techniques.

The 21st Communist Party Congress trenchantly criticized big business attempts to conceal the real causes and real nature of the present crisis, which is a crisis of the system, a manifestation of its inability to meet the requirements of the people. All the wealth produced by the people is appropriated and squandered by the financial oligarchies. The people are producing more but their life is becoming harder. They have no effective say in the affairs of society. This is not a world crisis: there is no inflation in the socialist countries, no soaring prices, no unemployment, no fear for the future. They are living proof that the new, socialist system can assure stable economic development, social and cultural progress and a bigger role and more initiative for the people.

Only a democratic and anti-monopoly policy can put an end to the crisis. But our Party does not subscribe to the slogan 'all or nothing:' it has proposed a number of urgent integrated measures in the interests of France and her working people. These measures are directed against the ruinous consequences of inflation. They envisage protection of our national wealth. They are aimed against those responsible for, and those who profit from, the crisis.

In making these proposals, in advancing these priority tasks, our Party stresses that there is nothing fatal about the crisis, that the rule of those in power can be restricted. As Georges Marchais declared in his concluding speech at the 21st Congress, the working people, the majority in France, must not be made to pay for a crisis for which they are not responsible. They can defeat the austerity policy of Giscard d'Estaing.

While rejecting 'zero growth' as both utopian and reactionary, the Communists maintain that France, with its powerful economic and

technical potential, can use the vast opportunities of the scientific and technological revolution to make work easier and meet all the people's material and intellectual requirements. Malthusianism, whether in culture or science, is hampering the country and everyone of its citizens. But the forces exist which, in the present political situation, can make the government take effective measures to stop the inflation, eliminate the balance of payments deficit, defend living standards and employment. There is only one solution to the crisis – deep-going democratic reforms to break the monopoly stranglehold. That is the policy set out in the Common Program of the Left parties, and the Communists, as their Party frankly declared at its special, 21st Congress, regard this as the road to socialism.

Revolution, socialism, theology

Juan Rosales
Editorial Board, *Nueva Era*,
theoretical journal
of CP Argentina

The changing attitudes of believers and the Church under the impact of the social struggle have been discussed on the pages of *WMR*[1]. The practical requirements of our policy of extending and strengthening alliances, and also the ideological struggle, necessitate a scientific analysis of the changes now taking place among believers and in the functions of religion in this revolutionary era. Considering that much has already been written on the subject, I propose to concentrate on the new theological concepts which seek to combine Christianity with the idea of social revolution and the socialist restructuring of society.

What is the Latin American Catholic Church in these mid-70s? Last year the *Vision* magazine devoted a whole issue to the question, which figured prominently at the 1974 International Synod of Bishops in Rome.

There are grounds, it wrote, for concern over the future of the Catholic Church in Latin America. For one thing, there is a widening gap between the traditional and 'hopelessly obsolete and ineffective' forms based on preachment of individual salvation in the hereafter,

and the new 'liberation theology' in which the accent is on the condition of the oppressed and cooperation with left parties for independence and social progress.

Vision, which speaks for the North American monopolies, urges the Church 'not to jump on the revolutionary bandwagon,' for victory of the revolution might well mean the end of the Church. That such allegations are wholly unfounded is obvious: the Church functions freely in the socialist countries and believers have a part in building the new society. North American imperialism, however, is very worried by the changes in an institution which has always been one of its mainstays in Latin America.

And there are good reasons for this anxiety. Judging by statements of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM), in what the Pope described as the 'continent of Catholic hope' and with more than a third of the world's Catholic population, atheism, pessimism and discontent among priests are on the increase, and there is greater interest among the youth in Marxist solutions for Latin America's problems. The radicalization process is producing what CELAM describes as the 'inconspicuous but impressive phenomenon of loss of faith.'[2] It has resulted in empty seminary class-rooms, decline in the number of priests and Catholic Action branches, a quickening process of forgetting the teachings of the Church.

The involvement of believers and part of the clergy in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement demonstrates, in a way, not only the scope of the revolutionary process, but also its complexity. Catholic democratic movements are made up of diverse trends and rely on the support of diverse political and social groups, with no firm unity and with differing views on the role of the Church, their own role in society and the substance and aims of the liberation struggle. Some of their theories are meant as counterweights to scientific socialism. The reactionaries try to exploit this ideological weakness and the anti-Communist prejudices of some left Catholic trends to prevent united action by the popular forces.

The Catholic Church was brought to America 400 years ago. By disseminating Christianity, assimilating local cults and many other means, it became the political and ideological pillar of colonial feudalism. Ever since then it has worked in close alliance with the ruling classes. Neither the war of independence – in which churchmen were involved – that destroyed the colonial regimes nor the deep social changes that followed have in any way altered its policy. By the turn of the century, its interests were intertwined, economically and ideologically, with those of the ruling bourgeoisie which at first was anti-clerical but later found in religion a powerful means of consolidat-

ing the capitalist order and keeping the masses in a state of spiritual bondage.

Under the influence of the October Revolution and the upsurge of the class struggle, the Church began to show an interest in social problems and in formulating a Catholic social doctrine. There was a suggestion to found Christian parties and trade unions to isolate the working people from the revolutionary struggle. But most of the top clericals were sceptical about Christian reformism, which at best was making slow headway. They preferred the 'tested' methods supported by the Vatican, namely, the corporative system of Salazar and Franco. It was only after World War II that imperialist circles showed an interest in the reformist movements and concepts.

The alliance of Church and imperialist forces, which became especially close after the Cuban revolution, was based on the Church's ideological and organizational potential and its desire to play a special role in the anti-Communist struggle.[3] The Latin American Episcopate wholeheartedly supported the Alliance For Progress, sanctioned the endless anti-Communist and anti-democratic actions, including the coups that overthrew governments imperialism did not approve of. The Social-Christian parties did everything in their power to present their own pseudo-revolutionary program as a counterweight to the popular demand for deep-going social change. The Chilean Jesuit journal, for instance, spoke of the need for a 'Christian revolution to prevent a Marxist revolution.'[4]

It was around this time that a variety of 'development theologies' emerged to provide divine justification for the celebrated 'development programs' designed to further neo-colonialist interests. And in this the Latin American Church received aid and support from the Church in Europe and the U.S. – there was financial assistance, scholarships, grants, etc. – with hundreds of Latin American priests going to Europe and the U.S. for refresher courses.

This did not bring solution of pressing social problems any nearer, though it did open up additional channels for imperialist penetration. 'Everything remains as before,' Monsignor Proano, the Bishop of Ecuador, said. 'Latin America is still a dependent continent, in the economic, cultural and religious sense.'[5]

Neo-colonialism is deeply entrenched in the Western Hemisphere Church. According to J.L. Segundo, the Uruguayan Jesuit, more than half of the priesthood in his country are foreigners.[6] Up to 1960, most of the reinforcements came from Spain and other European countries. Now there is 'an unparalleled influx of North Americans'.[7] In Latin America as a whole, one priest in three, and a very considerable proportion of other church personnel, come from the 'central states,' the developed capitalist countries. The latter have become 'centers of

ecclesiastical power, theological research and financing. And, what is especially alarming, in all these areas North American superpowerism predominates.'[8]

This imperialist 'religious' penetration helps the conservatives maintain control over the Church and contain the pressure of critical trends. And to hold back the pressure the conservatives have no inhibitions about using inquisition methods, cooperating with espionage and subversion agencies in the United States and encouraging right-wing extremism among the Demochristians (it was with their support that the CIA engineered a number of fascist coups d'état in Latin America).

On the whole, however, imperialist largesse has not helped the conservatives to break out of their isolation. More, there is the growing understanding that they are hampering renewal of the Church, and that responsibility for all the social injustice lies not with 'atheist materialism,' but with the ruling classes which are using religion to defend their privileges.

Liberation is a word that has acquired a magic of its own among Latin American believers, Monsignor Castro remarks. It stands for freeing the nation of economic and political dependence on imperialism, freeing the Church and its doctrine from foreign dependence, from conformist and mystical interpretation of the Christian teaching, which is alien to believers involved in the fight for social progress.

The profound historic changes are demolishing the old forms, methods and language of theology. Traditionally, theology was a 'study of God,' an explanation of the 'divine revelation.' This enabled theologians to ascribe to God whatever suited their purpose at each period of history. To make religion more acceptable to the mind, the theologians began, away back in the 13th century, with Thomas Aquinas, to inject elements of rational knowledge culled from the achievements of philosophy, science and culture after, needless to say, suitably doctoring them. But theology cannot entirely overcome its dogmatism and social conservatism.

The 'eternal truths' drawn from 'divine revelation' and apparently not dependent on reality, provided many opportunities to negate any progressive action or doctrine on the pretext that it does not conform to the transcendent absolute. Not a very subtle method, but one which enabled the Church over many centuries to justify oppression and to combat all revolutionary movements (including those of a religious nature that were expressive of the immature political protest of the masses).[9]

For most Catholic working people, students and senior school pupils all this theological speculation holds no interest, is not even

understood. They are not moved by abstract disquisitions about faith. They are much more interested, as many Latin American churchmen admit, in changes in their own lives. Democratic-minded Christians demand, in line with their religious convictions, a new doctrine that would help them discharge their political obligations in the liberation struggle.

During the 'Faith and Social Change in Latin America' campaign there was much talk of the 'night of the spirit,' that is, the crisis of religious ideology, with its old theological symbols, which cannot express the demands of Christians involved in social battles.[10] As Monsignor Munos Vega remarked, 'there is an unbridgeable gap between our theology and modern thinking.'[11]

All this creates the need for substantial changes in both the content and 'practice' of theology. Exponents of the new trends hold that theology should cease to be the exclusive domain of a handful of dogmatists and become the form of consciousness of politically active individuals and groups. Peruvian churchman Gustavo Gutierrez associates this shift in the thinking of believers with the radical elements among those of the laity who have begun to see the injustice of the existing social system and its organic link with the Church.

For them the model of Christian parties has become theoretically vulnerable and ineffective in practice. No longer do they confine themselves to abstract calls for social justice, and advocate emancipation and class struggle. Most of them have not yet drawn the due conclusions from the actions of the proletariat, but a large enough number has ranged itself by the workers' side, has joined their struggle and is gradually assimilating their ideology. Some Christians associate themselves with the revolutionary struggle in the name of their faith. Others are drawn into it by their social condition. In the latter case 'faith is not the main thing,'[12] though most continue to regard themselves as Christians. Among them the 'theology of liberation' recruits its followers.

Monsignor Gonsalez Ruiz notes that present-day theologians differ not as either Catholic or Protestant, but according to the social function of their theology – those who place it in the service of the oppressors, and those who use it in the interest of the oppressed.

The genesis of the 'theology of liberation' is part of a complex ideological evolution among believers who, though retaining their specific features, have turned their backs on the past and seek participation in revolutionary battles. The process is just as heterogeneous as the strata among which it occurs. As a result, the 'theology of liberation' is not homogeneous either: it has different currents and different tendencies, though all come under the same name.[13]

The spread of the 'theology of liberation' among Latin American

Christians coincided with the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle and the crisis of the Social-Christian movement. A section of the priesthood discovered the abject dependence and social oppression of the Latin American peoples and joined the mass struggle, exposing itself thereby to dual reprisals – by the ruling classes and by the Church hierarchy. Their protests and 'mutinies' sent concussion waves through the Church structure, starting a process of differentiation. At the conference in the Colombian city of Medellin (1968) CELAM was compelled to consider the new situation and pass decisions which, despite certain reservations, recognized the right to criticize the capitalist social-economic system, while giving a religious interpretation of the aims of the popular struggle and calling for joint efforts to make the Church the leading social force on the continent. Of course, the decisions of the episcopal council did not end the crisis. 'Five years after Medellin,' *Concilium* observed, 'everything has radicalized antagonistically.'[14]

Recognized as the most authoritative exponent of the new theology, Gutierrez, who was for 10 years counsellor of Peru's Catholic universities, set its programmatic guidelines as follows: to associate the new theology with the 'major social movements of the epoch' and 'to base it on the social sciences,' especially on 'Marxist thinking concentrated on practice and directed on transforming the world.' In the Latin American revolutionary process, where 'Christians and non-Christians often struggle in concert,' he amplified, top priority goes to duties relating to the struggle for the emancipation of the peoples. With him speculation about Christian duties from the standpoint of theology is in second place.[15] In a later work he refers to 'taking the next step' and recognizing that 'all of us are members of one social class exploited by another class.' He urges action against 'that which breeds exploitation of man by man.'[16]

These viewpoints, shared by many priests and their flocks, are incontestably an advance in the political thinking of believers. But apart from political progress the 'theology of liberation' is also evidence of political and ideological narrow-mindedness.

Its central idea is that the continent possesses (Christian) 'exclusiveness,' that it lives by its own specific laws and needs an 'original socialism' (based on Christianity) to end class struggle through a spiritual conversion of the ruling class. Awakened to the world's division into propertied and dispossessed theology must, according to, say, Segundo, 'perform a miracle and turn two peoples into one.' The miracle is feasible, as he sees it, because 'in contrast to the central countries where religion is as a rule alienated, it is still playing a liberative role in Latin America.'[17] Monsignor Dri takes this a step farther by claiming that 'atheism, being a product of the rich nations,

is counter-revolutionary in the countries of the Third World.'[18] Sharing the official faith in Christianity's social mission, exponents of the 'theology of liberation' deny the leading role of the working class and its party. Gutierrez, for one, maintains that in Latin America the leading role is being taken over by 'new and more radical revolutionary groups.'

To judge from the utterances of some of its exponents, the new theology is apparently meant to do to Marxism what Thomism had once done to Aristotle: to 'appropriate' Marxism after emasculating its scientific and class content. Here, A.M. Ferre's observations about the new theology are highly revealing: 'Gutierrez and I are ''destroying'' Marxism in order to restore it in a different sense.' The only difference, he added, is that Gutierrez 'is trying to finish it off in one way, while others, myself included, are doing it in another way.'[19] But for all the difference of method, there is the consensus that faith is 'the main source of all knowledge and all practice.'[20]

Marxism, in the view of the Brazilian theologian Assmann, for example, 'is incapable of accounting for factors typical of Latin America's situation' especially 'in the sphere of the superstructure.'[21] It is no accident that the most influential 'theology of liberation' current originated in Peru, where the bishops advocate a 'socialism with a Christian content.' This variant of 'Christian socialism' has its own approach to the peculiar and complicated revolutionary process in the country, the popularity of a 'neither capitalist nor communist' society among certain strata, and the chances of a 'third way,' that is, an evolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism.

A treatise attempting to apply the 'theology of liberation' to the continent's revolutionary renewal on the basis of Peronist experience, maintains that there is no need for the Latin American countries to substitute 'imported Marxism' for the 'practice of the peoples clearly expressed in their national doctrines.'[22] Here are the most typical standpoints of the Christian currents associated with bourgeois nationalism: negation of the class struggle of the proletariat, which stands at the head of the masses; denial of class contradictions and emphasis on the contradiction between the nation as a whole and imperialism (many say 'two imperialisms,' thereby implying the socialist system); division – even opposition to – of the tasks of national and social emancipation; isolation of the continent from the contemporary historical process and proletarian internationalism. All this weakens the efforts of the secular and religious groups afflicted with anti-communist prejudices and a still persisting sense of paternalism towards the masses.

Some varieties of the 'theology of liberation' view the revolutionary process in an ultra-leftist, even anarchist spirit. They regard the class

struggle as everlasting and compare it to the eternal conflict between Good and Evil. 'No revolution in history could ever abolish the class struggle,' says theologian J. Comblin, for example, because even socialism inevitably creates 'a new dominant, bureaucratic and technocratic class, where class struggle is the only way to liberation.'[23]

The CELAM leaders, who urge people to have reservations about the 'theology of liberation' due to its political orientation and 'Marxist-like' terminology, seem eager, nonetheless, to try to exploit it. They assume justifiably that every kind of theology subordinates thought and action to the discipline and dogma of the Church. Therefore, they hold, it is more advisable to adopt a modernistic theology, especially since the old one has lost its grip, than to abandon their flock to 'Marxist socialism.'

Reformist clericalism, which wields the greater power in the Church, is trying to dampen the protest contained in the new theology. For this it exploits the weaknesses and inconsistencies stemming from the class limitations and idealistic subjectivist conception of history of the exponents of the 'theology of liberation.' As a result, some of the men in the resurgent wing of the Church fear rightly that the latter's content will suffer in the process of its adaptation to the needs of the official Catholic ideology. Others cling to the illusion that they will manage to 'convert the conservative elements to a Catholicism of social and consequently anti-imperialist protest.'[24]

What concepts will prevail in the Christian movement and what role it will play in the Latin American revolutionary process depends on the relation of forces in the Church and on the concrete conditions in each country, on the experience and outlook of those believers who are not foreign to Communist ideas and joint action. The plurality of theologies which are trying to adapt the Church to the changing world reflects the multiplicity of class interests and the difficulty of wresting the Church from the influence of the rich and winning it to the side of the poor, the majority of its flock. This pluralism is traceable to the fact that the Church is being drawn into the process of differentiation 'between the contending classes' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 18, p. 311).

The present-day 'refurbished' theological conceptions are conflicting and limited in scope not only because they are ideologically weak, but also because of the specific quality of social relations in Latin America. The relatively low economic level, dependence on imperialism and survivals of pre-capitalist ways, coupled with other signs of backwardness among large sections of people whose social protest so far has been little more than spontaneous and saturated with illusions, create fertile soil for all kinds of utopian ideas. Their

makers are aware of the mass urge for democratic change and socialism, and try to turn it to their own advantage.

'Christian socialism' cannot rise above the pre-Marxian utopian socialism. Dissociated from the revolutionary classes, opposed to Marxism-Leninism as an ideological alternative, pleading for love of neighbor and piety, it is a 'socialism' which, in the final analysis, plays into the hands of the dominant classes.

It lacks a scientific perspective of historical development. Its moral condemnation of capitalism, coupled with negation of the existing socialism, leads to one thing only: a yearning to revert to social structures in which Christianity played a dynamic role (as in the early Christian communities or the medieval corporations) or to search for spiritual salvation.

Religious criticism of social contradictions is only a form of protest against injustice, and therefore insufficient by itself. The objective causes of injustice must be pinpointed, and forces strong enough to uproot them mobilized. This can be done, but only on the basis of the working-class ideology, which reposes on the real experience of history.

Christianity as a religion possesses relative historical independence, which Marxism has explained. It is not a party, and it is not a revolutionary theory. Hence, participation of lay Catholics in the class struggle alongside Communists and other revolutionaries 'is not contrary to Christian faith; it is contrary only to such faith as identifies itself or is associated with bourgeois and reactionary ideology.'[25] This does not go to say, of course, that believers should be prodded into abandoning their faith (or priests into abandoning theology). They must only be prevailed upon to prevent the use of religion for reactionary purposes and the conversion of religious institutions into bastions guarding the status quo.

In Latin America, large sections of believers are making headway, admittedly with considerable difficulty, from 'social Catholicism' and abstract theological concepts towards a recognition of the lessons of proletarian science and experience. In due course, this will enable them to assume an equal place in the liberation movements of their countries. And it is a pity that theologians like Gutierrez, aware that 'none of the political theologies contains any hint of genuine solidarity with the classes of society subjected to plunder,' ignore the instructive experience of the Cuban Christians and the Cuban revolution, which did not need theology of any kind to achieve victory.

We Communists are convinced that none but the materialist philosophy can explain and change the world. As we see it, unity in the name of national and social liberation does not rule out polemics between exponents of the religious and materialist world outlooks.

Discussions of that kind are necessary, and will definitely be useful if they are associated with the practical objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle and help to involve in it new sections of the people, help to focus attention on the vital demands of the masses. Didn't Marx say that for revolutionaries 'the criticism of heaven turns into the criticism of the earth, the *criticism of religion* into the *criticism of law* and the *criticism of theology* into the criticism of politics'?

This is the angle from which, we feel, it would be useful to analyze the activity of the many priests and Christian movements in Latin America – from Camilo Torres[26] to the Chilean priests and rank-and-file members of the Christian-Democratic Party that supported Popular Unity, from those in the Broad Front in Uruguay to those multitudes in Argentina, Brazil, Peru and other countries who instead of theological arguments against Communists and other fighters have joined them in building united anti-imperialist fronts.

1. A. Delgado. Latin America's Priests in Revolt (March 1973); Differences in Outlook and Political Cooperation – Meeting of Marxists and Catholics (June 1974); T. Jaroszewski. Socialism and the Left Catholic Interpretation of Christian Humanism (August 1974); T. Stoichev. Ideological Aspects of the Dialogue with Believers (October 1974).
2. CELAM, October-November 1974.
3. Cardinal Caggiano told the Inter-American Congress in Buenos Aires in 1960: 'In Europe Communism is being held back by armed force; in America it should be held back by spiritual force.'
4. *Mensaje*, No. 115.
5. L. Proano. *Actualidad pastoral*, June 1974.
6. J.L. Segundo. *De la teologia a la sociedad*. Lohle, B.A. 1970, p. 23.
7. H. Borrat y A.J. Büntig. *El imperio y las iglesias*. Guadelupe, B.A. 1973, p. 25.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
9. In this context, mention should be made of such offshoots of the Catholic social doctrine as 'war theology' which sanctions wars of aggrandizement; 'mission theology,' which justifies genocide of the Indian people and savage treatment of Negroes because 'the black man was not created in the image of God, for God is not black' (J. Folliet, *Criterio*, Jan. 11, 1962). There is also 'national theology,' a kind of moral code of reactionary nationalism used by some German theologians to reconcile Hitlerism and the Bible.
10. *Stromata*. No. 3, 1972
11. *Actualidad pastoral*, July 1972.
12. P.M. Ossa. *Pastoral popular*, No. 115, 1969.
13. The journal *Concilium*, for example, notes distortions and misinterpretations that impede its already difficult development, and also the 'incurable contradictions' between groups with disparate interpretations of its postulates. See *Concilium*, No. 96, June 1974, on 'The Theology of Liberation'.
14. See *Concilium*, No. 96, June 1974.
15. G. Gutierrez. *Teologia de la liberacion*. Lima, 1971.
16. G. Gutierrez. *Concilium*, No. 96, June 1974. Gutierrez supported socialist Cuba and commended Chilean Christians who backed Salvador Allende's government.

17. A.J. Büntig. *Religion – anajenacion en una sociedad dependente*. Guadalupe. B.A. 1973, p. 11.

18. *Vispera*. March 1972.

19. *Ibid*. April 1974.

20. See Gera, Büntig y Catena. *Teologia, pastoral y dependencia*. Guadalupe. B.A. 1974, p. 20

21. *Perspectiva de dialogo*, June 1971.

22. *Teologia de la liberacion. Su profundizacion a partir de la experiencia peronista*. CIAS. April, 1974, p. 26.

23. *Vispera*, December 1973.

24. H. Borrat y A.J. Büntig. ibid., p. 65.

25. *Los cristianos y la revolucion*. Quimantu, Chile. 1973, p. 14.

26. Camilo Torres – a Colombian priest who sharply criticized the reactionary regime in Colombia and advanced a program of radical democratic reforms. Worked actively for the unity of left forces and cooperated with the Communists. Was killed in February 1966 during a clash between guerrillas and government troops. – *Ed.*

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Limits of 'partnership' in U.S.-Israeli relations

Emile Touma
Member Political Bureau,
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The October 1973 war signalled a major failure of Israel's aggressive policy and was a grave setback for the U.S. imperialists. The architects of Washington's foreign policy took urgent measures to save the situation. They tried – with some success – not simply to 'neutralize' the consequences of the war, but turn them to their own advantage. That was the purpose of the U.S. mediation of disengagement agreements, the 'step-by-step solution' tactic (to delay renewal of the Geneva Peace Conference), and other steps, notably offers of 'economic and technical aid'[1] to victims of the Israeli aggression. Hopes were pinned on the reactionary Arab regimes and the rightist elements in the Arab national-liberation movement with their opportunism and penchant for compromise with imperialism and foreign capital.

Yet events took a course contrary to Washington's designs. The essential contradictions between the Arab peoples and imperialism (first of all U.S. imperialism, which supports the official Israeli policy of aggression and expansionism) generated intense heat and neutralized or burned out the chances of 'conciliation.'

The consistently anti-imperialist Arab regimes, groups fighting for progress in countries still controlled by reactionary cliques, and the militant Palestine resistance movement comprise the truly revolutionary wing of the Arab national-liberation movement. They are a mighty barrier to collusion behind the backs of the Arab peoples. It is safe to say that if the Rabat summit (October 1974) passed decisions that jolted the U.S. political carriage in the Middle East and undermined, to a large extent, U.S. manipulations, this was achieved partly by the influence of these forces.[2]

In spite of this, the strategic guidelines of the U.S. rulers in the Middle East have not changed: first, they are determined to retain access to the oil and, second, to contain the rising revolutionary movement for national and social emancipation. These objectives are interdependent, and the imperialists endeavor to attain them by tactical maneuvering and anti-Sovietism. Again there are calls to roll back

'Soviet penetration' in the oil-rich regions and again there are attempts to arrest the development of Arab-Soviet relations. Imperialism is aware that Soviet-Arab friendship is an important factor in speeding up progressive advances and the revolutionary process in the Middle East, and tries to disrupt it and thus isolate the patriotic anti-imperialist forces from their natural and dependable ally. Imperialist-inspired campaigns are sowing suspicion and hostility towards Soviet foreign policy. And it can be deduced that CIA specialists are furnishing 'know-how' to reactionary and mercenary Arab papers and journals.

Meanwhile, the question of securing the oil sources has become complicated by the establishment of OPEC and its ability to withstand the oil monopolies, on the one hand, and to use the oil weapon for protecting the oil-producing countries' national interests, on the other. The trend towards nationalizing foreign property has accelerated. Oil prices were changed several times on the initiative of the respective governments in favor of the producers. This has abruptly altered the world balance of payments to the detriment of the industrialized capitalist countries.

That is why the U.S. imperialists are looking feverishly for new approaches to maintain access to the oil. There are two parallel tendencies: to continue cooperating with the reactionary regimes of the rich oil-producing countries to ensure the flow of oil to the capitalist world, and to prepare for military intervention in case political pressure fails.

With this as background, the complex Israeli-U.S. relations are of special interest.

The October 1973 war has changed both the political and military situation in the Middle East. To begin with, the gap between the military strength of the belligerents is closing progressively to Israel's disadvantage. Along with political factors, this has compelled the United States to reassess Israel's capability of threatening the Arab peoples seriously in the future and suppressing the national-liberation movement, the movement for progress. It is becoming increasingly clear, too, that the new situation on the world scene and the Middle East is invalidating the imperialist plan of using Israel as a regional gendarme.

However, there is no sign of radical changes in U.S. policy. As before, it is considered opportune to continue using Israel as a sword of Damocles against the Arab world. After the October 1973 war, the United States assured an inflow of ultra-sophisticated offensive arms worth $2.2 billion on the pretext of replacing losses, and concluded agreements to provide the Israeli army with more billions of dollars' worth of arms.[3]

Behind the official statements that Israel's armed forces are stronger than in October 1973, behind the threats of a pre-emptive strike against Arab armies, the Syrian first of all, there is the concrete and all but unlimited U.S. material support.

As before Israel holds a special place in U.S. plans concerning Middle East oil. Following statements by U.S. State Secretary Henry Kissinger and President Ford, the imperialist press has intimated that in case of an Arab oil embargo there will be an armed U.S. intervention, in which Israel will take part.[4] This threat was used extensively in the psychological war against the Arabs.[5] In this 'war of nerves' the Israeli rulers have taken it upon themselves to do most of the shouting. They go out of their way to stoke up political and military tensions in our region, because every complication favors their expansionist plans and provides them with an excuse to sidestep a settlement of the Palestinian problem.

It will be recalled that the professed tactical objective of the Israeli rulers prior to October 1973 was to maintain the status quo, that is, keep the Arab lands seized in 1967. Now, they want a new status quo, one that will leave them less territory, but will include such strategically important areas as the western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, including Sharm-ash-Shaykh, a large section of the Golan Heights, the Gaza sector, and certain positions on the west bank of the Jordan. This involves a lightning strike against Syria, provided it has unqualified U.S. support and Egypt and Jordan are 'neutralized.'

But precisely here U.S.-Israeli amity is hitting a snag: though both sides pursue the same strategic aims, there is a parting of the ways over certain tactical issues.

Evidence of a trend has appeared in U.S. foreign policy to take stock of the limited U.S. ability to influence the course of world events, including the Middle East. This has an impact on U.S. policy towards Israel as well. On the eve of his trip to the Far East, President Ford said: 'It ought to be obvious to everybody that we cannot go on indefinitely with the very delicate circumstances that exist between Israel and Egypt, Israel and Jordan, Israel and Syria, or fail to take into account the legitimate interests of the Palestine people . . .' Predicting that a new conflict would bring about another oil embargo, that U.S.-Soviet relations might be affected, with serious international implications, the President said a peaceful solution was thus all the more imperative. As we see it, Ford's statement means that the U.S. government intends, first, to limit (at least for a time) U.S. support of the official Israeli policy, and, second, to serve notice to the Israeli ruling circles that they must subordinate their policy still more to U.S. interests in the region.

Obviously, the relationship between the U.S. and Israel has always

been unequal. True, after the June 1967 war the Israeli ruling circles thought their victory gave them greater weight and began referring to Israel and the U.S. as 'partners.' But after the October 1973 war, which exposed Israel's full dependence on U.S. military aid and political support, they bowed their heads and began talking of 'interdependence.' All this talk, of course, belongs to the domain of propaganda and Zionist wishful thinking.

In fact, it is more difficult for the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli rulers to implement their designs. The U.S. groups which want the USA to back Israel's right to existence, but demand that its government withdraw from Arab land occupied in June 1967 and that it assure self-determination to the Arab people of Palestine (in the region of Gaza and areas on the west bank of the Jordan), have gained considerable ground. After the UN General Assembly granted the PLO observer status in November 1974, many high-ranking Washington figures gave to understand that now Israel will sooner or later have to negotiate directly with the PLO.

Those are the origins of the sharp struggle in the United States over tactics and practical measures in the Middle East. The reactionary pro-Israeli groups – mainly those headed by Senator Jackson – and Zionist organizations are trying to head off any moves leading to a peaceful settlement. The Zionist lobby working under the name of American-Israel Public Affairs Committee has a visible influence in U.S. Congress and other public sectors, and exercises pressure on the legislators, on State Department officials, and on the voters. It is an open secret that the U.S. Zionists and the Israeli leadership are banking on the Democratic majority in Congress and a possible defeat of the Republican Party in the presidential elections next year. These elections, by the way, are spurring the Zionists to redouble pressure on political leaders and the U.S. government.

The hysterical propaganda of the Zionist and Israeli lobby often drowns out the real opinion of the Jewish community in the United States, the majority of which does not support the Zionists. Many Americans of Jewish extraction denounce both the Zionists and Israel's official policy. And in the long run this is sure to have its effect.

Even in Israel itself the sober-minded are aware of the limitations of the Zionist lobby in the United States. The U.S. stake in a militarily strong Israel, too, has its limits. Some Israeli observers hold that if the U.S. ruling circles 'grow weary' and arrive at the conclusion that Israel's policy is contrary to their interests, U.S. support will cease to be as unconditional as it is now. Facts intimating 'weariness' keep coming to light. Suffice it to recall the exasperation expressed recently by General George S. Brown, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who said of official Israeli policy: 'You can conjure up

a situation where there is another oil embargo and people in this country are not only inconvenienced and uncomfortable, but suffer and they get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby.' The London *Economist* felt that Brown's statement was an expression of concern that another Middle East war might directly involve the United States. The London *Guardian* held that the radical shift in the balance of power between the oil-producing and oil-consuming nations has caused a deterioration of Israel's position. And since it is a long way from threats to seize oil sources to actually seizing them, this deterioration will no doubt proceed at a mounting pace.

It should also be remembered that the U.S. Zionist organizations represent the interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, which is part of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie. This compels them to maintain a 'balance' between supporting the expansionism of the Israeli ruling circles and the determinative interests of U.S. imperialism. The Israeli rulers have to reckon with this. They have begun to see that charges of 'split loyalty' are not exactly to the taste of the Jews in the United States.

Israeli ruling circles fear that the United States will begin to pressure them into accepting the 'gamble of peace,' that is, abandoning their annexationist policy. They are also aware of the attitude of the West European capitalist countries. Rabin admitted recently that the wish of the West European ruling elements to pacify the oil-producing countries may also affect the policy of the United States.

The Israeli leaders are working actively to neutralize tendencies in the United States and other developed capitalist countries that may jeopardize their plans. They are resisting a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict by all the means at their disposal. By trying to revive the tale of a 'Soviet peril,' they hope to undermine international détente and sharpen relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are prodding the imperialist West towards a confrontation with the Arab countries, in order to participate and to profit therefrom, and are continuously stoking up tension in the Middle East.

The delaying, even sabotage, tactics of the Israeli rulers are based on the erroneous idea that time is working in their favor. Rabin, for example, holds that in the present international situation and due to the West's dependence on Arab oil, Israel faces seven lean years, which the country will have somehow to survive. Why seven? The head of the Israeli government figures that this is precisely the length of time it will take Britain and the Scandinavian countries to begin meeting their needs with North Sea oil and for the United States to reduce its dependence on Middle East oil.

It is hardly to be expected that the U.S. government will continue to extend unqualified support to Israel's Zionist leaders in their policy of aggression, occupation and territorial expansion. The crucial factor that will, as we see it, compel the United States to move away from its old positions is the increasing anti-imperialist unity of the Arab peoples.

It is unrealistic to expect, however, that the United States will soon give the Middle East countries a chance to live in tranquility and that it will cut off support for the Israeli 'positions of strength' policy. The facts speak of the very reverse. U.S. Congress has endorsed military and economic aid of $624 million to Israel in the 1975 fiscal year, half of this for arming the Israeli army. It will also be recalled that the United States has supplied Israel with enough war material for 18 days of uninterrupted action and promised to raise the supply to 21 days.

This is why references to a change in U.S. Middle East policy imply nothing more than a rejection of direct and complete support of Israel's annexationist ambitions. And this might compel the Israeli rulers to alter some aspects of their policy.

There are intimations of definite changes in U.S.-Israeli relations. Exponents of a realistic U.S. approach to Middle East problems are coming to grips with their adversaries. To understand the true nature of the relationship between the United States and Israel we should take stock of this struggle, and its probable outcome.

This is confirmed by the failure of Kissinger's latest mission in March 1975. It was a death-blow to 'shuttle diplomacy' and 'step-by-step agreements.' Washington puts the blame for the failure mainly on the Israeli rulers. President Ford has issued instructions to revise Middle East policy, and the U.S. government has consented to re-newing the Geneva Peace Conference.

This is evidence that U.S. imperialism is looking for new ways of safeguarding its interests in the Arab world.

Our Party has always opposed the Israeli rulers' servility to U.S. imperialism. It has always warned that the latter will not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the Israeli people to its global and regional aims. The 17th Congress of the CP of Israel (June 1972) called for a democratic anti-imperialist front capable of struggling successfully to sever the enslaving bonds tying our country to the U.S. imperialist chariot, for a policy of peace, democracy, equality and social progress. With Israel ever more dependent on the United States and with the further weakening of the internal and international political and economic positions of U.S. imperialism, this call of our Party has become essential to the Israeli people and more valid.

1. Promises of economic and technical aid were lavished during ex-President Nixon's tour of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in June 1974. The 1975 foreign aid bill passed by Congress on March 24 envisages $250 million for Egypt and $77.5 million for Jordan. – *Ed.*

2. Particularly relevant is the confirmation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine and their sole lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to form a national state and government agencies on any liberated Palestinian land.

3. It has come to a point where the great increase of military aid to Israel is arousing Pentagon discontent, for, as the U.S. press says, it interferes with its own arms program.

4. A detailed plan of the intervention appeared in the March issue of *Harpers Magazine*. – *Ed.*

5. U.S. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger recommended a policy of 'destabilization' calculated to keep the Arabs in a state of tension.

The sights on realism

Naim Ashhab
Member of CC,
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STRENGTHENING OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST

The failure of Kissinger's mission has shown the futility of Washington's attempts to ignore such permanently active factors as, first, the strength of the Arab national-liberation movement, its capability to repulse attempts at depriving Arab peoples of their national and social gains, and, second, the role of the Soviet Union in international affairs, the tremendous influence of Arab-Soviet friendship and unity on the course of events in our region.

Washington is in a difficult position and is hoping to better it by a propaganda campaign and diversionary maneuvers. It is making a show of exaggerated annoyance over the disobedience of the Israeli rulers, who are blamed for the breakdown of Kissinger's mission. Israeli authorities, for their part, are covertly and overtly encouraging extremists who demand the settlement of occupied lands. This is meant to show the world the 'impotence' of the Israeli government to contain the fanatically enthusiastic masses, on the one hand, and Washington's weakness in face of a 'mutinous' ally, on the other.

Certainly, there may be tactical differences between Washington and Tel Aviv, especially when joint planning founders. In searching for a way out, each may pick moves serving its own interests. But

such contradictions would not affect the basis of the U.S.-Israeli alliance, built on common strategic interests and virulent hostility towards the Arab liberation movement. We must therefore distinguish between the possibility of such differences[1] and the propaganda scenario played simultaneously in the United States and Israel to exert pressure on the Arab states.

Attempts at crude deceit and downright cheating will not fool the Arab peoples, who have learned many bitter lessons. They know that Israel's rulers would not have risked the June 1967 war or continued the occupation of Arab territory without unlimited U.S. support. They remember the gigantic U.S. arms airlift in October 1973, supplying the Israeli army almost directly on the battlefield to enable it to hang on in overrun Arab land. Immediately after that war, Washington allocated billions of dollars to replace Israeli losses, and to raise its offensive capability to a new level. In an interview with *Time*, President Ford admitted that the U.S. had given Israel everything except security guarantees.[2] And the Israeli rulers want no such 'guarantees' from the U.S. or anyone else, because this would deprive them of the excuse to clamor for 'secure frontiers' (this, precisely, is the camouflage of their expansionist ambitions).[3]

The Israeli rulers are so confident in the solidity of Israeli-U.S. relations that their utterances often destroy illusions which U.S. leaders would want to create in the world in general and the Arab East in particular. Suffice it to recall Yitzhak Rabin saying that Israel will get everything she needs (from the USA–*N.A.*), despite Washington's reassessment of its mid-East policy.[4]

It looks as though the United States is taking cover behind make-believe differences with Israel to drive for several aims at once. First, to dampen the international effect of the failure of Kissinger's mission; doubly so since this is only one in a series of recent U.S. foreign policy reverses, notably in Indochina. Second, to retain influence over those elements in the Arab liberation movement who nourished – as some still do – baseless hopes of a U.S. change in attitude to Israel and of a solution of the problem of occupied territories by secret U.S. diplomacy. Third, to lull the vigilance of the Arab peoples and gain time, in which the Israeli rulers could with Washington's support bring Israel out of her internal crisis and change the relation of forces in the region in their own and in the favor of their patron, the United States.

Yet it was only after Kissinger's mission had failed that realistic prospects appeared for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. And this will doubtless be a major victory for all who have fought for a just and enduring Middle East peace based on an Israeli withdrawal

from all Arab lands occupied in 1967 and on assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The advantage of the Geneva Conference over the 'step-by-step settlement' tactic is that the bloc of imperialists and Zionists will face a united front of Arab states supported by the Soviet Union, rather than individual countries. That is exactly what troubles our antagonists. Rabin, for example, has warned that if the conference is convened, the Israeli delegation will insist that all political agreements be based on preliminary accords between Israel and each of its neighbors separately. The Israeli Prime Minister said agreements between Israel, on the one hand, and the united Arab bloc, on the other, would be unacceptable. He thus unconsciously betrayed the weakest spot of the U.S.-Israeli alliance and showed that what he feared most was a common and agreed Arab platform.

If the United States and Israel go to Geneva, they will predictably try to drag out the conference in the hope of meanwhile effecting changes favoring their aims in the region, or creating a sense of futility and disappointment with the Geneva talks among the Arab participants that will make them revert to the policy of behind-the-scenes deals, or, if they can, simply torpedo the conference.

The Geneva Conference and its success, we hold, should be a demonstration of Arab unity, leading to the complete collapse of the imperialist and Zionist designs. That is the only way to make Israel and its patrons submit to the will of the international community as expressed in the resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly.

The failure of the U.S. Middle East policy promises a change of climate in our region, and closer cooperation and coordination, especially by Egypt, Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization (the first steps in this direction have already been made). However, in saying so we must bear in mind all the conditions involved – the unfavorable as well as the favorable.

It could not be clearer that it was the heightened activity of the progressive and revolutionary current in the Arab liberation movement that brought about the failure of Kissinger's mission. And the positions of this current will certainly become still more secure as time goes on and as its influence on the scale and outcome of the struggle grows.

On the other hand, the conceptions and tactics of the two opportunist currents – the rightist and the recklessly extremist, which surfaced in bold outline after the October 1973 war – have suffered a setback.

The rightist current exaggerates U.S. imperialist ability to influence the course of events in the region, and minimizes the potential of the

Arab liberation movement and its allies. This explains its readiness to deal with the enemy and make concessions.

The extremist current, too, is prone to exaggerate the success of enemy tactics and belittle the results of the liberative October war. Everything the Arabs have achieved during and after the war, including the important breakthroughs of the Arab people of Palestine on the international scene, is written off as part of a prearranged conspiracy. The extremists reject the idea of establishing a Palestinian national authority, describing it as a part of the same plot. Also, they are opposed to the Geneva Conference. Some ultras even go so far as to call the October war a mere sham.

In practice, regardless of its conceptions, the extremist current leads to the same result as the rightist: disbelief in the ability of the Arab liberation movement and its allies to demolish enemy plans and, conversely, exaggeration of the ability of the enemy to determine the future of the Middle East. Thus, the result of the activities of both currents objectively facilitates enemy designs.

The positive prospect implicit in the failure of Kissinger's mission should not create any illusion of serious strategic complications in Israeli-U.S. relations or of Washington's intentions to give up attempts at diverting this or that Arab country, of preventing the Geneva Conference from helping enforce Security Council Resolution No. 338. On the contrary, these maneuvers are likely to be still more refined and perfidious.[5]

Imperialism and Zionism have kept the threat of a new aggression in their political armamentarium, though the Arab countries involved in the conflict are displaying a sincere desire to settle the Middle East crisis by peaceful means and have provided numerous evidence thereof. Suffice it to recall Egypt's statement on reopening the Suez Canal even if Israeli troops are still in the vicinity, and the extension of the stay in Sinai of the special international force. It is common knowledge, too, that the Arab participants are prepared to make a positive contribution to the work of the Geneva Conference.

On the contrary, an unprecedented arms build-up is going on in Israel, the armed forces are being reorganized, many generals and higher officers of the reserve are being recalled to active duty, aggressive actions are mounting on the border with Lebanon, as are repression and terror against the people of the occupied territories – all this to the drumbeat of bellicose threats, reminders of the growing strength of Israel's army and its potential to build an atomic bomb.

Add to this the statement of U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger after the failure of Kissinger's mission that the reaction of the United States to a new Arab oil embargo 'might be far more severe this time than last time.'[6] The question arises: is this statement not an attempt

to deprive the potential victims of aggression of the effective oil weapon in advance?

As is known, the Arab countries resorted to the oil boycott not because they wanted to create additional difficulties for other countries. They were driven to use the oil weapon in the 1973 October war to put an end to imperialist, especially U.S., interference on the side of the enemy. And if they resort to it again it will be to repulse aggression.

In analyzing Middle East prospects one must take into account the further aggravation of the crisis of world capitalism. Superimposed on the economic crisis, reminiscent in scale of the 1930s, are the U.S. setbacks and defeats on the international scene.

Israel, for its part, is in the grip of an unprecedented economic, social, political and ideological crisis of its own. As *Newsweek* magazine writes: 'For Israel, things seemed to be going from bad to worse. It was pilloried at the United Nations, racked by its worst economic crisis in two decades and faced with the painful prospect of a fifth round of war.'[7]

Israel is suffering all the consequences of the crisis of world capitalism, but with specific features, with added depth and scope due to its aggressive, expansionist policy, which absorbs almost half the national income. To this must be added the huge losses in the October war and its deleterious effects on all aspects of Israeli society.

Israel's isolation on the world scene is reflected in the worried statements of the leaders of international Zionism. Last February Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, expressed concern over the rapid deterioration of relations between Israel and other countries of the capitalist world. He especially stressed that time was working for the Arabs, not for Israel.[8]

Discussion of the Palestine question at the last UN General Assembly showed that the world community resolutely denounces the aggressive and expansionist course which has been the main line of Israeli policy since its foundation. The national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, recognized by the UN in 1947, were reaffirmed. The Zionist leadership's hopes of removing the Palestinian people from the face of the earth and usurping their rights by fierce oppression, eviction and physical extermination were in vain.

The Israeli leaders are clinging stubbornly to the lands occupied in 1967, shamelessly using them as a bargaining chip, despite United Nations insistence that they be returned to their legitimate owners, the Arab states. The Israeli invaders are trying to block statehood for the Arab people of Palestine, which they see as an insurmountable obstacle to their expansionist tendency, first of all to the annexation of Palestinian lands that remained outside of Israel.[9] They know that

once the Palestinian Arab people achieve statehood they will never relinquish their legitimate rights stipulated in UN resolutions. They realize that the creation of a Palestinian Arab national authority would reaffirm, *de jure* and *de facto,* the legitimate right of refugees and all displaced persons to return to their native parts.[10] But in Israel it is held that implementation of this right would disrupt its racial 'purity' and, if the proportion of Arabs in the population increased substantially, make it impossible to continue Israel's traditional aggressive policy.

In their plans aimed against the Arab people of Palestine the Israeli rulers are counting on the possibility of a deal with Arab, especially Jordanian, reaction. And while they are repeating that the only place to meet the Palestine Liberation Organization – the legitimate representatives of the Arab Palestinian people – is on the battlefield, they are pressing with all means to make the Jordanian authorities their partner in a suspicious deal over the West Bank.[11]

The Israeli rulers are confident that they could easily come to terms with the Jordanian reactionaries at the expense of the national interests of the Arab people of Palestine. A decision of the Israeli Cabinet in July 1974 declared openly: 'The Government seeks a peace treaty with Jordan. Peace between us should be based on the existence of two independent states: Israel, with its capital in a united Jerusalem, and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab state within boundaries to the east of Israel to be determined in Israeli-Jordanian talks. In this state Palestinians and Jordanians would have the right to live freely, in peace and cooperation with Israel.'[12] Israel, Rabin said, rejects the creation of a Palestinian state independent of Jordan.

The Zionist leadership of Israel is prepared – and Jordanian and other Arab reactionaries would like – to place the Arab population of the West Bank back under Jordanian rule.

At the Rabat summit conference in October 1974, Jordanian ruling circles gave in to pressure from other Arab states and relinquished their claim to speak for the Palestinian Arabs. They were not sincere, however, and with the underhanded support of reactionary circles of Saudi Arabia and some other countries immediately began to violate the Rabat accords. Their activities are increasing with the mounting conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East. It is worth mentioning that Jordanian ruling circles are exploiting every vagueness and ambiguity in the stand of this or that Arab leader on the Palestine problem.

With the support of imperialism, and using the attitude of Arab reactionaries in their own interests, the Israeli rulers are still able to hold up a settlement of the Palestine problem, but can no longer hope to impose their terms. The October war of 1973 dealt a powerful blow

at such hopes. The progressive and democratic circles of the Arab East, the international forces of peace, democracy and socialism, the heroic struggle of the Arab people of Palestine are an insurmountable obstacle to their intentions.

The Jordanian Communist Party, the working-class party of two fraternal peoples – Jordanian and Palestinian – holds that the Arab national-liberation movement has everything necessary not only to deal the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction a crushing rebuff, foil their plans and uphold its gains, but to win further advances, in the first place ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Our Party's confidence is not an emotional expression of revolutionary elan. It has a firm base: on the one hand, the results of the 1973 October war, the growing vigilance and revolutionary spirit of the masses and patriotic organizations, powerful resistance to reactionary, right-wing policies, resolute defense of gains, irrepressible determination to advance further along the road of progress; and on the other, bankruptcy of the right-wing policy of deals with imperialism at the price of major concessions.

Our Party holds that the Palestine Liberation movement occupies an important place among the advanced forces of Arab liberation capable of foiling the plans of imperialism and Zionism. It exposes enemy intentions, actively influences Arab public opinion, lays bare and neutralizes the wavering of the right-wing, its readiness to strike deals and inability to take action in the name of supreme national interests. The PLO firmly upholds friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, regarding it as one of the main conditions of victory.

The positions of the progressive Arab forces on a Middle East settlement were resolutely reaffirmed by the conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries held in April. It denounced all attempts to impose partial, separate solutions which could lead only to the perpetuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab lands. The conference again stressed the need for a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem on the basis of the full liberation of Arab lands occupied as a result of the June 1967 aggression, as well as for ensuring the Arab Palestinian people's right to self-determination and national statehood.

Constant reckoning with objective conditions, use of the experience of past battles, including that of the October war the consequences of which far from fully reflect the real scope of the revolutionary energy of the masses, the strengthening of Arab solidarity and enhancement of its anti-imperialist direction, reliance on sincere and true friends, especially on the socialist world – these are conditions that make it possible to stand up to the pressure and maneuvers of the

imperialists and Zionists and force them to carry out UN decisions and to foil any new adventures. For this it is necessary firmly to pursue the policy of settling the Middle East conflict through the Geneva conference and ceaselessly to expose all imperialist maneuvers.

1. See article by Emile Touma elsewhere in this issue.
2. *Time*, January 20, 1975.
3. On February 20, 1975, Yitzhak Rabin said that Israel prefers to assure its security and frontiers by relying on its own strength.
4. *International Herald Tribune*, April 2, 1975.
5. Yitzhak Rabin and Gerald Ford hinted in their statements in March and April this year that Kissinger's mission might be resumed.
6. *International Herald Tribune*, April 2, 1975.
7. *Newsweek*, Nov. 25, 1974.
8. *International Herald Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1975.
9. Having proclaimed the formation of Israel on May 14, 1948, its rulers refused to define its borders clearly so as to leave open the way for the annexation of Arab lands.
10. A right recognized by all UN resolutions since 1948.
11. Thus, the Israeli authorities have recently begun carrying out plans of creating a local administration in the occupied territories as a preparatory measure for either the restoration of Jordanian authority or the formation of a puppet state.
12. *Al-Ittihad*, July 23, 1974. The Zionists could then represent refugee demands as a threat to Israel's existence, though there was enough space for them in the vast expanses of Jordan.

Peace and freedom go together

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF BANDUNG CONFERENCE

The revolutionary processes in Asia and Africa today are highlighted by an unparalleled intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle, and the factors of its success are of particular interest since the swing towards détente is giving rise to a new situation favorable for the national-liberation revolution.

Just and democratic peace has always been essential to the progress of the peoples. The Bandung Conference showed a profound understanding of this 20 years ago. Having struck root in the national-liberation movement, among fighters for peace and freedom, the ideas of Bandung are constructively projected in the Soviet proposal for an Asian collective security system now in the center of international attention. Security and cooperation were discussed at

representative forums in Dacca (1973), Samarkand (1974), Baghdad (1975) and Cairo (1975). Now, special interest attaches to this important subject in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Bandung Conference. Below is an article by Soviet Academician Evgeny Zhukov and a survey of views of Asian participants in the above forums replying to *World Marxist Review* questions.

A SYMBOL OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

Academician Evgeny Zhukov

The mid-1980s are highlighted by major developments in the Afro-Asian world, by a national-liberation offensive all down the line. The crisis of imperialist policy has never been more acute.

The upswing of the anti-imperialist struggle has revealed the crucial features of the national revolution that assure its advance to social progress.

The first feature is the profound link between the liberation revolution and social revolution. In the past decade the merging of national-liberation objectives with the social element was unprecedentedly intensive. This is true of practically all countries that have freed themselves from foreign dependence, feudal power or puppet rule.

Another feature is the urge for economic liberation. This may be observed among a broad group of Afro-Asian states that have ever since Bandung striven for collective action against monopoly domination and for real equality in their economic relations with the developed capitalist countries. This struggle has grown immensely.

Last, no matter what form – military or political – the anti-imperialist struggle may take, the liberation revolution aims at securing favorable international conditions for its constructive function – the building of a new society. The most important such condition is peace. To develop fully, the progressive revolutionary processes in Africa and Asia require peace and dependable guarantees against imperialist aggression.

Marking the 20th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, which expressed the will of the newly-independent states for peace and cooperation and outlined the way to these ideals, especially in Asia, thereby anticipating the idea of Asian collective security, the peoples of the world pay homage to this highly representative Afro-Asian forum. Bandung adopted historic decisions, which made a strong impact on the liberation processes on the two continents. One major achievement was the spirit it created of unity and cohesion. The ideas

of Bandung became a symbol of the political awareness of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Our age saw the birth of one of the most important varieties of collective social action – the anti-colonial liberation movement, linked intimately with the movement of the international working class and its product, world socialism. Socialism has always been the most dependable and loyal ally of the national-liberation revolution. The socialist countries extended tremendous and varied assistance to the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This and joint successes against imperialism created a situation in which the urge of the developing nations towards united action against imperialism and reaction, for independence and progressive national ideals, was able to reach fulfilment.

The Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African countries, held in the teeth of covert and overt opposition, was one of the most meaningful results of this, bringing together states and regimes of different, even opposite, social-political orientations.

The Spirit of Bandung put the common interest higher than the particular, the main higher than the secondary. The participants steered clear of narrow Afro-Asian isolationism. The effects of the cold war, some of which surfaced in Bandung, failed to make an impression. The insinuations of anti-communists fell on barren ground. The Bandung decisions embodied the urge for liberation first of all, and associated its attainment with such universal ideals as peace and feedom for all peoples on earth.

Bandung was an important milestone on the road to a new Afro-Asian approach to the topical and urgent problems of our time. It laid the foundation for the policy of non-alignment, which grew out of the Bandung principles. It was Bandung that first collectively proclaimed the general democratic principles followed in international affairs by most of the Afro-Asian countries.

First, the Conference declared allegiance to the principle of *anti-colonialism* and denounced colonial oppression, racism and apartheid. Its resolutions gave fresh and powerful stimulus to the liberation struggle of the African peoples, which entered a new stage – that of immediate winning of national independence and sovereignty. Bandung was an important school of anti-colonialist solidarity. It condemned colonialism in all of its manifestations – a highly relevant point at the time, because imperialism was occupied with shaping a system of 'new colonialism,' a 'colonialism without empires.' Today, too, it is just as valid and relevant.

Second, the Conference reiterated the principle of *self-determination*. Coming from the participants in the Bandung forum, this was especially significant because their countries, which had been

colonies only yesterday, were still in a dependent position in the capitalist world economy. For them self-determination was not a merely formal recognition of national sovereignty, but something much greater and related to genuine economic equality, to economic liberation. Bandung showed the way to this aim: closer friendship and closer economic and cultural cooperation among the Afro-Asian states, displayed in joint actions by countries producing raw materials, countries opposing imperialist monopolies, and in common efforts for true sovereignty over national resources.

Third, Bandung threw the full weight of its support behind the principles of *peace and security*. Here, too, the approach evidenced an urge to facilitate the economic and social progress of the Afro-Asian countries and to serve the welfare of all peoples.

Peace and freedom go together, said the Bandung declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation. This laconic formula sums up the long experience of the Afro-Asian peoples. Colonialism always stood for armed force and enslavement. It was a symbol of aggression. Bandung expressed the hope for a just and democratic peace based on the sovereignty of all countries, abstention from intervention and other forms of foreign interference, the right to individual and collective defence, unqualified renunciation of the use of force, and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

The two decades since the Bandung Conference abounded in great historical events. The might of the socialist community has increased tremendously. The colonial system has collapsed. Imperialism's neo-colonialist policy is in a deep crisis. The revolutionary processes in the zone of national liberation have become irreversible. Many of the historic tasks set in Bandung have been fulfilled. Time introduced correctives in the origninal plan, modified and finalized the strategy of the liberation movement, directing it increasingly against the system of exploitation as such, both feudal and capitalist.

But the Bandung principles are as valid as ever. That is why they are opposed by reactionary forces, which would like nothing better than to blot out the memory of Bandung in the history of the popular struggle for national independence, peace and social progress. The leadership of the People's Republic of China has moved away from the Bandung platform, from its orientation on the unity of freedom and peace, and is trying to split the anti-imperialist front in the name of its hegemonic chauvinist ambitions. Not always were the guidelines of the Conference followed by certain regimes, which acknowledged its principles only in word.

What this means is that today, too, the attitude to Bandung is a measure of fidelity to the ideals of liberation, independence and anti-imperialism.

A process of conceptualizing the essential Bandung propositions to fit the changed world is under way in Asia and Africa. The decisions of that historic forum had in many ways come before their time. Before the conditions ripened for them the peoples of the two great continents have had to suffer grim trials and to learn the horrors of imperialist intervention. But nothing could stop the march of history, as demonstrated by the recent victories of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the victories of the freedom fighters in Africa, the progressive changes in the Arab countries and India, and many other developments.

Having consolidated their national sovereignty and advanced to independence, the newly-free states have the necessary resources to put their dream of peace into practice. They are giving active support to the idea of an Asian system of collective security.

'It is not in empty space that we suggest building the collective security system,' L.I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary, said. 'Many of the principles on which it could be based were proclaimed in the historic resolutions of the Bandung Conference, others are reflected in some of the international documents relating to Asia.' The connection between the idea of Asian security contained in the Soviet proposal and the Bandung decisions speaks of community of principles in the fight of the peoples of socialist and developing countries for peace, cooperation and good-neighbor relations.

Collective security for Asia

Following are statements by politicians and public leaders of *Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Kuwait, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Singapore, the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka and Syria.*

In what way would greater security benefit the peoples of Asia and the various countries of the continent?

Our state, led by Mujibur Rahman, fully agrees that Asia needs a collective security system, said *Jalaluddin Ahmed,* a Bangladesh MP. The peoples of the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and the Middle East need such a system. Without lasting peace the newly-independent countries will find it hard to consolidate their freedom, eliminate the legacy of colonialism and feudalism and make tangible

economic progress. We trust that the present generation of Asian peoples will be able to live according to the laws of peace, in a climate favorable to economic and social change.

Abdul Aziz, Sri Lanka Freedom Party MP, likewise pointed to the interconnection and interdependence of social and economic progress and the consolidation of the basis for Asian security. It is often asked, he said, what our country could gain from collective security. First of all, it could fully use its resources to raise the people's standard of living. Given security, we could develop our economy more rapidly, extend our education system and put culture within reach of the masses. The benefits are obvious and are recognized by diverse political parties. In developing Asian countries, collective security is opposed by foreign imperialist forces and domestic capitalists. So, even the effort for it would produce positive results – the imperialists would have less opportunity to interfere in other nations' affairs, foment conflicts and provoke clashes between countries. With peace assured and the external military threat to the security of Asian countries considerably reduced, the economic potential of whole regions could be increased by a more rational division of labor.

A substantial part of Southeast Asia, said Professor *Wong Lin Ken,* Vice-Chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Singapore, has in recent years witnessed devastating wars. Those were internal conflicts at first, but imperialist interference turned them into protracted wars. As a result, the peoples of Vietnam and other countries of Indochina had to go through severe trials. We do not want those terrible events to recur elsewhere in Asia. Mankind must apply itself to solving the problem of security. Foreign interference in the affairs of our countries must be stopped to make way for political cooperation, mutually beneficial trade and exchanges of economic experience.

In alliance with Asian peoples, we advocate peace in our part of the world, said *Ahmad Dajani,* a spokesman of the PLO. The PLO holds that establishing a collective security system is a pressing need. The political map of the continent has changed and there are ample opportunities to build a better future, eliminate poverty and hunger and stop wasteful use of the nations' resources. The Palestinian problem is part of the general struggle for Asian security. This is why we are confident in growing Asian support of the PLO. Joint struggle for security, cooperation and social progress makes for closer links between the new states and national-liberation movements, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, our natural allies, on the other.

There is wide support for collective security in Kuwait, for people understand that it is in keeping with the national interests of our and

other Arab peoples, said *Mohammed Ghadiri,* member of the Executive of the Peace and Solidarity Committee of Kuwait. Given peace, the peoples of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula will find it easier to regain control of their natural resources, fully nationalize the oil companies and use earnings from the sale of their oil to build factories and develop agriculture. Kuwait plans to spend over $1,200m. on armaments in the next five years. The country's progressive democratic forces call for a drastic cut in this expenditure. The funds released as a result should be invested in strengthening the country's own productive forces. Kuwait, which imports everything from needles to cars, needs to promote every sphere of its economy. But it can build a national economy only if there is peace and independence based on collective security.

What helps the effort to put the ideas of security and cooperation into practice?

The historic gains of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the détente on the Indian subcontinent, the Arab peoples' victory in the liberation war in October 1973 and the signing of agreements on troop disengagement on the Sinai and Golan fronts are all strong indications of favorable changes on the Asian continent, said *Atieh Jodeh,* Executive Secretary, Cultural Department of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Socialist Party (Syria). Naturally, imperialists and chauvinists are trying to push our countries back to cold war. This makes it all the more important to build up conditions favorable to the struggle for peace and security and for social and economic change. Unity of action of the forces of liberation, progress and socialism, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, plays a key role in this struggle.

The favorable changes in Asia are becoming irreversible, said *Hirendra Mukkerjee,* Indian Communist MP. Peace and cooperation are gradually becoming standards of relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, progress in détente in Europe and bilateral and multilateral agreements between Asian countries create a climate favorable to establishing a collective security system on our continent.

Most Indian democrats support these ideas. The Communist Party of India plays a vanguard role in joining together the efforts of diverse non-governmental organizations to campaign for international security and cooperation. Sustained effort by national and international democratic organizations helps to put the ideas of collective security into practice. They are accomplishing a noble task by awakening various social groups and the masses to the need for implementing the

principles of peace and security, showing the way to this goal and helping them to discard prejudices.

The Asian Buddhist Committee for Peace has expressed support for the idea of collective security, said the Hambo Lama *S. Gombozhav* (Mongolian People's Republic), its President. Our organization was founded in 1970 by Buddhist leaders of a number of Asian countries. Although they differ in nationality, social system and language, all Buddhists of good will can unite in support of today's movement for peace and détente, which is in harmony with the traditional philosophical and moral doctrines of Buddhism. To bring into being a powerful united movement for peace and security in Asia, Buddhists are willing to join efforts with all progressive movements.

An ever broader spectrum of Asian political forces is joining the movement for peace, security, détente and social progress, said *Alexander Dzasokhov,* executive secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The involvement of Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, national-liberation movements, religious and peasant organizations, women's and youth leagues, and intellectuals promises to turn the joint drive for peace into a popular and massive movement. The democratic movement helps the efforts of peace-loving states, and prepares the ground for raising the problem to government level. Public organizations have enough weight to influence official attitudes on collective security, and can countervail the militaristic and aggressive designs of imperialist and reactionary forces. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, the World Peace Council and other democratic international groups backed the Soviet proposals for Asian collective security, gave them extensive publicity, and helped them win recognition, with the result that they have an ever more solid foundation.

The humanism of the Asian collective security proposals has been warmly received in Nepal, first of all by the common people, said *Krishna Prasad Shrestha,* secretary-general of the Nepal Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Like the National Peace Congress, the Committee has approved the idea. Now, it is time to give the collective security movement organizational forms. Nepalese public leaders, for example, are thinking of a national Asian peace and security committee representative of all population groups. If the same were done in other countries, the ideas of collective security would spread, the possible differences would be ironed out and the ground prepared for practical steps at government level.

On what basis can a system of collective security be built?

The idea of Asian collective security advanced by the Soviet Union reposes on historical facts and takes account of the present needs,

said Professor *Devendra Kaushik,* of Jaipur University. The First All-Asian Conference, held in Delhi on the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947, called for broad cooperation among Asian countries. The Second in 1949 revealed the common readiness to create continental forms of cooperation, though, admittedly, subsequent efforts were hindered by the imperialist-imposed policy of blocs. Security can be defended not only by military, but also and mainly by political means, Nehru said. An explicit policy of friendship with other countries, he said, assured a greater degree of security than any other means. And at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that collective security is the 'best possible alternative to the existing political-military groupings.'

What we want, said Atieh Jodeh, is a security system based on the principles of sovereignty and independence, renunciation of force, the right to self-determination and choice of development, and broad economic and other cooperation.

The Nepalese, Krishna Prasad Shrestha said, hope that collective security will prevent wars and armed conflicts, help eliminate all forms of colonialism, all foreign military bases, blocs and groupings, and bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Asian countries.

Professor *Boulboulshah Djalal,* of Kabul University, listed the objectives of collective security: independence and peace, positive active neutrality, respect for the UN Charter, support of liberation movements, good-neighborliness, and broader mutually beneficial cooperation. It should help end all colonial and racist policy, assure the right of the peoples to determine their own destiny, and rule out war as a means of resolving disputes.

What preliminary steps would pave the way to an Asian collective security system? Are the difficulties surmountable?

All the political parties in Sri Lanka agree that the Indian Ocean should be a peace zone, said Abdul Aziz. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike laid a proposal to this effect before the United Nations. It was well received in many Asian countries and elsewhere, and seconded by the heads of the non-aligned countries at their 1973 conference in Algiers. If the idea is implemented, it could be the prelude to a collective security system.

Abolition of SEATO and CENTO and the winding up of foreign military bases, said Senator *Mian Ehsan-ul Haq,* member of the ruling People's Party of Pakistan, could be another important step in this direction.

If Southeast Asia became a peace zone, this would add to the

stability and security of Asia and the world, said Professor Wong Lin Ken. He recalled the relevant proposal in the Kuala Lumpur declaration of ASEAN.* Once foreign interference ceases, tensions are bound to diminish. Now that the people of Vietnam have won the right to decide their future independently, Wong Lin Ken said, he was optimistic about a political settlement in Southeast Asia.

In the Middle East, Atieh Jodeh noted, the situation will be explosive for as long as Israel balks at the UN Resolutions requiring withdrawal of her troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Elimination of tensions in the Middle East would see substantial progress to a system of collective security in Asia.

Ahmad Dajani noted that imperialism and Zionism were resisting a just settlement of the Palestinian question. But the dedicated efforts of the Arab people of Palestine and the assistance of all peace-loving states would ultimately bring about a solution – a big gain for security in Asia.

Peace and cooperation in Asia, Mohammed Ghadiri said, means that the seats of tension in the Persian Gulf must be eliminated. It is the imperialist powers, helped by local reactionaries, who are to blame for the friction and internecine strife, for in a strained situation it is easier for the imperialists to hold their positions, their military bases, and to plunder the peoples of this oil-rich area. The foreign oil monopolies are doing their utmost to suppress the national-liberation movement in the Persian Gulf zone and the Arabian Peninsula. The struggle for equal economic relations between the oil-producing developing countries and the capitalist states must put an end to the activity of imperialist monopolies. The changed balance of world forces in favor of socialism and the progress of détente is opening the way to new international economic relations, which will give much additional impulse to the movement for Asian collective security.

The people of Pakistan welcome all efforts for peace in Asia, said Mian Ehsan-ul-Haq. That is clear. It took Europe something like 25 years to get the problem of security and cooperation off the ground. In Asia, too, it will take time before practical solutions are put into effect. It is encouraging that views are beginning to coincide. I see from talks I have had with the delegates from Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Iran that our opinions on Asian security are in many ways identical. The plan of Asian collective security, as I see it, is based on a good idea and responds to the principles recorded in the

*Association of Southeast Asian Nations, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. – *Ed.*

UN Charter. It seems to me that before we have Asian security all disputes between states must be settled in bilateral negotiations.

No one will deny, Hirendra Mukkerjee said, that Asia inherited a tangle of difficult problems from colonialism. It is an imperialist ploy to aggravate them, to create the impression that they are insoluble. Deplorably, the Maoists are doing the same thing. They say, for example, that the collective security idea was conceived to 'surround' and 'isolate' China. This is absurd. Who is trying to 'isolate' the Chinese people? None but the Maoists themselves. Collective security implies equal participation by all Asian countries. Peking knows that perfectly well, and doubly so because in the 50s it supported the proposals enthusiastically. It rejects them now because it wants to sustain the tension in order to promote its ambitions of hegemony. We hope that the experience and wisdom of the freedom-loving peoples of Asia, their growing solidarity against imperialism, will help surmount the obstacles to collective security.

Jalalluddin Ahmed was likewise confident that despite the resistance of the militarist SEATO and CENTO circles and the scepticism of certain political leaders, the peoples of Asia would finally erect an enduring structure of peace. It would be a good thing, he said, for the progressive Asian countries to begin mutual consultations and work out ways and means of building the collective security system, with all Asian states participating.

The ideas of collective security are gradually taking root in contemporary Asian political thinking. They are being studied and discussed. The thoughts and sentiments of their exponents coincide on the main point: the peoples of the continent want to see a revived Asia free from fear and hunger, war and imperialist interference. They want Asia to live by the laws of peace and security, to work for social progress. And that time is sure to come. This is the note that resounds in the statements of Asia's political and public leaders.

Students in the new world

György MURAI, a lecturer at the Budapest Polytechnic, Jerzy KRASNIEWSKI and Inna RUDENKO of *Trybuna Ludu* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, respectively, are known in their countries as commentators on youth problems. In this discussion at the edito-

rial offices of *WMR*, they try to define the main social characteristics of the students in countries of the socialist community.

Socially involved

Murai. Before we try to portray the sudents in socialist countries we must be clear about the background. After all, the social system and the class orientation of higher education have a bearing on the character of students.

Krasniewski. In Polish institutions of higher learning 30 per cent of the students come from working-class and 14 per cent from farm families. In France, which I recently visited, students of working-class and farm origin make up only eight per cent. And not only because education in our country is free, and in France it is not. In Poland anyone who has received an elementary schooling is entitled to continue his education. In France, however, there are secondary schools from which you cannot go on to a graduate school. These schools are attended mostly by children of low-income parents.

Murai. That was also true of pre-socialist Hungary.

Krasniewski. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development estimates that in Switzerland every young man or woman of the wealthy class has 23 times as many chances to enter a university as his or her counterpart in the lower income groups. The gap is as wide as 26 in Sweden, 30 in France, 34 in Italy, 45 in Holland and 48 in Federal Germany. To quote Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP, 'social segregation' is ensured by the fact that the entire stucture and machinery of bourgeois education skilfully substitute a social for a vocational orientation. In socialist countries, however, all social groups are represented among the highly qualified specialists.

Rudenko. It may be argued that we lack ideal equality, with the social structures of higher education and society fully coinciding. There are still distinctions in living and cultural standards between town and country (as well as between urban and rural schools) and between families, nor can these distinctions be eliminated in a short time. This is why a rural school-leaver as gifted as his urban counterpart may show a poorer performance in entrance examinations. It would seem that this problem can be settled only under communism, that is, when there will be no essential distinctions between town and country, between physical and mental labor. It is important to note, however, that socialism is far superior in this respect to developed capitalism. There are several times more workers' and peasants' children in our graduate schools than is the case in capitalist countries. Another fundamental disticntion is how the state approaches the problem, whether it perpetuates or eliminates the differences in edu-

cational opportunities. Basically, the democratic character of our higher education has long been guaranteed by the fact that students pay no tuition and receive grants. Besides, everything is done to balance the opportunity differentials. Preparatory classes are set up for young workers, farmers and ex-servicemen, who after this zero course have admission priority.

Krasniewski. Poland has introduced new rules of admission to higher schools, granting workers' and farmers' children priority among applicants who passed examinations with equal success. Thus, the state makes no allowances as to knowledge, but takes account of the social aspect.

Murai. Our universities run preparatory courses for gifted children from worker and farmer families. Youngsters from remote rural areas can attend similar courses at the YCL summer camps. The vast majority of Hungary's intellectuals are of worker and peasant stock.

Krasniewski. There can be no doubt at all that in the socialist countries the students are part of the people. But consciousness, political understanding, are determined not by social origin alone. Education plays a big part. What problems face the country today? The question was put to students in a poll conducted by our sociologists. About 40 per cent said economic problems; about 30 per cent said the main goal should be to bring Poland to the level of leading industrial powers; about 20 per cent said the problem was to devise a wage structure that would encourage higher skills, productivity and innovation and (in the words of one student) would leave no place 'for consumers of the fruits of the labor of others.' In Katowice, 91 per cent replied they were interested in social and political problems. There was also this question: which of the democratic rights do you consider most important? The right to jobs, education and recreation was the most favored answer, followed by equal opportunities for all, popular rule, etc.

Murai. A poll at Budapest University showed that the vast majority of the students regard the social and political system in Hungary as their own and are eager to share in socialist construction. Guided by revolutionary ideals, the older generation laid the foundations of the new system. The youth, having assimilated these ideals, relate them to the realities of our day.

Rudenko. Continuity of the generations does not come of itself. In my country the last encounter with the class enemy was in the Great Patriotic War, fought by the fathers and grandfathers of the young men and women now studying in our universities. For them the class struggle is something they know only from books. But it is a very real reality in other parts of the world and exerts a definite influence on our foreign policy and some aspects of the situation within the coun-

try. Young people must have a clear understanding of these problems.

Murai. Yes, and that underscores the importance of Marxist-Leninist education and the fight against bourgeois ideology. The men responsible for the subversive propaganda aimed at fomenting social instability in the socialist countries make no secret of the fact that they rely chiefly on the youth and, more especially, the students. And they make a point of flattering the students, telling them that they are the 'catalyst' of an allegedly mounting process of social ferment in the socialist countries, of generation conflicts, and so on and so forth. Broadcasts by all the anti-communist radio 'voices' are meant chiefly for the youth. The vast majority of our students have full confidence in the leadership of the Party and the state. But it would be wrong to believe that bourgeois propaganda is having no effect whatever. It is therefore important to inculcate in every student a class approach to the many different problems that arise in home and international policy.

Socially responsible

Krasniewski. A person takes up higher education to be able to fulfil a definite professional and social role in society. How do students understand this? A joint Soviet-Polish study listed the motives of senior class school pupils in Britain. About a thousand were polled and the common answer was: a desire to earn more. A similar poll in Warsaw produced different results: the most frequent answer was desire to follow a career consonant with my abilities and inclinations. Young people in socialist countries appreciate the intrinsic value of knowledge as a means to an interesting career, even if it is not always attended by higher renumeration. There is also appreciation of the prestige one or another profession carries. It should be noted that mastery of a profession does not produce a narrow specialist with little or no interest in other fields. Most respondents to the poll emphasized the desire for personal happiness in a close-knit family.

Rudenko. A poll at the University of Sverdlovsk showed that 66 per cent regard higher education as the prelude to a meaningful contribution to society; six per cent simply replied 'to a acquire a profession;' three per cent – 'to assure a better place in life.' In Kaunas students were asked: what do you prize above all else in life? More than two-thirds, 66.7 per cent, replied 'interesting work.' To another question, how do you understand happiness? 61 per cent replied: through work for the benefit of the community; 77.4 per cent said that though earnings were, of course, important, interesting work was more important still. At the Rostov University students were asked to name the most attractive aspect of their future profession. The answers: creative character – 50 per cent, importance for the economy – 23 per

cent, interest in the given field – 9.6 per cent. Only eleven of the 2,956 students polled replied 'high earnings.' Sociological studies have shown that the desire to get a higher education is not dependent on the material conditions of the family. In the words of sociologist Shubkin, the life plans of our young people are not determined by social origin.

Murai. Choosing a profession, the student chooses his future. That is natural in a society free of antagonistic contradictions. My personal observations suggest that with every passing year our students display a higher responsibility towards their studies. And I regard this as an incontestable achievement of our universities and higher education generally. Several factors have gone into this: higher teaching standards, the efforts of public organizations, the system of student grants. But also, of course, the feeling of confidence in the future, which is part of our system. For the student knows that a job awaits him when he graduates, whereas in France, for instance, two out of three students drop out because they know they stand little chance of finding a job after graduation.

Kransniewski. There are dropouts in our universities too, but for psychological rather than social reasons. Not all students can adapt to the new conditions. A study conducted at the Cracow School of Economics shows that the lowest dropout percentage is among students from farm families – 80.6 per cent graduate into the second course. Also this interesting detail: students from intellectual families get higher marks than farmers' children at the entry examinations, but the proportion is reversed in the process of study.

Rudenko. Murai has pointed to what I think is a sign of the times: the knowledge cult. It is rapidly gaining popularity among students. A few years ago YCL organizations were concerned about students with lowest marks, today the focus is on intermediate marks, that is, on the sudent who only wants to 'scrape through.' Not all the credit for this should go to the universities. Life itself is compelling the student to put more energy into his studies, for that is the only way to keep abreast of the technological revolution.

Krasniewski. Correct, but understanding of the objective requirements of the technological revolution and of the ideals of our system does not come automatically. The student has to be helped in this. In Poland, he is helped by the Socialist Students Union, an ideological and political organization to which about 80 per cent of our students belong. It creates a climate of respect for progressive students, encourages the movement for higher marks and participation in social life, with front-rankers awarded the Copernicus badge.

Murai. Many students need constant encouragement, a stimulus to work harder. The competition movement and personal example play

a big part here. Who are the most popular students? Those who are always prepared to help their comrades.

Rudenko. And there is the opposite example too. Our correspondent in Austria, E. Bruskova, once told me about a conversation she had at the Vienna University. She asked a student why he was so punctual at lectures. The reply was: 'I have to be, for all the other students are my future rivals. I can't afford to know less than they.'

Murai. In capitalist countries, the school produces intellectuals with an individualistic outlook. The stronger prevails, the weaker is doomed – that is the rule. Some of the shortcomings in the outlook and conduct of our own youth are – paradoxical though it may seem – the result of our achievements. For instance, social confidence, that is, confidence in the future, can degenerate into social indolence. Some build their plans not on their own effort, but on the help of parents or the state ('It has a duty to us'). When we tell them that higher education is expensive, that the student is being supported by the country's workforce, the answer sometimes is: 'That is no more than natural, for the right to education is one of the gains of the socialist system.' And so we have to inculcate the elementary truth that education is something that has to be cherished. Cultivating this feeling of responsibility is an important function of our higher schools.

Rudenko. That is all very true, but in our educational work we employ not only persuasion, but also try to show the student what he can expect, and what will be expected of him, when he gets his diploma. Let me cite this fact. A few years ago most students were content with attending classes and passing exams. Today nearly half of the student body is involved in various scientific societies, research groups, designing bureaus, etc. In fact there have been cases of students patenting technical innovations. The USSR Academy of Sciences has instituted a Student Achievement Medal.

Murai. The experience of our Council of Research Circles shows that student participation in research betokens more than a desire to acquire knowledge. The students understand that social progress means setting one's sights beyond one's particular profession. They regard knowledge not as something utilitarian, but as a social and moral value. That is further evidenced by the wide interest in social and economic studies among my own students – they show a keen interest in what is happening in Indochina, the Middle East, Northern Ireland and Chile.

Rudenko. What you said is very interesting in reference to students of a technical school. Until recently we thought youth interests lay mainly with technical matters. But sociologists, teachers and librarians have seen the compass shift to philosophy. Researchers in Rostov have noticed that academic progress in social science is better

than the overall performance. Another indicator is the popularity of social science competitions. Jury members are impressed by the interest in philosophy in technical schools. In higher schools young people acquire knowledge, but they also acquire a moral and ethical anchor, and emerge as social-political personalities. This is not automatic, and depends on student participation in building the new society.

Socially active

Murai. Socialism is not the work of passive executors of an 'outside will.' Like the other ruling fraternal parties, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party assures a favorable environment for social-political activity by all citizens, students included. As a result, students show a lively interest in home and foreign policy, and are personally involved in political activity. In Budapest University, 76 per cent of the questioned students said 'yes' when asked if they considered political activity a necessary element of their lives.

Krasniewski. In Poland, students' motivations for participation in social and political work include aiding the needy; working for the community; settling important local problems; deriving satisfaction; an opportunity to be among interesting people, and so forth. Only 10 per cent said they had no urge to do social work (poll by Wieslaw Wisniewski).

However, most of the student's leisure is devoted to entertainment rather than social work and other occupations benefitting his or her development. And 77 per cent of the students questioned at Wroclaw Polytechnic said this was their preference. The reason, researchers hold, lies in the heavy curriculum. It creates weariness, which is compensated by entertainment and passive repose. The educational authorities have cut back much of the classwork, and it is up to the educators to take this into account.

Rudenko. Listing activities in their order of importance, a group of Soviet students put development of the personality third after cultural and academic activity (poll by B. Rubin and Y. Kolesnikov). But nowadays, constructive functions are more typical of students, and the intelligentsia in general, than educational.

Krasniewski. In socialist society, the higher school is not merely a place training specialists. It also teaches administration. Polish legislation and government decisions guarantee students' participation in assessing the academic process, compiling time-tables and scheduling examinations. They participate in electing group and faculty tutors, updating curricula, helping freshmen, and so forth. This is done through elected student representatives to the school senate, department councils and youth councils (students elect one-third of the

members). Students may attend sittings held by deans and rectors when they deal with problems of direct concern to the youth. In principle, the administration promotes students' participation rights, though a certain section of the professors is reluctant to accept students as partners. Students' self-administration is divided into two types. The first (group councils, scholarship commissions, refectory committees, hostel councils, and the like) represents students' interests before the administration. The second (club councils, amateur dramatic groups, science circles, and so forth) attends to the inner structure of youth work. Self-administration is expanding. Formerly, the disciplinary committees, for example, consisted exclusively of the deans and the rector. Now, the matter has been turned over to the students. And it has developed that they are stricter, and deal more effectively with their fellow-students.

Murai. Teachers are re-certified every three years in Hungarian higher schools. And the opinion of students is taken into account. At the end of every semester students fill in a questionnaire: What they think of the teacher as a specialist and as a person, and what they think of his teaching methods. A special committee functioning in the framework of the YCL, stands guard over students' rights. Its members are elected by, and accountable to, the student body. The school charter grants the committee voting powers. Recently, the students of my institute used their veto right. When a two-phase curriculum was introduced for chemical engineers (a three-year course for industrial engineers and five years for qualified engineers), the committee objected to the way students were selected for the two grades. It proposed a broader criterion, which, in addition to academic progress, includes participation in research and social work.

Rudenko. Deplorably, self-administration often runs into difficulties. It is much easier to talk of rights than to exercise them. The students' Komsomol organization has very extensive rights, but it takes hard work to exercise them, and not all students want to do it. The rights of students' organizations are recorded in the 'Legislative Principles of Public Education in the USSR and the Union Republics.' Self-administration encompasses all aspects of school life from admission to the assignment of jobs for graduates. Students' educational committees study long-term improvements, and discuss training methods and similar things with the administration.

Student commissions participate in the distribution of scholarship grants, hostel councils allocate rooms and concern themselves with living conditions and the leisure of students. This shows that students' rights are extensive. And control over material benefits, as we know, is the main element of democracy.

Take this episode from Robert Merle's book about the Nanterre

student riots in 1968. The high point came when students broke in on a sitting of the faculty council. This was unheard-of insolence. The dean and his deputy wanted to call the police. Meanwhile, the students looked around with wonder, for none of them had ever been in the hall before. In the Soviet Union, representatives of the students' YCL participate in faculty and university councils. Students have representatives in the Higher School Council of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and in the Council of Rectors. Thus, they may participate in decision-making, though not all of them are, unfortunately, aware of their responsibilities.

Krasniewski. Administration should be taught before the higher school, at all the stages passed by the young people as they grow up to be full-fledged members of society. The very fact that we concern ourselves with these questions – not just granting rights, but also teaching to use them – shows that the situation in socialist countries is different from that in the capitalist world, where students have to fight for their rights. In the socialist countries, students have a sense of involvement and responsibility for their school. Participation is not only a right, but also a duty.

Murai. It is typcial of our students to want to reach into the outside world – the factories, the farms, the building sites. It is a tradition in Hungary for students to help out at building projects. The first building camp was formed on the students' own initiative in 1958 in the marshlands of north-western Hungary.

Rudenko. Links with the adult world of labor have a special meaning for students. They provide experience for the future captains of production. There are many examples in Soviet schools – the students' competition for working-class prizes, cooperation agreements with factories, and the like. In a letter to the rally of students of socialist countries in Moscow in April 1975, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary CC CPSU, said: 'The amalgam of firm communist convictions, lofty moral qualities, fundamental knowledge, and skill in assessing social phenomena from the class standpoint distinguish the specialist in socialist society who places the interests of the Party and people above all else. And it is a good thing that in your student years you combine study with participation in constructive labor, scientific quest and social-political life.' Special mention should be made of the students' building groups. In scale, forms and methods, in results and the moral qualities it produces, this movement, as I see it, transcends anything previously known in the chronicles of student life. The groups number hundreds of thousands of members, and the work they do is worth billions of roubles.

Krasniewski. You seem to think that this is socially motivated work on the part of the students. But couldn't there be a simpler reason for

it? Some of the students can't make ends meet on their scholarship and get no allowance from their parents. True, tuition is free, but some students still have to work their way through school. In 1971, for example, 29 per cent of the Polish students (first to third year) had to earn their living, including 3.5 per cent who worked regularly and 25.5 per cent who did odd jobs. More than half said they had to combine school and work, because they needed the money.

Rudenko. Certainly, earnings are one, but not the sole or the main motive. Many of the students get allowances from their parents and could go to summer resorts instead of the building sites. Yet, they compete for a place in the students' building groups. This is a noteworthy point, because the groups have a strict set of regulations. The main principles are: free will, discipline, and hard work. The students don't simply work, but also lecture, help the village children, and stage plays and concerts for the local people. One Moscow Pedagogical Foreign Languages Institute group took no pay for its work last summer. And its idea was not even novel. In 1962, for example, students donated a day's earnings to buy tractors for Cuba. Then they donated a day's earnings to Vietnam. An experimental school club in a newly-developed farming area and a set of children's institutions in earthquake-ravaged Tashkent were built on students' earnings. It is customary for building groups to repair local schools and the homes of war invalids and families of war dead. And they take no money for it. As we see, in most cases it is not money that motivates the students. The most widespread motive is the wish to be useful, to try oneself at a job, to assert oneself. The usual radicalism of the young is thus channelled into socially useful causes.

Krasniewski. You are perfectly right, and I'll confess that I anticipated your answer, because the same thing is true of the Polish students. After the war we had a bad shortage of doctors. So, medical school students went into the field. Now we have enough doctors, but the student tradition has survived. Students hold what they call White Sundays, when they go to the villages, examine people and help doctors. Once I saw students examining 60-80 farmers in a day, though, naturally, no one had set this quota.

Murai. We usually assess the social value of students as a special social group in terms of its potential (for the students' mission is training for future work). But the students in our countries are already a powerful social force. There is no trace of exclusiveness or corporatism. The higher educational establishments have their doors and windows wide open into the outer world. The student of socialist society is a socially active personality.

It would be hard to find a more socially diverse group than stu-

dents. But the discussion showed that an international type of socialist student is gradually emerging. His personality is shaped by the social-political system, the tasks facing the Communist Party and the people, and the part young people are called upon to play in socialist society.

New trends in rural Panama

Baldomero Gonzalez
Alternate member, CC
People's Party of Panama

Asentamiento[1] is a word one comes across more and more often in Panama – on road signs and in newspaper headlines, on the radio and in conversation. Numerous political organizations, a large body of public opinion and the masses today support General Torrijos' policy of setting up *asentamientos,* for it is leading to important changes and a new life in rural Panama. Before spelling out these changes, it is appropriate to give a brief description of the peasant movement in our country.

Panama is a backward agrarian country half occupied by the U.S. imperialists. The existence of the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone stamps every aspect of life in our country, in particular the peasants' condition.

As soon as the Canal was built (1904-1914), U.S. imperialism set out to use Panama as a stronghold of its global military and economic strategy. Its policy of expansion tended to undermine small-scale farming and ruined tens of thousands of peasants, reducing them to a reserve work force. As for big, private farm estates, they grew stronger and did business with imperialism. The exploitation of sharecroppers working for niggardly pay in cash or in kind increased and so did the economic and political power of the commercial and landed oligarchy.

The development of capitalist relations in Panama gathered momentum at the beginning of World War II. Imperialist and oligarchic rule made it lopsided. Capitalism in agriculture was represented by big banana companies, stock-raising latifundia and a small number

of well-to-do peasants. The bulk of the rural population was poor and ignorant and remained in semi-feudal bondage to the landowners.

Landless squatters (*precaristas)* became particularly active in the 50s and 60s. They squatted on uncultivated private or public lands in the countryside, the vicinity of cities or even the Canal Zone.

The authorities and landowners often evicted the squatters, generally after the land had been cultivated. The resultant conflicts gave rise to class solidarity and a desire for unity. Peasant leagues were founded one after another, largely with the aid of the People's Party of Panama (PPP). This movement spread all over the country.

To head off a revolutionary explosion, the domestic oligarchy hastened to launch an agrarian reform within the framework of the Alliance for Progress.[2] In 1962 the so-called Agrarian Code was adopted. It came into force in 1963 and at the same time a reform commission was set up. The Code nominally recognized the peasants' right to land, economic aid and social maintenance. In reality it left their condition unchanged, for the oligarchy's primary aim was to perpetuate, by making negligible concessions, the rights and economic power of latifundium owners and big livestock farmers.[3] It envisaged the establishment of cooperative farms but made so many reservations that only middle peasants could form cooperatives. The reform, in which the interests of 'traditional' latifundium owners and the new bourgeoisie interlocked, did not solve the agrarian problem. The condition of the masses was going from bad to worse. Thousands of landless peasants were roaming the country in search of a livelihood. Social conflicts in the countryside were intensifying.

In October 1968 power was taken over by a military and civilian government which our Party regards as petty-bourgeois in composition and nationalist in essence. The new government took an anti-imperialist stand under the pressure of democratic forces. It can play a progressive role at definite stages of the country's development. Backed by the whole people, it has been following an independent, sovereign foreign policy. It has recognized Cuba, is promoting relations with some other socialist countries and is striving to end U.S. control of the Canal Zone.

The government's domestic measures did not change the social and economic structure. Nevertheless, they afforded the people opportunities to uphold their economic interests and join in political activity. In 1972 there were elections to the National Assembly on the principle of one deputy from each *corregimiento,* or small administrative unit. This system enabled the people, in particular the peasants, to be properly represented.

One of the government's main objectives is to settle poor peasants on the land. This required the solution of many problems. First of all,

the government had to find an optimal form of settlement, one that would benefit the squatters and ensuring their effective contribution to agricultural production. In line with the recommendations of international organizations and the experience of Latin American countries (for instance, Chile) *asentamientos* were chosen as the right form. But what land was to be distributed and how (individually or collectively) and in what production form – small-commodity or large-scale, cooperative? In other words, how was the government to tackle problems affecting the very foundations of rural economic relations?

At first the government set up *asentamientos* where the squatters had been sued for seizing land. The military authorities recognized the peasants' right to use the seized land. The government resorted to diverse methods – it expropriated land from landowners, committing itself to pay their price in bonds over 15 to 40 years, purchased land (with roads, storehouses and other facilities), exchanged land, allotting the owners land out of public holdings elsewhere, or purchased it by auction (where the owners had failed to pay taxes). In some cases the landowners themselves gratuitously ceded to the government lands seized by the peasants so as to retain the bulk of their holdings. The land obtained in this way was made available to *asentamientos*.

As distinct from some other Latin American countries, the Panamanian *asentamientos* became almost immediately cooperative farms run on the principle of collective land tenure.[4] There developed a widespread movement for the establishment of *asentamientos* all over the country.

As a result, the government was confronted with new, mostly economic or technical, problems, whose solution constituted an important step towards transforming the countryside. The *asentamientos* began to obtain both land and credits from the state. An Agricultural Development Bank was set up to this end. Technical assistance is extended by supplying tractors, combine harvesters and other equipment for hire. The more powerful *asentamientos* have their own farm machinery. The management of an *asentamiento* normally includes one or more agronomists, engineers or other specialists. There has been training of farm machine operators since 1970, and short-term agronomics classes are being organized for peasants.

Much is being done for sanitation, health care and education by building water supply systems, medical aid centers, schools, peasant clubs, and so on. The once disinherited peasants now lead a new life. Formerly the annual income of a rural family was 120 balboas ($120). Today a family belonging to an *asentamiento* earns six or seven times

as much. Household plots add to its income. However, the peasants tend to renounce them as cooperative farming develops.

Incomes are distributed as follows: one part of the earnings from the sale of produce to the state is spent on repaying credits, purchasing machines, implements and fertilizers, and the other part on paying remuneration according to workday units. Besides, often some of the profit is used for expanding the infrastructure. In this case the state supplies building materials and technical facilities while the *asentamientos* supply the labor.

All this is being done to make the *asentamientos* efficient enterprises. Most of them grow grain crops.[5] Here are some figures. In 1970 the *asentamientos* accounted for only one per cent of the nation's grain output. Three years later they supplied as much as 30 per cent, chiefly rice. Per hectare yields range between 60 and 65 quintals (1 quintal = ca. 40 kg). For the first time ever, Panama has stopped importing rice.

After the fascist coup in Chile, Panamanian private business, incited by domestic reaction, tried to disrupt the food supply but the *asentamientos* came to the country's aid. Their output was marketed through Frigomida, a network of shops run by the Ministry of Agricultural Development, and the attempted sabotage failed.

It follows that the new cooperatives not only pay their way, but also help the government build up the economy and combat counter-revolution.

The *asentamientos* are a central issue in the ideological confrontation. Conceived originally as a provisional means of settling peasants on the land, with the prospect of establishing capitalist-type farms, the *asentamientos,* bourgeois reformists hoped, would help to increase output and slightly improve the living standards of part of the peasantry without encroaching on the interests of big owners.

However, the government's agrarian policy went beyond bourgeois reformism. Objectively, it led to solution of many of the peasants' problems. The change from poverty to a decent life inevitably aroused the peasants' social consciousness. This is why the PPP supported the policy of setting up *asentamientos*. The Party was convinced that if pursued consistently and universally, this policy could become a spur to peasant unity and the revolutionary movement in the countryside. It proved right. There are 200 *asentamientos* today, associated in six provincial federations. They are all affiliated to the National Confederation (CONAC) and comprise 6,000 families, or roughly 10 per cent of those engaged in farming. This is not much but the movement for *asentamientos* is gaining ground.

In addition to these peasants who have become active economically, socially and politically, implementation of the agrarian reform is

advocated by the so-called agrarian juntas (associations of small landowners). There are 60 juntas now comprising 1,500 families. Both the *asentamientos* and the juntas are strongly supported by urban and rural workers and all of the country's progressives.[6]

In spite of the efforts of foreign monopolies and big landowners' associations, such as the National Association of Stock-Farmers, to divide the peasantry, the class struggle and the agrarian reform movement are gaining momentum. To a degree, this is a reflection of the confrontation in government quarters between those who would like to impart a capitalist character to the process of change, while preserving the latifundia, and those who want revolutionary change, an end to the power of the big landowners, and free the productive forces from the shackles of antiquated production relations.

The People's Party of Panama is doing its utmost to give the masses an active part in rural transformation. It is working to expand the *asentamientos* movement and to organize cooperatives on the vacant lands of the United Fruit Co. The government has met this anti-imperialist demand, if with certain reservations. The rapid transformation of *asentamientos* into cooperatives is due to the Party's effort. Even before the government embarked on its agrarian policy, our Party gained considerable experience in setting up cooperatives. Their progress undoubtedly benefited the development of *asentamientos*.

The PPP stresses that the consistently progressive military and civilian elements in government are backed by much larger sections of the rural working people, who are prepared to support a movement capable of defeating reaction and winning over the vacillating sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. But we must accomplish the highly important task of bringing about a solid alliance of workers and peasants. This is a requisite for changing the situation in favor of all progressive, national forces, which can end the omnipotence of imperialism and its accomplice, the commercial and agricultural bourgeoisie.

We may thus draw the conclusion that the *asentamientos*, once a reformist experiment, have become a catalyst of the changes in rural Panama and a factor in our people's patriotic struggle for economic independence and social progress.

1. Term used in Latin America for a peasant settlement whose inhabitants are entitled to own or use, individually or collectively, land seized from private proprietors or allotted by the state on various terms. In some cases, the *asentamientos* become part of the cooperative movement.

2. Abortive program for 'aid' to Latin American countries worked out by the U.S. in 1963 with a view to averting, through limited bourgeois reforms, a Cuban-type revolution.

3. The size of holdings was virtually unlimited, provided a stock farmer, for example, had at least one horse or one head of cattle to every two hectares of land. In regard to the poor, the Code made it quite clear that those who were using private or public land without authorization were considered squatters. They were warned that once the Code had taken force, the 'agrarian reform commission will not allow the appearance of new squatters, for its goal is to promote the lawful acquisition of landed property.'

4. Every member of an *asentamiento* is entitled to a household plot whose size is established by the whole membership but may not exceed half a hectare.

5. Big proprietors still have a substantial share in animal husbandry. Fruit-growing (bananas) is in the hands of foreign monopolies. However, there also exist diversified, livestock-breeding and poultry farming *asentamientos*.

6. These figures were given by CONAC General Secretary Julio Bernudez to a *WMR* correspondent who interviewed him. –*Ed*.

Realities of the times and imperialist policy

The turbulent, swift and many-sided events of recent months have changed the political situation in many countries and regions.

The national-democratic movement in South Vietnam has scored a major gain. The reactionary Saigon regime, puppet of the imperialists for many years, crumbled under the joint onslaught of the people's army and the insurrectionary civilian population, and paid the price for sabotaging the Paris agreement and ignoring the people's demand for a peaceful democratic settlement. The key to South Vietnam's future is clearly held by the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government, whose program and social-political practice are supported by the masses and express their vital interests.

In Cambodia, the five-year-old war of liberation has ended. The pro-imperialist puppet regime has fallen, and lawful government is restored. But this, stress the leaders of liberated Cambodia, is not a simple return to the past, but an advance to a society different from the one before the 1970 military coup.

New positive gains have been made by the Portuguese revolution. The failure of the reactionary putsch this March, the consolidation of staunch anti-fascists in the upper organs of power, coupled with the nationalization of vital enterprises and the decision to launch an agrarian reform, are a clear indication of Portugal's further democratic development. The elections to the Constituent Assembly, held on the first anniversary of the overthrow of the fascist regime, gave political solidity to the crucial democratic gains of the revolution, confirmed the influence of the parties of the government coalition,

and demonstrated the people's support of the policy of the Provisional Government and the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement.

For all the uniqueness of the situation in each of these three countries, there are also certain points of resemblance, a kind of common denominator. Marxist-Leninist theory, which has scientifically established the basic laws governing world development in the latter half of the 20th century, helps pinpoint this common denominator. The common and most important aspect of the revolutionary changes – in Europe, as well as Southeast Asia – is the objective and ever more rapid process of liberation from all forms of class and national oppression. It is irrepressible because it is consonant with the general trend of history in our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, with the urge of millions for freedom and deliverance from imperialism. This is why reaction cannot succeed in suppressing the will of the peoples. Here and there, it is true, imperialism may stem the tidal wave of history for a time by force of arms or shrewd maneuver. But nothing it can do will reverse the line of march.

Trying to grasp the recent revolutionary events and the failure of imperialist policy, bourgeois ideologists tend to deny their natural and objective nature. They blame the sharp swings in the political destiny of countries and peoples most of all on the 'perfidy of world communism' and the mistakes of the antagonists of change, chiefly miscalculations in U.S. policy, and overlook the action of the mainsprings of national development.

The U.S. miscalculations are now a favorite topic. And, certainly, no one can complain of any shortage of discussion points. The Indochina events, which President Ford described as closing a chapter in U.S. history, are only the most conspicuous evidence of the bankruptcy of the policy of halting the march of history in Southeast Asia. The same policy has also suffered setbacks at many other points along the periphery of the capitalist world.

U.S. attempts to parade as peacemaker in the Middle East and to consolidate the results of the Israeli aggression have fallen through. New strains have appeared in United States relations with its southern neighbors, the Latin American countries. Efforts to divide the oil-exporting countries, or drive a wedge between them and other Third World states, have proved in vain. The so-called Atlantic Zone, long regarded a model of stability, is another source of headaches. *Newsweek* produced this typical picture: 'In the wake of Portugal's headlong rush to the left, Western strategists were concerned about Lisbon's future reliability in the alliance. Because of the Cyprus dispute, Greece has withdrawn from NATO's military command and Turkey is reassessing its U.S. ties. Political instability casts a long

shadow on Italy's prospects as a Western military partner. Several of the pact's members are chopping defense budgets in order to beat inflation, and . . . Britain announced it planned to end its NATO naval commitment in the Mediterranean.'*

When all is said and done, it is perfectly legitimate to infer deep-going crisis phenomena in U.S. foreign policy. The crisis is more than evident. But the important thing is to see its causes and essence.

Bourgeois observers discussing the crisis may be classed in two schools. One says that Washington has not been flexible enough, and builds its arguments on the following simplistic formulas: If the United States had not abetted Salazar and Caetano, the revolution might not have come to Portugal; if it had not put all its eggs in the Thieu basket, South Vietnam might have been saved for the Western world, and if it had not opposed the Arabs in the Middle East as Israel's accomplice, the West might have had all the oil it wanted for a song, and so on and so forth.

The other school has its own set of arguments, most of them also in the subjunctive mood. Its exponents blame the troubles on lack of toughness, not flexibility. As they see it, the U.S. would not have been in trouble, if it had lived up more thoroughly to its part as world policeman. Senator James Buckley, a known reactionary, enjoined Washington to see if it could not intervene militarily to keep Portugal under U.S. influence. And his brother, William Buckley Jr., a columnist, deplores the U.S. failure to 'pulverize Hanoi and Haiphong.' In a similar vein, Western papers condemn the U.S. for a shortage of 'military resolve' in Cambodia and Vietnam. Washington is accused of 'betraying its allies' (i.e., the Saigon and Phnom Penh puppets). This is capped with the conclusion that nothing but force can restore U.S. prestige wherever revolutionary movements may jeopardize the survival of reactionary rightist regimes.

What strikes the eye is that the bourgeois critics of U.S. foreign policy – those who want 'liberal' flexibility, as well as those clamoring for brute force – are equally convinced that in principle imperialism can prevent the world's revolutionary development, and that this depends merely on an 'error-free foreign policy.' In substance, this betrays their faith in the false premise of imperialism's right and ability to control the national wealth and social future of other countries. And that, in fact, lies at the root of the collision between the foreign policy of the imperialist powers and the realities of the present-day world.

Sooner or later, the chasm between imperialism's aims and capabilities becomes self-evident, leading to disappointments and

**Newsweek,* March 31, 1975.

defeats. What else could lie in store for those who had set out to restore imperialist dominion in Indochina in this epoch of collapsing colonial empires? What else could be expected from the policy supporting the Black Colonels in Greece or backing the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and its colonial war in Africa in an age of ascendant democratic movements? It follows that present U.S. failures are first and foremost a chastening for refusing to reckon with such realities of the latter half of the 20th century as the impact of the ideas and practice of socialism, the national-liberation revolution and the insuperable growth of the forces of democracy and social progress. But to reduce the matter to just a bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy guidelines is to minimize its actual dimensions, for it is merely the now most conspicuous symptom of the historically inevitable weakening of the foreign policy positions of imperialism as a whole.

Most of the bourgeois ideologists and politicians urging a reassessment of the West's international strategies plead for a more realistic appreciation of the present world situation. But this sensible idea is all too often given the opposite meaning. Take this statement by George Meany, the U.S. labor union leader: 'We don't need any more myths. We need a cold look at reality.'* What he means by this is that normalization of relations between states with opposite systems should be abandoned, because the 'communist gains' and 'U.S. policy reverses' in Indochina, the Middle East, Portugal and elsewhere, are, in his view, a 'backlash' of détente.

Does this hawkish attitude conform in any way with a cold look at reality? Admittedly, there is a connection between détente and the process of revolutionary change. For one thing, improvements in international relations cannot be separated from the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, who thus obtain favorable conditions for deciding their national future on their own. But the foes of détente turn this connection inside out. By their logic a return to international tension and cold war could guarantee against revolutionary changes in the capitalist world and the zone of national liberation. There is not the slightest trace of realism in this thinking, for hasn't it already proved its incompetence? Didn't the aggressive U.S. intervention in Vietnam, which cost $150 billion and 355,000 killed and wounded, fall mainly within the cold war period? And in the final analysis, wasn't the U.S. acceptance of détente an acknowledgement of the futility of a policy which the hawks, who have learned nothing from the lessons of history, now want Washington to resume?

Politics is known as the art of the possible. And for good reasons.

**International Herald Tribune*, April 10, 1975.

In the recent past, influential bourgeois politicians showed that under certain circumstances they are quite capable of seeing the wisdom of this aphorism. They displayed more than their usual share of good sense in evaluating the changed balance between the opposing social-economic systems. They accepted the fact that relations between capitalist and socialist countries can follow only the lines of peaceful coexistence.

Today, too, the bourgeois press expresses many sound ideas concerning the latest developments. James Reston, a leading U.S. commentator, for example, said the events in Indochina will hopefully teach the United States to give up the illusion that its 'money and machines can solve any problem.'* And Theo Sommer, editor-in-chief of the West German *Die Zeit,* presumes that Washington has finally realized that it 'cannot single-handedly manage the course of global events.'**

However, it is childish to expect that in looking for a remedy to its foreign-policy crisis, imperialism will necessarily reconcile itself to the inevitability of progressive, democratic, revolutionary changes, and abandon attempts at arresting the liberation movement of the peoples. It will only try to find new forms and methods of promoting its designs.

What this demands of the anti-imperialist forces across the world is a high degree of vigilance. Backed by the increasing international authority of the socialist world, they are working to augment their influence on world events, and their positions have never been more solid. But to assure realism in world politics and make the process of improvement in global international relations irreversible, the anti-imperialist front must continuously increase its strength. Then, as recent experience has shown, the enemies of peace, national freedom and social progress tend to arrive at sounder conclusions about their limited capability and shy clear of dangerous and reckless ventures.

Jan Prazsky

**International Herald Tribune,* April 14, 1975.
***Newsweek,* April 21, 1975.

Bookshelf of political literature

THE COLONIALIST TODAY

Recent developments in Africa have spotlighted the growing role in the international arena of the more than 350 million inhabitants of Africa. Reflecting the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the new relationship of world forces in favor of socialism and progress, and occurring in the favorable conditions of developing international détente, these events have added a new dimension to Africa's participation in the global anti-imperialist struggle. A vivid example of this is the solidarity of Africa with the peoples of the Middle East during the October 1973 war, when most African countries broke off relations with Israel. Progressive forces in the young states strive to establish control over their resources, to modernize their agriculture, develop industry and combat the unequal terms of trade imposed by the imperialists. Although beset with difficulties and errors, through their experience the peoples of Africa are becoming increasingly aware of the advantage of the non-capitalist way of development and a socialist orientation.

But the difficulties and pitfalls are not to be minimized. They are traceable mainly to neo-colonialism and mainly to U.S. neo-colonialism. There can be no doubt that a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the methods and devices of neo-colonialism would be useful to the fighting peoples of Africa, but, regrettably, there are not many such books. This gap is filled, if only partially, by Stuart Smith, a progressive U.S. economist, who analyzes the strategy and tactics of U.S. imperialism in Africa.

Smith takes the 20 years from the mid-50s to the early 70s to trace the main lines of U.S. imperialist penetration into Africa – economic, political, military and cultural. And he stresses that they are all closely intertwined. 'Investment, aid and trade were used not only as economic levers to derive high profits but also with political strings

Stuart Smith. *U.S. Neo-Colonialism in Africa*. International Publishers, New York, 1974, 275 pp.

attached. Economic advantage and social status were employed to promote certain social strata and individuals. Language, education, religious and cultural ties, frequently buttressed in the form of technical assistance, took on increasing importance as means of exerting broader ideological influence' (pp. 39, 40).

The author shows the various forms used by neo-colonialism to create a base for itself among some sections of the population. On the one hand, it gives freely to help the local bourgeoisie consolidate: 'More than ever before, the dollar . . . is viewed by Washington as a political dollar' (p. 47). On the other hand, North American politicians play on feudal survivals, nationalism and tribal rivalry to create constant instability of power to facilitate the subordination of the developing countries to its *diktat*.

While noting the flexible nature of U.S. tactical policies toward Africa, Smith shows that the new devices are used to further old objectives, namely, to retain the African countries in the orbit of imperialism as a permanent reserve of cheap labor and raw materials.

Examining neo-colonialist military policies, Smith shows how changes on the international scene are compelling the U.S. to review its priorities. Hence, its African strategy reflects the shift from tactics pursued during the cold war stage, when U.S. imperialism, attempting to carry out its self-ordained mission of global policeman, engaged in direct military aggression, to the 'low profile' tactic of emphasizing economic, diplomatic and ideological measures while continuing its political-military policy through aggressive blocs (NATO, CENTO) and allies like South Africa and Israel.

In his Foreword to the book, Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, writes that the Pentagon pursues a dual objective in extending its influence in Africa: 'Suppression of the liberation movements within the continent and the use of African bases and resources as a reserve of growing importance in the global confrontation with Communism' (p. 6).

By way of contrast, Smith presents the record of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in relation to Africa. Factual evidence of socialist aid to Africa demolishes the arguments of those who attempt to defend U.S. neo-colonialist policies. The contrast points up the importance for the future of the African peoples of the non-capitalist road of development and ever-strengthening ties with the socialist community.

John Pittman

THE FATE OF MORAL VALUES

The profound crisis of capitalist society is not only an economic and political crisis, but also one of bourgeois morals. This was the gist of contributions to the latest Marxist Thought Week, a debate sponsored at regular intervals by the French Communist Party's Marxist Study Center. The discussions were also attended by representatives of the Socialist Party, trade union organizations and progressive scholars and artists. The contents of the discussion are summarized in the volume, 'Morality and Society'; its main sections are: 'Work and Daily Life,' 'Sex and Family Problems,' 'The Scientist's Place in Society,' 'Problems of Culture' and 'Is There a Revolutionary Ethics?'.

The moral aspect of the general crisis of capitalism is acquiring ever greater significance. In imperialist countries working people are increasingly concerned not only with improving their material welfare but also with the social value of their labor, problems of free time, women's equality, cultural development, etc. The eternal question of the meaning of life is now especially acute.

To this day hundreds of thousands of French workers are engaged in a debilitating struggle for a livelihood, working from morning till night, with practically no free time or opportunities to restore their strength. The book quotes statements by workers:

'I feel drained. By evening I'm exhausted. And it's that way over and over again.'

'I've virtually no family life. I hardly see my wife, I don't know how my children are growing up, and it's almost impossible to meet with friends.'

'I've lost contact with people. My family relations are ruined ... I've lost the feel of living.'

The exhausting labor is aggravated by the realization that it is a source of monopoly enrichment.

The book analyzes at length the problems of the white-collar workers in capitalist countries. To what purposes are the latest achievements of science and technology put where power is in the hands of capitalists? What should the stand of upright scientists be in the face of inhuman uses of scientific discoveries? In an attempt to answer these questions the authors of 'Morality and Society' show that the bourgeoisie has a vested interest in maintaining a degree of backwardness among the people. That is why there is such rigid screening of applicants in the secondary and higher education system. That is

Morale et société. Editions sociales, Paris, 1974, 319 pp.

why the ruling classes encourage pseudo-scientific notions and prejudices. The book cites the results of sociological surveys that show that 45 per cent of all French men and women still consider astrology a science. Instead of progress, science is used for entirely different ends: pharmaceutical firms manufacture useless, if not harmful, medicines, vast scientific resources are engaged in military research, etc.

The monopolies are increasingly taking over the film industry, radio, television, newspapers, magazines and publishing houses so as to be able to implant their 'culture' unhampered and prevent the emergence of progressive trends in the society's cultural development.

Realizing how far removed the moral values of bourgeois society are from genuine ideals, more scientists, artists, journalists and students are joining the struggle for a new morality, becoming allies of the working class and democratic forces.

The book clearly shows that the class struggle of the proletariat and its allies in capitalist countries not only helps the working people oppose bourgeois morality, but also nurtures new, revolutionary ethics that can renovate man and society as a whole. 'Consciously or unconsciously, millions of men, women and young people feel the consequences of the crisis of a society ruled by the profit motive. This powers the urge for change and renewal.' Rebuffing the attacks of bourgeois propaganda that question the very existence of new moral values, the authors write: 'To the question, is there a revolutionary ethic? Marxists reply: Yes, there is a Marxist humanism based on recognition of the social character of the individual.' The communist outlook, which is spreading more and more widely among the masses, is the basis for the appearance and strengthening of new, just moral values in the consciousness of working people. The authors cite examples from life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, where work is imbued with a lofty purpose, where free time is used to develop the personality, where women enjoy equal rights with men, and where collectivism and mutual assistance constitute the basis of human relations.

Eugene Brion

A MAN'S CHOICE

This autobiography of one of the Canadian Communist leaders tells the story of the first generation of Canadian Communists and the leading role of the Canadian working class. It tells the story of the great struggles of Canada's workers and farmers, of all democratic forces in the 'lean 30s.' And it is told by a man with literary talent capable of character portrayal with a few deft strokes, and of drawing a vivid picture of the conditions in which the events of those years unfolded.

Recounting his orphaned boyhood in a poverty-ridden Scottish village and subsequent emigration to Canada, Tom McEwen re-creates a picture of the life of the 'harvester treks' when thousands of migratory workers made their way westward across Canada to take in the crop, commenting that 'those harvester treks played a very vital part in shaping my destiny as a student of revolutionary Marxism' (p. 52).

One of the chapters is entitled, 'A Man Must Choose.' In it McEwen tells of his first active contact with the organized socialist movement. 'I . . . met the real socialist "intelligentsia" of the day, and tasted the elegance of their ivory tower menu,' he remarks with irony (p. 87). Tom McEwen made his final choice in 1921, when he joined the Canadian Workers' Party, later the Communist Party.

Some of the best pages of the book tell how Canadian Communists set up the Workers' Unity League* in 1930 to organize the unorganized workers, employed and unemployed alike. McEwen describes the sharp struggles the Communists waged during the crisis years against opportunists, who claimed that workers should not and could not advance and win wage demands during an economic depression.

As general secretary of the Workers Unity League from its founding until 1936, McEwen writes of the numerous working-class actions — despite opportunist opposition — against monopoly capitalism, of the struggle for democracy. The capitalist rulers resorted to anti-democratic and fascist-like attacks trying to smash the democratic movement of the Canadian people. Tom McEwen's life epitomizes how people get to know the laws of development of capitalist society

Tom McEwen. *The Forge Glows Red.* From Blacksmith to Revolutionary. Progress Books, Toronto, 1974. 260 pp.

*The Workers Unity League became active at a time when the bureaucratic leaderships of the Trades and Labor Congress (TLC-American Federation of Labor) in Canada, the All-Canadian Congress of Labor were uninterested in organizing the unorganized. In 1936 the unions it had founded rejoined the TLC-AFL to build the united workers front.

through their own experience. His book shows how Canadian Communists, imbued with proletarian internationalism and true patriotism, lead the struggle for working-class interests and the democratic gains of the Canadian people.

'The Forge Glows Red' is an outstanding contribution to Communist literature in Canada.

Mel Doig

NEW BOOKS

BETTINA APTHEKER. *The Morning Breaks: The Trial of Angela Davis*. New York, International Publishers, 1975. 288 pp.

Bettina Aptheker, a close friend of Angela Davis and a representative of the defense at her trial, presents a chronicle of events in the worldwide campaign for the American Communist's life and freedom.

A.S. BLANK. *In the Heart of the 'Third Reich.'* A History of the Underground Anti-Fascist Popular Front. Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1974, 237 pp. (In Russian.)

An account of the activities of underground anti-fascist groups of the German Resistance known as the Red Capella that operated in Germany, primarily in Berlin, during the Second World War. The author tells of people of different social backgrounds and party affiliations who struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party against fascism, for the liberation of the German people.

Leader of the Defense of the Soviet Motherland. An Account of CPSU Activities in the Great Patriotic War. Moscow, Politizdat, 1975. 407 pp. (In Russian.)

This collective effort of Soviet historians is devoted to the many-sided leading political, ideological and organizational activity of the Communist Party, which mobilized all the material and spiritual forces of the Soviet people for the defeat of the nazi invaders.

A. DEMICHEL, F. DEMICHEL, M. PIQUEMAL. *Institutions et pouvoir en France* (Institutions of Power in France). Paris, Editions sociales. 1975. 224 pp.

Three French lawyers analyze the influence of state-monopoly capital on French bourgeois democracy and its political institutions. Examining the changes of the last few years made in the 1958 Constitution, they note a shift to the right.

CESTOU KVETNA. Dokumenty k pocatkum nasi národni a demokratické revoluce. Duben 1945-Kveten 1946. (*The Road of May*. Documents on the Beginning of the People's Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia. April 1945-May 1946). Svoboda Publishers, Prague, 1975. 496 pp.

Beginning with the Košice Program of the first National Front of Czechs and Slovaks drawn up by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the book goes on to other documents referring to the early period of the people's democratic revolution. The volume is supplied with abundant references and commentaries.

H.I. KLEVEN. *Var partiteori* (Our Party's Theory). Forlaget Ny Dag, Oslo, 1975. 174 pp.

An analysis of the situation in Norway's labor movement and the political role of Left forces in it. Kleven shows what it means to be a revolutionary party of the working class today, the political, ideological and organizational principles it is based on.

E. PANOVA AND OTHERS. *Women in the World Today*. Sofia, 1975. 125 pp. (In Bulgarian).

The volume is devoted to International Women's Year. With a wealth of documentary material, it examines the socio-economic position of women in socialist and capitalist societies.

O. RYAN. *Tim Buck – A Conscience for Canada*. Progress Books, Toronto, 1975. 302 pp.

A biography of Tim Buck, organizer, theoretician and for many years leader of Canada's Communist movement, who has become part of the history of Canada and the struggle of her working class for radical reforms, independence and socialism.

G.Z. SORKIN. *Reality Versus Fantasy*. A Critique of Bourgeois and Reformist Histories of the Communist International. Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1974. 252 pp. (In Russian).

Misrepresenting the history of the Communist International is part of the general stream of anti-communist literature. In this volume, a Soviet historian critically analyzes the stand of representatives of the reformist and bourgeois schools in the historiography of the Third International, traces the evolution of their views and exposes the falsifiers of the ideological and theoretical heritage, the strategy and tactics of the Comintern.

In memoriam

JACQUES DUCLOS

The life of Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, a man prominent in the world Communist movement, was an example of devoted service in the cause of the working class and people of France, an example of dedication to Communist ideals.

Duclos was born on October 2, 1896, to the family of a poor peasant in a Pyrenees village. He began to work at the age of 12. Saw service in World War I as a private of the French army and subsequently became co-founder of the Republican War Veterans Association, which in 1945 elected him Honorary Chairman.

Duclos joined the French Communist Party soon after it was founded, in December 1920. Together with Marcel Cachin, Maurice Thorez and other leaders, he played an outstanding role in building the FCP as a Marxist-Leninist, internationalist mass party. In 1926 he was elected to the Central Committee and in 1931 to the Political Bureau, of which he was a member to the end of his life. He took an active part in organizing the Popular Front. In the tragic years of the nazi occupation, he was a foremost organizer and leader of the Resistance.

Selfless defense of the nation's interests, its freedom and independence, earned Duclos the deep affection of the people, who saw him as a gifted political leader and brilliant speaker, a man of vast erudition.

The world Communist movement knew Duclos as an outstanding champion of its unity, of the unity of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces. He served for years on leading committees of the Communist International. He wrote a number of important works on the history, theory and practice of the working-class movement. Readers of *World Marxist Review* remember his interesting and forceful articles in the journal.

Jacques Duclos will be remembered as a consistent Marxist-Leninist, patriot and internationalist, a sterling fighter for the great ideals of communism.

Political posters in Colombia

Propaganda has always been prominent in the activities of the Communist Party of Colombia, even when repression was particularly brutal and the Party operated in illegal conditions.

The CPC assigns an important role to political posters. They help people in assimilating and carrying out its program, popularize its publications and mobilize the masses to defend political prisoners. The workers' struggles, the peasants' courageous armed actions, the students' protest movements, popular actions against imperialism and oligarchy, solidarity with Cuba, Vietnam and Chile, friendship with the Soviet Union are sources of inspiration to Communist and progressive artists.

During election campaigns, mass actions and other events, Party members are sent out to put up posters. Leading Party members, including CC General Secretary Gilberto Vieira, often take part. Folk-singers and musicians perform beside the posters, attracting attention to the Communist message.

Political posters help us to strengthen and develop popular unity in the framework of the National Opposition Alliance, whose center is the CPC. Posters are an important element of the struggle for national and social emancipation which the people are waging in various forms.

Alvaro Mosquera

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