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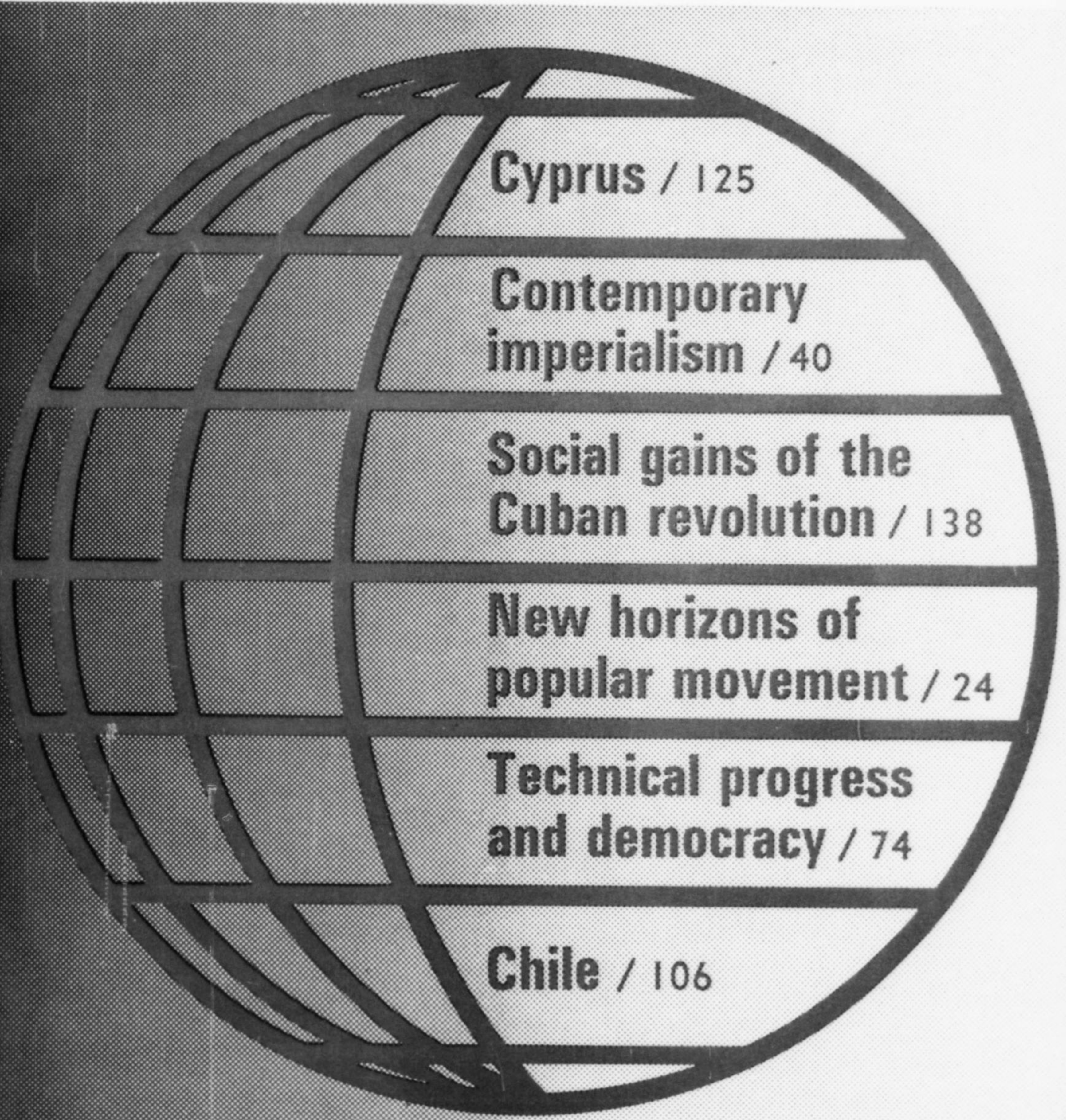
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Cyprus / 125

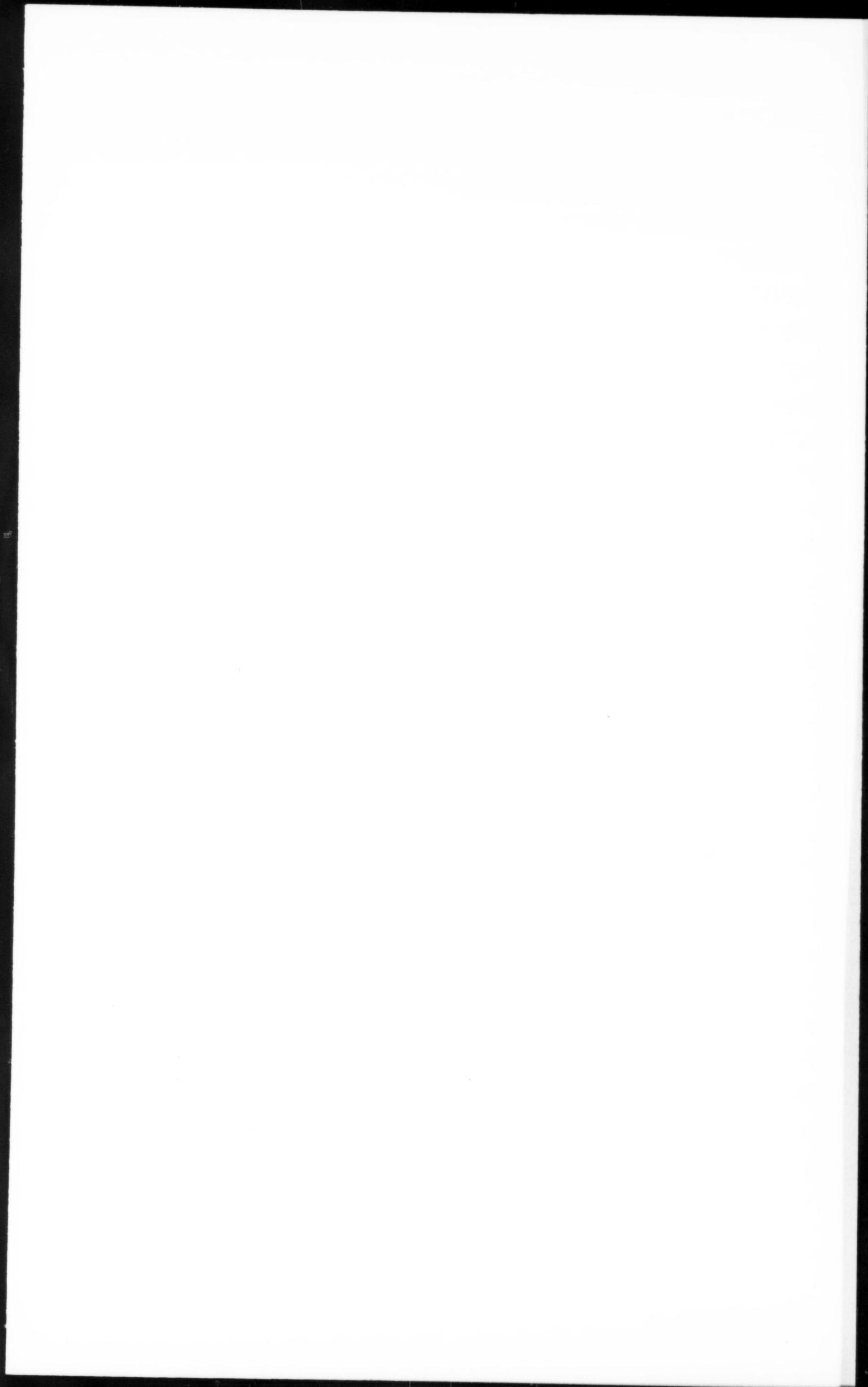
**Contemporary
imperialism / 40**

**Social gains of the
Cuban revolution / 138**

**New horizons of
popular movement / 24**

**Technical progress
and democracy / 74**

Chile / 106





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Features

- 3 Formation of a socialist nation in the GDR
H. Axen
- 14 On the approaches to developed socialism
G. Aczel
- 24 New horizons of popular movement
A. Vasquez
- 31 Détente has to be fought for
P. Auersperg

Viewpoints

- 40 Contemporary imperialism in the light of Lenin's doctrine
International theoretical conference
- 74 Does technical progress undermine democracy?
S. Zawadski

Party experience

- 82 Soviet Communists' plans; an expression of the people's will
R. Wettengel, D. Stanishev
- 87 The Party, the working class, left unity
H. Hofer
- 92 Rightist offensive in 'defense of democracy'
G. Kwiatowski, O. Sanchez
- 99 A communist mayor for Nazareth
Z. Karkabi

- 103 Party meetings

Comment

- 106 Decisive prerequisite for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship
S. Gonzalez

(Continued next page)

(Cont'd)

- 116 The balance of world
forces and the
Middle East crisis
N. Ashhab
- 124 Collective rebuff
to fascism
S.M.
- 125 European security and
maneuvers of the
enemies of Cyprus
A. Fantis

The press

- 130 A loyal son of
his class
E. Diehl
- 133 Fighter and thinker
P. Hentges
- 136 A citizen of Chile
H. Fazio
- facts and figures**
- 138 The social gains of
the Cuban revolution

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Formation of a socialist nation in the GDR

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and Secretary,
Socialist Unity Party
of Germany

A new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the USSR and the GDR going beyond the year 2000 was signed in Moscow on October 7, 1975, the 26th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

Bearing the signatures of Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, and L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the treaty is evidence that the fraternal alliance of the two countries rests on the indestructible foundation of their devotion to the great cause of socialism and communism, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the political unity of the CPSU and SUPG, the closer intertwining of their economies, a coordinated foreign policy aimed at defending and strengthening socialism and world peace, and on closer all-round relations between their peoples. The contracting parties were animated by the conviction that 'the all-round strengthening of unity and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic accords with the vital interests of their peoples and of the community of socialist states and facilitates still closer relations between socialist nations.'

The objective purpose of closer union of socialist nations is, for the first time, formalized in treaties between socialist states. The historic process which found expression in the new theoretical and political conclusions drawn by the Eighth SUPG Congress as a result of creative application of Marxism-Leninism, namely, the formation of a socialist nation in the GDR, is thus backed by international law. Its future should be seen in the context of the continuous development of the family of socialist nations, above all the world's greatest and most progressive state, the Soviet Union. The treaty stresses the irreversibility of socialism's victory in the GDR.

Obviously, we are not dealing with a purely theoretical problem or

one of importance only for the GDR, but with a political problem of very practical importance to the socialist world system and the world communist movement.

The judgment of history

The Eighth SUPG Congress made it clear that the national question in the GDR had long been solved by history itself. This is borne out by even a terse summary of the past.

We know that nations did not always exist. They emerged with the rise of capitalism, as a product of the economic, political and ideological struggle of the masses, led by the bourgeoisie, against the feudal aristocracy. The emergence of the capitalist mode of production required a single national market, unity within the framework of a national state. Naturally, these processes greatly accelerated the development of national languages and cultures.

Not every country followed the classical pattern of Britain, Holland and France, where nations were formed after successful national bourgeois-democratic liberation struggles. In Germany the process was especially protracted and complicated, and a national capitalist market appeared relatively late. Even the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 did not overcome the weakness of the German bourgeoisie, for feudalism still held strong positions, and with the working class already knocking on the door, the bourgeoisie concluded far-reaching compromises with the feudal-militarist forces. It betrayed the revolution and thereby forfeited the opportunity to create a unified, democratic German republic advocated by Marx and Engels and by the revolutionary democrats.

The German national state arose, at long last, with the proclamation of the Empire in 1871. It was an anti-democratic state dominated by Prussian reaction. Whether the Kaiser monarchy, the Weimar Republic or the Nazi dictatorship, it always bore the predatory features of German capitalism and, later, imperialism. In the 19th century the capitalists and Junkers, guided solely by their selfish class interests, favored a 'small-Germany solution.'¹ But in the 20th century German monopoly capital twice made a bid for world domination through a 'greater German Reich.' Europe and the world were plunged into two devastating wars. Imperialist policy, especially brutal and savage under the Nazis, jeopardized not only world peace, but the very existence of the nation. This reactionary and aggressive policy ended with the collapse, in May 1945, of the German Reich, forged 'by iron and blood,' and reduced to ashes and blood.

The consequences of the catastrophe brought on by imperialist policy, so glaringly exposed in 1945, are irrefutable proof that the big

bourgeoisie neither could, nor wanted, to promote the interests of the nation, or to bring the people peace and security.

The revolutionary German working-class party presented a socialist alternative to the ruinous policy of the exploiting classes, and that alternative extended to the national question. As a contingent of the international workers' movement, it consistently fought for the class aims of the proletariat, but also upheld the genuine interests of the nation. 'The Communists have always been patriots, have always sought to direct the nation along a path that would have averted the catastrophes brought on by capitalism and war; a path that would have directly led to a brighter future,' Comrade Honecker declared at a Central Committee meeting in 1974.

The German Communists always devoted much attention to the national question. Theirs was the attitude of genuine patriots. They consistently rejected both national nihilism and cosmopolitan, notably bourgeois-nationalistic, chauvinist views.

In 1945, following Germany's liberation from Hitler fascism, they maintained that the role of the nation in history had not been exhausted. But the German Communist Party, and later the SUPG, never forgot that Marxism-Leninism understands history as the history of the class struggle and that the national question is not the decisive factor in setting the course of social development. This means that a scientific approach to the national question, in Germany as elsewhere, requires that it be examined through the prism of the class struggle.

The Great October Revolution in Russia provided practical corroboration of the teaching of Marx and Engels that social revolution, performed by the proletariat and its allies, is essential for the renewal of all forms of the existence of human society. One such important form, though not the most important, is the nation. In the Soviet Union solution of the social problem led, for the first time in history, to an effective and consistent solution of the national question. That is vividly evidenced by the flourishing state of the socialist nations and nationalities and by the appearance of a new social community, the Soviet people.

The national question took on a new meaning in Germany in 1945. Liberation by the Soviet Union and the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in World War II, presented the German people with an historic opportunity to change the course of social development and cast off, for all time, the fetters of exploitation, oppression and war.

For a very long time — actually up to the very last possibility — our Party worked for democratic and progressive development of the whole of Germany. This would have foiled the imperialist policy of partitioning the country. The class character of the imperialist

occupying powers' policy was clear from the very outset, and so was their compact with German monopoly capital which, after total defeat, for a time submitted to them. Our Party — and this is one of its greatest services — consistently worked together with all anti-fascist and democratic forces against the emergence of a separate West German state, for a united anti-fascist and democratic republic.

This was not achieved: the relation of forces, nationally and internationally, blocked solution of this problem. World imperialism fully realized what was at stake. A united, democratic, anti-fascist state between the Oder and the Rhine would have fundamentally altered the alignment of forces in Europe, with very grave consequences for the entire imperialist system. Immediately after the October Revolution in Russia world imperialism made it its policy to prevent any change in favor of socialism in the alignment of forces in the center of Europe. After the defeat of Hitler fascism, fearing the loss of imperialism's key positions in Germany, the Western imperialist powers took upon themselves the role of patrons of Germany monopoly capital and grossly interfered in the class confrontation in Germany. In pursuance of their imperialist class aims, they immediately jettisoned the democratic and anti-monopoly provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, inserted in it chiefly due to the prestige and international influence of the Soviet Union which had made the decisive contribution to the victory. The German monopolists, branded in the Potsdam Agreement as the perpetrators of the war, became allies of the imperialist victor powers. In collusion with the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, the imperialist forces prevented unity of the working class in the Western zones. The war criminals and Junkers were not deprived of their economic and political power in flagrant contradiction to the will of the masses. This was a decisive step toward resurrecting the power of German imperialism. Again pursuing its egoistic class interests, Germany monopoly capital had no hesitation in betraying the national interest. That was the culmination of its long years of betrayal. The proclamation of the FRG in September 1949, its aggressive policy as the European outpost of world imperialism directed against world socialism, led to the partition of Germany and, in the end, to destruction of the unity of the German nation. Responsibility for that lies with the German monopoly bourgeoisie. From the very outset they employed every available means against the GDR, the new German state in which the people, using their right to free national and social self-determination, drew the necessary lessons and carried out the historically necessary process of national renewal.

One of the main aims of the cold war instigated by Churchill, Truman, Dulles, Adenauer and Schumacher, was to undermine and

'liquidate' the GDR and re-establish a united imperialist Germany.

It is now openly admitted in the FRG that Adenauer wanted reunification only on the condition that the 'reunited Germany would have a free, Western social system. Reunification on a socialist basis was thus ruled out.'² The 'rollback' policy of the Eisenhower-Dulles administration eminently suited the class interests of the revived and strengthened West German monopoly bourgeoisie. They hoped that, complemented by 'positions of strength' tactics, this would sooner or later bring on the collapse of communism, and the victory of the Western system in East Germany would automatically lead to reunification.'³

And so, the march of history, particularly after the war, makes it amply clear that the so-called German question, the question of the nation occupying the territory of the Germany that collapsed in 1945, must above all be considered from class positions.

As a result of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society, a new type of nation, a socialist nation, has taken shape and is developing in the GDR. Now, after 30 years of continuous progress, it differs fundamentally, in its main features, from the bourgeois nation of the FRG. As in other socialist countries, the nation in the GDR is the logical result of social development. The socialist revolution and the socialist mode of production have given it an entirely new content.

The decisive political prerequisite for the rise and formation of a socialist nation in the GDR was and remains the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of our worker-peasant state.

The main features of the socialist nation stand out in increasing clarity as we build a developed socialist society. The Eighth Party Congress emphasized that this 'finds expression in worker-peasant power, its sovereign rule over its own territory, the frontiers of which are reliably safeguarded. Socialization of the basic means of production and the victory of socialist production relations have produced an entirely new, socialist economic basis. Capitalist anarchy and rivalry have given way to socialist economic planning. GDR socialist society has a fundamentally new class structure: led by the working class are friendly classes and strata with distinct socialist features. Socialist construction has made for the dominance of socialist ideology and of the new, socialist national culture which has absorbed all the humanist traditions of the past. The GDR has for all time joined the socialist world system and is becoming more closely integrated in the community of socialist states.'

Our worker-peasant state and the developing socialist nation in the GDR are the result of the heroic and dedicated struggle of the revolu-

tionary German working class. They are proof that the transition from capitalism to socialism, the main content of our epoch, is successfully being carried out on German soil. Ours is a flourishing socialist nation, and socialist internationalism is promoting its cooperation with other socialist nations.

To those who doubt that a new, socialist nation can be formed in so short an historical span, we should point out that the epochal transition from capitalism to socialism and the increasingly decisive influence socialism exerts on world affairs, have everywhere accelerated the process of formation of progressive nations which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and is now continuing in Asia and Africa.

The one and only scientific basis

The conclusions drawn on the national question by our Eighth Congress are based on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical reality on German soil. The Marxist-Leninist classics have always regarded the national as a dialectical unity of social-economic, class, historical and ethnic factors — in which, however, the dominant role belongs to economic and class relations. Marx, Engels and Lenin gave priority to the social-economic basis as the main property of a nation. Lenin gave precedence to determining the social essence of a nation, to defining the relation of the social to the ethnic. 'The national question,' he wrote, 'must be viewed historically and economically' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 41, p. 313). For Lenin the economic was always the key to the essential content of a nation. The fundamental law discovered by Marx that the decisive role belongs to the productive activity of people is the starting point in the study of the essence of all social phenomena, naturally including nations and national relations. 'Marx had no doubt,' Lenin wrote, 'as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the "labor question"' (Vol. 20, P. 436).

In short, the nation is a historical category. It must not be seen as immutable, and on no account as existing in a vacuum. History shows that nations arise and change depending on the concrete historical conditions. Take the history of the United States, where the American nation was formed from representatives of different nations in the relatively recent past. We could also cite the history of Austria or the emergence of nations in Africa and Asia.

The Marxist-Leninist classics have singled out two types of national communities: capitalist and socialist nations.

In substance, national relations are always social relations, that is, economic, social-political, ideological, and consequently, class relations; they arise in a definite territory with a definite language and a

definite cultural medium and way of life. These relations condition the unification of people into a national community. The aggregate of social factors, however, determines the class character of the nation and the trend of its development.

The Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question does not, of course, deny the significance of ethnic features — language, customs, ethnics and habits, everything, in other words, that belongs to the national. It takes into account that ethnic factors, in most cases shaped long before the emergence of a nation, play an important role in its formation and life. Often dating to the inception of class society, ethnic factors possess great stability. At the same time, they are highly adaptable to economic, social and political processes, to the change of social-economic formations, that is, to social revolutions.

Thus, nations are not only, and even not primarily, a product of ethnic processes and communities. These play a derivative role, and are socially conditioned. The nation is the result chiefly of the basic processes of economic and social development, and of historical class battles. A clear example is the different and opposite development of the two German states.

Nations and nationalities

The aggregate of ethnic properties, features and qualities is termed a nationality. The concept 'nationality' is thus more narrow than the concept of 'nation,' and has no definitive significance because it does not encompass the decisive socio-economic factors. It is important to bear this in mind. In our case, arbitrary identification of nation and nationality is designed to obscure the fundamental and irreversible antithesis between the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic and the capitalist nation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The social type of a nation changes entirely with the victory of socialism. Yet it retains many of its history-shaped ethnic properties, though these may gradually undergo progressive modification. Since the socialist nation in the GDR grew out of the centuries-long history of the German people, absorbing everything progressive, humanitarian and revolutionary, the ethnic qualities and properties of the GDR people, that is, their German nationality, legitimately comprise a unity with the properties of the shaping socialist nation.

The socialist nation in the GDR is, of course, of German nationality. But not this is its essence. Socialist statehood and the unfolding construction of a developed socialist society make a distinct imprint on the national community taking shape in GDR territory. The socialist way of life, the socialist mentality of GDR citizens, are becoming more and more pronounced. Their socialist political and civic con-

sciousness is growing. Those of the inherited ethnic forms that are contrary to socialism are dying out or acquiring new context. Habits, ethics, customs, even the content of many concepts (e.g., democracy, freedom, social justice) are changing. Many concepts unknown in the FRG have taken firm root in the consciousness of GDR citizens, in their behavior, such as worker-peasant power, socialist property, socialist collective, socialist emulation, socialist personality, socialist morality, internationalism, socialist economic integration, and the like. On the other hand, our younger citizens know nothing of many of the concepts current in the capitalist world. The psychological disparities between citizens of the GDR and those of the FRG are becoming more and more substantial. And when developed socialism grows over into communism, the socialist nations will no doubt undergo new qualitative changes.

Socialist internationalism is determinative

The SUPG policy offers broad scope for the flowering of the socialist nation in the GDR. But the Party firmly rejects national exclusiveness and national conceit. GDR citizens know that what they have achieved would be inconceivable without the October Revolution in Russia and the emergence of the socialist world system, without fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries or the solidarity of the international working-class movement and all anti-imperialist democratic forces. They know that they will not attain their goals without solidarity. In the conditions of the irreversible objective process of separation between the socialist nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG, our Party and state support everything that favors the coming together of socialist nations. That is a law of the international class struggle, an unalterable historical necessity.

It is evident from the aforesaid that the decisive economic, class and political basis for the development of the socialist nation in the GDR rules out all 'coming together' or 'community' with the socially opposite capitalist nation in the FRG. The relations between the GDR and FRG are not characterized by any 'communities,' but by insurmountable and irreconcilable contradictions between socialism and capitalism. Normal relations between the two German states can repose only on the principles of peaceful coexistence, as recorded in the treaty on the fundamental principles of relations between the FRG and GDR and in subsequent agreements.

The struggle against revanchism

For our Party the national question is not an abstract or academic matter. It is part of the struggle for peace and security in Europe. The

series of treaties concluded by socialist countries with the FRG, as well as the Final Act signed in Helsinki, are expressive of the considerable progress made along the road of détente. Consolidation of the détente and implementation of the principles of interstate relations inscribed in the Final Act, presuppose elimination of revenge-seeking views and activities. The Hallstein and Scheel doctrines of imperialist blockade have been scrapped. But the revenge-seeking 'reunification concept' is still espoused in principle by all the FRG Bundestag parties. They are more cautious now, and have — since the collapse of the Hallstein doctrine — adopted a longer timetable and a special vocabulary to disguise their revanchism. This is not surprising: since the situation in Europe and the world has changed, one is compelled to adapt to it. The official Bonn *Deutschland-Archiv* wrote recently, for example, that 'the FRG is as interested as ever in German reunification, but there is no policy to this effect that would not collide both with its own essential interests and the interests of all the other states present in Europe.'⁴ Quite true. The numbers of those who would risk an atomic world war for the revenge-seeking aspirations of the FRG are dwindling in Western Europe. With unusual frankness, *Deutschland-Archiv* refers to what had prevented open, head-on action to further the aims of the FRG, that is, absorption of the GDR: 'The conventional policy of strength toward the USSR is no longer possible; a policy against the territorial and political status quo collides with the ... interests of our Western allies.'⁵ Now, the revanchists pursue their old aims in the framework of 'all-European transformations.' Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher, for example, stressed at the 30th UN General Assembly: 'The kind of peace we want in Europe is where the German people could recover unity through free self-determination ... The nation's will for unity will retain its historic impact.'⁶

As for the 'scientific basis' of the nationalist propaganda certain forces conduct in the FRG, the *Materials Relating to the Report on the State of the Nation, 1974* contain the following: 'The concept nation is just as multiform and ambiguous as the political forms and ethnic basis of the systems in which people known as a "nation" live. From the scientific-theoretical standpoint, therefore, there is no universally valid definition of the concept nation.'⁷

This is an admission of the monopoly bourgeoisie's ideological bankruptcy in matters concerning the national question. On the other hand, it gives encouragement to demagogical nationalist propaganda. The bourgeoisie has never had an articulate and scientific concept of nation, and will not forge one today. Some maintain that the German nation as one is eternal. Others that the existence of one German nation flows from the common historical past, from a 'sense of unity.'

Still others lay the emphasis on ethnic features, the common language, the 'specifically German psyche.'

These concepts peddled by FRG politicians are not novel. The two opposite class lines in the national question are matched by two opposite theories of nations: one is materialistic and historico-economic, and the other idealistic and ethnico-psychological. On analyzing the national question theory of Otto Bauer, the 'Austro-Marxist,' Lenin tore to bits the idealistic views now advocated by prestigious FRG leaders. Since it is impossible to write off the existence of opposite social systems, some FRG ideologists try to salvage the spurious 'unity of the nation' by references to 'community of culture and destiny.' These words, 'community of culture and destiny,' are borrowed from the ideological scrapheap of Otto Bauer, who defined nations as a simple set of properties and rejected their historical character.

Lenin showed the fallacy of Bauer's conceptions, which dissociated the emergence and consolidation of nations from the concrete social-economic and historical premises. Bauer obscured the class character of nations and national states. Besides, he arbitrarily proclaimed language and psychological elements as decisive in the essence of nations, and identified the culture of the exploiters with that of the exploited. Lenin showed that Bauer's 'psychological' theory of nations was shot through with nationalism and totally eclipsed internationalism, boiling down in practice to outright national opportunism (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 41, p. 315).

The same applies to the FRG imperialist (mainly Social Democratic) ideologues' references to the fact that people in the GDR and FRG speak the same German language, that there are more extensive family ties between their citizens than between citizens of other states, and that the population of both had in the past belonged to one and the same German capitalist nation. This may look convincing to some. Yet it is not decisive for the emergence of a nation. It would not occur to anyone to consider the peoples of certain countries speaking the same language, possessing identical ethnic properties and a common past, one nation. Take the peoples of the FRG and Austria, or those of Britain and the United States, or of Spain and some of the Latin American states.

FRG groups isolated on the international scene because of their revenge-seeking aims, are supported and comforted by the Peking leaders. Driven by hatred of the Soviet Union and the GDR the Maoists are going farther and farther in their policy. Having abandoned class positions, they brandish spurious slogans of 'a single German nation' and 'German reunification,' and support the mortal enemies of the socialist German state. Their political and diplomatic

campaign is clearly directed against the security and sovereignty of the German worker-peasant state, which is part of the community of socialist countries and thus an important gain of the world revolutionary process. We do not underrate the damage done by the Peking leaders' chauvinist great-power ambitions. But we know that neither the imperialists nor the Maoists will succeed in retarding, let alone reversing, the natural course of social development. The wheels of history keep turning, rolling on and on, as Georgi Dimitrov said to the fascist judges at the Reichstag arson trial in Leipzig.

United round the Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state, our people are preparing for the Ninth Congress of the SUPG. The Congress will take our society to a new stage along the road of social progress. 'By virtue of the historic gains achieved by the working class, all working people, under the leadership of the SUPG, and in accordance with the new social requirements,' says the draft of the new SUPG Program (*Neues Deutschland*, January 14, 1976), 'the Party has set the immediate aim of continuing the formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating the basic preconditions for gradual passage to communism.'

And, certainly, our people's progress along this correct path will give further impetus to the development of the characteristic features of the socialist nation in the GDR, leading to its full flowering and gradual coming together with the other fraternal socialist nations of our community.

1. A Germany united around Prussia, without Austria. — *Ed.*
 2. Wolfgang Pfeiler. 'Deutschland — Deutschland.' Eine historische Standortbestimmung. In *Deutschland-Archiv*, Köln, Heft 10, 1975, p. 1,059.
 3. *Ibid.* p. 1,060.
 4. Wolfgang Pfeiler, *Op. cit.*, p. 1,068.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. *Bulletin des Presse — und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, No. 117, Bonn, September 25, 1975, p. 1,164.
 7. *Deutschland-Archiv*, Köln, Heft 10, 1974, p. 1,083.
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On the approaches to developed socialism

György Aczel

Member of Political Bureau,
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In common with the Communist and Workers' parties of other socialist-community countries, the HSWP is making an in-depth study of theoretical problems in the building of socialism and its gradual evolution into communist society. That was emphasized by our 11th Party Congress (March 1975), which declared: 'The fundamental aim of socialist society is scientific elucidation and practical application of the laws governing development in nature and society.' The importance of such research is obvious. The accumulated experience of the socialist world system shows that the absence of a correct theoretical concept, of a scientifically grounded development program, is a serious impediment to progress. For instance, a wrong assessment of the current stage of socialist construction can lead to setting unrealistic goals that bypass objectively necessary phases, or, conversely, to retaining obsolete patterns. In both cases the adverse results can damage socialism's prestige.

In working out the blueprints for a developed socialist society in Hungary, our Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism, an analysis of results achieved and available potentialities, and draws on the theoretical and practical experience of the USSR and other fraternal countries.

The Eighth Party Congress (1962) recorded that the country had completed the building of the foundations of socialism. This implies, above all, that we have overcome the multi-structural character of our economy. Today state and cooperative enterprises account for 95 per cent of the work-force and 98 per cent of the national income.

Working-class power, established by the socialist revolution, has been consolidated; the main goals of the Leninist cultural revolution have been achieved and its further development assured. Hungary's experience, as that of other fraternal countries, has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the capture of power by the proletariat must be followed by a whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Experience has also shown that completing the founda-

tions of socialism is not enough to launch out on the building of communism.

Led by the HSWP, the Hungarian people have made significant progress in consolidating and expanding the basis of socialism. This enabled the Party to set new targets for the continued development of our society. 'In the coming 15-20 years,' the 11th Congress Program Statement says, 'our task will be to continue socialist construction, create a developed socialist society, thereby taking a long step toward our historical goal, communism.'

The Party has always maintained that our present efforts continue the building of socialism begun in the period before the abortive counter-revolution of 1956, and we are firmly determined to abide by this continuity. But while continuing and developing our socialist policy, we have put an end to the dogmatic, sectarian and revisionist views and practices of the past. Our policy has stood the test of practice. And the Central Committee had every right, in its report to the 11th Congress, to propose 'continuation of our general line, which has been justified in practice both in home and foreign affairs, in economic and cultural development and in raising the living standards of the people.'

The stability of our policy does not mean that we are clinging to ossified dogmas. Ability harmoniously to combine stability and continuity with dynamism, and to set new, realistic goals, has always been an essential feature of Marxist-Leninist parties in guiding the building of socialism. Stability and continuity are necessary for calm creative activity by the people, and dynamism and revolutionary change are important conditions for such stability.

In analyzing social phenomena, our Party consistently applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It rejects all the subjectivist distortions of the Marxist understanding of society inherent both in revisionist and left-sectarian interpretations of reality. It is guided in all its work not by the wish, but by the fact, by the objective laws of social development. One should never confuse reality with aims, though, of course, our purposeful efforts are also part of reality, an essential motive force of development. Eliminating the difference between reality and aim, between what actually exists and what we want to bring into existence, always involves struggle and practical action, which is not stimulated but frustrated by embellishment of reality, or underestimation of our achievements, or lack of faith in our ability.

We have rejected the theoretically and practically false and politically damaging view that socialism represents a system free of contradictions. Otherwise we would have to follow in the footsteps of 'classical' dogmatism and regard contradictions arising in the process

of socialist development as either meaningless or the result of enemy intrigue, or as symptoms of socialism's degeneration, as the revisionists and 'revolutionary' leftists maintain. After 1956, the Party reinstated in its rights the Marxist-Leninist understanding of contradictions, purging it of wrong interpretations.

Socialist construction is not free of contradictions, but far from undermining socialist society, their exposure and resolution strengthen and develop it.

In resolving the problems arising in the process of building developed socialism, we must guard against narrow-minded, nationalistic solutions. Scientific generalizations cannot be one-sided, based entirely on the specific conditions of the given country. Attempts to regard socialist construction as an isolated process in each country, out of context with the experience of world socialism, are bound to shift the accent to the partial (real or imaginary) interests of that country at the expense of the interests of the community. Partial interests must never prevail over the socialist countries' common interests.

The HSWP is against the theories of different 'models' of socialism, 'different' Marxisms, 'pluralist' Marxism, etc., at one time current in Hungary too. The Party categorically rejected them. They would have undermined its political unity and that of the international communist movement, and, from the theoretical standpoint, would have led to a relativist distortion of Marxism-Leninism. In the social as in the natural sciences, there is only one answer, containing the objective truth, to every precisely formulated question.

In the light of these principles, let us examine some of the cardinal problems involved in building developed socialism in Hungary.

The 11th Congress pointed, first of all, to the need to consolidate and perfect socialist production and social relations, give unhampered sway to the economic laws of socialism so as to make fuller use of its great advantages. One way of doing that is to improve our system of economic management.

At the previous stage, when the material and technical base was not adequately developed, with some industries lagging, and with economic growth mostly through physical expansion — the advantages of socialism could not be fully utilized. Now, with economic growth powered by intensification and steadily rising productivity, we can combine the achievements of socialism with those of the technological revolution and more effectively deal with the problems posed by the building of developed socialism.

There is no need now for a radical change of property relations. What is needed is strengthening and expansion both of state and cooperative property. And this, the 11th Congress emphasized, is in

the interests of the working class and cooperative farmers and, in the final analysis, in the interests of the entire people.

The development of the productive forces and socialist relations in the economy predetermines changes in the social structure of society and its political sphere that have an important bearing on the building of developed socialist society. There are no longer exploiting classes or even exploiting elements in Hungary. Our goal now is to obliterate essential distinctions between town and village, working class and peasantry, mental and physical labor. Today, 58 per cent of the gainfully employed population belong to the working class, which plays the dominant role in our society. The peasants, now a socialist class, are coming closer to the workers in terms of working conditions and general outlook. The growing role of science, technology and culture in socialist construction has been accompanied by a growing role for the intellectuals: nearly one-fourth of our population is engaged in non-manual labor.

The 11th Congress stressed that the interests of all classes, strata and groups of our society are now identical and this identity will be further consolidated in the course of socialist construction. This objective process is the earnest of the continued strengthening of the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. That alliance is the political basis of our state, the basis of the unity of all supporters of socialism and of the Party's leadership in the building of a developed socialist society.

Now all our people appreciate the advantages of socialism and have implicit confidence in the Party and its policy. This is still another factor in cementing the alliance of all the laboring classes and of socialist national unity.

Our progress is now increasingly determined by the standard of the Party's leadership of society, by its competent, scientifically-grounded solutions. For without knowledge and correct application of the laws governing social development, without a correct understanding of society's new requirements, and of the vital interests of the working people, there can be no forward movement. We are cultivating such knowledge and understanding. We rejected the revisionist slogans of 'separating the Party from the government' based on the contention that the Party's role ends with the victory of the socialist revolution, or is confined to propaganda. Our experience shows that the Party's leading role increases in the process of socialist construction. The HSWP organizes the labor effort of the whole of society, directs the work of government agencies, the trade unions, youth and other non-government organizations, sets short-term and long-term goals and organizes their attainment. That is why the Program State-

ment lays stress on the 'continued strengthening of the Party's leading role as an indispensable factor in building socialism.'

The Party is charting the road to developed socialism in the interests of the working class, all working people, and together with them sets the goals and determines the ways of their attainment. Leadership implies daily effort to bring to the working class, to the entire people, an understanding of our aims and of how they further the interests of the people. The Marxist-Leninist working-class vanguard, Janos Kadar said in summing up the debate at the 11th Congress, can be an effective vanguard only when it is together with the masses. This, he emphasized, follows from all our experience.

The 11th Congress called for continued improvement in administering the country and for further development of socialist democracy. Some maintain that as socialism gains in strength, the role of the state will progressively diminish and its functions will either 'wither away' or pass to public organizations. Our Party does not accept that theory. It is guided by the Marxist-Leninist proposition that in the building of developed socialism, too, the state remains the chief instrument of socialist transformations. Of course, its functions change: some disappear altogether, while others are given wider scope. Today the priority tasks are in the economic and cultural fields.

Analysis of the processes at work in our society, and the theoretical findings of fraternal Communist parties, led the HSWP Congress to draw this important conclusion, set out in its Program Statement: 'In the course of our society's socialist development, as class differences diminish, the state will acquire more and more features of the socialist state of all the people. With the establishment of developed socialist society the state of proletarian dictatorship gradually evolves into a socialist state of all the people, in which the working class retains its leading role. In developed socialist society, the elements of communist public self-government will steadily unfold and develop.'

Continued perfection of the socialist state means continued expansion of socialist government by the people. The 11th Congress declared this a key condition for the further development of our social system. The Congress resolution says: 'Active mass support and wider socialist democracy make for stronger popular rule.'

Improvement of the central administration in recent years has been accompanied by more independence and responsibility for the local councils which under the new constitution are popular, representative, self-governing and state organs. It is becoming customary to submit for public discussion important draft laws, and for the people to have a direct part in their drafting, enactment and implementation. The Party especially stresses the need to promote democracy in work

collectives, to create more favorable conditions in this most important sphere of our daily life, in socialist labor. L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, formulated it thus: 'Democracy is a hollow sound if it does not extend to a sphere in which people daily apply their creative efforts.'

The 11th Congress found that place-of-work democracy does not yet meet all our requirements, despite the progress made in recent years. The most important thing today is more effectively to apply existing forms of industrial democracy, which give the working people full opportunities to exercise their rights and influence the operation of their factory.

Hungary's social and particularly economic development requires unity of the people also because the building of developed socialism is possible only with the active participation of every member of society. We know that the external factors in our development have changed not only for the better. The deep economic crisis in the capitalist world exerts a definite influence on our own economy, and this calls for a higher standard of economic management. In this, as in all other branches, the Communists strive to win the confidence of the masses. They are frank in addressing the people, telling them of the problems facing the country and how they can be solved, inviting suggestions and proposals in working out decisions. It is sometimes said that democracy and the position within the country are intertwined: more democracy when things are going well, less when things are not going well. That is wrong. Socialist democracy, as we understand it, means sharing with the people not only our successes, but also our difficulties and problems.

The most obvious general result of comprehensive social, economic, political and cultural development in socialist society is a changing way of life. The socialist way of life takes shape gradually, but even so it represents a qualitative leap which we must encourage.

A twofold process is taking place in the sphere of social consciousness, the 11th Congress noted. On the one hand, views, ideas and behavior standards corresponding to communist moral principles are gaining strength and ground, but on the other hand there occur and in some cases even take hold phenomena incompatible with socialist principles. What makes the Party's ideological work particularly important is the fact that in the present situation, with material well-being showing a substantial increase, the question 'how to live' is becoming more and more relevant along with the socially essential question 'what to live on.' 'We must use our improving material conditions in a socialist way,' says the Party's Program Statement. 'Hence a key issue and prerequisite of developing our society as a whole is to change social consciousness still more rapidly and ener-

getically and make socialist morals and the socialist way of life universal.' We strive to make more and more people accept socialist ideas as the principle of life and develop their socialist consciousness.

While generalizing our experience and ascertaining key development trends in line with Marxist-Leninist principles, we continue to work on the theoretical model of the socialist way of life and criticize in every respect and on a scientific basis the bourgeois ideal and the actual way of life in capitalist countries.

We see the salient feature of the socialist way of life in the fact that, to the individual, his self-assertion, the development of his abilities and his social success are inseparable in terms of his social consciousness and emotionally from creative labor for socialism and from active participation in production. The life of the work collective and the all-round development of the individual progress simultaneously, being two aspects of one process.

Take any component of the way of life — political activity, maturity of world outlook, the degree and nature of involvement in the cultural sphere — in all these it is labor that moulds society and the individual. The fundamental antithesis between labor under capitalism and labor under socialism determines the fundamental difference between the two ways of life. Under the capitalist system of production, 'labor itself, *vital activity* itself, *production* itself turn out to be only a *means* of meeting one of man's requirements, his need to preserve his physical existence' (Marx). By contrast, emancipated labor, which becomes ever more emancipated and perfect, socialist and communist labor, will 'become not only a means of life but life's prime want' (Marx and Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 19).

In developing the socialist way of life and forming the socialist world outlook, it is important to understand and so solve the problem of combining individual, collective and public interest that this accords with our socialist objectives. The Party and the state see to it that group interests are not presented as interests of the whole people to the detriment of the latter, and that the socialist and communist perspective of social development is always taken into account in the complex interaction of interests. Solution of this problem is closely linked with the system of coordinating the measure of labor and measure of consumption and with the proper interaction of material and moral incentives. The HSWP holds that even at the stage of building developed socialism, commodity-money relations continue to play a constructive role in economic life and will cease to exist only under communism.

The Party therefore keeps an eye on the content of the principle of distribution according to work as it changes with social and economic progress, and analyzes the dynamics of the unity of material and

moral incentives. A more consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work is not a narrow economic problem nor just a matter of keeping wages proportionate. It is matter of strengthening the alliance between classes and fostering socialist consciousness and morality.

Material incentives do not contradict socialist morality, nor do moral incentives conflict with the policy of improving the standard of life. Anyone who regards the effort to raise moral standards as mere moralizing or dogmatic talk is, perhaps unwittingly, misinterpreting the distinctive features of socialism, being prompted by the vision of a 'consumer society.' But neither will those who in combating petty-bourgeois self-interest counter it with what is, in effect, an equally petty-bourgeois asceticism, advance by a single step toward grasping the true nature of socialism. To fight against the principle of material incentives as today's Maoist ideologists do, means not only advocating the 'leftist' idea of 'barrack communism' but taking a stand against an objective law of socialism. Asceticism and the desire for personal gain are equally alien to genuine Marxist-Leninist principles, the revolutionary working class and real socialism. The fact that the socialist way of life is striking ever deeper root in our social reality is confirmed, in particular, by the vast movement of socialist work teams under way in our country. In this movement, new, socialist moral standards and the spirit of socialist collectivism, comradely mutual assistance and selfless effort manifest themselves more and more.

To promote the socialist way of life and firmly establish it throughout society is not a task that can be carried out overnight, but a long and intricate process. It is a Marxist-Leninist axiom that reality must be approached without 'preconceived idealist crotchets' (Marx and Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 361), no matter how noble the intentions. Nevertheless, it is precisely these 'idealist notions' that we often come across. Some propose, for example, 'introducing' the socialist (or even the communist) way of life by fiat, without regard to objective conditions and the real possibilities. They forget that materializing the ideal of the 'necessary' depends on the 'existing' (in the dialectical sense of the word, of course), on real prerequisites lying at the basis of the advance to the ideal. The way of life which they propose introducing in this willful manner would at best correspond to 'vulgar communism' and not to the Marxist-Leninist ideal of the comprehensively developed individual, nor to a social system under which people can fully use their every ability.

Another important condition for building a mature socialist society is to promote the intellectual life of society, foster the socialist character of culture, enrich its content and build up the people's ideological

and political unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. After 1956 the Party discarded the illusion that we had already achieved complete ideological unity of the people on Marxist-Leninist principles. We know well that it takes much effort and time to bring about such unity and that speeding it artificially may have dangerous consequences. After renouncing simplistic notions on this point, we worked hard to really consolidate and carry further the leading role of Marxist-Leninist positions in the ideological, scientific and cultural activities of society. This effort has paid off. Deepening the political alliance of the working classes and building a developed socialist society provide favorable conditions in which the Marxist-Leninist world outlook can grow stronger and become universal. The policy of reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance, a policy evolved after suppressing the counter-revolution, plays an important part in accomplishing this task.

The Party points out that the inseparable unity between patriotism and internationalism we must achieve is a key element of socialist consciousness. Socialist patriotism has been growing too. Decisive for this is pride of our people's creative effort, in socialist Hungary.

Proletarian internationalism and cooperation with the revolutionary, progressive forces of the world are inseparable from socialist patriotism. The people know that cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and their close cohesion help greatly to build a new society in our country. Internationalism also means that socialist construction within national bounds is inseparable from the international unity and cohesion of socialist forces. The changes taking place in the world and the development of new lines of cooperation with brother countries call for the further promotion of our people's socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Building a developed socialist society coincided in most fraternal countries with international détente. This is entirely logical. Imperialism would under no circumstances have ceded ground to the peace offensive of socialism but for the tremendous achievements of our countries in the economy, the social sphere, defense and other fields. However, peaceful coexistence does not imply an end to the contest between the two social systems but a change in its forms. In particular, the ideological struggle is gaining in importance. Peaceful coexistence affords us greater opportunities to disseminate communist ideas on a world scale, demonstrate their correctness and present the truth about socialist society.

To use these opportunities, we must make our propaganda more flexible and effective. Surely no one will deny that building socialism is the most effective rebuttal of hostile propaganda. It follows that the main task in the ideological struggle is, along with criticizing capital-

ism and exposing bourgeois propaganda, boldly to tackle problems raised by life, show our achievements and publicize our ideas and policies.

In presenting socialist reality, we strive to avoid general, non-committal statements, for they erode faith in the justice of our cause among the working people of capitalist and developing countries, in whose interests we carry on our ideological struggle and whom we strive to win over to our side. Our achievements are of historic significance and we must do our utmost to show the working people of capitalist countries that the socialist community is a dependable factor in their class struggle. Through our everyday effort, our achievements and program we must help them, must set them an example and show them the road to the future.

Some analysts are taken aback by temporary gains of the capitalist world in this or that field. They forget that while capitalism may take a step forward in one field, it falls far behind in another. This expresses itself in new, sometimes striking facts of deterioration of the overall situation and in a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. As for us, we are now arriving at a level of social development at which we can carry forward socialism on a comprehensive basis by simultaneously solving problems of production and public life, raising the people's living and cultural standards and making more rapid progress in both technology and the humanities.

None but the socialist social system can bring the working class and the people a full life. In some technological and economic fields we have already outpaced capitalism but in others we have yet to catch up with it, and this is a highly important task. As for developing a life free from exploitation and truly fit for man, our superiority is evident. Capitalism can never excel us in this respect, for we are following a different path, a path leading to communism.

New horizons of popular movement

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Even a cursory look at the situation in Colombia will draw the political observer's attention to two special features.

One, the authorities and the oligarchic parties behind them are at pains to pare down the democratic freedoms of the people, the trade unions and the students. The repressive policy in towns and cities is matched by that in the rural areas, where the peasant movement is on the rise. The government retaliates with arrests, police round-ups and outright killing to strikes, demonstrations and protests. A recent example are the reprisals against peasant leaders and Communists in Uraba, Yacopi, Cimitarra and other parts of the country.

Two, the mass struggle involving the working class, peasants, and the urban and rural middle strata, is obviously expanding. The direct and indirect evidence of a mounting class confrontation, of deepening contradictions between the people and the oligarchy, is ample and incontestable. And the monopoly press has given up trying to hush it up. The clashes between the working people, the progressive forces, and North American imperialism and its local political henchmen, are increasingly sharp. Though unconnected and sporadic, pursuing different aims, and of different political maturity, the popular actions are leading up to a crisis that will entail radical solutions.

It was in this unstable and contradictory situation that the Communist Party of Colombia held its 12th Congress in Bogota on December 5-9, 1975. We prepared for the Congress for four months, highlighted by a succession of popular actions, the biggest of which was the 'civic strike' in Bucaramanga.

In August 1975, the Central Committee issued a set of political theses, analyzing the Party's activity in the four years since the previous Congress (December 1971) and setting guidelines for the immediate future. The theses were put before the Party membership for general discussion.

The preparations for the Congress were distinctly democratic.

Comrade Gilberto Vieira, the Party's General Secretary, noted in the opening remarks at the Congress that it had been preceded by 20,000 branch meetings and 26 district and four provincial conferences, and that the important suggestions made there were reflected in their resolutions. The Congress was attended by 235 delegates, of whom 36 per cent were factory workers, and 29 per cent farmers. This was a fairly accurate reflection of the class composition of the Party's membership at the present time. Three out of every four delegates were leaders of mass organizations.¹

It is gratifying to note that the Congress was attended by representatives of 19 fraternal parties, notably the CPSU and the CP of Cuba, and, of course, the Communist parties of many other Latin American countries. Though a state of siege has been imposed on the country and many of the delegations had difficulties in obtaining entry visas, our guests were not harassed by the authorities during their stay in Bogota.

Before and during the Congress, the Colombian Communists concentrated on elaborating a political line to suit recent experience and the country's special features. The purpose of the discussions was to direct the rising mass movement to the necessary objectives, to determine ways and means of strengthening it, to better the organization on a national scale, and come to terms with other democratic forces concerning united action, which will help attain the aims of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle.

First of all, of course, we had to get at the heart of the nation's social and political problems. This was essential to work out our own course of action, and to show the masses the way out of the present complicated conditions. Precisely this was the topic of the main report, and of the contributions of the more than 30 delegates from branches at different levels. Thereupon, the report was unanimously approved.

Comrade Vieira in his report, and many other speakers, examined the character of the system of power and Colombia's present government.²

The Liberals, who capitalized on the nation's interest in maintaining the deep-rooted democratic traditions, campaigned in the 1974 elections under the republican banner of political guarantees, civic freedoms, and a democratic order. By so doing they blockaded the forces of reaction and fascism, whose presidential nominee was a conservative of the extreme right and culprit of the terror and violence loosed on the country in 1948-58. Since the masses sought a democratic and radical solution to the acute economic and social problems, public opinion gravitated in favor of the Liberal nominee,

Lopez Michelsen, who polled the biggest number of votes (some 3,000,000).³

Knowing its class nature, the Communist Party warned that the government formed in August 1974 would not live up to public expectations, would not improve the economic and social situation, and do nothing to secure democratic changes and freedoms. We knew in advance that the Lopez government would concentrate on safeguarding the political system of the oligarchy, and stressed the need to mobilize the masses and step up pressure on the government, compelling it to keep its election promises.

As a result, the mass movement grew in magnitude, especially between September 1974 and the summer of the following year. It assumed a variety of forms. The masses did not just demand that the government keep its promises. They formulated new demands. Other social forces, notably the middle strata, joined in. The sense of unity grew stronger, and the role of the working class, the trade unions, and the Communist Party, increased visibly.

The anti-democratic and reactionary structure of the political system rules out working-class and popular participation in resolving the country's problems, and even freedom to express viewpoints. The purpose of the half-baked and spurious 'representative democracy' is to conceal the dictatorship of the oligarchy. This is why the Lopez government gradually began to turn down popular demands and restrict popular actions, until it finally declared a state of siege and introduced martial law. The country is being militarized, popular movements are being restricted, and military tribunals have been set up. Revolutionaries are imprisoned, and independent and left organizations persecuted.

On the other hand, the growing mass pressure has forced the authorities to make certain concessions, particularly in the early half of 1975. For one thing, the Confederation of the Working People, an independent united trade union center, has been given legal status. Also, the government restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, and is compelled to suffer the legal existence of revolutionary parties. It was mass pressure, in fact, that blocked some of the designs of the extreme rightist civilian and military elements in and out of the government, who are forming and supporting terrorist gangs which commit anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban provocations, attack left papers, strike at progressive journalists, etc.

The 12th Congress noted in its political resolution that the reactionary system of power has not changed, that the Lopez government is just another successor to preceding governments, that the tune in the government is set by the financial magnates of the oligarchy connected with imperialists and the big landowners. It does not come as a

surprise that the policy of the present government, like that of its predecessors, is chiefly directed at maintaining and buttressing the existing social-economic structures.

The rapid concentration of monopoly capital, a parasite on the body of the nation, began some time ago. Their vast financial resources, credits and shareholdings have enabled the monopoly groups to lay down the law in industrial development, building, mining, export and import, and now also in agriculture. They possess unprecedented economic power. Their might is so great, Comrade Vieira pointed out in his report, that five or six of them control almost the entire economic scene.⁴

The quickly growing economic power of the financial groups may be traced to their close ties with the big Yankee monopolies and capitalists of other countries (France, Japan, Spain, etc.). Instead of safeguarding national independence, the government is ceding ground to foreign capital, which is thrusting vigorously into oil, gas, nickel, iron ore and coal mining. The relations with the Yankee monopolies are based on so-called association, a system purported to assure 'equal rights' (e.g., of the Colombian oil enterprise and the big Yankee oil concerns), but, in effect, designed to mislead the public.

Government policy follows the 'traditional' guideline that the country's growth depends on foreign capital and imperialist loans. As a result, Colombia's foreign debt has doubled in the past five years, and repayment is consuming a quarter of all foreign exchange revenue.

The authorities are in no hurry to implement the already skimpy agrarian reform proclaimed 15 years ago by the oligarchy (for which a special agrarian reform institute was formed, now known as the ghost institute). They are determined to prevent structural changes in agriculture and in the abominable latifundian system. To expedite growth of capitalism in farming, the merging of financial groups with landowners, who advocate 'modernization,' is stimulated by means of infusions of cash. As a result, finance capital, especially international imperialist monopolies, are penetrating into agriculture.

This is presented as 'help' to the small farmers in order to close the gap between urban living standards (which are claimed to be 'high') and the rural (admitted to be 'very low'). That, in effect, is the underlying sense of the 'economic development plan,' ostensibly aimed at increasing food production. In fact, the demagogic plan stands for the enrichment of landowners and greater exploitation and impoverishment of the peasant masses.

Lastly, cottage industry with primitive tools is encouraged, getting precedence over real industrialization. President Lopez claims this will make Colombia a 'South American Japan.' But export growth — and the oligarchy admits this — is achieved only thanks to cheap

labor, with backward forms of production and a low organic composition of capital.⁵

The interests of working people are abused, the living standard is dropping and unemployment is going up. In 1971-75 real wages and salaries declined 25 per cent, while unemployed in the four biggest cities totalled 600,000. This is an unheard-of figure for Colombia, expressive, as Comrade Vieira stressed, of the tendency toward the absolute impoverishment of the working class, and all working people.

After a slight decline in the middle of 1975, the mass struggle — which the authorities tried to suppress by proclaiming the state of siege and launching repressions against trade unions and popular organizations — is on the upgrade again. The militancy of the masses has not been subdued. The present situation is highlighted by the recent general strike in the cement industry, actions by bank employees and schoolteachers, the lists of demands issued by nearly all the trade unions, the struggles of students and professors, protests against rising fares and government charges, tenants' demonstrations in densely populated city quarters, public movements in the provinces, and land seizures by peasants. This is paving the way to democratic solutions of the vital problems now facing the nation.

Our prime and most important task, as we have already said, is to provide leadership for the growing mass movement. How big and meaningful the movement will be, and what direction it will take, depends on how successful we are in this, and also in eliminating the negative factors and going on to a new, higher level of political struggle. The Congress resolution instructs Communists to direct and build up the mass struggle, to give it leadership, and, at the same time, to repulse right and 'left' opportunists.

This also implies working for unity of different forces and at different levels. Unity is essential in the trade unions, in advancing economic demands, and in student actions. We advocate political unity of all democratic and popular forces protesting against the government's reactionary and anti-national policy.

The independent labor movement has made great strides. The Confederation of Working People is gaining influence, and has made visible progress in its unity policy, in the struggle for the people's vital demands. At its Second Congress in March 1975 it joined the WFTU. It is combating discriminatory government practices and the venal policy of the leaders of the two governmental trade union centers, which are denying it the right to officially represent the working people and are accusing it of 'subversive activity.' Also it is fighting against adventurers and anarchists who disrupt and isolate the labor

movement and play into the hands of the capitalists and authorities, who finance divisive activity in the trade unions.

The Communist Party is working for popular unity within the National Opposition Union. The situation is complicated by the sectarian postures of some of its leaders and the liberal opportunism of others. But we are searching patiently for new opportunities to extend united action, tighten our links with other forces, and enlarge democratic unity.⁶

The 12th Congress discussed the coming interim elections in April 1976 and the general elections in 1978. Following up the Party's political line in the 1974 elections, the Congress resolved in favor of advancing a National Opposition Union platform of anti-imperialist democratic demands. We are prepared to enter into alliances with all opposition forces that support these demands.

The Congress also examined the international situation. Hailing progress in the fight against imperialism, notably the victory of the people of Vietnam, it stressed the significance of the peaceful coexistence policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and acclaimed international détente.

The political resolution of the Congress warns that imperialism is still a serious threat to peace and social progress. It is in retreat, but has not abandoned its aggressive intents. The fight for détente is a long process, and implies fighting for peace and greater vigilance.

Also raised at the Congress was the need of ideological and political counteraction to nationalism, especially when it impairs the unity of the world Communist movement. Delegates raised the question of the Peking group's activities internationally and in individual countries. Its 'nationalism' is a travesty of patriotism, for it serves none but the interests of the bourgeoisie and is contrary to proletarian internationalism, the backbone of the world Communist and working-class movement. The Congress condemned the Maoist clique, which is trying to disrupt the world Communist movement and supports the imperialist camp. The clique wants to be the hegemon of the developing countries, and maligns the Soviet Union no less viciously than international reaction. It supports NATO and the fascist junta in Chile, and works hand in glove with the CIA in Angola. Struggle against Maoist intrigues is the duty of all Communists.

The Congress unanimously approved the Central Committee's positive stand on the question of a new international conference of communist and workers' parties. It stressed the significance for the Latin American continent of the action program of the recent Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties. The main report pointed out that the declaration of the Havana Conference will strengthen the bonds between Latin American Communists on the

basis of the fundamental principles of the world Communist movement, which the Colombian Communists have always supported.

The Congress approved the political line and activity of the outgoing Central Committee, and elected a Central Committee for the new term. In addition to the main nucleus of the preceding CC it chose new dedicated fighters, principally workers and peasants to serve on it, and endorsed the members of the incumbent Executive Committee and Secretariat.

In summing up the results of the 12th Congress we can safely say that it was a big success and assured considerable progress in elaborating the future political course and improving the work of the Party. Among other things, it drew attention to the significance of the subjective factor, and first and foremost the development of the Communist Party, the unity of the working class and the people as a whole. That is the only way to frustrate the reactionary designs of the oligarchy and open the road to democratic change. The Congress demonstrated the Party's unity, its greater influence on the masses, and its internationalism. This opens up the perspective for the historic transformations so badly needed by the people of Colombia.

1. There were 100 more delegates at the 12th than at the previous Congress. The CP of Colombia has grown. Also, it has a larger working-class membership, and more workers in the leadership at all levels. But, as pointed out at the Congress, there are still faults in recruitment. Despite the favorable situation, the membership is not growing fast enough. The Party is relatively weak among miners, transport workers, etc. Despite recent successes, improvements in the style of work and the tightening of bonds with the masses, the CPC is not yet able to become a mass Lenin-type party in the immediate future.

2. The system is inadequate and reactionary. Under it, two bourgeois parties — the Liberal and Conservative — have held a monopoly on power for more than a century. Government offices and seats in parliament are divided equally between them, and their representatives alternate in the presidential chair. Not until 1974 did this system, so convenient for the oligarchy, first begin to falter. It has not been abandoned so far, but has come into collision with the changed political structure of our society, for it leaves no room for the new political forces and organizations. The general elections in 1974 showed that the masses seeking democratic change are fed up with this parity system which the oligarchy cynically describes as a 'national front.'

3. The opposition, comprising two wings — one inconsistent and conciliatory, known as the National Popular Alliance, and the other representing the left forces, known as the National Opposition Union — polled some 700,000 votes, while some 200,000 were cast for the Communists and their allies.

4. The capitalist magnates' influence on the political scene is growing, too. They play first fiddle in the government. President Lopez is known to have close ties with the Santodomingo group, which controls between 80 and 100 of the country's biggest enterprises with assets in excess of 15 billion pesos (one-third of the state budget). The rightist Conservative leaders, who hold half the offices in government, represent the Ardila Lulle group, which owns radio stations, beverage factories, etc., and the Caicado sugar group.

5. *Coyuntura Economica*, a journal expressing the views of the all-powerful oligarchy, admitted a 9 per cent decline of industrial output in 1975.

6. A meeting of democratic and patriotic forces was recently held in Bogota. Among others, it was attended by political groups that had earlier opposed unity, notably some Liberals and people close to the government. Attention centered on resistance to the state of siege, struggle for broader democratic freedoms and coordination of action in defense of national assets, primarily natural resources exploited by imperialist companies. The success of the meeting has encouraged similar action by democratic forces in some of the provinces.

Détente has to be fought for

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COMMENTARY

Détente is the direct result of the changed world balance of forces in favor of socialism, and in that sense the logical product of world social development. An important contribution to this positive process was made by the European Security and Cooperation Conference. It laid the basis for extending détente, took a long step toward consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation between states with different social systems. Convened on the initiative of the socialist community and supported by European countries, the USA and Canada, the Helsinki Conference demonstrated anew the futility and harmfulness of the cold-war policy, and increased opportunities for a substantial strengthening of European peace and security. It was a triumph of reason, a gain for everyone who wants a world of peace and security. Socialism has scored a major victory in its historic confrontation with capitalism.

How, after Helsinki, there is a real opportunity for further progress in international détente, for imparting to it a much more concrete material content. The Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community have taken a responsible attitude to the obligations assumed as a result of the Helsinki agreements. They regard the Final Act as an integral whole, a code of norms and obligations that cannot be divided into 'essential' and 'non-essential.' Of course, in undertaking concrete steps to materialize détente, they pay special attention to the chief question that prompted the countries to traverse the difficult road to Helsinki, namely, the question of averting world war, strengthening European security and international political détente, supplemented by military détente.

In contrast to this approach, some in the capitalist world are inclined to pluck from the Helsinki document individual, and by no means major, points, considering this a more convenient tactic in their diplomatic game. They contend that now, after Helsinki, the next move in extending détente must come from the socialist side. But when the socialist countries take new constructive initiatives for mutually advantageous cooperation and for concrete results that could be put before the 1977 all-European meeting in Belgrade, there is no response from the other side.

In fact, imperialist propaganda has latterly tried to make out that détente has reached a dead end, that it is being blocked by insurmountable ideological barriers. And the events in Angola, it is alleged, have brought on a crisis of détente, so profound that some bourgeois writers have hastened to announce the beginning of a 'second cold war.' Those who are so anxious to bury détente and rekindle world tensions do not rely on propaganda alone. They have, in addition, the material resources of the military-industrial complexes and political pressure levers.

Consequently, détente is not a process whose dynamism is determined solely by objective circumstances. On the contrary, there is the proof of experience that without persevering mass struggle, without purposeful effort by governments and progressive public opinion, the new opportunities for consolidating universal peace cannot be utilized. That is why today, too, in a more wholesome international climate, we cannot rely on the automatic development of détente. Its development has to be fought for.

The change in world politics has its own dialectics: the deeper the roots of détente, the more active are its enemies. Why? Because imperialism has acknowledged, but has by no means accepted, the new realities. The fact that détente is the political expression of the changed world balance of forces in favor of socialism is fundamental not only to its very existence and development, but also to imperialist resistance to détente.

True, the forces opposed to peaceful coexistence are no longer in a position to cut short the development of the healthy tendencies in international life. But they can hamper their development, and this is one of the principal reasons why a number of problems remain unsolved and prevent progress to durable peace.

We can single out four groups of such problems. First, problems which, properly speaking, should be considered solved. Reference is primarily to the broad complex of agreements embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, and the system of treaties normalizing relations between the FRG and a number of European socialist countries.

There have been statements to the effect that the Helsinki pro-

visions have no binding power. It has even been said that they were not really necessary, because, essentially, they do not go beyond the Ten Commandments.* And there is a suggestion that they should be treated as such, merely as pious wishes bereft of any meaning in international law. Hence a situation in which problems one would think were solved still await solution.

One of these is West Berlin, a problem now being dramatized and fraught with the danger of conflict and tension because of the FRG's cavalier interpretation of the Four-Power Agreement. Bonn tries to act contrary to the reality — sanctioned in treaties — that West Berlin is not a component part of the FRG and cannot be governed by it. This is a case of obstructing normalization of relations between the FRG and the GDR and other socialist countries, and also European détente.

The second group includes the problems involved in extending détente to other regions and continents, converting it into a world-wide universal process.

And here a peaceful settlement in the Middle East should get top priority. A just and realistic formula for such a settlement has been found. It provides for the Israeli aggressors' withdrawal from all occupied territories, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to an independent state, and also the right to existence and security of all the states of the region. On the basis of this formula there is taking shape a common platform of the socialist-community states, the Arab world and other developing countries. The isolation of the Israeli Zionist leadership, expressed, in particular, in the debate on the General Assembly resolution, is becoming more pronounced. In this situation, international Zionism, leaning on the assistance of its patrons, is feverishly thinking up new ways of countering not only a Middle East settlement, but also the extension of détente, using false charges of anti-Semitism to camouflage its own sinister role as an enemy of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

An end to the Middle East conflict would be more than a long step toward peace in this part of the world; it would pave the way to reliable security for other areas, including the continent of Asia. We know that the struggle for détente in Asia, which is so closely linked with the idea of a collective security system, is encountering serious resistance from the Maoist leadership. But the objective prerequisites

*The motivation behind such views becomes especially clear when we know the identity of their exponents. The talk about the Ten Commandments comes from the last representative of the Hapsburgs, Otto von Hapsburg, a double-dyed reactionary, and it appeared in one of the most obscurantist publications, the *Sudeten Deutsche Zeitung*, which speaks for the bellicose West German revanchists.

for bringing that idea to reality, and interest in it throughout Asia, are steadily growing, so that, whatever the complexities attending its solution, the problem is coming to hold an important place in world politics.

Extending détente to Latin America and Africa, with due account to the concrete conditions in each of these continents and their many countries, is of no less importance in normalizing the international situation.

The disproportion between progress in the political field and the quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments — such is the third group of problems relating to détente. It is becoming increasingly clear that without tangible progress in restricting the arms race and in disarmament, other détente achievements will lose much of their significance.

There is no overestimating, in this context, the importance of the Soviet-American negotiations on limiting strategic arms, the new United Nations initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries to contain the arms drive, and the efforts of these countries for a positive shift in the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The difficulty is that there are still forces in the capitalist world who hope for unilateral advantages from military détente.

Lastly, the fourth group of problems concerns economic and related cooperation. The expansion of economic ties over the past five years has clearly demonstrated how great were the mutually-advantageous opportunities frozen by the cold war. But even now by far not all available opportunities are being used — there are still many discriminatory measures and other artificially created impediments that violate the principles of equality in economic relations. In this context, attention should be drawn to the political furor in certain imperialist circles over the granting of most-favored-nation treatment to socialist countries. There have been attempts to apply a 'differentiated approach' so as to turn this element of better international economic relations into an instrument for dividing the socialist countries.

To work for solution of these problems is to work for giving the policy of peaceful coexistence a more concrete content and materializing détente. In fact, that is now the focal point of all the debate and controversy. For the enemies of détente do not always oppose concluded agreements. Their tactic is to approve these agreements in words, but prevent their implementation. The socialist states, supported by the progressive forces, by progressive opinion throughout the world and by realistically-minded people in the capitalist countries, are waging an offensive struggle to materialize détente, that is,

prevent world politics from being confined to verbal condemnation of war, create new structures in all spheres of international intercourse and work toward all-round democratization of international life. It is only on this basis that we can achieve the long-range aim of the Communist and Workers' parties in the fraternal socialist countries, the aim of all Marxist-Leninist parties, namely, make détente an irreversible process.

Peaceful reconstruction of the system of international relations is taking place in a class-divided world. This lends special topicality to the relation of détente to the class, revolutionary struggle.

The fact that peaceful coexistence clearly asserts the right of nations to sovereignty, the right to decide their internal problems without outside interference, is fundamental to a correct understanding and solution of this important issue. And there should be no doubt that this right applies also to peoples of countries where internal contradictions have led to a revolutionary process that is undermining the exploitive positions of imperialism, colonialism, the financial oligarchy, and is creating the basis of a new, free life for the working people.

Relaxation of international tension refers only to relations between states belonging to the mutually-opposed social systems and does not lead to, or imply, moderation of the class struggle. That is ruled out by the objective character of the capitalist world's antagonistic contradictions. The record of the past 30 years shows that the class and national-liberation struggle, which determines the character of international relations, hews a way for itself, both in cold-war and détente climates.

Of course, détente influences the national processes and the correlation and confrontation of class and political forces. But one should clearly see the specifics and limits of this influence. Détente, doubtlessly, makes it extremely difficult for the aggressive imperialist forces to maneuver, foils their plans for direct export of counter-revolution, and creates more favorable external conditions for the revolutionary struggle. It facilitates the moral and political isolation of internal reaction. But détente cannot do more than that — it itself originates in conditions and on the basis of a class-divided world.

The complex interaction of peaceful coexistence and class struggle means that we cannot directly attribute all the defeats imperialism has sustained in recent years to changes in world policy. But, of course, we should not underestimate the fact that its development in this period was largely dictated by détente. Many of the telling blows dealt it, and a number of major social and political gains by the peoples, were due primarily to the development of internal class contradictions and also to the general shift in the world balance of forces in favor of

socialism. This is borne out, in particular, by the historic victory in Vietnam and also by the events in Greece, Portugal and other countries.

Knowledge of all the aspects of the dialectical interconnection between détente and the class struggle helps repulse attempts to create the opinion that normalization of international affairs in line with the peaceful coexistence principles is tantamount to perpetuating the existing social-political status quo across the world. These attempts by bourgeois propaganda are in substance designed to turn détente against the revolutionary and national-liberation movement. Imperialist ideologues plead détente in protesting against the solidarity of the world's revolutionary forces. Even support of lawful governments fighting against local reaction joined by foreign interventionists, is portrayed as a violation of détente. A typical example is Angola, where the national government and the patriotic forces were compelled to take up arms in defense of their country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against an invasion of South African racists and against pro-imperialist disruptive groups supported by Washington and Peking, against attempts to fill the 'vacuum' created by the withdrawal of Portuguese colonialists with new, neo-colonial rule. The imperialists claim that the aid of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries to patriots in the past and at present, are contrary to the principles of détente. Yet, if anything is incompatible with these principles, it isn't the peoples' liberation struggle or internationalist support of that struggle, but the imperialist policy of trying to crush the revolutionary movement under cover of détente.

Imperialism has not changed its nature. This is forcefully, though indirectly, borne out by the reactivation — in connection with and in reference to détente — of two doctrines that have for scores of years, since the late 19th century, smoothed the way for imperialist expansion. One of them promoted division of the world into spheres of exclusive interests. The second, conversely, advanced the 'open door' principle. The former was promoted mainly by the metropolitan West European states to safeguard their colonial empires, and the second by the United States in order to thrust U.S. capital into the possessions of its rivals. Those interpreting détente as a guarantee of the worldwide social-political status quo are, in effect, urging recognition of imperialism's exclusive interests throughout the non-socialist part of the globe. The widely circulated latter-day variant of the 'open door' doctrine, on the other hand, connotes open doors to the socialist world, a free hand for imperialist-inspired anti-socialist action.

The demand for 'free exchanges of ideas and people' is especially

insistent. Sometimes it is even made to sound like an ultimatum. It is common knowledge that the difficulties on the road to the Final Act in Helsinki were largely created by the inappropriate and unreasonable pretensions of representatives of capitalist countries in relation to the 'third basket' — exchange of information, cultural cooperation, tourism, ties between public organizations, and contacts between individuals. Mutually acceptable solutions were finally found, and realism triumphed.

But what does realism mean in this field?

Certainly, détente is inconceivable without broader spiritual contacts between peoples. These are crucial for mutual confidence. But it is equally incontestable that relaxation of international tensions does not do away with the clash of ideologies and does not imply 'peaceful coexistence of ideas.' Therefore, the challenge is to balance cultural cooperation and exchange of information between states of the two systems with their fundamental ideological differences. The realistic solution implies unequivocal acknowledgment that international cooperation in culture and information, an important element of détente, must in content and form exclude any and all manifestations of mutual hostility. The only possible basis for it — and this accords with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Act — is that of mutual consent, and respect for the given social system, laws and customs.

Precisely this is the approach of the countries of the socialist community, and of their Communist and Workers' parties. To use Comrade Gustav Husak's words on this score, we are 'for the broadest possible mutual inspiration of cultural values, for exchange of ideas and information promoting worldwide mutual understanding and man's harmonious development. We are for a broad exchange of people who contribute to meaningful, beneficial and successful cooperation and broaden our knowledge of each other' (*Rude Pravo*, August 1, 1975).

The facts show that the socialist countries, the initiators and active organizers of political détente, are also in the lead in powering the expansion of international cultural cooperation. Take Czechoslovakia. In 1971-74, we published translations of 20 Belgian authors, while only two Czechoslovak authors were published in Belgium. In 1974, we published 85 translations from the French in 2.7 million copies, while French publishers put out only three translations from Czech and Slovak. Or take international tourism. Proportionate to the population, more Czechoslovak tourists visited capitalist countries than tourists from any of the capitalist countries visited Czechoslovakia.

As for the ideological struggle over the détente process, neither its continuation nor its mounting intensity contradicts the policy of peaceful coexistence, whatever our adversaries may say to the con-

trary. Quite the reverse, the one presupposes the other. In a world divided into two opposite systems a military-political confrontation can and must be avoided. What cannot be avoided is the basic class contradiction. Détente only directs it to more peaceful channels, and ideological struggle is one of these. Only those who deliberately refuse to accept anything other than war-like relations between states with different social systems refer to incompatibility of ideologies as an obstacle to peaceful coexistence.

Yet the clash of ideologies does not imperil détente only up to a certain point: as long as it confines itself to ideas, as long as it does not build up into political campaigns directly aimed at torpedoing the peace and security efforts of the peoples. This is why we cannot be indifferent to the new wave of anti-Sovietism, the vile attacks on the socialist community, in the imperialist mass media.

What anti-communist propaganda relishes most are the utterances of renegades and traitors to socialist society. Of late, it has regaled itself on the writings of the leaders of the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionary forces. Totally bankrupt at home, they are touted by imperialist ideologues as 'authorities' and 'experts' on socialism. Yet in actual fact they are expert at one thing only: gross distortion of the facts and blatant anti-communism.

After Helsinki the hostile bourgeois propaganda attacks against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community were conspicuously intensified. Is this a coincidence? Certainly not. The coordinated 'criticism' of the economy, political system and foreign policy of the socialist countries and of Marxist-Leninist theory by bourgeois newspapers, radio and television, is obviously designed, among other things, to scuttle the orientation formalized at the all-European Conference. Surely, the engineers of the latest coordinated anti-Soviet campaign do not think their propaganda can in any way alter life in the countries of the socialist community. Their anti-Sovietism is addressed not only to the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries, but to audiences in the capitalist states. It is intended to instill among the public there suspicion of the CPSU and USSR — the Party and state that have played and continue to play the decisive part in the worldwide transformation of the system of international relations, in raising socialism's international prestige and influence. The anti-Soviet conditioning of the public is thus centered on eroding the social basis for détente in the capitalist part of the world, on dividing the common front of the socialist countries, the international working class, the democratic forces and national-liberation movements against reaction and the war danger, and, last but not least, on diverting attention from the all-encompassing crisis,

unprecedented in scale in the post-war period, and afflicting the entire capitalist system.

The fact that anti-Sovietism and opposition to détente go together is illustrated by the Maoist line. Unlike the capitals of certain capitalist countries, Peking does not pretend that anti-Sovietism belongs to the sphere of ideological struggle, while the practical issue of war and peace is in the political field. Peking blends anti-Soviet invective with frantic attempts to torpedo détente, and all-out support of the foes of détente in Western Europe and the United States with pressure on influential bourgeois leaders who wish to be realists and participate constructively in strengthening world security.

The process of organizing the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has begun. Already, much has been achieved. The relaxation of dangerous tensions in international relations has become the dominant feature of the 1970s. But not all the difficulties have been overcome. Much constructive initiative, perseverance, patience and determination are still required to assure a stable, continuous and dynamic growth of détente.

Today and in future the decisive part in the struggle for détente belongs to the peoples of the socialist community, the coordinated, purposeful and dynamic foreign policy of the socialist states. The peace offensive, the implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and backed by other countries of the socialist community, by progressives across the world, is rallying all democratic peace-loving forces to consolidate and extend détente, and is drawing them into the worldwide movement to refashion international relations in line with Lenin's principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems.



Contemporary imperialism in the light of Lenin's doctrine

INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

The international theoretical conference on 'Lenin's Doctrine of Imperialism and the Contemporary Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism,' organized by *World Marxist Review* in collaboration with the CC CPCz, was attended by representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of 46 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, FRG, GDR, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, SAR, Senegal, Soviet Union, Spain, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, USA, and Venezuela.

The conference was held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Lenin's writings on imperialism, among which *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, a classic of creative Marxism, holds a central place.

The conference was opened by *Josef Havlin*, Secretary, CC CPCz. The thesis on the general crisis of capitalism, he said, is an important component of Lenin's doctrine of imperialism. Lenin came to the conclusion that imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism and is a 'moribund capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 302). However, the downfall of capitalism does not take place as a single act. Due to the uneven political and economic development of capitalist countries, this process covers a whole period of history, the period of 'the collapse of capitalism in its entirety and the birth of socialist society' (Vol. 27, p. 130). This period is characterized by growing internal contradictions of the capitalist system, by its weakening and the breaking away of individual countries from it, and on the other hand, by the rise of a new, socialist system in these countries, by their consolidation and the formation of the socialist world system.

Political, economic and social development today confirms the

accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the general crisis of capitalism is deepening. We are witnessing the worst economic crisis of the past 40 years, a crisis involving the whole capitalist world. It is accompanied by an inflation unprecedented in peace-time. The situation is aggravated by an energy crisis that is, in effect, a consequence of neo-colonialist policies. All this has an adverse effect on the living standard of the masses in developed capitalist countries and is proving disastrous to a number of developing countries.

The governments of capitalist countries seek a way out through old methods that are hardly effective in the present situation. Capitalism has reached a stage at which each crisis is inevitably succeeded by a new and still sharper one, while the upward phases become shorter.

The general crisis of capitalism has an increasing bearing on class battles in the capitalist world and on the worldwide contest between socialism and imperialism. The Communist and Workers' parties must study its present stage if they are to evolve correct strategy and tactics. On behalf of the CC CPCz, Havlin welcomed the participants and expressed confidence that the conference would contribute to the Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary capitalism.

Imperialism and current trends

Speakers stressed that Lenin's comprehensive approach was to assess the state of the capitalist system as a whole, relations between capitalist countries and the course of international events, that is analyze the objective position of classes and economic development trends in the world.

We must bear in mind the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the world over the past 60 years, said *Sergio Sierra*, CC member, Communist Party of Uruguay. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened the epoch of transition to socialism on a world scale and marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism. The contradiction between the two opposed social systems has become the main contradiction of the epoch. The balance of forces is steadily changing in favor of socialism, the decisive factor in the development of mankind today. This is why problems of imperialism and the contemporary revolutionary process should be approached in terms of *world history*.

Eduardo del Llano, head of the Political Economy Chair, Higher Political School of Cuba, pointed to Lenin's statement that the content of the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution consists in 'the abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order' (Vol. 31, p. 392). It is a question, he said, of a twofold process, the growth and strengthening

of socialism being one aspect of it and the downfall of capitalism, the other.

The Cuban revolution is a component of this process. It achieved victory in new historical conditions, at a time when the world balance of forces had changed still more in favor of socialism, marking a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The changes effected in Cuba incurred the hatred of U.S. imperialism, which tried to turn back the wheels of history. But the Cuban people's unity and revolutionary resolve and support from socialist countries, first of all the economic, political and military aid of the Soviet Union, defeated those attempts. The Cuban revolution became an important factor in the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Frantisek Kolacek, lecturer at the Higher Political School of the CC CPCz, compared the two biggest capitalist economic crises of this century — the crisis of 1929-33 and the present — and pointed out that the current crisis is taking place against a background of a new alignment of economic, political and social forces. In the early 30s, the imperialist powers had tremendous economic superiority over the Soviet Union. But now the CMEA countries, some of which were once regarded as lying on the 'periphery' of Europe, account for approximately one-third of world industrial output.

The continuing change in the balance of world forces makes it possible to ease the impact of the internal contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism on international relations and curb imperialist aggression. Thus it is a question, said *Lutz Maier*, Deputy Director, Institute of International Politics and Economy (GDR), of a new interaction of the internal and external factors in the development of capitalism. The prospects of safeguarding peace are becoming more and more favorable and new opportunities for progressive changes have arisen in capitalist and developing countries.

It will be recalled, said *Pavel Auersperg*, member, CC CPCz, that the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism, as defined in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, is not connected with a world war and is developing in peace-time conditions. The brother parties' statement stressed that the situation today makes it possible to prevent world war. It pointed to the need to establish the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations and thereby provide favorable conditions for further social and economic changes undermining the world positions of imperialism.

We may say now that that was an accurate Marxist-Leninist forecast visualizing the subsequent course of world development. Events confirmed the dominant influence of socialism as an international force and its ability to counter imperialist strategy. This was exempli-

fied by the victory of the Vietnamese people after 30 years of struggle against imperialism. The imperialists proved unable to stop the growth of the strength and international prestige of socialism.

As a spokesman of the CPCz, P. Auersperg said, I would like to stress the favorable part which the internationalist aid extended to Czechoslovakia in 1968 by its socialist allies played in normalizing international relations. To put it briefly, that act made the imperialists take a more sober look at things, increased the influence of realistic politicians in the bourgeois camp, and furthered the movement for détente.

The peaceful conditions in which the current stage of the general crisis of capitalism is developing, Auersperg noted, do not at all tend to reduce its gravity.

Tudorel Postolache, Corresponding Member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences, stressed that the current crisis has glaringly revealed the inability of capitalism to assure the even development of all peoples. It is necessary to bring about a new economic and political world order by eliminating economic disparities between countries, establishing complete equality in international relations and imposing respect for national independence and sovereignty.

Dimitr Stanishev, representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the journal, noted that the problem of establishing international relations based on both economic and political equality presented itself, strictly speaking, with the rise of the socialist states. An instance of these new relations is cooperation between countries of the socialist community on the principles of proletarian internationalism. As for relations with the capitalist world, the socialist community follows the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, which include recognition of equality and respect for national sovereignty.

Adam Lopatka, alternate member of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, spoke of the present role of the socialist countries' foreign policy.

He stressed the need for complementing political with military détente, ending the arms race and providing other requisites of international security. We must not forget that in capitalist countries along with realistic politicians there are opponents of détente. The advocates of cold war are fully backed by the Maoists, who oppose the interests of the socialist community.

The imperialist states try to impart an anti-socialist character to exchanges in the sphere of culture, education, information and human relations. They try to legalize their ideological propaganda and subversion in socialist countries by exploiting the principle of freedom of information. Needless to say, those attempts will get them nowhere.

The tremendous changes in the balance of forces between the two

mutually opposed socio-economic systems are exerting a decisive influence on the direction and pace of world development, Academician Y.M. Zhukov (USSR) said in a paper submitted to the conference. The weakening of the capitalist world, the result of socialism's successes, is characterized not only by quantitative indicators and contraction of the area in which bourgeois relations still dominate. What we have is a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism precisely as a socio-economic system, and objective qualitative changes that have deprived the leading capitalist powers of a number of key positions. All this has compelled the leaders of the capitalist world to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The significance of the gains made by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries goes beyond the fact that the threat of nuclear war has been put off. These gains have greatly increased the prestige of world socialism, whose superiority has become evident in the postwar period and is a law of the present epoch showing that capitalist social relations are historically indefensible.

Changes in the capitalist world

In the 60 years that have passed since Lenin wrote his works on imperialism, enormous changes have occurred in its economy. Concentration and centralization of capital have reached a new stage. Intervention in economic activity by the bourgeois state has assumed an unprecedented scale. Economic structures have changed due to the scientific and technological revolution. Many speakers at the conference analyzed these phenomena and their connection with imperialist policies.

Monopoly and the state. The essence of imperialism is expressed in monopoly. 'Imperialism is monopoly capitalism,' Lenin wrote (Vol. 22, p. 298). This means, said Stoyadin Savov, lecturer at the Institute of Modern Social Theories, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, that to study the actual state of imperialism means primarily analyzing monopoly forms, the movement of monopoly capital, the organization of monopoly property and the impact of monopoly on competition and price formation.

Production concentration at national and international levels has given rise to monopoly conglomerations controlling a large section of non-monopoly enterprise through subcontracts. But the large scale of socialized production necessitates regulation at the national economic level. Monopolies cannot do this without government participation. They need government aid all the more when faced with the need to influence social factors for economic growth.

After giving a detailed description of present-day forms of fusion of monopoly and the state, the Bulgarian scholar stressed that the im-

proved mechanism of their interaction does not abolish capitalist competition, which changes only in form. There are insurmountable contradictions between the components of the economic mechanism of contemporary capitalism — monopoly, competition and regulation.

Savov replied to questions.

Alberto Kohen, alternate member of the CC, Communist Party of Argentina: Lenin pointed out that the 1900 crisis was a turning point in the history of modern monopolies. Isn't the current crisis a turning point in the history of state-monopoly capitalism and big multinational monopolies, a period in which its development shows new aspects?

Savov: The crisis may give rise to new forms of state-monopoly regulation. A number of new national and international institutions will probably be set up centrally to coordinate certain economic processes. In the United States, there are even suggestions for a 'state-planning committee,' but the 'planning' would be expected to coexist with private initiative. Attempts may be made to develop new theoretical patterns in place of Keynesian theories, which have proved untenable.

As regards multinational corporations, the main problem lies, as Savov sees it, in the fact that their activity is beginning to clash with the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation tested after World War II. The monopoly bourgeoisie will apparently try to ease this contradiction so as to prevent it from becoming a threat to the capitalist system. The statutes of multinational monopolies now being drafted are intended to serve precisely this purpose.

Rodney Öhman, representative of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden on the journal: How do social factors influence economic growth?

Savov replied that he lists among social growth factors those that have to do with reproducing the work force. The system of education and vocational training, public health, employment level, labor remuneration and organization, the amount of consumption and its pattern are particularly important. All these factors have been operating throughout the history of capitalism, of course, but they are still more important now. Bourgeois countries try to control social processes according to monopoly capitalist interests. Revealingly, bourgeois sociologists have introduced the concept of the social responsibility of business and there is some talk now of 'social planning.' Of course, the social policies of the bourgeois state are influenced by the intense struggle of the working class for its rights.

Contemporary state-monopoly capital, said Professor *Stelios Pavlidis* (Greece), is characterized by development in both breadth and depth. Monopoly and the state intertwine more and more closely in imperialist centers as well as in less developed countries.

This also applies to the situation in Greece. Whereas government interference in economic activity in the more developed capitalist countries did not assume a considerable scale until after monopolization had reached a definite stage, in Greece both processes — monopolization and the development of state-monopoly capitalism (SMC) — have from the first gone on simultaneously, virtually merging.

V.M. Shundeyev, Executive Editor of *WMR*, raised some methodological problems of studying contemporary SMC.

Some works, including Marxist ones, he said, advance a set of criteria and suggest using it to ascertain how far SMC is developed or undeveloped in this or that country. It is argued that since the state sector is small in the United States, where there has been no extensive nationalization and the scale of government enterprise in the production sphere is also modest, the U.S. is behind Britain, France or Austria in development of SMC. But if we assume that SMC, the essence of the present development stage of the capitalist system, is relatively undeveloped in the U.S., we must infer that the working class should not see the general headquarters of its international class enemy in that country but elsewhere — in, say, Austria. The absurdity of such an inference is self-evident.

In evaluating the developing degree of SMC, we should also bear in mind such criteria as the share of the national income redistributed under the state budget, the absolute and relative amount of state purchases of commodities and services, the scale and effectiveness of the credit and tax policy of the state, and lastly, state participation in financing accumulation of capital and such important activities as research and development. However, even this is probably less than enough. Indeed, can one speak of the strength or weakness of a particular national capitalism today and yet ignore the very foundation of this system, *monopoly*? Making comparisons of this nature, can one forget that SMC is twofold — economic and political — monopoly? Surely no one who estimated the development level of U.S. capitalism in terms of monopoly power would imagine that SMC is weak in that country.

And this, Shundeyev said, brings us from methodological matters to the substance of imperialism, of SMC, to the Leninist conception of the phenomenon. Lenin's thesis of the key role of monopoly as the economic basis and motive power of imperialism in contemporary conditions is particularly relevant in view of the new dimensions of international monopoly activity.

Nowadays every major monopoly association, especially in the United States, inevitably operates as a multinational monopoly, an international corporation, and this fact puts a very strong imprint on all relations between the state and monopoly.

Contradictions between monopoly and the bourgeois state have always existed along with the alliance linking them. They are not antagonistic, of course, since the interests of the bourgeois state and monopoly are based on identical principles. But in analyzing present-day imperialism, it is very important to remember that these contradictions intensify in new conditions. To solve problems of the revolutionary anti-monopoly transformation of capitalist society, it is indispensable to make a precise analysis of the nature of the twofold state-monopoly mechanism.

The imperialist state, said *Gert Hautsch*, staff member of the Institute of Marxist Studies (Frankfurt, FRG), represents monopoly interests irrespective of whether the government is headed by an outspokenly bourgeois party or a reformist one. In view of the crisis, with opportunities for social maneuver dwindling, the Social-Democratic leaders heading the FRG government switch ever more frankly to a policy designed to put the burden of economic difficulties on the working class and other working people, as well as on small and medium proprietors.

SMC unquestionably has certain possibilities of increasing the economic, military and technological potential of bourgeois society and of partially overcoming some of its political difficulties. These possibilities should not be underestimated, said *I.Y. Guryev*, Deputy Director, Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations. But the dialectic of SMC as a whole is such that while the system is designed to strengthen the positions of the bourgeoisie, its inherent contradictions ultimately undermine these positions still more.

Thus, the growing economic function of the bourgeois state is nothing but a higher stage of socialized production, a direct continuation of the negation of the capitalist production mode under capitalism itself, which Marx saw in joint-stock companies. By speeding the economic growth of capitalist countries in the interests of the bourgeoisie and by mustering substantial resources to carry out scientific and production projects requiring expenditures and labor coordination on a scale that even the biggest private monopolies cannot afford, the state inevitably aggravates the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriating its results. And this leads to further erosion of the economic pillars of bourgeois power.

Limits of government regulation. Many bourgeois economists, said *Weislaw Sadzikowski*, Dr.Ec. (Poland), fail to realize that the private capitalist sector cannot independently ensure an adequate rate of all-round economic growth. They have put forward the theories of

'affluent society,' 'industrial state' and 'post-industrial state,' to which they attribute the leading role in resolving capitalist contradictions. They do not, of course, question the legitimacy of private capitalist ownership of the means of production. They consider that the capitalist system can be reformed without resorting to revolutionary change or reshaping its political structures.

Lenin pointed out the fallacy of theories of this nature. '... The erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion,' he wrote, 'that monopoly capitalism or state-monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can now be called "state socialism" and so on, is very common' (Vol. 25, pp. 442-443). The extent of monopolization and of government interference in social and economic processes in developed capitalist countries is now much greater than when those words were written, Sadzikowski said. But they are as valid as ever. The state, which distributes almost half the national income and in many capitalist countries accounts for half of all investments, remains a bourgeois state, and the prevailing relations of production are still capitalist. In Sadzikowski's view, the far-reaching interference of the contemporary bourgeois state in economic activity has led to changes in capitalist production relations.

Shundeyev asked the Polish scholar to specify what he means by changes in capitalist production relations.

Sadzikowski: Government interference does not, of course, alter the *foundations* of capitalist production relations. However, the share of state property in the production and other spheres tends to grow. This implies an important change in the *character* of capitalist production relations, even though the activity of the state sector is subordinated, in the final analysis, to the interest of private capital. In assessing capitalist production relations, we must now bear in mind government regulation of economic development, the increasing role of the state in distributing the aggregate net profit, and attempts to influence social relations.

Nita Dobrota, Prorector of the Academy of Economic Sciences (Rumania), said that without deluding ourselves about the class character of the bourgeois state, we must take into account its increasing importance and the relative independence it acquires due to deep contradictions between private monopolies and to the immense financial resources at its disposal.

But does state-monopoly programming mean planning in the true sense of the term? The answer is no, if we regard planning as management of the entire economy, the setting of specific tasks, the fixing of compulsory time limits for their execution, control over their fulfillment, and so on. The economy of capitalist countries remains a market economy. Its functioning is conditioned by the spontaneous

operation of laws that are part of the bourgeois system and not by the activity of state-monopoly institutions making economic decisions.

Characteristically, the economic instability of the majority of developed capitalist countries increased and their social antagonisms became sharper than ever precisely when these countries set out to draft social and economic plans. In particular, they proved unable to prevent growing inflation in spite of the counter-measures they took. The simultaneous existence of inflation and stagflation seriously hampered the elaboration of an economic strategy by capitalist governments. They are caught in a vicious circle; combating inflation means curbing economic activity and more unemployment, while boosting economic revival means more inflation. It is proving impossible to evolve programs to solve both problems. There is reason to speak of a crisis of bourgeois economic policy as a whole. This, too, is a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Contradictions of the internationalization process of economic activity. The activity of multinational monopolies has lately assumed an unprecedented scale. A UN report on multinational companies lists 7,300 corporations with foreign subsidiaries. Two hundred of the biggest are operating in 20 or more countries, some even in as many as 100 countries.

Bourgeois apologists, said *Maier*, who cited these data, had hoped that the expansion of multinational corporations would have a stabilizing effect on the capitalist world economy and international economic relations. Since the late 60s, however, it has been ever more obvious that the new stage of monopolization is an important cause of growing instability of the capitalist world economy. Conflicts provoked by multinational companies affect diverse economic interconnections. Referring to the FRG, *Maier* spoke of contradictions between multinational monopolies and the state, which pursues a policy of regulating the economy.

The contradiction between economic planning within one monopoly union and anarchy in economic development as a whole is becoming international. At present it manifests itself in the peculiar dualism of the capitalist world economy due to the expansion of multinational companies, on the one hand, and state-monopoly regulation on a national, regional and international scale.

Lately imperialist countries have plainly been trying to adapt the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation to the new degree of internationalization of economic activity. In this connection, *Volen Butashkov*, consultant of the International Department, CC Bulgarian Communist Party, drew attention to imperialist efforts to deal with

the current crisis by combining the economic and political power of the main centers of international monopoly capital and by imposing the will of the leading powers on the rest of the non-socialist world. To be sure, coordination of the anti-crisis policy of the major imperialist countries is strongly handicapped by their mutual antagonisms. Nevertheless, the trend toward this kind of coordination is unmistakable.

Mel Doig, CEC member, Communist Party of Canada, spoke of cooperation and rivalry between U.S. and Canadian imperialism. The two countries' monopolies make investments and jointly exploit the working people of Latin American and Caribbean countries. At the same time, however, they compete for control of the Canadian economy, a fact which the Canadian Communist Party Program describes as the paramount element of imperialist contradictions in Canada. Rivalries between the monopolies of the two North American countries have intensified owing to the energy crisis. U.S. imperialism wants to fully control Canada's vast oil and gas deposits and all its sources of energy. But the Canadian bourgeoisie knows full well that the country's energy resources are a veritable 'gold mine' and refuses to share it with its U.S. rival.

Multinational companies, said *Barbu Zaharescu*, member of the Central Auditing Commission, Rumanian Communist Party, now play a role largely differing from that of the monopolies in the past. Their main target is no longer the raw materials and cheap labor power of the colonies. They strive to conquer the markets of developed capitalist countries, bypassing tariff barriers, and to use the advantages of internationalizing the capitalist economy, which they promote in every way. Most of the companies investing in other countries have their headquarters in the United States.

The capitalist type of internationalization has a negative effect on the independence and sovereignty of capitalist countries. It stands to reason that branches of American firms do not adhere to the policy of the countries where they are operating but pursue a policy favorable to the United States.

Zaharescu pointed out that the capitalist monetary system established after World War II is a distinctive product of state-monopoly capitalism and a consequence of government interference in economic activity. It has provided favorable conditions for concentrating and centralizing capital and for redistributing the national income in the interests of the big monopolies.

The new world monetary system is still being discussed by the major imperialist powers. Actually this discussion is nothing but

struggle between monopoly groups, with the United States trying to preserve the international, even if reduced, role of the dollar.*

Pointing to the connection between inflation and the present stage of monetary relations, Zaharescu stressed that a price-raising inflation, so long as it is manageable, is a deliberate policy of monopoly capital. The fact is that with the degree of organization attained by the working class, it is no longer possible to keep wages low with the aid of unemployment. Non-Marxist economists assert that growing wages lead to higher production costs of commodities and cause an increase in prices and hence to inflation. In reality, it is growing consumer goods prices that make the working class seek wage increases.

Ron Bellamy, Economic Consultative Commission member, Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, spoke of export of capital. He stressed that lately capital has been exported to industrial countries and invested in industry on a mounting scale. He sees the main reason for this in the uneven growth of production in the capitalist world, especially in Europe and the United States, and in the dissimilar level of technological progress in these two regions. Superiority in technology and production organization and more effective management methods have enabled American companies to invest in European industry and to secure bigger profits than in their own country. In some cases, trade barriers made finished goods exports less profitable than production on the spot. The fact that West European workers are paid lower wages also had its effect.

However, the situation has changed of late. Since capital export is generally movement of capital from more developed to less developed countries, it should be evident that a notable equalization of the productive and financial power of the United States and other imperialist countries potentially worsens the conditions for export of American capital. This is one of the reasons why more and more European capital is flowing the other way.

In this new situation, Common Market monopolies will hardly put up for much longer with the penetration of U.S. capital into their home market. We are therefore at the threshold of a new sharpening of antagonisms between the main imperialist countries.

Answering B. Zaharescu, Loris Gallico, Editor of *Politica ed Economia* (Italy) spoke of the activity of multinational monopolies in Italy. Most of them are companies of American origin. The IBM

*In January 1976 a provisional committee of the International Monetary Fund reached agreement in principle on a reform of the Western countries' monetary system. Its main provisions — recognition of the system of floating exchange rates and acceptance of the gradual elimination of gold from international transactions — mark a victory for the United States. — Ed.

influences several Italian industries. Electric power production for the population is controlled by West German capital. Big Italian companies, for their part, purchase enterprises abroad. Fiat, a well-known private monopoly, has considerable interests in Spain.

Sweden exports capital on a mounting scale, *Öhman* said. Direct foreign investments by Swedish monopolies approximated to 150m. kronor in 1961 and went up by an estimated 2,600m. kronor in 1974. The top Swedish monopolies employ more people abroad than in Sweden. At the same time, the problem of employment in Sweden has become much more acute than before. In other words, increasing export of capital tells on the working people's condition in even the wealthiest capitalist countries.

Auersperg dealt specially with the social consequences of the growing activity of multinational monopolies and its impact on the nature of the working people's class struggle.

New forms of concentration in agriculture. *Aladar Sipos*, Dr.Ec. (Hungary), dealt with the problem of agrarian relations in developed capitalist countries.

Industrial and commercial monopolies are extending their financial and technological control to farming. So-called vertical integration of agriculture coordinates the operation of units of very dissimilar economic power: weak agricultural enterprises are in confrontation with big industrial and trading monopolies. The farmer, while remaining a nominally independent proprietor, virtually becomes a wage worker of the integrating monopoly. In other words, vertical integration does not mean relations between equal partners, but, in effect, relations between capitalist and wage worker.

Sipos touched on yet another form of concentration of agricultural production in developed capitalist countries, namely, farmers' associations. Sales and consumer cooperatives were known in the past, too. What is new is that cooperation is gaining ground in the production sphere. The rise of cooperatives of this nature is due to technological progress and the farmers' resistance to the monopolies' arbitrary methods. However, the farmers' associations operating in developed capitalist countries differ not only in production specialization, and orientation, but also in class substance. Some of them are drifting farther and farther away from the principles of cooperation, becoming joint-stock enterprises of a capitalist type. But there are also cooperatives based on democratic principles. They are real associations of small farmers, organizations serving the interests of their members. It is these cooperatives that constitute a democratic alternative of transforming agriculture.

Zaharescu asked *Sipos*' opinion of the contradictions dividing EEC countries over the agrarian question.

Sipos: The crisis of the capitalist monetary system has affected the whole economic machinery of the EEC. In the past, Common Market members set up a so-called agrarian fund for the purchase of farm products. However, fluctuations in the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar greatly complicated transactions between EEC members. Some bourgeois economists began to affirm that the Common Market would be unable to function in agriculture at all unless there was a common currency.

Another 'headache' is the so-called structural policy in agriculture. There is a debate on whether the 'family farm' should or should not be supported and what the agrarian structure should be like. The existence of numerous unviable farms and hence the sore plight of a large number of farmers are not only an economic problem to the governments of European capitalist countries, but a serious political problem as well. In carrying out government measures to abolish small farms, the ruling classes are careful to pursue this policy quietly, so as not to aggravate the social situation.

Character of capitalist crisis. The present capitalist crisis, speakers noted, is *all embracing*. It affects not only the economy, but also politics, ideology and culture. Consequently, we are dealing not merely with an ordinary over-production crisis, but with all of capitalism's inherent contradictions, *its general crisis*. T. Postolache suggested that we are witnessing the beginning of a new phase of the general crisis of capitalism.

He enumerated the following factors which at the close of the last and the beginning of the present decade, have brought bourgeois society to the threshold of a new situation: the victories of the socialist countries, disintegration of colonial empires and the emergence of young states fighting for political and economic independence, exacerbation of capitalist economic contradictions internally and internationally, major social battles in the capitalist countries, collapse of the imperialist policy of force, deepening crisis in the social, economic and cultural fields.

Postolache pointed to three characteristics of the present capitalist economic crisis which, in his view, are closely linked with the beginning of a new phase of the general crisis.

First, collapse of the old unjust international economic order. The mechanism of the world capitalist economy is in a state of crisis.

Second, the early 70s vividly showed up the limits of state-monopoly capitalism's possibilities. At the same time, the old mechanism of shifting the difficulties on to the underdeveloped countries no longer functions as reliably as in the past, for the forces opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are much more active.

Third, the descendent phase of state-monopoly capitalism coincides with the descendent phase of the 'century cycle.'

In the postwar quarter-century synchronization of the 'decade cycle' was disturbed by the ascendent phase of the 'century cycle' and the 'classical' phase of state-monopoly capitalism. Capitalist instability was masked by accelerated economic growth. We can anticipate that future 'decade cycles' will be more clearly etched and their descendent phases will be more protracted and profound.

I. Guryev questioned the contention that we are witnessing the beginning of a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism. Each new phase or, to use the most customary term, stage, of the general crisis is primarily determined by a qualitatively new level in the development of the world revolutionary process. *Postolache's* thesis is not backed by an analysis of real processes. In *Guryev's* opinion, we can speak of definite qualitative features of the present flare-up of contradictions in capitalism, rather than of a new phase of its general crisis. To be sure, continued qualitative change of crisis phenomena might, in the *future*, lead to a new stage of the general crisis. But only time will show.

L. Maier, replying to a question by *P. Vasquez*, member of Political Commission, Paraguayan CP, remarked that one of the essential criteria of the present deepening of capitalism's general crisis is the much more pronounced social instability in the capitalist countries. It is probably true to single out three basic social factors. First, the tendency to freeze real wages in most capitalist countries. Second, high unemployment. Third, the growing conflict between the workers' requirements in conditions of the technological revolution and the character of labor power as a commodity. The operation of these factors does not automatically lead to an upsurge of the class struggle, though it does introduce a number of new socio-economic elements.

Speakers emphasized that the collapse of all the systems of state-monopoly regulation based on Keynesian and other theories, which enjoyed such wide currency and popularity, is a clear manifestation of the present capitalist crisis. In this context, *Zaharescu*, replying to a question by *A. Mosquera*, CC member, CP Colombia, remarked that state-monopoly capitalism is itself a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism, of its last stage for, as Lenin pointed out, there is no intermediate phase between this stage and socialism.

The all-embracing character of crisis tendencies in developed capitalist countries, *John Pittman*, member of Political Committee, CPUSA, said, makes nonsense of the bourgeois-reformist contention that state-monopoly economic regulation and the technological revolution assure material affluence and social stability for all members of

society and make the class struggle and, consequently, socialist revolution, "superfluous."

Capitalism, however, has proved organically incapable of using the achievements of the human genius for the whole of society. The technological revolution, Academician Y.M. Zhukov remarked, is used chiefly to enrich the monopoly top crust. Technological progress leads to a massive army of 'redundant' workers, thereby aggravating the problem of so-called 'structural,' i.e. permanent multi-million unemployment.*

Sixty years ago Lenin trenchantly criticized Kautsky for trying to embellish imperialism, smooth out its contradictions and spread the illusion that imperialism, its very basis, lends itself to reform. History has confirmed Lenin's criticism. In the past years capitalism has aged, its image has in some places changed, but its cruel, anti-humanist nature has not.

Class struggle in crisis conditions

Many speakers analyzed the concrete forms in which the capitalist crisis, ruling-class policy and anti-monopoly struggle find expression in their countries.

The FRG is going through the most grave and profound economic crisis in its history, G. Hautch said. It is adversely affecting the conditions of the workers. The German Communist Party believes that their position can be alleviated by raising purchasing power and expanding the social services. Improving the workers' material position would boost business, make for fuller use of productive capacity, and, consequently, reduce unemployment.

However, the Social Democrat-led government is following the very opposite course, reducing both the purchasing power of the masses and social-service expenditure. This cuts into the home market, with the resultant artificial retardation of economic growth. Of course, the government knows this. Why, then, is it following such a policy? One would think that top priority should be to overcome the difficulties as quickly as possible, even if only to prevent further deterioration of the social climate.

The government's policy is subordinate to the long-range strategy of the top monopolies. The ruinous effects of the crisis are felt chiefly by the non-monopoly enterprises, which depend on the home market and are the first to suffer from its contraction.

The monopolies are exploiting the situation to cut wages in order to

*The interaction of the technological revolution and the present crisis of capitalism were discussed at an international symposium. The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Competition Between the Two Systems (*WMR*, February, 1976, p. 60).

increase their competitive power. They would like to see the crisis last until larger exports give an impulse to a new economic pick-up. If the whole recovery period were powered by exports, while internal purchasing power was limited, that would suit them eminently. And so, the outlook is for further deterioration of the workers' conditions.

Italy. Having described the crisis in Italy, *L. Gallico* discussed the distinctive features of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in his country. Many big enterprises and banks belong to the state. More than 50 per cent of industrial investment comes from state-associated enterprises and agencies. Regional, provincial and municipal councils engage in economic activity, too. But nationalization is carried out by the bourgeois state, that is, with the consent of the capitalists. Managerial personnel are drawn from the business world, usually members of the capitalist class, and are responsible only to the shareholders, who have no real power, and to the government ministers, who are committed to a capitalist policy.

These specific conditions, Gallico continued, make it necessary to campaign not for more nationalization, but for more democratization by placing management under the control of parliament, regional and municipal councils and by giving the workers a share in management. If this were done, the strong state enterprises could influence the economic policy of the big private monopolies and considerably restrict the multinationals.

Italy's salvation requires cooperation of all the healthy economic and political forces of the nation. Our Communist Party wants unity in every field. Trade union unity of Communists, Socialists and Catholics has already won the working people important gains, and they are a starting point for continued successful struggle. The escalator clause in wage agreements effectively defends living standards. No longer can workers be sacked with impunity. Fascist violence does not go unanswered. The Communists have established democratic regional governments in Emilia Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria, and two more regions, Piedmont and Liguria, were added following the Communist victory in the June 1975 elections. I would add that these regions are important centers of economic decision-making.

The job ahead, Gallico added, is to use a democratic program, the need for which is so keenly felt throughout the country, to lay the foundations of economic renewal as the forerunner of fundamental structural reform that would open to the Italian people the road to socialism.

M. Rossi, representative of the Italian CP on the journal, replying to a question by *L. Nagy*, Deputy Director of the CC HSWP Institute of Social Sciences, on the role of Parliament in Italian political life,

said that the Communists, as other democratic forces, do not regard Parliament as the only representative assembly. There are, besides, regional, provincial and municipal councils elected by universal suffrage and with wide powers in economic and social policy. The national referendum, likewise provided for by the Constitution, enables the voters to reject or approve legislation enacted by Parliament. Lastly, the working people can participate in the framing of laws through their mass organizations, and if necessary such participation can develop into major mass actions.

As a form of representation, Parliament, as such, is neither good nor bad. It all depends on its composition — the more the Communists, Socialists and other Lefts in it, the more it responds to the interests of the working people and the nation as a whole. Even now, the large number of Communists and other Left MPs has so changed the balance of forces that the reactionaries are trying to reduce the role of Parliament.

USA. The country's economy, and life generally, John Pittman said, are dominated by forces which the Communist Party has defined as the financial-military-industrial complex. Addressing the 21st National Party Convention, General Secretary Gus Hall said: 'The financial-military-industrial complex has become the axis of the state-monopoly structure, feeding itself on the \$100 billion-plus military budget.' Enormous military spending is having a devastating effect on the economy and is a source of inflation and the main cause of the high taxes that weigh so heavily on the working people.

The drive for world domination has made for an especially rapid growth of militarism. And though the changed relation of world forces has made that goal unattainable, U.S. imperialism has shed none of its aggressiveness. That is evident from its interference in Angola, its actions in Portugal and its attempts to shore up its positions in Spain and the Middle East.

For many years, the U.S. was held up as a paragon of individual freedom, though the contradiction between genuine and formal democracy has been part of the bourgeois-democratic system from its very inception. U.S. imperialism's fiasco in Vietnam, Watergate and the present CIA revelations have opened the eyes of many Americans to the real nature of U.S. democracy. But the police-state apparatus continues to function despite all these exposures of gross violations of the law. There is still surveillance of people involved in the democratic movement. There is financial support for George Wallace of the Democratic Party and Ronald Reagan of the Republicans for President. The monopolies are obviously preparing to shift the country's political life to the right.

The task facing our Communist Party is to contribute to the strug-

gle of the working class and its allies against attempts by state-monopoly capitalism to put the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people, against encroachments on democratic rights and attempts to reverse détente.

Canada. As in other capitalist countries, the present economic crisis in Canada, *Mel Doig* said, is connected with relative overproduction and inflation, which react on each other. Unemployment is high too. In this situation monopoly and government strategy is to make the workers pay for the consequences of the crisis. A while ago the government complemented its 'wages and prices restraint' by freezing wages. The Communist Party has denounced this as 'a plan for economic bankruptcy,' and the Canadian Labour Congress, which speaks for 2.5 million workers, has started a campaign against it. Workers in automobile, steel, electrical engineering and other industries and also civil servants have announced their readiness to fight the wage freeze, with strike action if necessary.

The deepening crisis is dispelling many of the illusions and myths about capitalism and is fostering anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist sentiments and the understanding that socialism is the solution. Within the labor movement the struggle has intensified between supporters of revolutionary and reformist policies. The right forces are trying to exploit the crisis in their own interests.

However, as the 22nd Communist Party Congress noted, the people are not allowing themselves to be incited against the workers fighting for higher wages, or the farmers fighting for economic survival. This is a crucial factor in the anti-monopoly struggle.

Finland. The situation in my country, *Aulis Leppanen*, the CP of Finland representative on *World Marxist Review* said, is characterized by the fact that the domestic policy of the ruling classes runs counter to the interests of the majority of the population — the working class, peasantry, middle strata and intellectuals. The result is soaring prices, higher taxes, housing shortage and unemployment.

There is growing discontent and more strike struggles, with white-collar workers and intellectuals becoming more and more involved. The students have a more active part, too. Political instability, with pre-term parliamentary elections, government crises and dragged-out negotiations in forming a new cabinet, have become common occurrences.

The general resentment against government policy has split some of the bourgeois parties and produced small right-extremist break-away parties. They are, of course, anti-communist, but also demagogically critical of the big bourgeois parties. This has misled some and the extreme right was able to muster a measure of support at the last elections.

The right is working toward organizational consolidation. It has set up a so-called 'economic council' to work out big business strategy. Employers' unions are now banding together against the labor movement. The bourgeoisie has launched an ideological counter-offensive, with more stringent control of the mass media and education.

That being the situation, it is especially important to promote united struggle by all those opposed by big business. This calls for joint action of the parties and organizations that represent them. Our 17th Party Congress adopted a special resolution on cooperation of democratic forces. It says that the people of Finland stand before the choice: should they follow the road leading to more monopoly power and more hardship for the masses, or the one leading to wider democracy and defense of the working class and other sections of the working population, the road that would weaken, and in the end destroy, monopoly domination.

Spain. M. Yenez, member of the CC CPS Economic Commission, noted that the death of Franco, who to the very last remained the main pillar of the regime, sent shocks through the whole system of power. How events will shape out in the near future will depend on the correlation of political groupings. And the speaker singled out three main political trends, emphasizing that there were no hard-and-fast lines between them.

First, the ultra-conservative group that has retained power, made up mainly of the landed aristocracy and the oligarchic bourgeoisie. Supported by the army, it wants to prevent Juan Carlos from going beyond cosmetic social and political reforms.

Second, the right-center organizations and leaders who want to retain the monarchy and gradually improve the Franco machine of government. These 'moderate Francoists' advocate cautious evolution 'from authoritarianism to democracy,' legalization of all political parties with the exception of the Communists, the left Radicals and ETA (Basque nationalists). The right-center group has the support of Spanish capital, notably the new bourgeoisie, also part of the Catholic hierarchy and a considerable part of the officer corps. It also has certain positions in the government machine and the much more than platonic sympathy of NATO and the EEC. It calls for 'continuity' and is meeting with a favorable response from a substantial part of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle strata and peasantry, in short, from everyone who wants change but fears political upheaval.

A compromise between the ultra-conservatives and the 'moderate Francoists' is possible.

Lastly, the left — the Communists, the workers' commissions, part of the Demochristians, the Socialists, Basque nationalists, Catalanian autonomists and members of other groups and organizations. The left

wants an end to Francoism, a change of political system and democratic development. It relies for support primarily on the working class, but also has the backing of part of the peasantry, the lower clergy, urban middle strata and wide sections of the intelligentsia. Left ideas have begun to penetrate the army.

The Communist Party has always maintained that the fight against the Franco dictatorship requires broad alliance of political forces. Agreement has been reached between the Democratic Junta and the 'Platform of Convergence,' which between them account for most of the opposition organizations, on these immediate goals: amnesty for political prisoners, return of exiles, respect of human rights and political freedoms and legalization of all political parties without exception.

Greece. S. Pavlidis noted that new industries have been started and old ones re-equipped. Production concentration and capital centralization has proceeded apace: in 1973, 100 of the country's 1,759 companies accounted for 54 per cent of sales and 56 per cent of net profits. The two top banks control practically all industrial financing.

International factors have contributed to the rapid development of state-monopoly capitalism in Greece. World, and especially U.S., imperialism is trying to consolidate its positions in Greece, largely because of its strategic importance — hence, the generous financial 'aid,' which opens the door to foreign monopolies who hold the economic heights and make huge profits. The bourgeois state thus serves the interests not only of Greek but also of foreign monopolies.

A paper submitted by another Greek economist, N. Stamatis of the Marxist Research Center, deals with Greece's relations with the EEC. The desire to bring Greece into the community is dictated not so much by economic as by political considerations. That is admitted by the Greek financial oligarchy and in EEC circles. There need be no doubt that Greek Common Market membership would make the economy even more dependent on foreign interests. And not only the economy, for the EEC is the political and economic base of NATO in Europe.

The Communist Party is campaigning to eliminate monopoly privileges, for economic development in the interests of the working class and the working people at large, and for closer cooperation with the socialist and non-aligned states.

Ireland. Betty Sinclair, member of the National Executive, CP of Ireland, stressed the permanent value of Lenin's writings on the Irish question and the depth of his analysis of British imperialism's policy toward its first colony. The experience of more than half a century has shown that the partition of Ireland, a crime against its people, was also a scourge for Britain's ruling classes, which have demonstrated

their complete inability to cope with a problem of their own making, Northern Ireland. Today as in the 20s, the province is honey-combed with British troops, governed by British Ministers, and living under a reign of terror. The chronic political crisis is aggravated by economic crisis. Unemployment stands at more than 11 per cent. Investment in the economy is down to a minimum. Last year inflation was running at more than 25 per cent.

The Irish Republic is in a state of profound crisis too. Agreement with British imperialism on the Free Trade Area, and EEC membership has opened the doors still wider to monopoly penetration. The men who rule both parts of Ireland have for many years banked on attracting foreign capital as the main source of economic growth. Foreign investors are given generous subsidies and far-reaching privileges. In the North, the result has been that the local capital now controls only 22 per cent of the productive forces, foreign, chiefly British, capital, 66 per cent, and the British government, 12 per cent. But as soon as the crisis struck, the foreign monopolies began to close down the subsidiaries on the Emerald Isle, leaving thousands without jobs.

Imperialism and the dependent countries

Many speakers recalled Lenin's words that political dependence does not, *per se*, free a country of monopoly domination, that finance capital and its foreign policy give rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence: despite formal political independence, the country is enmeshed in a net of financial and diplomatic dependence. (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 263). That is fully valid today, too, though imperialism has lost its leading role in the world.

Economic backwardness and dependence on world capitalism are socio-economic characteristics of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. And conference participants dwelt on the complex, at times contradictory, processes in these countries, their common development trends and the new features in their relations with imperialism.

Neo-colonialism: setbacks and maneuvers. Having lost their huge colonial empires, the imperial countries are employing economic, political and military methods to maintain control over the development of the newly independent states, assure continued exploitation of their productive forces and keep them within the capitalist system. The fallacy of that neo-colonialist policy is now especially clear, as the contradictions between imperialist and developing countries become ever sharper.

Prof. A. Krawczewski (Poland), discussing neo-colonialist economic policy, said that for a long time monopoly investment strategy was designed to create excessive raw material stocks to give the

imperialists a better price structure. Demand for raw materials is being held back and this, coupled with technical progress (less raw materials per unit of output) has created a situation in which the developing countries cannot pay for their exports and become more dependent on foreign credits.

With the balance of world forces altered to the disadvantage of imperialism, the developing countries were able to mount an offensive against neo-colonialist positions. Many have nationalized monopoly assets or imposed tougher restrictions on export of profits. Prices of oil and other raw materials were increased.

All this has compelled the capitalist countries to modify their economic policy, but inflation remains the chief instrument in adapting monopoly to the new price structure on the world market. Inflationary price rises on imports from developed capitalist countries mean accelerated depletion of the developing countries' foreign exchange reserves.

The nature and causes of the energy crisis were discussed in some detail by *Hamid Safari*, member of Executive Bureau, CC, People's Party of Iran. The energy crisis is essentially a crisis of the imperialist policy that enabled the multinational monopolies to exploit the natural resources of the developing countries. Bourgeois economists have sought to justify that policy with the argument that the oil monopolies, acting as a liaison between oil exporter and importers, prevent crisis developments in this industry. But events over the past few years have confirmed Lenin's words that 'the statement that cartels can abolish crises is a fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs desire to place capitalism in a favorable light' (Vol. 22, p. 208).

The ruling element in the imperialist powers is not, of course, prepared to accept the defeat of its neo-colonialist policies. Accordingly, it is repatterning relations with developing nations in an attempt to keep them under its control. Hence, the concept of economic mutual dependence of 'North' and 'South,' i.e., developed capitalist and developing countries. The idea behind this newfangled concept is to prevent oil and raw materials producers from joining forces to win better terms on the capitalist world market.

Imperialism is also banking on a split between developing countries that export oil and those that have to import it. But the centerpiece of imperialist strategy is still the effort to break away the developing countries from their natural ally, the socialist countries. The Maoist doctrine of 'rich' and 'poor' nations is being used for this purpose.

Discussing the drastic contraction of the sphere of imperialist domination, Academician Zhukov emphasized that Africa, Asia and Latin America have become the scene of revolutionary transforma-

tions conditioned by the concrete historical situation in the various countries, but everywhere aimed at national and social emancipation. Most developing countries are still part of the capitalist world, and unrelenting pressure by external imperialist forces is prompting some of them to vacillate between the capitalist and socialist systems. Other countries have chosen the socialist orientation, cooperation with the socialist world and deep-going progressive transformations that could create the prerequisites for future transition to the building of socialism.

But regardless of development in these countries resulting from victories or temporary defeats of the progressive forces, the general trend, one that reflects the main processes of our epoch, is toward rejection of capitalism as a social system.

For Communists, said *A. Kohen*, socialism is the only way for the Latin American continent. But they know — and this was stressed at the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean — that it will not become practicable until after a persevering struggle for radical change on the basis of the working people's own experience and as a result of consistent ideological efforts; as a result, too, of freedom from imperialist oppression and the removal from power of classes and groups allied with imperialism.

Kohen demonstrated the fallacy of *desarrolismo* (intensive development with the aid of foreign capital as an alternative to dependence). The many varieties of this theory are predicated on the existing socio-economic structure, the low living standard of the masses, intensive exploitation of the working class, and the alleged impossibility of finding other sources of economic growth. The theory is an ideological weapon of neo-colonialism.

The bourgeois-nationalist 'third way' theory (somewhere between capitalism and socialism) is just as fallacious. According to this theory dependence can be ended through a reconciliation of classes, and subordination of working-class interests to those of the bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, it amounts to a compromise with imperialism. Kohen recalled Lenin's words that 'the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism' (Vol. 22, p. 302).

Central-American Common Market schemes. Dependence on the world capitalist market is impelling the developing countries to find ways of breaking out of imperialist oppression. One way to achieve that, they believe, is regional cooperation.

Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Salvador pioneered in economic integration. The integration process, *M. Paredes*, CC member, CP Honduras, said, is based on the common trend toward internationalization of economic life resulting from the

development of the productive forces, which can no longer be confined within national frameworks, and the trend toward internationalization of monopoly capital, supported by the bourgeois state.

In founding the Central American Common Market (CACM) in 1960, the governments of its member countries believed that economic unity was the way out of the profound socio-economic crisis. How has it worked? Instead of stimulating balanced development to build a more or less independent industrial base, CACM has only helped bring in North American assembly plants. Honduras' average annual economic growth rate increased in the 10 years since CACM by the absurd figure of 0.51 per cent.

The meager results of the Common Market were so obvious that its member countries decided to try another scheme that would eliminate the shortcomings of the first one. This time it was the Central American Economic and Social Community. It makes certain concessions to the poorer countries in order to prevent crises similar to the one of 1969 which led to an armed conflict between Honduras and Salvador. This new variant of Central American integration does not provide for concrete measures to restrict foreign capital domination. The more backward member countries will continue to subsidize industrialization of the more advanced ones. In the final analysis, this new community will serve the interests of North American monopoly capital, and not the interests of the people of the affiliated countries.

That conclusion was seconded by *O. Sanchez*, representative of the Guatemalan Party of Labor on *WMR*. Experience has shown that the Central American Common Market proved a bonanza for U.S. and other monopolies (two-thirds of the credits granted by the Central American Bank of Economic Integration have gone to foreign-owned or partly foreign-owned enterprises). The Common Market did a good deal of damage to Central America — increased its foreign debt, worsened its balance of payments position by cutting tax and customs revenues, increased unemployment and depressed living standards. The policy of replacing imported by domestic goods has actually meant bigger imports of semi-fabricates.

The Common Market proved an unmitigated failure in solving the region's agricultural problems. It has not made agriculture less dependent, has not eliminated one-crop farming, has not altered its structure based on the latifundia and ruthless exploitation of the landless peasants and farm laborers. Thus, the pattern of capitalist development on which Central American integration is based has proved unsuitable. National and social liberation for the Central American peoples can come only through fundamental revolutionary change. Socialist Cuba is the most inspiring example for their struggle.

The quicksand effect of loans. Imperialist ideologues maintain that private foreign investments are the best source of funds for the development of Latin America. *A. Mosquera* showed, however, that they are just another way of robbing the country. Since they first came to Colombia, foreign oil companies invested a total of \$250 million, while taking out \$4 billion, and turning the country into an oil importer. What makes matters worse is that in most cases investors use internal credits rather than ship in capital from the metropole. The plunder is aggravated by exaggerating the cost of raw materials and equipment to subsidiaries in Latin America, while the price of goods sold to the parent firm are falsely lowered.

Penetration of foreign capital into state enterprises by means of loans or 'amalgamation' is another serious threat. It was by 'amalgamation' with the Colombian oil enterprise, for example, that foreign companies came into possession of half of Colombia's oil reserves. And they did not spend a single centavo to get it.

The quicksand effect of imperialist loans was described by *S. Sierra*. His figures on the movement of capital revealed the extent of the exploitation of the Latin American continent. In 1950, for example, foreign companies made a profit of \$700 million, and in 1974 of as much as \$9.2 billion. In 1960-69 profits shipped out by branches of U.S. monopolies exceeded investments by \$6.7 billion.

The drama of Latin America, bedevilled by a profound structural crisis, is its dependence on imperialism. But today broad social forces are rising against U.S. imperialism, and conditions are taking shape for the people's movement in defense of their natural resources, for national sovereignty and democracy. This trend of the struggle does not rule out the need to forge a social force capable of effecting the anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective. These are two aspects of the single process of liberation. Their dialectical connection is conditioned by the leading role of the working class. To fight the counter-offensive imperialism has mounted in response to the Latin American peoples' gains, there must be the broadest possible anti-fascist unity. Its prospects are already in the offing.

'The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and its complete inability to find a way out of the existing situation,' says the Havana Declaration of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, 'impels the more aggressive groups of monopoly capital to turn to fascism.' Chile's experience bears out the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the old classes do not give up power freely, said *H. Fazio*, CP of Chile representative on *WMR*. Chile also confirms Lenin's observation that imperialism is reaction all down the line.

As in other Latin American countries, foreign investments increased steeply in Chile in the 1960s. Between October 1974 and

October 1975 the Foreign Investments Committee approved applications for investments totalling \$233 million. The Pinochet regime held an international auction to give foreign capital control over new deposits of copper and oil.

The multinationals are taking over an ever larger number of operating enterprises built on the dependent countries' local funds. The trend is particularly distinct in Chile, because the junta has relinquished enterprises of the public sector to private interests.

The growing influx of capital in the form of loans is one of the main reasons for the recent steep increase of the continent's foreign debt. A new feature is that exported capital is being channelled mainly into manufacturing industries, rather than agriculture and mining. This division of labor keeps the dependent countries in the lowly position of suppliers of labor-intensive commodities requiring a minimum of processing.

This was pointed out among others by *L. Padilla*, Central Committee member of the CP of Bolivia. At present, foreign capital in Latin America is 40 per cent in the manufacturing industry, 29 in oil, 7 in mining, and 24 per cent in the service industries. The growth of production and the expansion of the Latin American market do not mean that capitalism as a system can develop independently. As everywhere else, capitalism cannot resolve any of the continent's graver problems stemming from backwardness, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy. Socialism is the only system that can guarantee Latin America real and rapid development. But it is impossible to achieve deep-going socio-economic change, let alone build socialism, as long as U.S. imperialist oppression and the domination of transnational corporations continue.

Alliance with international imperialism. 'Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule,' Lenin said, 'is the export of capital' (Vol. 22, p. 240). This is confirmed by the example of Venezuela, said *J. Carrera*, Central Committee member of the CP of Venezuela. Once a backward land, she is now investing capital abroad, and acting as an ally of international imperialism. More than \$2.2 billion have been invested through various international credit agencies, not counting direct credits to different countries under bilateral agreements. And this while nearly 70 per cent of her own people suffer undernourishment, 54 of every 1,000 infants die, half the nation's housing has no plumbing, and more than 40 per cent of the population is illiterate.

The Venezuelan bourgeoisie intends to use the nation's vast economic resources to expand 'mixed' enterprises financed with state funds but controlled by private persons, with the nation taking all the risks and managers taking nearly all the profit. The state sector is

dominant in most fields, having elbowed out almost all the foreign imperialist concerns. Eighty per cent of the economy is in the hands of the state. This could have paved the way to genuine democratization of social and economic life. But the state is controlled by mighty local financial groups connected with foreign, especially North American, imperialism. And so long as capitalism is capitalism, as Lenin stressed, the 'surplus of capital' is used not to raise the living standard of the masses, because that would lower the rate of profit, but to boost the capitalists' profit by exporting capital abroad. (See Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 240).

Brazil is a striking example of the new methods of imperialist penetration. The results of the country's economic growth, *J. Suarez*, Central Committee member of the Brazilian CP, said, show the true worth of the 'Brazilian miracle.' Following the 1964 coup there began a process of fascistization. Brutal suppression of the working-class movement, of all democratic forces, was used as a political factor to impose a type of economic development still more dependent on, and subordinate to, U.S. imperialism. The Branco government lifted restrictions on repatriation of profits and granted foreign capital unprecedented advantages. The broad influx of foreign investments and the penetration of transnational companies caused mass bankruptcies in national enterprise. An intensive process of denationalization is under way. The country's foreign debt has climbed. The flow of foreign technology entails additional outlays of foreign currency, making Brazil still more dependent on imperialism and violating her national sovereignty. For the masses such economic growth has yielded nothing but new privations, for wages and salaries are being reduced in order to boost investments.

In sum, looking at the sources of the 'Brazilian miracle' and at who profited from it, there is just one answer; it cannot serve as an alternative for the peoples of Latin America fighting for national and social emancipation.

The levers of neo-colonialist policy. In its attempt to adapt to the new situation, imperialism tries to streamline its neo-colonialist policy. It does not seek just immediate advantages and builds its designs on far-reaching strategic aims. One of these, said *S. Mitra*, member of the CP of India National Council, is to keep the newly-liberated countries within the sphere of exploitation by world capital. For this it uses all possible levers of imperialist policy — economic, political, military and ideological.

The June 1975 events in India show the place in the armory of neo-colonialism of the theory of 'destabilization,' that is weakening the government and undermining the existing regime. India's right reactionary forces, who had the undisguised support of the imperialist

powers, called for reduced cooperation with the socialist countries, reduction of the public sector, and large-scale capitalist farming in place of an agrarian reform. They exploited the Maoist interpretation of non-alignment — the theory of 'equidistance from imperialism and socialism.'

S. Sudiman, member of the Leadership of the CP of Indonesia, used the example of his country to show imperialism's tactics in safeguarding its domination: armed aggression, enlistment of domestic reaction, economic pressure and political blackmail, 'aid' impinging on sovereignty, and the like. Indonesia is still controlled by the reactionary pro-imperialist military regime. The moment that regime came to power it returned enterprises and plantations nationalized by the preceding government to their former foreign owners. Thereupon, it passed laws opening the doors to foreign capital. The plunder of national wealth is appalling.

The 'progress' that results from imperialist 'aid' may be illustrated by the following facts. The country has six million totally and 15 million partly unemployed. A worker's daily income is something like 100 rupees, while a kilo of rice costs 155. More than 15 million children in the 7-12 age bracket do not go to school: their parents cannot afford it.

The people of Indonesia know what real aid can be. Such aid came from the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, when we had an anti-imperialist government. It was oriented not only on laying the foundations for industrialization, but also on strengthening peace and cooperation among the peoples.

Fighting for its position in the former colonial periphery, imperialism deliberately creates crisis situations in country after country. Take the Cyprus events, precipitated by NATO's bid to consolidate itself in the East Mediterranean, that is, in the immediate proximity of the Arab national-liberation struggle. *A. Stavrou*, representative of the AKEL Party on *WMR*, referred to the ceaseless intrigues of aggressive imperialist forces against the future of Cyprus and the artificial imperialist barriers to a political settlement.

The bureaucratic quasi-bourgeoisie, *J. Garro*, Central Committee member of the Syrian CP, pointed out, is imperialism's new helper in the developing countries. Neo-colonialism tries to use the state sector, to direct it to state capitalism, to create a class alliance with the forces in charge of that sector — the bureaucratic, administrative bourgeoisie.

Subversion of people's democratic regimes, disruption of the alliance with the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, cultivation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, campaigns of terror against Communist parties and progressives, economic penetra-

tion and obstacles to an independent anti-imperialist policy — this is a far from complete list of the neo-colonialist instruments used by U.S. imperialism to promote its designs in the Middle East.

Imperialism has cast the State of Israel as a policeman continuously threatening the Arab national-liberation movement. The socio-economic situation in Israel, a country at the bottom of the list of developed capitalist countries and heading the list of developing countries, was described by Z. Karkabi, Central Committee Secretary of the CP of Israel. Official policy is made to conform with the interests of big capital. The accord with the EEC countries will only hasten the erosion of small and medium enterprises incapable of competing with the European Nine. Israel's state capitalism gets its strength from infusions of foreign capital via government channels, through government investments in the infrastructure, banking and mining, and, of course, militarization of the economy. More than 60 per cent of the state budget and 40 per cent of the national income are tied up with the occupation and war. The gigantic military expenditure has disastrous consequences for the country's economy and population. The 1975 balance of payments deficit was in excess of \$3 billion. The country's foreign debt has climbed to \$7 billion. This, as the 17th Congress of the CP of Israel stressed, is one of the aspects of increasing subordination to foreign capital and the imperialist powers, especially the United States.

Imperialism is at its most despicable in the South African Republic. A special type of enslavement has been devised there, ideologically and politically embodied in apartheid, that is, a form of racial discrimination designed to 'justify' the barbarous exploitation of the non-white population. Racial discrimination, W. Mkaba (South African CP) said, is official government policy incorporated in obscurantist, inhuman and anti-democratic laws. The program of the South African Communists describes it as 'colonialism of a special type.' 'White South Africa' has all the specific traits of monopoly capitalism, and its monopolists maintain a close connection with partners in imperialist states, while 'Non-White South Africa' has all the traits of a colony, the indigenous population being an object of extreme national oppression, ruthlessly exploited, living in poverty, and denied all democratic rights. In other words, 'Non-White South Africa' is a colony of 'White South Africa.' Imperialism's worst features thus coexist with the worst features of colonialism in one and the same country, giving the system a highly specific complexion.

The ascendant South African monopolies still need the help of foreign capital: British, U.S., West German, French and Japanese. On the other hand, racist South Africa is a support base for imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Its recent invasion of Angola

showed that it is prepared to resort to undisguised aggression against independent African states, especially those with revolutionary-democratic governments.

A theory confirmed by experience. The experience of the people of Mongolia in fighting for national independence and non-capitalist development — an experience bearing out the tremendous significance of Lenin's theory of imperialism for the liberation struggle of peoples and the achievement of complete independence through deep-going socio-economic transformations — was described by Yu. Chimed, professor of the Sukhe-Bator Higher Party School (Mongolia). He dwelt on the question of common laws and regularities governing the passage to socialism and the specific features stemming from each country's concrete historical background. The class approach to the problems of the developing countries, he pointed out, is often replaced with a geographical or even racial approach by exponents of the doctrine of 'rich and poor countries.' The Maoist interpretations of this doctrine are designed to distort the world balance of class forces and to use it for egoistic purposes.

The main conclusions arrived at by Lenin in his analysis of imperialism are still helping Marxists to understand the processes in the world economy, particularly in the context of relations between developed capitalist and developing countries.

Lenin's doctrine and revolutionary practice

In his concluding remarks, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief K. I. Zarodov examined some of the definitive questions of Lenin's theory of imperialism, and its significance for revolutionary practice.

First, the methodological foundation of Lenin's teaching on imperialism and what determines its inexhaustible scientific power today.

Many concepts have been used to try and explain the essence and features of 20th-century capitalism, but none have stood the test of time. The present crisis has also demolished the most influential of these theories, the Keynesian, on which state-monopoly capitalism relied for many dozens of years. Now, even bourgeois ideologists admit that it has failed.

Lenin's theory of imperialism has an entirely different history. To understand why it is the scientific key to the essence and to past and present phenomena in modern bourgeois society, we should remember two things: first, that it is based on an analysis of monopoly, the main pillar of modern capitalism which conditions all the features and properties of imperialism and, second, that it is not something divorced from the rest of Leninist science, from its theoretical and practical content.

Not until this is recognized can one understand why it was Lenin who succeeded in producing a truly Marxist scientific analysis of imperialism. New, previously unknown features of world capitalism were spotted not only by Lenin. They were also defined by bourgeois economists. The Social-Democratic theorists of the Second International wrote about them at length. But they did not tie up the results of their research with the general revolutionary tasks of the working class. More, their conclusions were tantamount to a call to gradually dismantle the revolutionary political movement of the proletariat. We could say that what happened to the concept of class struggle in the 19th century, also happened to the history of economic thought. The former had many adherents before Marx, but only Marx crowned it with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much was written and said about imperialism at the turn of the century, but Lenin was the one who established that bourgeois development had brought the world to the threshold of socialist revolution.

Second, the question of the present crisis of capitalism and the ways out of that crisis. Many bourgeois and opportunist ideologues and politicians are trying to portray the crisis as purely or mainly cyclical. This would mean that it is temporary, transient, and surmountable on the basis of the capitalist cycle itself. It would also mean that the crisis is not an additional impulse for stepping up the anti-monopoly struggle to bridle monopoly power and abolish its economic system.

But there is also the opposite point of view that the economic mechanism of modern bourgeois society has run aground completely and that, therefore, there can be no question of any typically capitalist cyclicity of production. This leads to the conclusion that the present economic recession in the capitalist world is insurmountable and that imperialism has used up its potential for survival and development. The next step from here is either the opportunist notion of an automatic collapse or inevitable self-transformation of capitalism, or the ultra-leftist notion that it does not require much effort to destroy monopoly rule.

Our exchange of opinion has shown that the present situation in the capitalist world cannot be adequately assessed and understood unless we take into account the natural deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the operation of the universal economic laws of bourgeois society.

This leads to the right conclusions concerning the strategy and tactics of the Communists' political struggle. Firstly, it obliges us to consider the novelty of the situation, the qualitative change in the general crisis of capitalism and, secondly, it warns us against under-

estimating the still available strength of monopoly capital, and its economic and political possibilities.

Third, the question of the interconnection between the crisis situation in the capitalist world and the relaxation of international tension. It would be a mistake to think that since the crisis and détente are phenomena of a different order they are unrelated. To use Lenin's expression, 'it is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific to single out "foreign policy" from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy' (Vol. 23, p. 43).

The relaxation of world tensions, an all-important international achievement, the result mainly of socialism's peace offensive, stems from the changed relation of world forces. It stands to reason, however, that it would have been impossible to overcome the state of cold war without the changes in the foreign policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. These changes *per se* signify the bankruptcy of the old aggressive foreign-political course. In other words, they constitute the foreign-political aspect of the general crisis of capitalism.

There are incongruous notions about the nature and strength of the impact made by détente on internal processes in capitalist countries. Some contend that by political détente and cooperation socialism is saving capitalism from inevitable collapse. What can one say about these notions?

First, détente or no détente, there is not and cannot be cooperation between the two social systems, socialism and capitalism. The only thing that existed, does and will exist between them is class struggle. It is not the social systems that cooperate, but different states, even — especially on the capitalist side — different firms, amalgamations, and the like.

Second, we must distinguish between the economic effect and the social consequences of cooperation. The latter are indeed extremely intricate in capitalist conditions. Orders from socialist countries, for example, tend to ease the employment problem. This is a direct gain for the workers, the working people, and may be viewed as a common class gain secured through détente. But cooperation does not alter the pillars of the capitalist system — its property forms or any of its other social institutions and structures. The basic contradictions that trigger and aggravate crisis, remain. For the problem of overcoming a crisis is not resolved by cooperation between states with different systems, but by the struggle between the forces inside bourgeois society, and by the international class and ideological struggle. In sum, détente cannot change the laws of development of social formations, and this applies equally to capitalism and socialism.

Today, monopoly's ability to use old methods of combating the acute crisis is sharply reduced. On the other hand, the opportunities

of the anti-monopoly forces rallied around the working class, have increased. Hence *the fourth group of questions*.

The crisis has additionally extended the social basis of the anti-monopoly movement, the basis for unity of democratic forces. This is indisputable. But we must also see the reverse factors. The crisis has bred anything but militant sentiments among certain sections of working people in the capitalist world. They are afraid of losing their jobs, and have set their minds on waiting out, on somehow surviving, the difficult period. The social-reformist ideology has come alive, seeking a 'balanced' distribution of the crisis burden to please the monopolies, and urging the working people 'in all fairness' to assume their share of the hardships.

The crisis is also exploited by right and 'left' extremists. Fascist and neo-fascist trends have revived of late in many countries. Neo-colonialist action is being taken against the liberated states. The imperialist bourgeoisie holds this threat over all democrats, above all Communists. All too often the threat is put into practice.

What are the ways out of the crisis? This is a question that occupies all forces, all the parties of capitalist society, including the Communists. The previous comparable world crisis had in the long run precipitated a world war. As the Communists see it, in present conditions an alternative to the crisis could be found along the democratic way — stepped up anti-monopoly struggle with new initiatives and new effort. Certainly, the Communists do not reduce the purpose of these initiatives and efforts to delivering capitalism from the crisis. It is farthest from their thoughts to 'save' imperialism, to help monopoly extricate itself from the morass of the crisis.

For the Communists the fight against the crisis is part of a far broader program of deep-going social transformations, changes in economic structure, of creating a state of democratic unity and forming left-bloc governments. This would open the intermediate phase along the road to socialism, introducing transitional forms that will secure the building of the new social order — the socialist system. Each Communist Party tackles these tasks to suit national conditions.

The new situation has accentuated the new problems facing the Communists, which are in many ways (in a specific form, of course) old problems, problems already experienced by the revolutionary movement in previous acute intermediate phases. At present, we are witnessing precisely another such phase.

More clearly than before the crisis has brought home the fact that there are only two poles of social and political attraction in modern bourgeois society: the dominant monopolies and the embattled working class. This adds significance to at least three problems: the one about the correlation of revolutionary and evolutionary solutions of

vital social problems, about the correlation of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, and the correlation between the independent political line of the Communists and the common struggle of the left-bloc forces, the broad democratic, anti-imperialist coalition.

The crisis situation breeds the reformist idea that a democratic solution of the crisis and success in the anti-monopoly struggle in general, cannot be achieved unless the transformations are simultaneous on the scale of an entire region. This is a repetition of the social-reformist dogmas dating to the Second International, and contempt for the economic and political disparities between the capitalist countries, contempt for the law of uneven development under imperialism. I think it is clear, comrades, that there is only one scientifically correct and politically realistic solution of this problem — the Leninist solution.

The conference, Zarodov said in conclusion, has contributed to a deeper understanding of a number of important questions relating to the aggravation of crisis phenomena in capitalist society. But there is one question no theoretical discussion can resolve: can the working class and the Communist parties develop the effort for a democratic way out of the crisis into a successful general offensive of working people, of the popular masses, against the monopolies? Can they use the new opportunities to achieve this and to further the struggle for socialism? Practice alone will show. Practice is the supreme judge of a theoretical analysis, including the conclusions drawn at this conference.

Does technical progress undermine democracy?

Prof. Sylwester Zawadzki
Warsaw University

The perfection of socialist democracy, as of the political and legal superstructure of socialist society in general, is a complex integrated process. It is determined not only by subjective factors, the desire to give fuller scope to such ideals as freedom, equality and justice, already conspicuous features of the socialist way of life, but also by many objective factors, including the requirement of economic and political development. In discussing the extension and deepening of

socialist democracy, we cannot disregard the scientific and technical aspects of the problem.

The technological revolution is substantially altering the political superstructure and all areas of public life. How does technical progress affect the management of society? Does it facilitate the development of democratic institutions and various forms of government by the people? Or should we accept the view held by many bourgeois ideologists that technical progress inevitably and everywhere, regardless of social system, generates a crisis of democracy?

The Marxists have a clear reply to these questions: by extending socialization of production and management, technological progress, in combination with other factors, creates the preconditions for the eventual change-over from the socialist state to communist self-administration.

However, Marxists do not shut their eyes to the new problems posed by the technological revolution. Employment of the latest achievements of science and technology in management requires a high degree of specialized training and, consequently, more professionalism. As a result, technocratic tendencies are taking a firmer grip on bourgeois society, and the system and apparatus of government is increasingly separated from the people and the representative bodies. This has nurtured a wide variety of theories that, in this age of the technological revolution, professionalism in directing the affairs of society is incompatible with the functioning of democratic institutions, and this is supposed to apply equally to the capitalist and socialist systems which, we are told, will ultimately 'converge.'

Exaggeration of the role of technology as the determinative force of social development is common to all technocratic concepts.

Technological determinism — perhaps contrary to the intentions of some of its authors — justifies anti-democratic tendencies in the capitalist world. Yet its supporters accuse the Communists of being utopians, doctrinaires divorced from life because they maintain that deepening socialist democracy is a development law of the socialist state.

The extreme determinists negate the role of all other factors. Thus Ellul maintains that our civilization is a child of technology, exists only for technology and functions in accordance with the laws of technical development.¹ The more moderate determinists admit that technology is not the only major factor in social development, conceding that some of its derivatives enjoy a degree of autonomy, and admit that can influence technological advances. Though they do not flatly deny the role of economic relations and the socio-political system, they, like the extremists, minimize its importance and disre-

gard the difference in the social implications of technical progress under socialism and capitalism.²

Views differ also on the major political consequences of technical progress. One of the more widespread ideas is that of the 'managerial revolution' formulated during the war by Burnham.³ With the spread of the technological revolution, bourgeois ideologists are laying more stress on the role of the technical intellectuals. Hence, the prospect of a 'ruling technocracy,' a concept most comprehensively set out by J. Kenneth Galbraith, who predicts a ruling 'technostructure' in the United States.⁴ The growing role of experts has led some to predict an 'expertocracy,' 'scientocracy' or even decision-making by computer. However, notwithstanding this wide range of views, technocratic-elitist concepts are all based on the understanding that, in the end, power will inevitably be concentrated in a progressively narrow ruling clique.

How does this affect the destinies of democracy? A bigger role for the experts, we are told, means a smaller role for the masses in directing the affairs of society. All economic problems, West German professor Forsthoff argues, must be solved by professionals with the help of modern technical aids.⁵ In a highly developed society, he says, the 'ordinary man' will be increasingly aware of his ignorance in matters of management and will leave it all to the experts. And this is the opinion of another author, Organsky. In the future society, 'the control of the economy and the government will rest in the same few hands, and this new elite will find itself relatively freed from dependence upon the mass of population. Just as industrial leaders will no longer require the labor of masses of workers to keep the economy running, so governmental leaders will no longer require the active participation of the mass of the citizenry to make the nation rich and powerful.'⁶

Let us examine some of the arguments that are basic to the technocrat-elitist ideology:

— That in this age of the scientific and technological revolution all economic problems, and all other social problems, are of a narrow technical character and can be solved only by the experts.

— That a greater role for the experts limits the working people's participation in government and leads to the decline of democratic institutions.

True, professional expertise does play an increasing role in managerial functions, but it does not follow that every economic (or, in the broader sense, every social) problem primarily, or exclusively, requires solution by experts. This leaves out of account the fact that every problem also has political and social implications. And not only from the standpoint of what economic effect one or another solution will produce, but also from the standpoint of its social and political

consequences. Hence, in drawing up and adopting decisions we must take into account, along with professional competence, also the social and political factors.

Thus in socialist society we assess the political impact of one or another action in terms of our socialist values and the class interests of the working people. We also take into consideration the social consequences of a decision and the likelihood of it winning public approval. It requires more than the knowledge of experts in the various branches of science, technology and economics to find optimal overall solutions. It requires also, and to a no less degree, knowledge of social needs and ability correctly to set priorities.

In no social system can the expert in a particular field play the decisive role in working out the strategy of resolving problems of state importance. Apart from everything else, this tends to break up the functioning of the state apparatus into loosely linked elements, sometimes even working at cross purposes. And this, as Polish researcher Jaroszynski says, far from attaining the goals set by society, would actually impair its interests despite close adherence to specialist recommendations and a high degree of expertise. Though liberally oiled with expert knowledge, the machine of state would still be a collection of unmeshed gears. And, most important, a one-sided, 'professional' approach to the functioning of the state mechanism would make it impossible for the state effectively to safeguard the interests of the ruling class, and this is decisive for competent management in a class society.⁷

The technological revolution has not lessened, but rather emphasized the need for an integrated approach. Just as specialization in science calls for closer integration, so specialization in management calls for an integrated approach in which the political and social aspects are fully taken into account in decision-making. For the more complicated tasks of social management stimulate, by virtue of professional and departmental narrowness or due to other circumstances, a tendency to replace the laws governing the development of society as a whole by the laws relating to its individual parts. More participation in the management of society, Soviet philosopher Akhiezer rightly remarks, has the important advantage of steadily minimizing the very possibility of the partial replacing the whole, of one or another element of government being alienated from society and from its other elements.⁸

Analyzing the second argument, we must note that Marxism never denied the specialists' important part in management. The importance attached in socialist countries to training highly qualified personnel is well known. But, as Marxists see it, professionalization of management does not detract from workers' participation and from

the democratic institutions. This participation and its degree depend not on the technical specifics of management, but on its social essence. Ascribing to technology the ill effects of the concentration of economic and political power in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, technological determinism underrates, sometimes even ignores, the aspects of technical progress that promote democracy. Take the following points.

First, development of the educational system and rise of educational standards. The higher educational level of the working people adds to the number of people able to participate in decision-making at state level, on the one hand, and to the need for improving democracy because educated people tend to demand more from the state apparatus, on the other.

Second, the prospect of reducing working time and increasing leisure time, which may be used for recreation, study, and volunteer social work. Here we may refer to the socialist countries that have or are gradually introducing a five-day working week.

Third, the increasing use of automation in management, leading in the longer term to simplification of many of the state functions (primarily collection, storage and processing of information, statistics, accounting, and the like). Experience shows that automation is used as extensively in this field as it is in production.

Last but not least, the benefits and services available to only a few until in relatively recent times technical progress brought them within reach of the masses, have created additional stimuli for the anti-elitist outlook.

These examples do not cover all the positive effects of scientific and technical progress on the growth of democracy. But they are enough to show that anti-democratic trends are not an ineluctable consequence of technical progress, whose positive influence on the expansion and growth of democracy strongly outweighs the negative.

The idea that by shaking off slavish dependence on nature man becomes the slave of social forces, of technology, may seem valid at first glance. But it is incorrect. More, if one follows its logic, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that further scientific and technical development is undesirable. Such utopian views have, indeed, surfaced on and off, and surface now, under the impact of the ill effects accompanying technical progress in definite social conditions. And yet there are no valid grounds for the opinion that the scientific and technological revolution will compel rejection of the world's historic experience, which shows that every social formation, representing a step forward in the development of the productive forces, in mastering the forces of nature, has also tended (not without snags and periods of regress) to extend the sphere of freedom, to produce

political systems of a higher order, giving the individual greater opportunities than before to influence state affairs.

The perspective postulated by Lenin of mass participation in government, of the growth of socialist democracy into communist self-government, is the only scientifically acceptable forecast of the future shape of democracy. It fits the general tendency of society's development.

The critical attitude to elitist technocratic doctrines does not detract from the role technology plays in the development of society or in the making of socialism's politico-juridical superstructure. The elimination of obstacles created by private ownership of means of production to mass participation in the administration of society paves the way to the use of science and technology for extending democracy. We have already named a few of the social effects of the scientific and technological revolution that objectively help to deepen and extend democracy: spread of secondary education and broad access to higher education, fading of the borderline between mental and mutual labor, and the like. It should be stressed, however, the scientific and technical progress per se only creates the conditions for broader mass participation in government. The extent of such participation depends on the social and economic structure of society. The socialist countries systematically promote the activity and effectiveness of the entire system of democratic organs, drawing the masses more broadly into administration, and assuring mass control of the organs of power.

This results in a simultaneous growth of the role of specialists, and of opportunities for working people to participate in the affairs of the state. This does not mean, of course, that socialist democracy develops automatically. There is many a problem in this respect. One of them is to make government and planning more effective and to improve the entire social mechanism.

The present measures taken in the countries of the socialist community to improve economic management are comprehensive. More and more distinctly, the economic plans of the CMEA countries are becoming overall programs of social and economic development. And the perspective of their further improvement is associated with measures in other important areas of social development, taking account of the tendencies in technical progress and of the need for improving the politico-juridical superstructure (socialist democracy, the system of government, judiciary, etc.), rather than with a mere extension of the number of economic indicators. Of course, considering the relative independence of the superstructure from the basis, this objective is difficult to reach. But it has got to be reached.⁹ And some of the socialist countries are already taking steps to plan law-making activi-

ty. Poland, for example, has a government program (1974-80) for improving legislation.

Further, to improve socialist democracy there must be consistent efforts to eliminate the negative elements conflicting with the trends in socialist statehood. These are of many kinds, including remnants of the bourgeois mentality, violations of social discipline and of the unity of civil rights and duties, flaws in the work of the state apparatus, incomplete use by the people of democratic institutions, and excessive bureaucracy.

We must remember that apart from the economic, social and psychological reasons for the existence of bureaucracy, there are also reasons of a technical and organizational order stemming from the increasing complexity of the structure of society. Certainly, the danger of bureaucracy is present in the complexity of the organization of society, but not unavoidable. All the same, study of the 'technical causes' of bureaucracy would probably help in determining the reasons for its existence in a socialist state after its class roots are eliminated. Also, it would help to find effective means of combating the technico-organizational elements that add to the danger of bureaucracy.

In recent years there is visibly greater interest in Poland and other socialist countries in the technico-organizational aspect of administration. And the resulting improvements of the juridical basis of government, the higher professional standard of administrative staffs, the more rational distribution of responsibilities, the introduction of automation and mechanization, the better organizational structures and administrative procedures, the control exercised in many socialist countries by the judiciary over the decisions of the executive organs — all this is evidence of efforts to improve the quality of government, to make it more effective, to give it a broader scientific foundation.

Now, a few words about the relation of the improvement of the executive organs to the improvement of the institutions of direct and indirect democracy, and their greater effectiveness in the mechanism of state power. These two objectives were often counterposed in practice. Growth of the role of the public in the state mechanism was sometimes regarded as a step toward eliminating that mechanism (this was traceable to the insufficiently high public prestige of administration officials and the often one-sided conception of the transfer of state functions to public organizations). Recognition of the professional principle in government, on the other hand, led to underestimation of public control and of the contribution of public organizations.

Yet the role of administrative organs in improving the work of the democratic institutions should not be underestimated any more than the fact that the level of democracy has a strong bearing on the

improvement of the decision-making process and, consequently, on the higher effectiveness of government. Democratic procedure is not only an important condition for optimum decision-making, but also for effective implementation of decisions.¹⁰

The experience of socialist construction in Poland, the same as that of other socialist countries, shows that professional competence and public control are not interchangeable. The principle of simultaneously developing socialist democracy and improving the state apparatus is embodied in many program documents of the CPSU, PUWP and other fraternal parties.

The leading role in the development of socialism's political superstructure is played by Lenin's model of democracy in the form of an echeloned system of Soviets of Deputies. It is a *democratic* model enabling working people to influence decisions at local and national level and assuring broad public control of the administration. It is a *dynamic* model which helps to avoid stereotype and local particularism, and assures the unity of national interests and the specific interests of the territorial units. Last but not least, it is an *effective* model blending in government the political and social factors with the professional, and assuring the correct priorities and choice of the most effective means of achieving them.

The development of socialism's political superstructure envisages a simultaneous increase in the mechanism of government of the role of both the political and social factors and of professional knowledge, and an extension in the course of the scientific and technological revolution of the dialectical ties between the growing role of the Party, the extension of the scientific foundation of the state apparatus, and the development of socialist democracy. It is the working-class Party that blends all aspects of government and secures a comprehensive improvement of decision-making.

1. J. Ellul. *The Technological Society*. London, 1964, p. 128.

2. In Polish literature, technological determinism has been critically analyzed by W. Morawski, in his *Nowe społeczeństwo przemysłowe. Analiza i krytyka koncepcii*. Warsaw, 1975.

3. J. Burnham. *The Managerial Revolution*. N.Y., 1941.

3. J. K. Galbraith. *The New Industrial State*. N.Y., 1968.

5. E. Forsthoff. *Strukturwandlungen der modernen Demokratie*. 1964, p. 10.

6. A. Organsky. *The Stages of Political Development*. N.Y., 1967, p. 199.

7. M. Jaroszynski. *Zagadnienia rad narodowych*. Warsaw, 1961, p. 135.

8. A. Akhiezer. 'The Scientific and Technological Revolution and Management of Social Development,' in *Problemy Filozofii*, No. 8, 1968.

9. It is vital for the long-term planning of the development of the politico-juridical superstructure to determine the objective criteria of the maturity of socialist democracy. (S. Zawadzki, 'Criteria of the Degree of Development of Democracy,' in *Contemporary Problems of Socialist Democracy and the Perspectives of Its Development*. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1975).

10. G. Shakhnazarov. *Socialist Democracy. Some Aspects of Theory*. Moscow, 1974, pp. 23-24 (in Russian).



Soviet Communists' plans: an expression of the people's will

Rudolf Wettengel

Representative of the
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When this issue of the journal reaches the reader the world will be studying and commenting on the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. These documents will reflect the progress made by the Soviet Union over the past five years, formulate key tasks in building the new society under the 10th five-year plan and define the main lines of the foreign policy of the Party and the state. To quote Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the SUPG, the decisions to be adopted by the congress of Lenin's Party will be 'a powerful spur to the flowering of the socialist community and the advance of the forces of socialism and peace throughout the world.' They will undoubtedly be of great importance to the international communist and working-class movement and all progressive forces.

The congress documents will express in concentrated form the vast experience of Lenin's Party and, needless to say, will be carefully studied by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of countries of the socialist community. A noteworthy aspect of this experience also manifested itself on the eve of the CPSU congress. We mean the forms and methods of meaningful organizing, political and ideological work which assured participation in preparations for the communist forum of the Party members and virtually everyone else. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, for their part, are going through an exacting period of congress preparations and we were therefore particularly interested to read in the press and hear on the radio how the CPSU carried on its pre-congress work.

The atmosphere of enthusiasm and increased activity in the pro-

duction sphere and politics which characterized every segment of Soviet society before the congress revealed, first of all, the inherent connection between the Party initiative and the initiative of the masses. This is the reason for the fact that over 84 million people, or a substantial proportion of those engaged in productive labor, joined in the pre-congress emulation movement reported by *Pravda*. The slogans and mottoes of numerous initiatives setting the tune for efficient labor under the 10th five-year plan, which has already begun, are most revealing. They symbolize the people's ready response to the Party's call to reach the principal target of the new five-year plan — assuring a steady rise in efficiency and the quality of output. It is not accidental that the socialist competition launched in Leningrad under the motto, 'From highly efficient work by each to highly efficient work by all,' has assumed so immense a scale.

The inviolable unity of the aspirations of the Communist Party and the masses under socialism has a deep-lying objective basis. Years of experience have convinced the working people that the Party's plans are prompted by the desire to promote the people's well-being and that steadfast fulfillment of these plans brings confidence in the future to every member of socialist society. A further indication of this is the pre-congress emulation movement in other countries of the socialist community. The working people of Bulgaria responded with numerous labor initiatives to the pre-congress appeal of the Party to all Communists, to all working men and women. The industrial workers of Varna launched an emulation movement under the motto, 'Two congresses, one goal,' which stresses the unity of the aspirations of the Bulgarian and Soviet Communist parties and the peoples of the two countries. Socialist competition has also assumed a tremendous scale in the GDR, where it is going on under the slogan 'In honor of the Ninth Party Congress, use every mark, every working hour and every gram of material more effectively.'

It goes without saying that socialist competition in each particular brother country is characterized by a vast variety of forms and methods. Typical of the GDR, for example, are such forms of competition as work according to personal creative plans, 'notes on the plan' (that is, daily control over plan fulfillment aimed at discovering additional reserves) and 'initiative shifts,' which strive to achieve high output indices. However, all these forms and methods have one feature in common in all countries of the socialist community. It is a growing sense of civic commitment.

To support this sentiment, so that it may prove its worth, is an important exigency of socialist development at the present stage. We think the CPSU showed Lenin's ingenuity in discerning this need and reacted to it by greatly extending the scope of its work among the

masses. And we believe this explains why the effort of the CPSU in encouraging popular initiative before its 25th Congress is so fruitful.

We believe another noteworthy aspect of preparations for the CPSU congress was the organization of a nationwide discussion of the Party's policies and plans for the years ahead.

The 'Main Guidelines of Economic Development of the USSR for 1976-80,' an important draft document prepared by the CPSU Central Committee, was discussed on all Party levels ranging from republican conferences to branch meetings. In effect, all Soviet people had the opportunity to discuss it. Every day *Pravda* assigned a whole page to opinions, proposals and suggestions sent in by Communists and non-Communists, by workers, farmers, intellectuals, young people. The Soviet press, from national dailies and periodicals to factory newspapers, the radio and television, carried on a lively discussion of the draft. The final documents of the 25th Congress will take into consideration the collective opinion of tens of millions.

It is worthy of special note that the Soviet press at all levels carried detailed accounts of Party conferences and meetings. Free from all parade, these accounts give an idea of the creative atmosphere that dominated the conferences and meetings, at which Communists spoke with legitimate pride about the progress made and concentrated on unsolved problems, suggesting realistic steps to overcome difficulties and remove shortcomings and sharply criticizing mistakes in Party work. In this way the CPSU may be said to have set the whole Soviet people an example of a serious and constructive discussion of the lines of socialist society's further development.

The nature of the discussion of the Party's draft document is seen in the following example. I. Beda, a sheep-farm team leader in Stavropol Territory, contributed an article to *Pravda* referring to the draft where it speaks of the need to extend direct links between raw material bases and industry. Giving facts and figures, he suggested that the mediation of purchasing organizations in wool deliveries should be stopped. The substantial sums spent on mediation, he feels, could be switched to expanding the production capacities.

This would seem to be a particular case. But when a case like this is one of many thousands, the natural process of going over from the particular to the general takes place, because the builders of the new society are guided by the interests of the entire people.

The discussion of the pre-congress document was characterized precisely by this approach to the problems of society and, as a result, by constructive proposals, realism, criticism and self-criticism. By organizing nationwide discussions, the Party raises the political consciousness of the members of socialist society.

Communists of the countries of the socialist community always

carefully study the CPSU's experience of work among the masses to use it in their own conditions. This is true especially of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which is organizing a nationwide discussion of documents in preparation for its 11th Congress: the Central Committee theses 'Main Lines of Economic Development of Bulgaria during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and until 1990' and 'Main Lines of Scientific and Technological Progress during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and until 1990.' It also applies to the pre-congress work of the SUPG: after publication of the draft Program and Rules in preparation for the Ninth Party Congress and of the draft 'Guidelines of the Ninth Party Congress for Economic Development of the GDR in 1976-80,' both drafts were submitted to the population for democratic discussion. This discussion is going on at Party meetings and conferences, at thousands of public meetings and in the press. It involves Communists, members of other democratic parties and non-party people, all of whom readily express their views on these guiding documents, which will shape the people's future.

We have good reason to see all this as evidence of a further deepening of socialist democracy under the leadership of socialist society showing its indisputable superiority over nominal bourgeois democracy.

In preparing for the 25th Congress, the Soviet Communists demonstrated their ability to combine the inner-Party and nationwide discussions of Party plans. They reaffirmed their loyalty to Lenin's advice to prepare for every Party congress in such a way as to bring to it 'the *practical experience* of economic development to which thought has been given and which has been carefully *analyzed* by the common labor and common effort of all members of the Party' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 405) and to find the right ways and means of turning the *opinion* of the whole party into congress *decisions*.

By publishing its pre-congress documents, the CPSU presented its plans to the Soviet people and, moreover, to the international Communist and working-class movement, to the whole of progressive opinion. The plans had repercussions all over the world. This is understandable, since more and more people now realize that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading force of the biggest socialist country, bears a special responsibility to both its own people and all other peoples.

In an effort to reduce the impact of Soviet achievements in building the new society, minimize their international significance and divert public attention in capitalist countries from the acute problems of the economic crisis, enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism have stepped up their subversive propaganda before the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The anti-Soviet chorus has brought together outright

anti-communists, apologists of monopoly capital, opportunists of every shade, and Maoists, whose policy has placed them alongside the most rabid reactionaries.

Our peoples, like those of other countries of the socialist community, reject the vicious calumnies and lies of anti-Sovietists. Georgi Dimitrov, Ernst Thälmann and Wilhelm Pieck taught us to regard the attitude to the Soviet Union as a criterion of loyalty to genuinely revolutionary ideals. Experience, both past and present, proves them perfectly correct. The Soviet Union bears the brunt of the effort in the contest between the two opposed social systems, and this means that every attack on it, no matter where it comes from, is an attack on the entire community of socialist countries and is directed against the world revolutionary movement, all anti-imperialist forces. Our parties have always held that it is a sacred duty of all who have rallied together under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to resist anti-Sovietism, expose slander against the CPSU and the Soviet state, and show the role which the Lenin Party and the Soviet Union play in today's world.

The BCP, SUPG and the brother parties of other countries of the socialist community are guided by these principles. In publicizing, before 25th Congress of the CPSU, the achievements of its home and foreign policies, they regard this work as a key component of their effort to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship linking their countries with the Soviet Union and further the unity and cohesion of the entire socialist community. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP, has described friendship and close relations with the Soviet Union as 'an earnest of our future victories.' The press, television and radio of our countries, analyzing the results achieved during the ninth five-year plan, the draft document for the 25th Congress of the CPSU and other pre-congress materials, brought it home to the working people that the Soviet Union's achievements are of vital importance to them because they strengthen the positions of world socialism and enhance its appeal to the people in capitalist countries.

The increased power of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community and their sustained struggle for the implementation of the Peace Program predetermined far-reaching positive changes in the international situation. These changes accord with the fundamental interests of the working people of socialist countries and of all men on earth, because they make it possible to build the new society in a climate of lasting peace and benefit the struggle of anti-imperialist forces.

The Soviet people's achievements and the impressive tasks they will be accomplishing in the next few years are a source of inspiration to our countries and parties in their revolutionary activities.

The Party, the working class, left unity

Hansjorg Hofer
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For many years now, the Swiss Party of Labor has been upholding the material, cultural and political interests of the working class and broad sections of our working people.

In hard-fought battles, by persevering and patient work, we won important social and political demands which have substantially improved conditions for a large part of the population. We have, for instance, secured a better old-age social welfare scheme (eight amendments have been introduced since 1947) and social insurance for invalids. But a comprehensive social insurance system, including sickness and accident benefits, still remains a priority task.

As a rule, our Party has been the initiator or motive force in all campaigns in support of social demands. Acting single-handed, we could never have won these demands for the whole of the country. We have always sought to bring together all the left, progressive forces for organized joint action by the labor movement against big business and the monopolies.

This is how the policy is formulated in the program adopted by the 1959 Party Congress: 'In the struggle against big capital, for peace, democracy and socialism, the working class must unite with all other groups of the working people to create a broad front against big capital and reaction.

'The working class wants to employ only peaceful means, which accord with its own interests and those of the Swiss people. But the means and forms of struggle depend not only on the working class, but also on the behavior of the bourgeoisie, on the means and forms the capitalists and the bourgeois state employ against the working class. The course of the struggle will depend also on the unity and solidarity of the working class, on united action by Communist and Workers' parties with the Social-Democratic parties, on united trade union action, and on our success in forming a broad working people's front.'

Our early efforts for left unity were unsuccessful. In the late 50s, the widespread anti-communist sentiments, at times bordering on the hysterical, especially in German-speaking Switzerland, made things extremely difficult for the Party. The right-wing reformist trade union leadership, committed to a policy of 'social partnership' and 'class peace,' flatly rejected cooperation with our Party. More, it organized a witch-hunt and smear campaign against Party members active in the unions, and banned them from holding union posts.

Right up to the mid-60s the Social-Democratic Party blindly followed NATO policy. It approved every act of imperialist violence — the intervention in the Congo, the French terror against the liberation fighters in Algeria, even, at first, the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Only the radical change in the world balance of political and economic forces compelled a reappraisal of Social-Democratic policy. It required long years of sustained struggle by our Party, plus the hard lessons of inflation and aggravated class struggle for the Social Democrats to consign the old anti-communist directives to the archives.

In the early 70s they were more inclined toward joint action with our Party, notably in French-speaking Switzerland. The two parties and trade unions waged a joint campaign in defense of tenants, better old-age social insurance, worker co-determination at factory level, etc.

In 1970 the right-to-a-home slogan met with wide response throughout the country, and for the first time we had an effective broad front of Social Democrats, Communists, tenants' organizations, trade unions, etc. This was the prototype of the anti-monopoly front our Party has been promoting for such a long time. It now became possible to mount joint solidarity campaigns, for instance, in support of democrats and anti-fascists in Chile.

In 1971 the National Party Conference adopted a new program after it had been discussed in all Party branches. Titled 'What the Swiss Party of Labor is Working For,' it amplifies our position on unity of all the popular forces. We call for a broad popular movement for political renewal and a progressive government, a movement that will bring together all the forces of labor which, in one form or another, are exploited by big capital and are the victims of its domination. The program stresses the importance of uniting these scattered and isolated forces, steadily forging unity by joint defense of common demands in the struggle against the big financial and monopoly interests.

This popular alliance would gradually draw into the struggle wider sections of blue-collar and white-collar workers, intellectuals, technicians, peasants, handicraftsmen, small businessmen and also group-interest organizations (associations of senior citizens, tenants, consumers, etc.).

The new Party program declares: 'Fundamental reform of society and the road to socialism and subsequently to communism, the ultimate goal of the Party of Labor, are possible only if the working class — the most progressive part of society — is united in struggle and is able to rally all the democratic and popular forces. Consequently, our Party's policy aims at such unity and a broad alliance of all the forces of labor and the people against the domination of big capital. United action by the Party of Labor and the Social-Democratic Party in all areas is destined to play a key role in bringing about this broad popular movement.'

'While pursuing its policy of broad unity, the Party of Labor maintains its independence and will do everything to raise the political consciousness of its members. It will not yield to impatience and will not allow itself to be driven into isolation for the sake of so-called ideological purity. But neither will it allow itself to be drawn into hopeless reformist practices. On the contrary, every step it takes must serve to raise the level of the struggle and be a step toward socialism.'

We call not only for unity of the Swiss working class. There has been a mass influx of foreign workers, chiefly from Italy and Spain, since the war. Our Party attaches immense importance to unity of Swiss and foreign workers as an essential condition for concrete results in the struggle, especially since big capital is trying to set them against each other.

Militant unity should begin with common, simultaneous and agreed action and trade union recruitment. The shortcomings of the unions, with their 'industrial peace' policy, are well known, but that is precisely why we should infuse new blood so as to influence union policy and change it and provide opportunities for joint action not only on the shop floor or building site, and not only in support of higher wages and other material demands, but also to assure the workers' control over economic development, give them decent low-rent housing, more schools, hospitals, and confidence in the future.

'The Party of Labor will combat all attempts to sow discord among the workers and divert their attention from the real causes of the present economic and social difficulties. It believes that unity of the entire working population is essential to the success of the class struggle.'

This clear-cut internationalist position is especially important in the present crisis situation, with the growing hostility toward foreign workers. The ultra-rights are telling the people that all the problems created by the crisis, the shortage of schools, housing, etc., can be simply solved by deporting all foreign workers. By putting all the blame on the foreign workers, the pro-fascist demagogues tried to split the labor movement. At first they met with some success, but left unity on

this issue was no small factor in bringing about the defeat of extreme reaction.¹ Our Party is continuing the fight against reactionary forces that hold the foreign workers responsible for Switzerland's economic difficulties.

Switzerland, too, has been caught in the capitalist world economic crisis. The boom is now no more than a memory. More and more factories are closing down, shifting to short-time working, putting workers on forced 'holidays,' laying off large numbers. The employers are using all this for a massive assault on the social gains won during the boom period. They refuse to raise wages to meet soaring prices, and, of course, there is no talk of raising real wages. The number of unemployed is relatively small: the official estimate is 'a few tens of thousands.'² It does not take into account the 'export' of unemployment: over 100,000 so-called seasonal workers have gone back to Italy, Spain and other countries, and cannot return to Switzerland because they have lost their jobs. To this should also be added the hundreds of technicians and other specialists who do not come under the unemployment insurance scheme and do not therefore figure in the statistics. Then there are women left without jobs and school-leavers looking for jobs. All in all, the number of unemployed is considerably above the official figure, and this not counting those on a short week.

There is widespread fear of losing one's job. The employers believe that they can use this to push through their reactionary plans. But the system of 'industrial peace' and 'social partnership' is visibly losing ground.

There is growing dismay and anxiety among workers who for many years had no part in the class struggle and whose class consciousness was dulled by reformist theories. The word 'strike' had little meaning for them, especially the young workers, but now it is taking on a very real and concrete meaning. There have already been strikes against lay-offs, short-time and wage cuts. The union rank and file is pressuring the leadership, and for the first time in many years the unions called for nationwide demonstrations. They were the first, though not mass, actions showing that resistance to capitalist tyranny is growing.

Our Party is fully aware of its responsibility, has a clear understanding of its goals and is prepared to work for them. The 10th Party Congress (June 1974) drew up an action program against the monopoly offensive. It is directed against inflation and the crisis, the wage freeze and the policy of making the blue-collar and white-collar workers, handicraftsmen and small farmers shoulder the burden of the crisis. The 10th Congress initiated a national campaign against high prices and inflation. The 90,000 signatures in support of the campaign collected by Party activists and members in a short time,³ is a signal success and is evidence of our comrades' will to carry on the struggle.

The proposals we submitted to the Federal Government at the end of May 1975 provide for control of prices, profits and investments; restrictions of the omnipotence of the cartels and trusts up to and including nationalization of monopoly concerns and top corporations; democratic tax reform with a progressive tax on high incomes and property and smaller taxes on low and middle incomes. Switzerland must cease to be a tax haven for capitalists from all over the world.

These demands will necessitate structural changes and infringe the very basis of the capitalist system. The fact that they have won such mass support testifies to the correctness of our policy and to the growth of our Party's influence on the labor movement. But the Party still has to win, mobilize and unite all the progressive forces behind its referendum demands.

Early last year we added new demands to offset the effects of the present economic crisis. Above all, we want:

- guaranteed full employment;
- an end to overtime, a shorter work day without reduction in wages;
- severance pay; employer-funded job training and retraining and, where necessary, relocation expenses; guarantees against worse conditions and lower pay when transferred to another job; full pension for workers who have to retire before reaching pension age;
- revision of the unemployment insurance system to provide higher unemployment benefits — largely at the expense of the employer — and for longer periods.

The Party wants to unite all the forces, both inside and outside the trade unions, to bring our program to reality. This is bound to be a long uphill struggle, but we are fully confident that it will end in success. That is expressed in the concluding words of the 10th Congress resolution: 'The Party of Labor is the only organized force alive to the need to fight for a fundamental restructuring of society. In this struggle it plays a vanguard role, a role no other party can assume. With implicit faith in the members of our Party and those who follow its lead, we continue our tireless struggle to build a new, socialist Switzerland.'

1. The draft law on the expulsion of foreign workers was defeated in the October 1974 referendum by a 66 per cent majority.

2. 18 months ago, in September 1974, there were only 92 registered unemployed. — *Ed.*

3. The number required for a national referendum is 50,000. — *Ed.*

Rightist offensive in 'defense of democracy'

Georg Kwiatowski
Representative of the
German Communist Party
on the journal

Otto Sanchez
Representative of the
Guatemalan Party of Labor
on the journal

We hear again and again of the persecution of Communists in various countries. Repressive measures are also taken against people active in other progressive political movements.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Latin America discussed this topic at a recent meeting. The facts cited by its members revealed the extent of imperialist crimes.

In Guatemala, in the past 12 years repressions have taken the toll of 17,000 to 20,000, including hundreds of leading and rank-and-file members of the Party of Labor. Among those who paid with their lives in fighting for the liberation and independence of the country were two general secretaries of the Party — Bernardo Alvarado Monzon and Huberto Alvarado — and 19 Central Committee members.

In Paraguay, about 500 political prisoners have been behind bars for 10, 15 or even 18 years. As far back as 1961 a court ruled that Antonio Maydana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, must be released, but he is still in detention 'on orders from the President of the Republic.' Recently Miguel Angel Soler, secretary of the Central Committee, was imprisoned.

In its appeal to international public opinion the Brazilian Communist Party lists the Central Committee members executed by the dictatorship and calls for action to save the lives of Communists who were kidnapped and whose fate is unknown. In Uruguay, with a population of 2,700,000, there are 5,000 political prisoners. Another 600 were seized late in 1975.

In Bolivia, El Salvador, Nicaragua and, especially, Chile, thou-

sands of Communists and democrats are tortured and held in jail or concentration camps. The lives of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots are in danger in spite of angry worldwide protests.

We cannot here cite all facts to show the entire gravity of the situation shaping in Argentina, Colombia and other Latin American countries. But we wish to stress that this series of acts of violence and brutal treatment is not at all accidental. What is going on, the Commission noted, is organized terror in its most inhuman forms, and the current offensive of reaction in Latin America is part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism on the continent, and retaliation to the growing peoples' movement against imperialist domination, against fascism, for national and social liberation, for democracy and peace.

To us representatives of Communist parties on the journal, these grim facts are particularly real, for repression often involves people we know well — our fellow Communists or one-time colleagues with whom we worked on the journal. Many members of the journal's international staff have gone through the bitter experience of arrest, persecution, torture and imprisonment. Jose Lava, representative of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the journal, spent about 20 years in prison; Naim Ashhab, representative of the Jordanian Communist Party, Adel Haba, representative of the Iraqi Communist Party, Jaakoub Garro, representative of the Syrian Communist Party, and other comrades were in prison for many years. It is sad to know the Communists who a short time ago represented the brother parties of Brazil and Sudan on the journal are in detention now.

Are political repression and anti-communist measures common only under fascist regimes?

In Spain, where the rule of a fascist dictator has come to an end, Communists and workers' leaders are still in prison. Premier Arias Navarro has said that he completely rules out the possibility of legalizing the Communist Party. Bombs explode and bloody clashes continue in Portugal, where reaction aggravates the situation by fomenting anti-communist sentiment and preventing solution of the political crisis. Over 300 acts of terrorism were committed in a mere eight months, with over half of them directed against the Communist Party.

Every day brings evidence that the persecution of Communists and other progressives is becoming more and more typical of countries governed by bourgeois democratic regimes.

This is exemplified by the West German law on 'radicals,' under which, among other things, Communists are barred from practising the teaching profession. In Hesse Land alone, this ban has already affected 59 teachers, who include the sons and daughters of anti-fascists, genuine democrats. Communist views are the only reason

why people are not allowed to practise their vocation; they are robbed of a livelihood and discriminated against in other ways. Recently the Bundestag enacted a new law under which West German citizens 'supporting or inciting acts of violence detrimental to the existence or security of the Federal Republic of Germany' can be sentenced to a term of up to three years in prison. The danger of the authorities persecuting fighters for democracy and progress under this law is self-evident. The Presidium of the German Communist Party published a statement stressing that this is another blow at the democratic rights of all working people aimed at curbing the activity of progressives, first of all Communists.

In Italy, where every third citizen votes communist, anti-communism expresses itself in attacks by the bourgeois press and politicians and in fascist acts of terrorism. A wave of violence swept the country shortly before and during the latest municipal elections. There were assassinations in Milan, Naples and Florence and acts of sabotage on railways. Bombs were planted in the offices of local government bodies in which the Communists hold strong positions. Nor is the list of fascist crimes complete.

The French Communist Party has repeatedly protested in the past year against the 'fierce anti-communist campaign' in the country. Communists are forbidden to carry on propaganda work in the enterprises. Andrée Lefrère, a Communist member of the Paris Council, was not allowed to present an account of her activity to the electorate, although this is a right granted by law to every elected person. This happened in 'democratic' France. Speaking at a Central Committee meeting, General Secretary Georges Marchais said: 'The country's leaders, right-wing politicians, radio and television, major newspapers, the employers' press — in short, all of the big bourgeoisie's mass media — are mustered against us. They misrepresent our policies and our goals, resorting to crude lies as well as to biased selection of information, distorting our documents, grossly exaggerating certain facts while ignoring or doctoring others ...' (*L'Humanité*, May 29, 1975).

In Britain, Dennis Warren, a Communist trade unionist, has been in jail for two years now although the country's progressive opinion demands his release. A building worker with five children, he was arrested for leading a picket during a general strike of builders. The authorities seized him under a law against 'conspiracy' dating from 1875. For the first time in this century this law was used against pickets. Speaking in court, Dennis Warren rightly described his arrest as an act of 'class vengeance.'

Press reports show that right-wing imperialist forces are trying to stop the communist movement in Asia as well, though the oppor-

tunities for anti-communist action are not the same everywhere. In Indonesia two Communists, Gatot Sutario and Joko Untunga, were sentenced to death on a charge of reviving communist activity. A third defendant died during the trial. In India reactionary violence assumed so dangerous a scale last summer as to pose what the Communists described as a real danger of a counter-revolutionary dictatorship and reversal of the country's progressive policy of independent economic development and political sovereignty. The Communist Party of Japan recently protested against police surveillance of its members and other democrats.

The United States is celebrating its bicentenary. Anniversary speeches heap praises on the American social system and way of life. 'Democratic,' 'free' and 'popular' stand out among the expressions used. But modern American history is also a record of brutal persecution of Communists and democrats. The latest exposure of CIA and FBI crimes brought to light the infamous methods used by these organizations. Nor is all this a thing of the past, for life remains hard for U.S. Communists. To cite an example, Philip Burns, a high-school teacher in Plainfield, was discharged in spite of public protest just because he is a Communist.

It is in this way, by taking on diverse guises and using diverse methods, that reaction persecutes us Communists, as well as other democrats and progressives.

Reactionary offensives today generally assume an anti-communist character. Anti-communism has been the pivot of the bourgeoisie's overall class strategy ever since the Communists emerged as the party of the working class.

The first legal action against Communists, the notorious Cologne trial of 1852, was designed to rout 'Marx's party.' Ever since then, for more than a hundred years the contest between communism and anti-communism has been central to the ideological and political struggle going on in the world.

Why are Communists persecuted so openly and by such refined methods for essentially the most humane convictions? Because this contest is expressive of irreconcilable contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the forces of reaction and those of progress. With the passage of time, the imperialists revise the methods of their anti-communist strategy, but its aims do not change: while they cannot destroy Communist parties physically (the strength of the communist movement today is well known), they try to undermine their positions and isolate them from the masses; they slander them and take repressive measures against the most active Communists so as to prevent a fusion of the labor and democratic move-

ments with the working-class vanguard and check the inexorable advance of the world revolutionary process.

Experience shows that the weaker the positions of imperialism and the more palpable the gains of progressive forces, the greater is the scope of the struggle against Communists, against the revolutionary world outlook of our time.

What is the reason for the intensified attacks of reaction? They are obviously due, first of all, to a weakening of the positions of imperialism. A protracted economic crisis is aggravating and denuding the contradictions of the capitalist system, intensifying social upheaval and calling to question the system itself. Besides, imperialism has suffered military and political defeats and lost its domination and influence in many parts of the globe (events in Southeast Asia are a good illustration). In spite of reactionary resistance, détente has gained much ground, which is a tremendous achievement of socialism and other forces of peace and progress.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionaries generally are greatly concerned about the prospects of Communists coming to power in a number of countries in alliance with other progressives, with the support of millions of working people. The entire bourgeois press is sounding an alarm. At the beginning of this year, the *New York Times* wondered editorially what the United States could or should do in view of communist gains all over Europe, from Portugal to Greece, specifically in France, Spain and Italy. This is a noteworthy fact: many newspapers calling themselves independent, as well as many 'independent' ideologists, are eager to defend democracy with might and main, to uphold the freedom of action of diverse political movements, but only as long as the pillars of capitalism are not affected. They forget all about freedom, democracy and independence on hearing the word 'Communist.' And they consider all means fair in fighting the Communists.

The current offensive of reaction is being conducted under the slogan of 'defending democracy.' But history has shown more than once that by 'defending' democracy against the 'danger from the left,' advocates of anti-communism and those who implement its strategy clear the decks for rightists, for the most anti-democratic forces of our time. The record of German fascism shows this only too plainly. Beginning with anti-communism, the nazis soon revealed their true nature as the worst enemies of mankind. Who has failed to learn the lessons of the past, can see the same today: the fascist dictatorship in Chile, the reactionary regimes in Uruguay and some other countries are a grave menace to other countries and peoples as well.

Many will remember the events in Brescia, Italy, where the fascists staged a massacre during peaceful rallies in the spring of 1974. The

working people countered this by a general strike and protest demonstrations. But what made fascist terror possible?

'For many years and even decades,' Enrico Berlinguer said at a plenum after these events, 'the authorities were inclined to regard the working-class movement, the trade unions and, above all, the Communists as "subversive elements." At the same time they regarded the criminal actions of really subversive elements and extremists, namely, the rightists and fascists, as partly a reaction of adherents of law and order, a reaction that, while excessive, was useful in its way because it could serve as a counterweight to the working-class movement' (*L'Unita*, June 4, 1974).

It would be naive to imagine that anti-communism means only struggle against Communists. The persecution of Communists was described by Marx as the prelude to a 'crusade' against all dissenters. Lenin, who warned against excessive illusions about the 'democracy' of bourgeois governments and states, saw a law of bourgeois democracy in the fact that whenever there is a serious political divergence dangerous to the bourgeoisie, the latter comes close to a 'pogrom or civil war' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 245).

The facts show that law in action.

In West Germany up to 300,000 people had to pass a 'loyalty test' under the 'law on radicals.' This 'law' has already affected about 2,000 progressives, including Social Democrats. Professor Dieter Narr, a Social Democrat and well-known scholar, was refused a post in a higher educational institution because he maintained contacts with the anti-war 'Easter march' movement. Another Social Democrat, Charlotte Niess, was refused a judge's post because she is a board member of the Association of Democratic Lawyers. In France the authorities persecute active trade unionists and in Chile repressions have spread even to the church.

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, rightly said that a cudgel swung against Communists also hits every anti-imperialist movement. Those who are indifferent to the persecution of Communists today and, indeed, abet it may become its victims tomorrow. This, too, has occurred many times before.

Communists are well aware of the danger which these developments present to social progress in general and never stop fighting, no matter how hard conditions become.

The Communists of Guatemala are working with fresh energy, having restored their leadership and unity after the telling blows struck by reaction. In spite of repression and intimidation, mass demonstrations take place in the country. Led by Communists and

other progressives, they are an open challenge by the working people to a government of usurpers.

West German Communists campaign in common with other progressives against the 'law on radicals,' exposing its anti-democratic, anti-constitutional bias. They organize protest rallies and demonstrations, public discussions and conferences, bring out various kinds of information and distribute leaflets in the streets. They have already collected over one million signatures to a document demanding repeal of the law.

However, our task is not only self-defense, not only upholding this or that demand or right. We see the chief task in strengthening our organization, winning the masses, depriving rightist trends of their social basis by exposing their nature and thereby undermining the positions of imperialism.

Experience gained over many years shows that in any country a powerful alliance of all genuine democrats and all progressive movements, whose unity the Communists advocate, can become a force capable of effectively resisting and ending repression. In the world arena, this force is, first and foremost, international communist solidarity, the concrete and effective force which has already saved thousands of lives and tied the hands of fascists on more than one occasion. Its impact on world events is growing. The Communists, inspired by what they see as inviolable international principles, must set an example of unity and solidarity in the face of reaction, especially when the lives of our comrades are in danger and when it is a question of confidence in our common cause and loyalty to it, of ensuring the triumph of our ideals.

Speaking of the Paris Commune, the first workers' state in history crushed and destroyed by reaction, Lenin wrote: "... Paris lost about 100,000 of its best people, including some of the finest workers in all trades.

'The bourgeoisie were satisfied. "Now we have finished with socialism for a long time," said their leader, the bloodthirsty dwarf, Thiers, after he and his generals had drowned the proletariat of Paris in blood. But these bourgeois crows croaked in vain. Less than six years after the suppression of the Commune, when many of its champions were still pining in prison or in exile, a new working-class movement arose in France. A new socialist generation, enriched by the experience of their predecessors and no whit discouraged by their defeat, picked up the flag which had fallen from the hands of the fighters in the cause of the Commune and bore it boldly and confidently forward. Their battle cry was: "Long live the social revolution! Long live the Commune!" And in another few years, the new workers' party and the agitational work launched by it throughout the

country compelled the ruling classes to release Communards who were still kept in prison by the government' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, pp. 142-143).

These words sound most revealing today.

We are convinced that the communist movement is invincible and that socialism will triumph. But we are well aware that imperialism does not surrender its positions without fierce resistance. We still have to carry on a stubborn fight that will be successful only if we combine vigorous action in each country with growing international solidarity and the growing unity and cohesion of our forces.

A communist mayor for Nazareth

Zahi Karkabi

Secretary of Central Committee,
Communist Party of Israel

The Communists of Israel are doing all they can to rally the masses in the struggle for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied lands, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and the establishment of a lasting peace in our region. At the same time the Communist Party pays the closest attention to the everyday needs and demands of the working people. It sees one of its paramount tasks in blocking the skyrocketing prices and the rapidly falling standard of living, and defending the democratic and civil freedoms, the economic and social rights of the people. In the atmosphere of chauvinism, militarism and anti-communism prevailing in the country the Party, despite enormous difficulties, is persistently strengthening contacts with the working class and the masses, spreading its influence in society. The CPI makes active use of all forms and methods of political struggle, including elections to the Knesset, municipal councils in the cities and local councils in the villages.

The local authorities in Israel still have their importance in spite of the continuous narrowing of their rights by the government. They are responsible for administering the local affairs of the population such as education, health services, public utilities, collecting local taxes.

The CPI invariably takes part in municipal elections, with the ruling Zionist parties doing their best to prevent the Party candidates from being elected, and even more from becoming partners in the coalition

on this or that council. Still the growing prestige of the Party, and its policy of building democratic fronts in the elections have enabled it to send its representatives to many city and village councils, and to become a partner in coalitions.

Our Party scored a particularly sweeping victory in the municipal elections of December 9, 1975, in Nazareth (Galilee). For the first time a Communist, Comrade Tawfiq Zayyad, member of the CC of the CPI and Knesset deputy and also a well-known Arab poet, was elected to the post of mayor of this biggest Arab city in Israel, receiving 67.3 per cent of the votes. The Democratic Front of Nazareth, initiated and led by the Communist Party of Israel, won 11 of the council's 17 seats.¹ This was a big defeat for the policy of racial discrimination and a major victory for the people of Nazareth.

Nazareth, a city with a rapidly growing Arab population,² developed from a small town with a population of 15,000 in 1948 into a city with a population of 40,000 in 1975. The population growth, as well as the authorities' discriminatory policies brought the city into a very difficult situation.

Until 1974 the majority of the municipal council was of supporters of the Zionist ruling parties. They supported the government's reactionary domestic and aggressive and expansionist foreign policies. The former mayors and municipal councillors, who supported the Zionist leadership of the country, took no exception to the government's confiscation of big tracts of land of Nazareth for the purpose of building the Upper (Jewish) Nazareth.³ They accepted the discrimination against the city in all that concerns the social services to the population and other aspects.⁴

The former administration neglected the interests of the city and its population. Corruption and protectionism flourished. The acute problems facing the population did not find their solution. To this day the city lacks adequate sanitary services, electricity, water supply and sewage systems. Not a single factory has been built since 1948, while the very few which were in the city had to be closed because of the policy of racial discrimination. As a result two-thirds of the adult male population have to work far from their homes.

The Communist faction in the municipal council waged a persistent and militant struggle for the daily interests and demands of the population of Nazareth. It combined struggle inside the council with action outside it, drawing on the masses and winning the support of progressive organizations. The Communists' cooperation with them expanded and gained strength, thus paving the way to joint action. The most important action taken by the Party and these organizations was the successful general strike on April 4, 1975, against the authorities' intention to increase the municipal tax.

The Communists owe their success also to the fact that in their propaganda they connect the further aggravation of local problems with the government's general policy of war and occupation. They explain, for instance, that the lack of funds to build schools and improve the different social services is a result of the steadily growing military spending. This explanation helps to raise the political consciousness of the masses, and enables the Party to mobilize them more actively in the struggle for a just peace in the Middle East.

Under the pressure of the masses the former mayor of Nazareth had to resign. The Minister of the Interior dissolved the municipal council and appointed a committee of government employees to administer the city. The Communist Party in Nazareth called for early elections to a new municipal council, and when its request was not accepted, it appealed to the High Court of Justice asking for interference. The result was a decision to hold elections in December 1975. The prestige and influence of the Communist Party in Nazareth (it received 42 per cent of the votes in the municipal elections of 1970), and the general opposition of the population to the racist policy of the government and the pro-government majority on the municipal council toward Nazareth, created the conditions for rallying the progressive forces. The Democratic Front included the Communist Party, the Association of Intellectuals, the Organization of Merchants and Artisans, the University Students of Nazareth, and other progressive elements.

Immediately after its establishment the front carried out active work: in every quarter of the city groups of activists were organized, which conducted explanatory work among the population.

The program of the front states in detail the suggested solution for every problem facing the city. The front sees one of its main tasks in the struggle for the complete equality of the Arab population, against all discrimination and the plans of forcible 'Judaizing,' as well as against the plans of confiscating Arab land in Nazareth and elsewhere.

The program also states that the front is an alliance of forces whose political views are different, but who are all agreed on the necessity of strengthening the Jewish-Arab understanding. The relations between the two peoples, the program says, must be based on mutual respect for the rights of each of them.

The Zionist ruling parties, exploiting religious and communal feelings,⁵ made repeated, though unsuccessful, attempts to undermine the front and prevent its candidate, Tawfiq Zayyad, from being elected to the post of mayor. Ministers came to Nazareth, spoke at public meetings, persuaded the people not to vote for the front, going to the length of open threats and provocations. For instance, Labor

Minister Moshe Baram said that the front was 'subservient to Soviet imperialism' and that its candidate 'may be an agent of Arafat.' But all attempts at intimidation and fraud misfired. The Democratic Front of Nazareth, which is now responsible for administering the city, is planning steps to deal with its pressing problems. The front is looking for ways to strengthen its ties with the population of the city in order to mobilize their support and their initiative. Popular committees are being established in all the quarters of the city to maintain permanent links with the population. Much importance attaches to publicity: from now on all municipal council sittings will be public. It is planned to clear the city administration of corrupt elements.

The election results caused panic in the Zionist circles of Israel. They also alarmed the foreign patrons of the Israeli Zionists, as evidenced by the numerous imperialist press comments on this event.

The Communist Party of Israel achieved an important victory in Nazareth. This victory shows that the Party is following a correct road, combining the struggle for the solution of major problems engendered by the Middle East crisis with the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the masses, in defense of their daily demands. This has reaffirmed the correctness of the line toward unity with all those who are ready to take part in the struggle for the interests of the masses both on the scale of the whole country and in each factory, each city quarter and each village.

1. Other seats were shared by the ruling Labor Party (4) and National Religious Party (2).

2. In the 1950s the so-called Upper (Jewish) Nazareth began to be built near ancient Nazareth (according to tradition the boyhood home of Jesus Christ) in keeping with the Zionist leadership's program of 'Judaizing' the Galilee. The land for Upper Nazareth was confiscated from Arab Nazareth and from neighboring Arab villages. It is intended for Jewish immigrants. The new city (population 20,000) with modern industrial enterprises and social institutions has a municipality of its own.

3. The area of Nazareth municipality has shrunk from 15,000 dunams (1 dunam = around 0.1 hectare) in 1948 to 7,500 dunams in 1975. Nazareth is suffocating because of lack of new areas to expand and develop.

4. The government assistance to the municipality of Nazareth ranges between 7-19 Israeli pounds per person every year while the assistance given to Jewish municipalities is about 250 Israeli pounds per person.

5. The population of Nazareth consists of the Christian and the Moslem communities.

Party meetings

SECTION CONFERENCES IN ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Prior to the annual conferences of the 12,000 sections of the Italian Communist Party now taking place, the Party's Fifth Commission (in charge of organizational matters) approved the general orientation and specified discussion points.

Party activists in town and country are urged to show greater initiative in implementing the policy of alliances and carrying out the Party line for unity within the framework of extensive struggles and political discussions. The conferences, public as usual, are an important means of comparing the Party's positions with those of other democratic forces. They help to specify the line approved by the 14th Party Congress, a line which the sections must strive to implement in the best possible way.

We owe the atmosphere in which the conferences are being held to the Party's success in 1975. On June 15 last, 11,263,000 Italians, or 32.5 per cent of the electorate, or 4.5 per cent more than in the previous elections, voted Communist. Local government in five regions, 41 provinces and 2,712 municipalities is now exercised under Communist leadership or with Communist participation. The Party has over 1,730,000 members. Last year it admitted 156,458 new members. Receipts from subscriptions to the Communist press amounted to 5,120 million lire (*Unita*, December 4, 1975). The ICP has demonstrated its ability to organize major mass actions and to play a leading political and ideological role. The progress it has made and its understanding of existing difficulties enable the Party, in particular, to solve new problems arising from the crisis and the present domestic situation.

As in the past, an immediate task to which attention is called at the conferences is to reinforce the leading cadre, first of all by promoting workers, and ensure an adequate ICP presence in all democratic bodies, district committees, neighborhood councils, mountain communes and local factory, school and sanitary councils, as well as in government agencies.

Another task is to increase Party finances through the usual channels (initiation fees, membership dues, fund-raising).

The ICP's organizational questions are closely linked with its strategy and its militant character as a mass party and are also a topic of discussion with other parties.

The section conferences will also have to search for ways and means of establishing a more correct ratio between the Party's concrete economic and social activity and its theoretical work and initiatives on the general aspects of the political, cultural and ideological struggle.

M.R.

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions was held in Warsaw on January 26. The Bulgarian Communist Party was represented by Alexander Lilov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, and Konstantin Tellalov, Central Committee secretary; the Communist Party of Cuba by Raul Garcia Pelaez, Secretariat member; the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by Josef Havlin, Central Committee secretary; the Socialist Unity Party of Germany by Kurt Hager, Hermann Axen, and Werner Lamberz, Political Bureau members and Central Committee secretaries; the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party by Miklos Ovari, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, and Imre Györi, Central Committee secretary; the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party by Dejidiin Chimiddorzh, Central Committee secretary; the Polish United Workers' Party by Jan Szydlak, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary, and Ryszard Frelek, Central Committee secretary; the Rumanian Communist Party by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Central Committee secretary; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary, and Konstantin Katushev, Central Committee secretary. Also taking part were the heads and deputy heads and leading functionaries of the international and ideological departments of the Central Committees of the respective fraternal parties.

The meeting was opened by Jan Szydlak. The speakers were Alexander Lilov, Miklos Ovari, Kurt Hager, Raul Garcia Pelaez,

Dejidiin Chimiddorzh, Jan Szydlak, Stefan Andrei, Boris Ponomaryov and Josef Havlin.

The participants exchanged views on topical ideological and political questions in the light of the present struggle for deepening international détente and of the results of the European Security Conference.

It was noted with satisfaction that in the recent period there has been marked progress in multilateral and bilateral ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism in many spheres of information and propaganda, social sciences, education, publishing, the arts, culture, tourism, and in the activity of public organizations. This furthers continuous growth of cooperation in socialist and communist construction in each country, and consolidates the unity of the community of socialist states, their cooperation on the international scene.

The meeting stressed the ideological and political importance of the festivities on the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the jubilees and other significant political events in the life of the fraternal parties and countries.

All participants stressed the historic importance of the European Security Conference, which offers opportunities for consolidating European security in the interest of all the peoples of the continent, the cause of world peace and cooperation. The results of the Helsinki Conference have created opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation of states, irrespective of their social systems, in the economy, culture, science, education, information media and contacts between people based on strict observance of equality and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The participants stressed that their countries, as recorded in official documents and statements, will in every way promote all the principles and commitments envisaged in the Final Act of the European Security Conference, and support the initiatives of all public forces to this effect.

The meeting emphasized the need for further efforts to deepen and materialize détente in every way, to end the arms drive and assure disarmament, to extend international cooperation and strengthen peace and security on all continents. The participants consider it important to invigorate the struggle against attempts to distort the content of the home and foreign policies of the socialist countries, and against reactionary imperialist ideology and propaganda, the policy of strength and diktat, colonialism and neo-colonialism, anti-communism, fascism and racism. They expressed solidarity with the people of the People's Republic of Angola in their struggle for freedom and independence.



Decisive prerequisite for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship

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Mass struggle is decisive for restoring democracy and Chile's revolutionary gains. The Communist Party stressed this in its very first statement after the fascist mutiny. 'The working people and the popular masses,' we said then, 'will recover from this blow and will, beyond any doubt, again take charge of their Fatherland's destiny. As always, we shall lay emphasis on good organization, unity, and struggle of the masses, on elevating their political consciousness.'¹ The Party stresses in each of its statements that there cannot be effective and correct tactics without the closest concern for work with the masses, which is the key and determining condition of victory. The people will be denied the fruits of victory if the dictatorship is eliminated without the active participation of the masses.

Chile is experiencing bloody repressions on a scale unprecedented in our history. The popular movement has been compelled to retreat. Many of its structural links have been destroyed. In this difficult situation, conciliatory tendencies, on the one hand, and terrorism by small groups, on the other, are particularly dangerous. They are fraught with lasting adverse consequences for the revolutionary movement. This is why it is important for us to overcome deviations and adhere to Lenin's principles. 'Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class,' wrote Lenin. 'Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is being pushed into the background, firstly, by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation and organization; who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to "politics" only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions; who

too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary, working-class party against the autocracy' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 369).

To build up mass action, we must first determine the revolutionary line through a correct assessment of the relation of forces. This will enable us to define and specify the tasks of the current revolutionary period, to pinpoint the main contradiction and, consequently, to identify the main enemies, as well as possible allies of the working class, which rally to its side in the process of the struggle, and also to determine those strata that can be neutralized. By virtue of its revolutionary content, such a line is readily accepted by the masses, and leads them into battle with the conviction that the chosen road is the road to victory. These questions are fundamental to the struggle for an anti-fascist front, and were reaffirmed by our Party jointly with other Popular Unity forces.

At once, ideological struggle for the unity of the working class and other revolutionary forces on the basis of the afore-mentioned line took top priority. We responded to criticism of our positions with convincing arguments or necessary explanations, but, more important still, found the proof of our approach in the struggle itself.

In the case of Chile, the anti-fascist line confirms the conclusions of the Havana Conference of Latin American Communist Parties. 'It is clear,' said its Declaration, 'that the Latin American peoples cannot attain real progress without removing from political power the representatives of the classes and strata allied with imperialism. In our countries, profound socio-economic changes are impossible, not to speak of realizing socialism, without eliminating the oppression on the part of U.S. imperialism and the domination of transnational corporations.'

In the political situation that has resulted from the fascist coup, the contradiction between the people of Chile, on the one hand, and Yankee imperialism and its ally (the local monopoly and landed oligarchy), on the other, is still the main contradiction. Prior to the victory of the Popular Unity government, the oligarchy adhered to more or less democratic forms of rule. Now it has fallen back on fascism as the only means of retaining its predominance, and regaining and extending the privileges it lost during the three years of revolutionary government. Consequently, the anti-fascist front is a form of the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front. So, in following this revolutionary line it is important to maintain its continuity, and also assure further development.

Safeguarding the mass organizations created by the people in many years of struggle and assuring that revolutionaries participate in them, i.e., securing ties with the masses, has been the Party's central objective throughout the two years of the fascist dictatorship. This applies first and foremost to the trade union organizations of the working class and other working people, tenants' committees, maternal centers, student organizations, cultural centers, sports societies, and the like. 'The anti-fascist front will arise chiefly at grassroots level, in the people's organizations, wherever people live, work, learn and rest,' our Party pointed out. 'That is where revolutionaries must do their work to unite the majority, to promote its aspirations, the realization of which depends ultimately on what kind of government rules the country. The prime duty of every anti-fascist is to participate in the mass organizations. Fascism tries to prevent the public organizations of the Chilean people from showing independence. . . . This is why we anti-fascists must first of all safeguard and build up the large variety of organizations created by the people in the long struggle for its interests. To abandon these organizations in face of the difficulties created by the dictatorship is tantamount to surrender, playing into the hands of the fascists, allowing despicable collaborationists to assume leadership in them, depriving the people of its weapon — organization — and exposing the country to abuse by the minority.'²

This orientation, adopted jointly with our allies and other democratic forces, has been fruitful. Most of the people's organizations continue to function. Certainly, their situation cannot be compared with what it was under the people's government: each day brings them new and serious difficulties. Democratic procedure has been wiped out. In most of them, tested leaders have been replaced by junta appointees. But nothing can stop them from expressing the interests of the people as they had done before, and to pursue a struggle, very severe in some sectors. In certain cases the junta's menials have been isolated, in others they have been compelled to go along with the immediate demands of the working people.

The developments in the trade union movement are incontestably the most important. In the second year of the dictatorship, the working people succeeded in regaining the right to celebrate May Day as a class holiday: attempts to organize official 'celebrations' failed. The working people held a demonstration and hundreds of meetings, which the junta hastily outlawed when it understood that the farce it rigged up had fallen through.

Twenty-four national trade union federations representing the vast majority of the working people rejected the labor legislation proposed by the junta, in particular the labor code the dictatorship tried to introduce but has not been able to saddle on the people in its original

shape. The discussion of the junta's projects demonstrated the people's determination to safeguard the principle of a united trade union organization against the parallelism proposed by the fascists. Irrespective of the final text of the imposed document, the defense of trade union unity by the vast majority is an unquestionably important victory for the working class.

The struggle for economic demands — higher wages and more jobs — is also becoming more intensive and is often joined by small and medium proprietors. In many cases the workers themselves, 'without leaders,' assume collective responsibility for sheltering activists against repressions or by taking measures to avert repressions. The fascists have been compelled to make certain, as a rule minor, concessions. But the main thing is that mass activity is expanding and the masses are regaining confidence. Popular Unity and Christian-Democratic Party organs responsible for trade union work have drawn up a national platform that includes political, as well as economic, demands. The floodtide of popular struggle is beginning to breach the dam put up by the fascists, and this is of immense political significance.

Strong ties with the masses are essential in preparing for the 'final battle' against the dictatorship. By persevering, patient and tireless efforts, we are helping the working people to live through the present difficult times, and the working class to restore and unite its ranks, to raise its political consciousness, thus securing better positions for the decisive battles to come.

The revolutionary forces have to contend with violence and brutal repression. They work in the conditions of a forced retreat. There is no revolutionary situation in the country, though there are signs that it is beginning to mature. This is a period of gathering strength when 'a prolonged effort to educate and organize the masses of the proletariat becomes particularly important. . . . This preparation must be more serious, taking account of higher and more concrete tasks' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 351).

We have taken on the job of defending the gains of the working class and of the people in the most difficult period of its history. All the work done so far is not entirely free of flaws and inaccuracies. But the Party is learning on the march, correcting mistakes, and improving its activity. From the very beginning, top priority went to the struggle against defeatist sentiments and all varieties of nihilism, in order to raise mass work to a higher level.

The enemy stops at nothing to discredit the Popular Unity government, compounding the real difficulties with slander. Repulsing the attacks, we do not hesitate to use criticism and self-criticism, because it helps the masses to understand the past and to draw lessons

for the future. Victory in the ideological battle will enable us to maintain the political consciousness of the working class persecuted by fascism, and will facilitate the struggle for a new type of government. The results are already visible, and are also reflected in the behavior of the middle strata. This is facilitated by the actions and policy of the fascists, which precipitated a national disaster. Comparisons are helping people to draw conclusions.

Chile is no exception as regards a typically fascist nationalist hysteria. The dictatorship resorts to great-power chauvinism or small-nation nationalism ('winning the leading role in Latin America' and 'we are a small country attacked by two superpowers'), depending on the aim it wants to achieve. It uses nationalist ideology chiefly to gain a grip on the petty bourgeoisie, to corrupt the youth and to assure obedience of the armed forces.

Our Party adheres to patriotic proletarian positions linked unbreakably with consistent internationalism. It exposes chauvinism, while defending progressive national values.

The fight over this issue between the working class and fascism is yielding its first favorable results. Chiming in with the mass sentiment, the Catholic Church has come out against chauvinism, against 'excessive and rapturous praise of the motherland, which turns it into an idol,' against fascist attempts to describe active opponents of the dictatorship as 'anti-patriots,' against the 'aggressive nationalism trying to assert the superiority of one's own motherland, while belittling that of others,' and, last but not least, against fascism's denunciations of 'foreign' ideologies.³

Genuinely patriotic and consistently internationalist ideas free from all types of national nihilism, are of immense significance for the development of the anti-fascist front.

The Party is doing extensive explicative work among the masses also on questions of democracy. Fascism is the complete opposite of democracy, but it cannot and will never wipe out the democratic traditions created chiefly by the struggle of the working class and the people. We defend these traditions and, at the same time, combat all distortions of the Marxists' attitude to democracy. 'Capitalism in general and imperialism in particular,' Lenin said, 'turn democracy into an illusion — though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy. Capitalism and imperialism can be overthrown only by economic revolution. They cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most ideal. But a proletariat not schooled in struggle for democracy is incapable of performing an economic revolution' (Vol. 23, pp. 24-25).

It is our purpose to make the entire nation understand the meaning of what has happened in our country. In our time, nothing but advance to socialism can guarantee democracy. Its understanding of this has made the working class the main force in the struggle for democracy. Fascism only intensifies this tendency. This tends to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the middle strata, which have a stake in democracy by virtue of their social situation. This process is impossible if a negative attitude to law prevails in the revolutionary movement. And it is incomplete if we do not unite the struggle for democracy with the struggle for liberating the masses from all prejudices impeding completion of the anti-fascist struggle with the ultimate destruction of fascism's social base. This means that the concept of democracy has a revolutionary-democratic content. It is not a proletarian content, but is developing in that direction.

Our ideological confrontation with fascism was a prerequisite for reviving the mass movement. By bringing our view to the people in a clear and understandable way we frustrate fascist attempts to harden the reactionary-engineered split.

Our Party emphasizes that only grassroots unity can be viable and durable. But we Communists are fully aware that the ideology of different parties, including the bourgeois parties, has left its imprint on the masses. That applies to the working class and even more so to the middle strata. Besides, Chile, like other countries, for a relatively long time had ingrained bourgeois-democratic customs and traditional parties whose influence on the masses is deeply rooted.

Accentuating mass work does not mean underestimating the importance of unity agreements at the top. Anti-fascist unity must develop on the basis already created by the people. And that basis is the alliance of Socialists and Communists — the chief representatives of the working class — and strengthening Popular Unity, which represents the politically aware sections of the people. We are concentrating on raising the quality of that unity. We take into account the shortcomings in the united leadership of the Socialists and Communists and also of our allies, notably such a mass party as the Radicals. These shortcomings were one of the main reasons for our defeat.

Unity of the working class based on a principled platform is a key factor in improving the quality of the alliance. That is a priority task both within our own Party and within the alliance. We are endeavoring to show that petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who claim to support Marxism-Leninism make a bigger contribution to the revolutionary process when they come close to the positions of the proletariat and, conversely, damage and undermine that process when they slide into bogus revolutionism, that nutritive medium not only for 'leftism,' but

also for policies of conciliation and compromise. Hence, while working for united action of the proletariat and the radical petty bourgeoisie, the working-class party cannot, and must not, abandon its own independence, its own views and positions. That is the only way of creating a revolutionary front which will not collapse as a result of internal discords or mistakes in selecting aims, and will prove capable of properly leading the anti-fascist alliance.

The qualitative strengthening of Popular Unity is of exceptional importance. However, the existing situation, our Manifesto points out, 'makes it necessary to move ahead toward joint action and unity with other sections of the people which did not support the popular government but today are the victims of dictatorship tyranny.'⁴

In this context, it is especially important to achieve unity with the Catholic masses grouped around the Christian-Democratic Party. We have urged that party to act on our proposals for unity, reminding it of the grave responsibility devolving on those who maintain the present divisions. So far, most of its leaders have avoided unity. Speaking for certain sections of the bourgeoisie, they first tried to share power with the fascists, whom they helped to come to power. Now they are toying with the idea of replacing the junta by a bourgeois regime under their control. Both variants ignore the interests of the Catholic masses.

In Chile fascism is acting with relentless consistency, does not tolerate the activity of reformist elements, does not want cooperation with any democratic forces, even with representatives of some sections of the bourgeoisie. Its aim is simply to make the whole of society subservient to local and foreign big capital. It is out to destroy the Christian-Democrat Party (now virtually outlawed) and to this end it uses a combination of corruption and repression. Some Demochristian leaders are not aware of that, but others, and the Christian masses, are very much alive to what is happening in the country. And it is with these forces that a dialogue is beginning, and also joint action and agreement on concrete issues. Unity accords with the vital interests of the workers and rural poor who support the Demochristians and also with the interests of the middle strata, who make up the mass base of the party. If the Demochristians were to join an anti-fascist front, the alliance of the working class and middle strata would be raised to a higher level and there would be the guarantee — the more reliable, the closer our unity — against vacillation of the anti-fascist bourgeoisie and against the danger of a bourgeois way out of the crisis.

The main trends in Chilean life suggest that such a unity is possible. Fascist attacks on the Catholic Church because a large part of it

condemns violation of human and social rights, underscore the necessity and urgency of such an alliance.

A crucial factor in building up the anti-fascist front — irrespective of what forms of struggle it will employ — is a situation in the armed forces favoring the revolutionary-democratic process. The lessons of our defeat show that, whether employing peaceful or non-peaceful means, every revolution has to face that problem. Our Party has self-critically analyzed its mistakes in this respect and is now correcting them. The existence of a fascist regime makes it much more likely that, faced with determined resistance by the people, the reactionaries will unleash a civil war to crush the mass movement demanding their removal from power. We take that into account; we cannot and should not preclude such an eventuality. But we are against all talk of its fatal inevitability, for such talk is used only to justify the terrorist concept of revolutionary struggle.

There is dialectical uniformity in the main direction of the revolutionary process. Whether peaceful or non-peaceful, the struggle always requires patient and persevering education of the masses to create an alignment of political forces favorable to the revolution. But we must go beyond that and transform this favorable political alignment into a similar alignment of military forces, regarding this as a component part of our mass work. We should use appropriate forms of work to help the masses more clearly to see the class character of the state and its institutions and the need for their radical restructuring. Besides, we must extend mass work among servicemen, help them join the struggle against fascist domination in the armed forces and the country. Of course, the responsibility of the revolutionary party in this area does not end with that, but this is a very important aspect and it could well become decisive.

The vast majority of servicemen come from the common people. And the greater the poverty and corruption, the stronger becomes the popular resentment and the stronger its expression in the armed forces. Demagogy and savage repressions in the armed forces will not work forever. The road will be paved for democratic and anti-fascist servicemen to play their part in the people's struggle. Our exposure of fascist demagogy helps to pave that road.

Illegal and mass work are inseparable components of anti-fascist unity and, properly organized, complement each other. Mass work can be successful only if it is backed by illegal units of the Party and other revolutionary political forces. For only the illegal organization can expose the junta and all its misdeeds, combat its man-hating ideology and provide organization, leadership and unity of mass action.

Before the fascist coup the Party enjoyed 15 years of legality. Most

Party cadres were widely known and about 80 per cent of the members had had no experience of illegal work in a climate of harsh repression. Immediately after the coup we were faced with formidable difficulties. In the main, they have been overcome, despite the heavy blows dealt our Party. At present we have restructured the Party, organized regular publication, in thousands of copies, of a weekly central organ and a youth paper. We have maintained firm ties with the masses and are developing our agitation, using a variety of means, often technically primitive but enabling us to bring hundreds, even thousands, into this work.

It is no boast to say that the fascists will break their teeth trying to crush our Party. 'The Communist Party and its youth organization are invincible because they respond to the vital needs of the working class and people of Chile.'⁵

As in the days of legality, our mass activity is based on close ties with the working class and other sections of the people.

We know that we can expect more blows, but under all circumstances the Party will continue and expand its activity. The enlistment of new cadres, above all young people, makes for continuity of revolutionary leadership of the masses.

Contact with other organizations, notably the Socialist Party and other Popular Unity affiliates, was disrupted at times by the fascist repression, but is now being steadily strengthened.

Our work of organization involves political and ideological rather than technical problems. Here, too, we have to combat tendencies which, in the end, would weaken, even destroy, the Communist and Socialist parties and the Popular Unity. Some bourgeois leaders invite us to follow them, limp in their wake as it were, so as to avoid more repressions and not frighten away the bourgeoisie. Then there is the proposal of some petty-bourgeois leaders to set up so-called resistance committees as unitarian basic organizations bringing together the 'best' people irrespective of party affiliation. Their slogans contain words near and dear to the people: 'resistance,' 'unity.' But in reality all their work is directed at undermining unity of the parties and, consequently, unity of the resistance movement. With no central body to direct them, these committees could easily become prey to police provocation.

We reject both plans. Instead we have reached agreement with our allies to organize anti-fascist committees representing the various parties, all the forces that make up the alliance, but with the working class retaining its independent position.

We try to assimilate the experience of the international revolutionary movement and adapt it to our conditions. Our Party regards every comment, every observation as a form of solidarity with our

people. The fascists are drawing on the experience of the U.S., Brazilian, Uruguayan and other police, and it would be a crime for us not to learn from the experience of the heroic struggle of the Communists and anti-fascists of other countries.

But there have been suggestions of another kind. Some petty-bourgeois elements maintain that there is no anti-fascist resistance in Chile because the accent is not on armed struggle. Similar views have been expressed in Chile too.

Doubtlessly, the intentions behind these suggestions are of the noblest: some people want to see the dictatorship overthrown by a brief, powerful struggle. We share that desire, but certainly not the policy behind it. Those who sincerely express this impatience confuse momentary effect with its practical values. They underestimate the need for persistent effort to educate and organize the masses. Nor do they appreciate the fact that the absence of terrorist acts in Chile is not a bad, but a good feature of the movement, for violence without participation of the masses can only help the enemy, not the revolution.

We revolutionaries learned a long time ago that the class instinct of our enemy is not a bad gauge to measure the correctness of revolutionary policy and practice. One more proof of that is provided by *Mercurio*, mouthpiece of the Chilean reactionaries: 'Despite the success of this operation,⁶ it should be pointed out that the Communist Party is still the main enemy. Its local organizational structure is intact throughout the country. Other methods are being employed to paralyze the administration. The Communist Party is still active in the universities, among cultural workers, in the trade unions, is penetrating Church circles, is supported by the international campaign against our country, is working toward a united front and, in general, stints neither time nor energy to achieve its revenge.'⁷

Leaving aside the slanderous tone and content of this item, the fact remains that fascism fears mass resistance which, we Communists and our allies are steadily expanding. It sees in this resistance a sure portent of its defeat.

1. *Al Pueblo Chileno*. Oct. 11, 1973. Edicion Clandestina.

2. *Al Partido y al Pueblo de Chile*. Dec. 1974. Edicion Clandestina.

3. 'Evangelio y Paz,' *Mensaje* No. 243, 1975.

4. *Al Partido y al Pueblo de Chile*. Dec. 1974. Edicion Clandestina.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Reference is to the murder of Dagoberto Perez, a leader of the Left Revolutionary Movement. — *Ed.*

7. *Mercurio*, Oct. 19, 1975.

The balance of world forces and the Middle East crisis

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Events in the Middle East show that the coalition of imperialists and Israeli Zionists has never had any interest in a fair settlement of the conflict poisoning the atmosphere in our region. Moreover, the parties to the coalition try to block every constructive effort toward settlement. They do all they can to keep the war smouldering and to preserve in this way a situation that may at any moment lead to a new flare-up of the crisis.

The purpose of the unholy alliance of the imperialists and Zionists is to strike at the Arab people of Palestine, to deny them their legitimate rights, especially the establishment of a national state, expand Israeli territory at the expense of neighbor countries, stop the Arab liberation movement and, if possible, force it to retreat (this, in effect, was the aim of the 1948, 1956 and 1967 wars). The imperialist-Zionist alliance compels the Arab countries, first of all those neighboring on Israel, to divert manpower and spend a large part of their still modest national income on defense against the constant threat of a treacherous attack. In this way the enemies of Arab countries try to rob them of the possibility of overcoming their hated colonial past; making rapid social and economic progress to eliminate backwardness, and to leave them defenseless against imperialist pressure.

The designs of the imperialists and Zionists have lately assumed a particularly sinister character. Enemy pressure is mounting as the content of the Arab national-liberation movement deepens and as trends toward re-establishing the sovereign right of Arab states of the Middle East to their natural resources, especially oil, and to economic liberation and social progress grow stronger within the movement.

World opinion is increasingly aware of the imperative need to call a halt to Israeli aggression and find a just solution to the problem of the Arab people of Palestine, the flouting of whose rights has been at the root of the Middle East crisis for more than 25 years.

Imperialism's capability of direct military interference in the affairs

of other countries is diminishing. The balance of world forces is changing steadily against it. A clear indication of this is the recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence by the rulers of imperialist powers and the process of international détente.¹

In these circumstances, the more bellicose imperialist forces find it particularly important to strengthen such centers of aggression as Israel. They use every means to impede the well-known resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly and prevent the Geneva conference that could pave the way for a genuinely peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. The imperialist-Zionist coalition is trying to find a solution in its own favor with the help of U.S. secret diplomacy. This virtually rules out a comprehensive and fair settlement, although conditions are propitious and have been so especially since the October 1973 war. One of them is the fact that the myth of the 'absolute military superiority' of Israel over the Arab countries has been dispelled.

The recent (September 1975) Egyptian-Israeli agreement on Sinai is an obvious attempt to substitute a partial and unilateral settlement for a comprehensive and equitable one. The U.S.-Israeli alliance sees this agreement as a means of disrupting Arab unity, sowing discord among the Arab countries involved in the conflict, subjecting each to pressure and blackmail, burying the problem of Palestine and reducing Soviet participation in the Middle East settlement to a minimum. The Sinai agreement strengthened the hand of Israel, gave Washington greater hopes of changing the situation in the area to its own advantage, and thus revived the threat of resumption of the armed conflict. The Middle East remains an area of tension and presents a danger of war.

However, the agreement is only a passing gain of the imperialists and Israeli Zionists, for it runs counter to the general trend of international development and to the overall course of events in the Arab world itself. This was evidenced by the outcome of the October 1973 war, the major successes achieved by the Arab people of Palestine in the struggle to regain their national rights, and the Arab countries' continuing offensive against the positions of foreign capitalist monopolies. The Sinai agreement should not therefore be regarded as indicative of a slackening of the Arab liberation movement, let alone as a sign of its dissociation from other revolutionary contingents fighting for national liberation in various regions. The reason why it was concluded lies in the character of the current stage of the liberation struggle in our area.

A very important aspect of this stage is the ever more pronounced interlocking of national liberation tasks, specifically that of expelling Israel from occupied territory, with essentially social tasks.

Certain strata and classes in our countries are alarmed by the growing political consciousness of the working people. They see it as a menace to their social positions and privileges. The enemies of the national-liberation movement are exploiting and aggravating the class contradictions in Arab society. They instill fear of the working people in the privileged, on the one hand, and seduce them with deals allegedly capable of solving, among others, the problem of occupation, on the other. Deals of this kind are usually made behind the back of the masses in order to consolidate the rule of the privileged. The latter are told that they can overcome their growing economic difficulties through more extensive relations with capitalist monopolies, that is, with neo-colonialism. The privileged upper crust often accepts this view and adopts an 'open door' policy.

What gives the present stage of the national-liberation movement in our region a distinctive quality is also the influence of another important factor — the growing activity of reactionary Arab regimes linked with imperialism, such as the Saudi Arabian regime. Enormous profits derived from oil enable them to step up subversive and destructive activities, taking advantage, above all, of the growing economic difficulties of the countries directly facing Israel.

Lastly, external forces hostile to the Arab people try (this is also typical of the present stage of the national-liberation movement in our region) to use the class limitations of certain influential anti-imperialist petty-bourgeois elements. These forces inspire, encourage and aggravate differences of secondary importance within the national-liberation movement, pretending that they are insurmountable; they foment anti-communist sentiments among members of the petty bourgeoisie, urge them to distrust the idea of alliance with the Communists, support their tendency to restrict the activity of Communist parties, and minimize the importance of Soviet aid in various fields. The enemy wants to provide the conciliatory petty-bourgeois elements with ideological arguments to justify their policy of building up economic relations with imperialist countries. The enemy presents these elements with theories defaming the principled foreign policy of the Soviet Union, particularly its struggle for peaceful coexistence, described as 'conciliation' with U.S. imperialism. These theories are actively spread, in particular, by the Maoist clique and objectively serve the interests of the most aggressive imperialist forces. They are intended to undermine anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist unity and isolate the Arab national-liberation movement from its most loyal and powerful allies.

In this situation, progressive forces in the Arab world must resist two wrong tendencies that surface from time to time in the policy of certain influential elements of the nationalist movement. Exponents

of one of these tendencies fully exclude the petty bourgeoisie because they consider that it has already fulfilled its revolutionary role. Exponents of the other tendency take a conciliating stand on the petty bourgeoisie, especially in regard to its conservative and frankly reactionary sentiments. Both tendencies must be countered by a policy fully taking account of the differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie now in progress. There must be a differentiated approach to forces that incline more and more to conservatism and those that remain revolutionary and firmly oppose the reactionary conspiracies of the imperialists and Israeli Zionists.

Thus, our Party considers that the Arab national-liberation movement is injured by right and 'left'-wing deviations whose exponents objectively hamper, in both word and deed, the effort to accomplish genuine liberation tasks. The main threat today is posed by right-wing forces, which make deals with the imperialist-Zionist coalition.

After the Sinai agreement, the imperialists and Zionists and their allies, the Arab reactionaries, were especially active in their cunning maneuvers to undermine the Arab national-liberation movement, dis-unite its forces and exacerbate differences between them. This is exemplified, above all, by the events of recent months in Lebanon. Reactionary, isolationist and pro-fascist forces, abetted by the imperialist-Zionist coalition in conjunction with Arab reaction, pushed the crisis in that country to menacing dimensions. They endangered the unity and independence of the state of Lebanon and its very existence and, moreover, created an explosive situation that could trigger a new war in the Middle East at any moment. This trend of development is in accordance with U.S. and Israeli plans to make the most of the opportunities furnished by the Sinai agreement. The exclusion of the Egyptian front from the conflict and the construction of U.S. spy stations in Sinai enable the imperialists to increase pressure on Syria and prepare to strike at it and the Palestine resistance led by the PLO. This organization, which is winning ever greater international support for the Arab people of Palestine, is an obstacle to the insidious schemes of imperialism and Zionism in our region.

Our enemies are hatching monstrous plans. They would like to wipe some of today's Arab countries off the map and replace them by small states functioning on the principles of religious communities and dependent on imperialism (like Israel).

In analyzing the Lebanese events, one is struck by the extensive coordination of operations between the U.S. and Israeli imperialists, on the one hand, and the conspirators, on the other. These received American arms before the eyes of the leadership of the Lebanese armed forces.² And when the conspirators' armed units needed a respite or wanted to regroup or rearm, Israeli planes launched bar-

barous raids on Palestinian refugee camps, killing hundreds of people. The attacks of pro-fascist forces and Israeli air raids on refugee camps were aimed at involving the PLO in the fighting, for the imperialists and Zionists were seeking a pretext to intervene openly in Lebanon.

At this writing (end of January 1976), the situation in Lebanon is getting back to normal but still remains troubled. The imperialist-Zionist bloc has not given up its subversive plans.

The Israeli authorities are simultaneously stepping up terror in the occupied Arab territories. The invaders' methods include prison, torture, and destruction of homes. Terror is directed against all patriotic forces — Communists, guerrillas, unaligned freedom fighters. Colonial expatriation has assumed a dangerous scale. A persistent effort is being made to undermine the economy of the occupied areas and tie them more and more to the economic structure of Israel, a development which is certain to result in greater oppression and more hardship for the local population. The national culture of the Arab people of Palestine is persecuted. Added to this are renewed attempts by the Israeli authorities to set up in the occupied areas a puppet political administration known as 'civilian administration' and to oppose it to the PLO, the only lawful spokesman of the Palestinian people. In this manner, the Israeli invaders expect to undermine the legitimate effort of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own independent national state. Their purpose is to convert the occupied areas into an Israeli protectorate, as the so-called Allon plan³ shows among others. This is a far from complete list of indications of Israel's intention to 'establish itself' on the territories it has overrun. Ever since the Sinai agreement was signed, these attempts have been so persistent as to alarm even the Jordanian authorities, which have begun to condemn it, if so far cautiously.

On every occasion the Israeli authorities stubbornly repeat that they will never allow the Arab people of Palestine to found an independent national state. They boycotted the January meeting of the UN Security Council on the Middle East crisis because they did not want the PLO delegation to take part in the debate. The United States, in turn, vetoed the resolution confirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish their national state, and demanding the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it occupied in June 1967. As for the Prime Minister of Israel, he said in so many words that his government would not revise its position on the PLO even if the latter were to recognize the State of Israel. He said Israel would take up arms to prevent a settlement respecting the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.⁴ This reveals the true character of the Israeli rulers, who

protested to world opinion for more than a quarter century that they were only concerned with 'self-defense,' and once more shows that the U.S.-Israeli alliance is against genuine peace in the Middle East.

Imperialism and reaction also attack the Arab national-liberation movement in other areas. The conspiracy against democratic Yemen and its gains is becoming ever more dangerous. The enemies of the new republic expect to strike at it by taking advantage of its economic difficulties. In the Maghreb, the imperialists are fomenting tensions over the fate of the Western Sahara in an effort to complicate the position of Algeria's progressive regime.

The increased subversive activity of Iranian reaction and its interference in the internal affairs of the Arab world cause growing concern. It plays a leading role in attempts to suppress the national revolution in Oman. To disguise its participation in the struggle against the liberation movement on the Arabian Peninsula, its virtual collusion with the Israeli invaders and its oil deliveries to Israel, the Iranian regime grants cash loans to this or that Arab country and even puts its signature to declarations recognizing the Arab's right to the restitution of their lands and the restoration of their flouted rights. However, it is now clear to many that that signature is worthless.

What the imperialists of various countries and the reactionary forces of the Middle East have in common in spite of their different positions, is deep hatred for the Arab national-liberation movement and dread of the prospect of its further progress, which would affect their interests.

The contradictory processes in the Middle East raise many a question. Can the Arab national-liberation movement repel the massive attacks of external and internal enemies? Is it possible that imperialism, which is forced to retreat everywhere and is now going through its worst crisis since World War II, has found its 'second youth' in our region? Will it really be able to shape the destiny of this region?

The Jordanian Communist Party does not shut its eyes to the serious difficulties facing the Arab national-liberation movement. But we are certain that it will overcome them. This conclusion is supported by both the general trend of world development and the fact that the movement has a solid basis and has had not only telling reverses but decisive victories as well. In the past quarter century, it has made tremendous gains in a number of countries in fighting for political, economic and social liberation, although the scale of the struggle was much more limited in the past and the international climate less favorable than today. Recent developments, especially the outcome of the October 1973 war, made us feel still more confident. More and more often, contingents of the Arab national-

liberation movement beat off the attacks of their enemies — imperialism, Zionism and reaction — and strengthen their positions.

U.S. and Israeli attempts to bar the Arab people of Palestine from a serious discussion of the Middle East crisis or at least delay their participation in it, have failed. World opinion and the overwhelming majority of independent members of the UN recognize that the crisis cannot be settled without the Palestinians. The Israeli-Zionist leadership and its backer, Washington, find themselves in increasing isolation due to the sustained struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, the PLO's more and more realistic foreign policy, solidarity and international support, especially on the part of the socialist community.

In spite of savage terror, the Israeli occupation authorities were unable to carry out their plan of setting up a 'civilian administration.' The struggle against it developed into the Arab population's biggest action since the beginning of the occupation. There were strikes and mass demonstrations for almost a month (October-November 1975). While the armed struggle continues, the masses build up their unity in fighting for the establishment of a national state in the lands freed from Israeli occupation and strengthen their links with the leadership of the government, the Palestinian National Front, which is part of the PLO.

Dashed were the U.S. and Israeli hopes of involving Syria in partial and unilateral Middle East solutions and thereby undermining its unity with the PLO. The illusion that the Soviet Union would have no part in a settlement of the crisis was dispelled. And all attempts to put off the Geneva peace conference indefinitely are bound to fail.

The intrigues of the Lebanese reactionaries and separatists making common cause with imperialism and the Zionist authorities of Israel were firmly resisted by progressives and patriots, among whom the fraternal Lebanese Communist Party plays an outstanding part, and suffered a serious defeat.

Important steps are being taken by Arab countries to strengthen their economic independence. Not long ago, Iraq completed the nationalization of foreign property in its oil industry. Libya has nationalized its foreign trade. Arab countries are carrying out numerous projects to speed economic progress.

These and many other facts show that the revolutionary liberation process in the Middle East is irreversible, that the fortunes of the Arab world are and will be decided by its peoples and that international imperialism can only strike isolated blows in our region but is incapable of a global offensive. Nevertheless, its power should not be underestimated. Progressives and democrats in the Arab East are resolved to be vigilant and foil the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and domestic reaction.

In discussing problems of the liberation movement and ways and means of solving them, the conference of Arab Communist parties (April 1975) stressed that, apart from promoting national unity in each particular Arab country, it is highly important to extend inter-Arab cooperation and alliance with the socialist community, first of all with the Soviet Union.

The conference deeply analyzed the political situation in the countries concerned. Speaking of the evolution of the positions of diverse class and social forces, it said: 'In view of the situation in the Arab national-liberation movement, the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries consider that the right way to strengthen within this movement progressive patriotic trends opposed to imperialism and reaction, isolate rightist trends and currents and remove all the dangers they are fraught with, is to fight for a bigger role of the working class and its political parties and trade union organizations, for a stronger alliance between it and the peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, other working people and all national democratic forces with a view to accomplishing the tasks that arise at this stage.'

Developments in the Middle East are proving this conclusion of the conference correct. We Communists are certain of the final victory of the Arab national-liberation movement and look confidently to the future.

1. It may be mentioned that the Zionists do their utmost to undermine détente. This is seen in the recent Paris conference of the World Jewish Organization and the planned World Zionist Congress in Brussels, whose date has been deliberately set for a week before the opening of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and whose agenda will include the provocative item, 'The persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.'

2. By the middle of January, part of the Lebanese army had virtually gone into action on the conspirators' side.

3. A plan worked out by Israel's deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon, which provides for the establishment of Israeli settlement zones in the occupied areas and proposes the River Jordan as the 'security boundary' of Israel. — *Ed.*

4. At a meeting of the General Zionist Council in January 1976, Rabin said that the military might of Israel made for the success of its political maneuvers. He added that PLO participation in Security Council meetings is an obstacle to peace and creates a danger sooner than people would think (*Al-Ittihad*, January 6, 1976).

Collective rebuff to fascism

The Communist Party of India is waging an unrelenting struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and domestic reaction, against neo-fascist tendencies, for rallying all the progressive and patriotic forces in a united anti-imperialist front. That is why it attached so great importance to the convocation of an international anti-fascist conference, which was held last December in Patna. The conference was attended by delegations from more than 50 countries and representatives of many international organizations. It was a powerful manifestation of solidarity with all the peoples opposing imperialism, reaction and war.

The news of the forthcoming conference was hailed in India. The preparation and holding of this event provided a splendid opportunity for rallying the patriotic forces still closer and for strengthening their ties of brotherhood with the international progressive and democratic movement. Millions participated in the preparatory meetings held in villages, towns and districts throughout the country. They expressed their determination to rebuff the fascist threat. For the first time the campaign to prepare for an international conference reached the vast rural areas. This upsurge of the mass movement became possible due primarily to the joint effort of the Communist Party, National Congress and other democratic parties and organizations. In the course of preparing for the conference broad sections of the people could see more clearly the true nature of imperialism and get a better idea of the link between the national and international aspects of the struggle against fascism and fascist trends. The united anti-fascist movement which spread all over India and culminated in the Patna conference was described by the Party's Central Executive Committee as the 'single biggest achievement' of the second half of 1975.

The Patna forum discussed the burning problems of the fight against imperialism and reaction, for peace and social progress, laying special stress on the role of détente which provides favorable conditions for mass actions against international reaction, against all forms of fascism. Delegates from different countries and continents exposed the activities of the multinational companies and the CIA, their machinations against the democratic and progressive forces of the world. Delegates from developing countries pointed out that, in imposing the local varieties of fascist and other reactionary-nationalist

and openly pro-imperialist regimes, imperialism has recourse to religious fanaticism and chauvinism, as well as to feudal ideology. The struggle against fascism in the developing countries — this was specially stressed at the conference — is inconceivable without determined anti-imperialist battles, without struggle against the local reactionary classes — the social vehicles of pro-fascist tendencies.

S.M.

European security and maneuvers of the enemies of Cyprus

Andreas Fantis

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The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was an unprecedented event of historic significance to all mankind.

Unlike the results of previous conferences, which failed to settle many disputes and contained the seeds of new wars because the treaties imposed by them were unequal, the provisions of the Final Act signed at Helsinki are directed against no one. They serve in equal measure the interests of all European countries and the peoples of the world.

What makes the Final Act a historic document is that it explicitly states the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada who signed the Final Act declared their resolve to settle all differences through discussion and negotiation, without resorting to the threat of force. This unanimously adopted document can be rightly described as a great charter of peace.

The achievements of the Helsinki meeting are the result of long and sustained effort by the socialist community, the international working class and all peace-loving and progressive forces. The decisive role of the Soviet Union, the great vanguard of socialism, was recognized by all fair-minded politicians. In line with its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, which meets the aspirations and vital interests of the peoples and embodies the lofty ideals of socialism, the ideals of peace, freedom, democracy, socio-economic progress, justice and prosperity, and in accordance with the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the turn in international relations from tension and cold war to détente.

The treaties, declarations and protocols signed in conclusion of summit meetings between leaders of the Soviet Union and of the United States. West Germany, France and other countries opened a new chapter in the history of international relations. They came as a blow to the advocates of the 'positions of strength' policy, contributed to détente and paved the way for the Helsinki meeting.

The outcome of that meeting is an emphatic confirmation of the Leninist principles and policy of peaceful coexistence, a victory for the peace forces of the world.

The Helsinki decisions are largely due to the continuous and active struggle of the progressive forces. In the two years it took to draft the Final Act, mass actions helped substantially to create an atmosphere favorable to the success of the meeting. This is why the agreements reached in Helsinki are in keeping with the people's will and express their interests.

All peace supporters, all men of good will, all who want to spare mankind the horrors of nuclear war, must be vigilant and prepared to work for fulfillment of the Helsinki commitments by all governments, including those whose foreign policy still gives reason for serious concern and alarm.

The declared principles have a direct bearing on the just struggle of the Cypriot people. The President of the Cyprus Republic, the only lawful head of our state, upheld the just cause of Cyprus at Helsinki. He was addressing both the participants and international public opinion. His speech revealed the nature of the Cyprus question and showed how very closely and directly the struggle of Cyprus is linked with the just, peaceful, democratic principles laid down in the Final Act.

Respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers and non-intervention in internal affairs are ideals championed by every patriot of Cyprus. They are at the basis of the proposals of the government and the National Council for a fair, peaceful, democratic, mutually acceptable and final settlement of the Cyprus question.

The very fact that the principles on which we strive to solve the Cyprus problem coincide with the main provisions of the Final Act provides moral support for our just cause. In other words, our hard struggle is justified from the international point of view since these principles are recognized, proclaimed and accepted by the leaders of all the countries represented at Helsinki.

Objectively, the Final Act is a restraint on the imperialist forces of NATO and the chauvinist, militarist elements in Ankara on the Cyprus question. If the U.S. and Turkish leaders really respect the principles they have signed they must abandon their uncompromising

policy toward Cyprus. Respect for the Helsinki principles and their application by these governments in settling the Cyprus question will also mean supporting the resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly. On November 21, 1975, the General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority (117 against 1, with 9 abstentions) a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus and an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Cypriot people.

The General Assembly also declared for the immediate resumption of talks between representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island on a realistic and constructive basis, under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General. Cyprus patriots attach great importance to this document, which they regard as an expression of support for their just cause by the majority of the world's countries. So far, the Turkish government has been treating the UN resolutions scornfully, or just ignores them.

Now as never before, the people of Cyprus need the support and solidarity of all democrats, progressives and peace supporters of the world. Extreme reactionaries, advocates of the discredited cold-war policy who are linked with military-industrial complexes, have launched a campaign against détente in an attempt to prevent implementation of the provisions of the Final Act. This is particularly noticeable in our region, where the grave situation in Cyprus was paralleled by the tension in Lebanon. The latest events were indicative of a threat to the sovereignty and existence of Lebanon and to peace in our area.

The Helsinki meeting and its Final Act give us a powerful moral weapon. We value this, but feel we must go further. To us, a concrete result of the meeting lies in the fact that the enemies of the cause of Cyprus and of our people's just struggle, have, by their inconsistency, exposed themselves to all governments and international opinion. Peace is indivisible and as in other countries, public opinion in Cyprus calls for the elimination of seats of tension everywhere.

Now that the groundwork has been laid for security and cooperation in Europe, détente has entered a new stage. The progressive forces want détente to extend to every part of the globe. In contrast, the aggressive imperialist forces refuse to accept their defeat in Helsinki and are stepping up their activity, intensifying the arms race and aggravating the situation in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Southern Africa. While not openly opposing détente, and often paying lip-service to it, the governments and ruling parties of some capitalist countries block its progress by launching provocative campaigns over matters of secondary importance.

Despite all that, however, détente has become the dominant feature

of international development. The peoples are more energetically opposing the enemies of peace and security.

The Helsinki meeting will go down in history as a milestone in international relations. It marked the victory of reason, with neither winners nor losers. 'Everyone has won: countries of East and West, the peoples of socialist and capitalist countries — parties to alliances and those who are neutral, big and small. This is a gain for all who cherish peace and security on our planet,' said L.I. Brezhnev in his Helsinki address.

As the struggle for peace and security goes on, the impact of the Helsinki meeting will be felt ever more strongly. It is necessary to make détente a code of conduct for all countries. From this point of view, the meeting cannot be regarded as completing the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. In fact, the peace forces will use it as a starting point for new struggles for the good of all mankind.

Political détente must be complemented by military détente. To this end, radical measures are needed to stop the arms race, ban the creation of new weapons or systems of weapons of mass destruction and reduce armaments and armed forces in the interests of every nation.

This is particularly imperative and pressing now that, according to estimates by UN experts, military spending in the world has soared to the astronomical figure of 300,000 million dollars a year.

The peoples are understandably alarmed because it has so far been impossible effectively to curb the arms race. An indication of the demand for effective measures in this respect was the decision adopted by the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in Peru. It called for an early world disarmament conference, the idea of which was submitted to the United Nations by the Soviet Union and supported by many governments. The UN can, in the spirit of the Helsinki meeting — do much to speed the convening of the conference so as to achieve the great ideal of universal and complete disarmament.

Since Helsinki there have been important bilateral meetings of leaders of countries with different social systems. The agreements they signed to promote friendly relations in the political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields contributed appreciably to the materialization of détente.

On the other hand, some politicians claim again that the socialist countries must 'pay' for détente by stopping their ideological struggle. Similar demands are made of the Communist parties of capitalist countries. They come from both imperialist quarters and right-wing Social Democratic leaders, those apologists of capitalism.

Communists consider this a fundamental ideological issue. Ever

since the rise of Marxism, and more particularly since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the ideological struggle has been part of the general class struggle. Its causes are objective and it continues in the climate of peaceful coexistence.

We explain to the masses that the bourgeoisie will not for a moment desist from ideological campaigns intended to perpetuate its rule. There is ample evidence that our opponents are bent on stepping up the ideological struggle. This, too, is due to objective causes. Faced with a change in the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism, imperialist strategists devote increasing attention to ideology, a sphere in which they try to make up for lost ground. Enemy propaganda exploits the growing interest in the achievements of existing socialism for its smear campaigns (when it does not ignore them). To divert the attention of their peoples from the economic crisis and the 'free world's' support of fascist and racist regimes in Chile, South Africa and elsewhere, apologists of imperialism go out of their way to pose as champions of freedom and democracy. Reaction plans and carries out acts of ideological subversion against the socialist community and against democratic, anti-monopoly forces in its own countries.

All this requires of the Communist and Workers' parties more dynamic and effective ideological work. People identify the ideas of socialism, peace, social progress and détente with policies and activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. It is our paramount duty to encourage this.

The dialectics of revolutionary struggle are such that the favorable changes in the world must be consolidated, wars banished from the life of society, and détente made irreversible.

These aims can be consistently pursued only along the road to socialism. Marxist-Leninist parties, the leading force of today, are in the forefront of the struggle for this.



A loyal son of his class

H. Vosske, G. Nitzsche, *Wilhelm Pieck. Biographischer Abriss*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1975. 406 pp.

Not long ago the Communists, working class and other working people of the German Democratic Republic and Communists and democrats throughout the world observed the 100th anniversary of the birth of Wilhelm Pieck, outstanding leader of the German and international revolutionary working-class movement. Centenary meetings were held in Berlin, Moscow, Prague and numerous other capitals.

On this memorable occasion Dietz Verlag, the Berlin publishing house, brought out *Wilhelm Pieck, Biographischer Abriss* (Wilhelm Pieck: An Outline Biography), a book prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Drawing on a vast amount of material some of which was unknown before and which they collected in the GDR, Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the authors, H. Vosske and G. Nitzsche, portray a great revolutionary whose life was inseparable for more than 60 years from the German and international working-class movement. The very first pages of the book reveal the image of a fighter whose distinguishing trait was close connection with his class and perseverance in the struggle for its interests. It is a description of a Communist's modesty and fidelity to principle, of his ability to give his all to the common cause and convince others of his selfless service to the Party and the people, and learn from them.

Pieck associated himself with the working-class movement at an early age, initially as a trade unionist. In the mid-90s he joined the Social Democratic Party. Awareness of the working people's interests, loyalty to them and a deep knowledge of Marxism made him an uncompromising fighter against opportunism and bourgeois nationalism. Pieck became a leading spokesman of the revolutionary Left in the German working-class movement. When World War I

broke out he sided with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg against the imperialist war and the infamous betrayal committed by the right-wing Social Democrats.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a decisive influence on Pieck. Immediately after its victory he, like other left-wingers, identified himself with the Bolsheviks. Thereby he showed his consistency as a member of his class and this characterized all his subsequent revolutionary activity.

Wilhelm Pieck's life was inseparable from the Communist Party of Germany. He was one of its founders and from the founding congress on, for more than 40 years, he was invariably elected to the highest leading committees of the CPG. The authors give a detailed account of Pieck's activity as an associate of Ernst Thälmann and depict the Communists' fight against right-wing opportunism and 'left'-wing sectarianism in building up the CPG as a revolutionary mass party.

Much space is given to Pieck's work in the international Communist movement. He represented the CPG in the Comintern and was a member of the latter's Executive Committee from 1928 on and of its Presidium and Secretariat from 1931 on. He was active in the International Red Aid as a member of its Executive Committee throughout its existence.

Pieck met repeatedly with Lenin in his early years in the Comintern and those meetings greatly influenced his activity. 'This is particularly evident,' the authors write, 'in his articles and speeches . . .' (p. 106).

Many interesting data cited in the book show Pieck's great contribution to the promotion of the CPG's internationalist relations with numerous brother parties.

While the CPG was unable, due mainly to the divisive policy of right-wing Social Democratic leaders, to prevent a fascist dictatorship, the Communists were the only closely-knit anti-fascist force in spite of the brutal terror that the fascists unleashed on coming to power.

Forced to emigrate, Pieck participated throughout the years of Nazi dictatorship in organizing the CPG's underground fight against fascism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism. The book shows Pieck's contribution to the strategy and tactics of struggle against fascism approved by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), to their application in German conditions, to the CPG's creative elaboration of the united and popular front policy and to its implementation.

The Brussels and Bern conferences of the CPG (1935 and 1939) evolved a uniform strategy and tactics for the struggle to overthrow fascism and establish an anti-fascist, democratic system. Pieck made an appreciable contribution to this work. Presenting the main report

to the Bern conference, he said that imperialism and militarism must be eliminated by overthrowing the nazi dictatorship. A united working class allied with the working peasantry, urban middle strata and intellectuals must take power into its hands (p. 210). In the period of severe trials when Hitler's hordes still trampled Soviet soil, Pieck was confident that the homeland of the October Revolution and socialism would win the war. Loyal to proletarian internationalism, he fought unrelentingly on the side of the Soviet Union and its Red Army for victory over fascism. He knew that this victory would save the German people from national catastrophe and would accord with the pressing interests of the German working class.

The authors depict in considerable detail the culminating period in Wilhelm Pieck's life, when a radical change came about in the history of the German people. Liberation from fascist slavery, an achievement to which the Soviet Union contributed in decisive measure, created the prerequisites for forming an alliance of democratic forces and consolidating the political hegemony of the working class in its alliance with the peasants and other working people.

The book shows how Pieck fought for the revolutionary unity of the working class and the cohesion of all anti-fascist democratic forces. His activity as Party Chairman included tremendous effort to bring about the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In close comradely cooperation with Otto Grotewohl, Pieck played a decisive role in founding a united revolutionary party of the working class which carried forward the Communist Party's line in the new conditions and united all democratic forces around the working class. It was only natural that Pieck became one of the first leaders of the SUPG along with Grotewohl. And when, in October 1949, the German Democratic Republic was founded as a result of further advances of the world revolutionary process, 'no one was better suited for the post of the highest representative of the first German worker-peasant state than Wilhelm Pieck.'*

The name and work of Pieck, the first President of the German Democratic Republic, were largely instrumental in gaining international prestige and trust by the new state. Numerous examples cited in the book show Pieck's personal part in establishing close, fraternal relations between the GDR and other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. His ardent appeal to make friendship with the Soviet Union a cherished cause of all citizens of the GDR found ready response in the hearts of millions and benefited the subsequent development of the republic.

The formation and progress of the German Democratic Republic,

*14. *Tagung des ZK der SED*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, p. 107.

the authors write in conclusion, were the crowning piece of Wilhelm Pieck's life and work. To the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, his name remains a call to action. 'He is always with us in our life and struggle.'** His legacy lives on in the effort and achievements of all working people of the German Democratic Republic.

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**Erich Honecker, *Sein Vermächtnis wurde in unserer Republik erfüllt. Neues Deutschland*, January 3-4, 1976.

Fighter and thinker

At the time of the October Revolution, Jacques Duclos, then 21, was a private in the French army. A year later he began his revolutionary career side by side with such renowned fighters as Raymond Lefebvre and Paul Vailant-Couturier. The French Communist Party was founded two years later, and in 1926, at the age of 30, Duclos was elected to its Central Committee and five years after that to the Political Bureau of which he remained a member to his last days. Beginning with the 30s and up to 1943, he was a member of the Comintern Executive Committee and carried out many of its assignments, notably in Germany and Spain.

The life of Jacques Duclos is inseparable from the history of France, its Communist Party and the international Communist movement. That explains the tremendous interest in his *Memoirs*, the last volume of which came out in 1973 and a supplementary volume, *What I Believe In*, in 1975.¹

One thing that stands out in all Duclos' writings is his boundless energy and optimism based on a profound understanding of the laws governing historical progress and on ability dialectically to assess events and their international implications. This enabled Duclos, fighter and thinker, to draw the firm conclusion: 'The future of socialism will not be confined to one country, it will belong to the whole world.'²

The excerpts from his speech at meetings of the Central Committee, the National Assembly and the Senate, cited in the *Memoirs*, show Duclos as one of France's greatest orators. His speeches breathe inspiration, are a call to battle. He developed his natural gift as orator by studying the tribunes born of the Great French Revolution and the French labor movement. Duclos drew inspiration from

such figures as Robespierre, Saint-Just and Jaures. But his eloquence was of a different kind. A Communist, in the past a bakery worker, he was a confirmed dialectician, always guided by Marx's definition of dialectics: 'The ideal is but the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought.'³ This dialectical approach, combined with a deep understanding of history, found expression in Duclos' unshakable faith in the Communist cause and loyalty to internationalism.

After the war, in common with many young Frenchmen, Duclos was 'awakened by the Russian revolution.' He fully shared the words of Henri Barbusse: 'In future people will be judged by their understanding of the USSR.'

Like his friend Maurice Thorez, Duclos realized that the first necessity was to develop the struggle in France itself. In 1936, at the time of the Popular Front, he wrote: 'We must speak of France . . . of the oppression by the 200 families . . . of Laval's emergency laws . . . of uniting the masses in the fight for bread, freedom and peace.'⁴

When the enemy started an anti-Soviet campaign, Duclos retaliated immediately and effectively: 'The Land of Soviets is a land without crisis and unemployment, a country free of the tyranny of the moneybags and committed to a policy of peace that is also in the interests of the French people.'⁵

During the war Duclos and Thorez issued the famous Appeal of July 10, 1940,⁶ with its stirring statement: 'Never will our great people become a nation of slaves.' Those words were to have much wider reverberations on June 22, 1941, when Duclos, head of the Resistance, declared in the underground *Humanité*: 'To help the victory of the USSR is to serve the cause of French liberation.'⁷

Two episodes that received wide publicity show up Duclos' polemical skill, and also his kinship with the great revolutionaries who had to fight frame-ups, and above all with Georgi Dimitrov, his friend and Comintern associate.

The first episode goes back to 1947 when Interior Minister Jules Moch alleged that the miners' strike was a rising instigated from abroad. During the public hearings Duclos refuted all the Minister's 'arguments' and proclaimed, to applause from the audience: 'Despite all your emergency laws, you are powerless against the people. We are fully convinced of that.'⁸

The second episode was Duclos' arrest on May 28, 1952, after the protest demonstrations in Paris against General Ridgeway.⁹ This came to be known as the 'pigeon plot' — two pigeons were found in Duclos' car; the police claimed they were carrier pigeons, though actually they were meant for the Duclos' family dinner. In 20 letters from prison Duclos exposed this frame-up, also the improper proceedings

of the prosecuting authorities and the government's reactionary policies. From his prison cell, Duclos wrote 'I am keeping my head high, as an honest man and fighter true to the working class, the cause of the people and France, the cause of socialism.'¹⁰

Seventeen years later Duclos polled about 5 million votes in the presidential elections, much more than the Socialist candidate. In the words of Waldeck Rochet this powerful support was a tribute to Duclos' 'innovative spirit and understanding of reality.'¹¹ It was support for a workers' leader for whom the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism was possible only with 'broad and steady development of the class struggle.'¹² Last but not least, it was support for the author of *What I Believe In*, in which Duclos called for a stronger Communist Party and for the 1972 Common Program of the Left 'never to be relegated to oblivion.'¹³ This was not only an appeal, but an expression of deep faith.

What I Believe In concludes with words that so vividly express the integrity and devotion of its author: 'If my life ends before France becomes socialist, I am nevertheless convinced that socialism will triumph in the land of France.'¹⁴

Pierre Hentges

1. J. Duclos. *Memoires. En sept volumes*. Paris, Fayard, 1968-1973; J. Duclos. *Ce que je crois*. Paris, Grasset, 1975. 124 pp.

2. *Memoires. 1959-1969*. 'Et la lutte continue,' p. 12.

3. Afterword to the second edition of *Capital*.

4. *Memoires. 1935-1939*. 'Aux jours ensoleilles du Front populaire,' p. 140.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Reference is to the CC FCP appeal that marked the beginning of the Resistance. — Ed.

7. *Memoires. 1940-1942*. 'Dans la bataille clandestine,' p. 169.

8. *Memoires. 1945-1952*. 'Sur la breche,' p. 249.

9. The U.S. Commander in Korea. — Ed.

10. *Memoires. 1945-1952*. 'Sur la breche,' p. 464.

11. *Memoires. 1959-1969*. 'Et la lutte continue,' p. 452.

12. *Memoires. 1952-1958*. 'Dans la mêlée,' p. 317.

13. *Ce que je crois*. p. 229.

14. *Ibid.* p. 251.

A citizen of Chile

'I want to live, but have no fear of dying, and if necessary will lay down my life for my cause.' These words, which circled the world, were spoken by Luis Corvalan in the presence of his prison guards in February 1974.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile arises before the readers of *Corvalan of Chile** as a staunch, courageous revolutionary. The book by journalist Eduardo Labarca is based on interviews with leaders and members of the Party who had fought at Corvalan's side.

The author does not claim an exhaustive and chronological analysis of the revolutionary struggle in Chile. But the episodes and highlights of Corvalan's life, the man's personality, as mirrored in the book, present a clear picture of the popular struggle. Labarca describes the tremendous contribution Luis Corvalan, one of the most far-sighted leaders of the Chilean revolution, made to forging the broad front of social and political forces that brought in the government of President Allende.

Luis Corvalan became General Secretary in the 50s, when the Party was underground. Even then, under the brutal dictatorship of Gonzalez Videla, Corvalan's approach to revolutionary strategy (CP of Chile Central Committee member Manuel Cantero recalls) was broad and far-sighted. He took a firm stand against sectarianism and worked to unite all able forces against the dictatorship, showing how to benefit from the contradictions in the enemy camp and inside the ruling party. Corvalan was 'firmly convinced of the need to extend the democratic front. Even if someone is still on the side of the dictatorship, he said, we should not give him up for lost. On the contrary, we should use every opportunity to turn him into an ally, at least a temporary one' (p. 96). This approach is still valid.

Orlando Millas, member of the CP of Chile Political Commission, who is also cited in the book, said that the victory of the popular forces in 1970 was not a simple cumulation of fortuitous events, as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues would have us believe. The way to it was paved by many years of struggle. Corvalan's report to the 13th Congress of the CP of Chile (October 1965) 'outlined a policy that was later implemented in the country . . . It stood for the unity of all who favored radical transformations in Chile against the main

*Eduardo Labarca Goddard. *Corvalan de Chile*. Moscow, 1975, 206 pp.

enemies: Yankee imperialism, the local financial oligarchy, and the landlords ... It was based on a strictly scientific evaluation of the relation of forces, and of the vital problems facing society. At the same time, it set the course on uniting all democratic forces round the working class, rallying the vast majority in the country to its side' (pp. 101, 102, 103).

Labarca calls special attention to Corvalan's invaluable contribution to the Popular Unity government. His book contains evidence relating to the period preceding the fascist putsch. There is, for example, an account of a press conference in which Corvalan took part just four days before the coup. A military coup, he said, could break out any minute. 'He pointed to the only effective means of preventing the coup, a set of bold actions the Communist Party had suggested to President Allende. A last attempt was to be made to establish contact with the Christian Democrats, to hold a plebiscite ... Corvalan looked calm, though with a trace of tension. Corvalan and Millas, who accompanied him, said in so many words that if a coup should occur, it would result in a fascist regime that would wipe out everything Popular Unity had achieved and try to suppress the popular movement' (p. 176).

Corvalan acted with extraordinary vigor. A direct appeal should be made to the people, he held, to find solutions for the vital problems of the country's democratic development. He drew up a proposal on this score and submitted it to the Political Commission of the Communist Party. The Commission approved it, whereupon it was forwarded to the President of the Republic, who accepted it, and to all the other parties in the government coalition. Most of the Popular Unity parties accepted it. Unfortunately, a few did not. The President insisted on an attempt to persuade the leaders of these parties, who did not realize the strength of the putschists. Thus, valuable time was lost. 'On the morning of the coup,' Millas recalls, 'we were ... in the Party's regional committee, checking the system of communications and information, the dependability of contacts with our allies. Concrete instructions were worked out concerning communications with the President of the Republic ... Everything was done to fulfill the decision which no one doubted in the slightest: no matter how brutal the fascist terror, the Party leadership will continue to function' (pp. 187-188).

Hugo Fazio



The social gains of The Cuban revolution

The Cuban revolution, which won in January 1959, has changed the country's social and economic face. The Cuban achievement is in striking contrast to the situation in the rest of Latin America, most of which is poverty-ridden and economically backward as a result, mainly, of dependence on imperialism.

The U.S. monopolies control 95 per cent of Latin America's lead, 98 zinc, 62 iron, and 50 per cent of oil output. The Latin American countries' annual repayment of their foreign debt went up fivefold between 1951 and 1971. In 1974 Brazil's foreign debt added up to \$22 billion, Argentina's \$7.3 billion, and Uruguay's \$1 billion.

Cuba has put an end to her former dependence on imperialism. The agrarian reform and nationalization of the basic means of production have done away with landlords and capitalists. The socialist mode of production is dominant. Before the revolution 8 per cent of proprietors owned more than 70 per cent of the arable land, as is still the case in the rest of Latin America, where 8 per cent still hold 85 per cent of the land. In socialist Cuba 70 per cent of the land is the public property of the whole people. In the 17 years since the revolution Cuba has turned from a backward agrarian country into a growing agrarian-industrial state. In 1974 industrial output accounted for 41 per cent of the gross national product, whereas in other Latin American countries its share grew from 18.7 to a mere 25.2 per cent in 20 years (1950-70). See Table 1.

This survey was drawn up with the cooperation of the *WMR* commission on problems of the national-liberation movement in Latin America, and is based on figures provided by the Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, or taken from the Declaration of the Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties (Havana, June 1975), materials of the First Congress of the CP of Cuba (December 1975), and research studies and articles in the press.

Table 1
Output growth

<i>Items</i>	<i>1975 against 1958</i>
Electric power	2.5-fold
Oil products	1.6-fold
Steel	10-fold
Nickel	2-fold
Engineering	3-fold
Cement	3-fold
Fertilizer	over 5-fold
Tractors	6-fold
Textiles	2.5-fold
Footwear	almost 3-fold
Paper and cardboard	2.5-fold
Bread and pastry	5-fold
Eggs	6-fold
Fishing	6-fold

Agriculture is being stimulated. As much as one billion pesos were invested in this branch in 1974. The cultivated area has doubled between 1958 and 1975, and despite the droughts of the past several years the average annual growth of agricultural output (excluding sugar cane) was 8.1 per cent in 1970-74. The rice area has been expanded from 40,000 hectares to 187,600 and rice cultivation has been fully mechanized. The area under citrus plantations has been increased from 10,000 hectares to more than 100,000. This promises to put Cuba among the world's leading citrus producers. The drive to raise sugar production was centered on modernizing techniques, and recent statistics are convincing evidence of qualitative changes. In 1970-71, for instance, only one per cent of the sugar crop was harvested by combines, whereas in 1974-75 more than a thousand combines were put into the field, reaping 25 per cent of the cane harvest. Loading is mechanized 98 per cent, and the number of cane cutters is down to 180,000, or just half of the pre-revolution figure.

There has also been considerable progress in other economic fields. In cash terms new building in 1975 added up to 1,400 million pesos, or three times as much as in 1970. More than 300 industrial projects were under construction last year.

The economic upswing reposes on a stable rise in labor productivity (some 9 per cent annual in 1971-74) and growing effectiveness of production.

In line with the directives for social and economic development adopted by the First Congress of the Communist Party, the economy

is to make big strides in 1976-80. The gross social product will increase 34 per cent. The pace of industrialization will go up considerably. Investments in industry will amount to 3,878 million pesos. Power output will rise 35 per cent, ferrous metals at least 90 per cent, and building materials 100 per cent. Large new enterprises are to go up (and old ones to be modernized) in oil refining, production of nickel and cement, manufacture of sugar cane harvesters, in the paper, textile footwear, furniture and other industries. Agriculture, too, will get its share of attention. For example, by 1980 it is planned to assure a stable annual output of 8-8.7 million tons of sugar. Production of vegetables is to go up nearly 50 per cent, and milk 75-80 per cent.

Fulfillment of past development plans provided a dependable foundation for big advances in the social sphere. An end has been put to the old social blights, such as racial discrimination, unemployment, destitution and illiteracy, which are still rampant in most of the other Latin American countries.

In 1974 unemployment was the lot of 25 million Latin Americans (more than a quarter of the active population), and it is still growing. Colombia, for example, had one million unemployed in 1974, Venezuela 700,000, Mexico 600,000, Guatemala 600,000, and Paraguay 230,000. In such smaller countries as Nicaragua and Salvador unemployment has hit more than a third of the population.

In pre-revolutionary Cuba, too, there had been chronic unemployment, affecting some 700,000 or 23.4 per cent of the work force. Revolutionary reconstruction created 1,400,000 new jobs, assuring every Cuban the right to work, giving a sense of security, and impelling a steady improvement of the living standard.

While in other Latin American countries more than 100 million are in a chronic state of under-nourishment and 36 million on the edge of starvation (including 15 million children), there is no such thing in Cuba, where food consumption is rising steadily. In most of the countries of the region prices and the cost of living keep rising irresponsibly (in 1974 increases in Uruguay, for example, amounted to 107 per cent, Argentina 40, Brazil 31, and Ecuador 22), while in Cuba the prices of staples were stable throughout. Besides, the government's price policy for key services has greatly benefited family budgets. Before the revolution more than half the families spent an average 11.7 per cent of their budget on housing, whereas in the early 1970s rents in newly-built flats were just 6 per cent of the breadwinner's income. Some 20,000 new flats are built annually, and the new five-year plan target is to double house-building. This is vital, for before the revolution (1953 figures) more than half the population had

sub-standard housing, and 80 per cent of the rural population lived in shacks lacking elementary amenities.

Public funds play an important part in raising the well-being of the masses. Suffice it to say that in 1975 social maintenance allocations totalled 593.3 million pesos, of five times as much as in 1959.

The scale of the country's social gains is best seen in such spheres as public health and education.

In pre-revolutionary Cuba more than half the doctors were concentrated in Havana. There were only three 10-bed hospitals in the rural areas. Over 80 per cent of the peasants were, in effect, denied medical care. As much as 14 per cent had tuberculosis, and 31 per cent had malaria. Child mortality was among the highest in the region.

The same state of public health in most of the other Latin American countries has not changed substantially over the years. In Honduras, for example, half the doctors are still concentrated in the capital, and 1.7 million people are medically unattended. Two hundred and thirty infants out of 1,000 do not live to the age of one in Haiti, 180 in some parts of Brazil and as many as 90 in such a big city as Sao Paulo, and 79 in Chile. The continental average per 1,000 infants is 66.

In Cuba, child mortality has dropped to 29 per thousand infants, which is among the lowest in the world. The health system was taken over by the state, and all medical care is free. Medical institutions have been set up throughout the country, including the remotest mountain areas. The sums allotted to public health are steadily rising. Before the revolution health allocations totalled 20 million pesos, and in 1975 — 400 million. The output of medicines has increased more than 80 per cent. See Table 2.

Table 2

Growth of the health system

	1958	1974
Hospitals	44	255
Hospital beds (thousands)	10.8	46.4
Hospital beds per 10,000 population	16.0	47.2
Doctors (thousands)	6.0	10.2

Dangerous diseases like poliomyelitis, diphtheria, malaria, cholera, yellow fever and smallpox had been completely wiped out by the early 1970s, while the incidence of whooping cough, measles, scarlet fever, typhoid and tuberculosis had dropped sharply. Life expectancy, which was 54 years before the revolution, is now approaching 70. Cuba's medical schools graduate more than 1,000 doctors and 300 dentists a year. Medical personnel in the nation's health system totals 140,000.

In the coming five years it is planned to build more than 100 new polyclinics and hospitals, and there will soon be one doctor per 750 population, one dentist per 3,000 and 55 medium medical personnel per 10,000.

On the eve of the revolution education was in a miderable state: there were one million illiterates and over a million semi-literates. As many as 600,000 children received no schooling, while some 10,000 trained teachers were unemployed.

The revolution made Cuba the first Latin American country where all citizens are literate. In 1961 alone as many as 707,000 adults were taught to read and write. Education is free at all levels, and six-year schooling is obligatory. In 1975 allocations for education amounted to 874.6 million pesos or 11 times as much as the 79.4 million spent in 1959. See Table 3.

Table 3

Growth of education

	1958/59 academic year	1974/75 academic year
Number of general schools	7,588	16,361
Enrollment in them (thousands)	780.9	2,213
Number of specialized secondary schools	59	185
Enrollment in them (thousands)	24.6	116
Students in higher educational institutions (thousands)	25.6	68.5
Teaching personnel in general schools, specialized secondary schools, and higher educational institutions (thousands)	22.9	202

Total enrollment in the public education system on the eve of the revolution was slightly more than 800,000. Today it is 3,051,000. Every third citizen, in fact, is studying. All children in the 6-12 age group attend school, with some 150,000 annually going on from primary to secondary schools; the latter now have an enrollment of 500,000, against slightly more than 60,000 in the 1958/59 school year. Boarding schools, where maintenance is fully or partly paid by the state, are numerous throughout the country. A law is under consideration to introduce obligatory nine-year schooling in the immediate future and 12-year obligatory schooling in the longer term.

Cuba has far outstripped other Latin American countries in the rates of building new schools. In villages alone some 150 secondary

boarding schools are opened every year. The system of adult education plays a prominent part, with as many as 500,000 people availing themselves of the opportunity to get an education.

The importance of secondary technical and vocational training is rising. In 1974/75 enrollment in the technical and vocational schools (282 trades) was 79,100, or nearly five times higher than in 1958/59 (when 15,600 trainees were learning 17 trades).

In 1976-80 it is planned to train some 130,000 skilled workers in vocational centers and approximately 80,000 technicians with a secondary or university-level education.

Cuba's achievements in education could be envied by literally every other Latin American country, for the state of education on the continent is highly unsatisfactory.

Officially registered illiterates total 27 per cent, though the true figure is higher. In Salvador, for example, more than 70 per cent cannot read or write, in Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay 50 per cent, and in Ecuador 44. At least 12 million children do not go to school. Drop-outs from lower grades average between 50 and 80 per cent, and only a third of those finishing primary school go on to secondary. Even in Argentina, one of the most 'well off' educationally, 45 per cent of the population has not completed primary school, 30 per cent of the pupils finish primary schooling, 19 per cent of those who finish go on to secondary schools, and only 7.5 per cent of secondary-school pupils complete their schooling.

Progress in education has raised the nation's cultural level. Folk art, the national theatre, music, art and literature have received a new lease of life. The country has 65 theatres, 29 museums, 116 large libraries, 16 picture galleries, and 3 television centers. Cinema attendance rose to 70 million in 1974. Cuba's film-makers have won 136 international prizes. Total annual book-printing approaches 35 million copies, against less than one million before the revolution. In 1974, as many as 869 titles were put out, magazine circulation was 28.9 million, and that of newspapers 311 million. This put Cuba in first place in Latin America.

The Communist Party and the Government of Cuba, as stressed at the First Party Congress, associate progress in socialist construction with consistent observance of proletarian internationalism, and fraternal cooperation with, and aid from, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Before the revolution, the socialist countries accounted for just one per cent of Cuba's foreign trade, while the USA accounted for 70. In 1974, socialist countries accounted for 59.2 per cent of Cuba's foreign trade (57.7 per cent exports and 60.7 per cent imports). As far back as 1960-62 the Soviet Union was already helping Cuba in 17 industrial

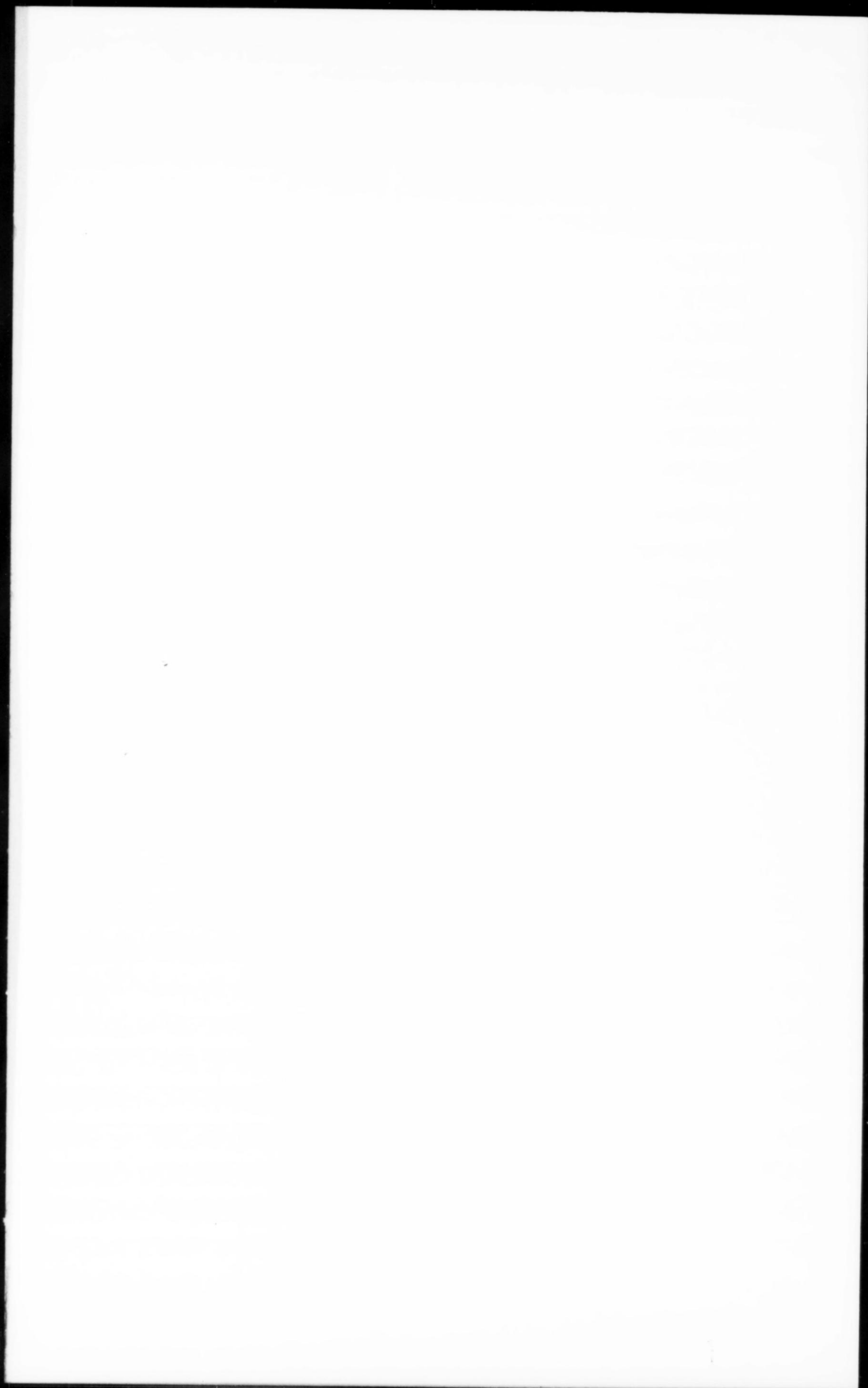
and other projects; in 1962-65 the figure rose to 94, and in 1972 to 159 projects. By 1975 the Soviet Union was helping to build or reconstruct 244 industrial enterprises and other projects, out of which 105 have by now been completed and are in operation. Enterprises built with Soviet assistance account for nearly 15 per cent of Cuba's gross national product, including 100 per cent of rolled stock, 95 per cent steel, 50 per cent mixed fertilizers, and 32 per cent electric power.

GDR exports to Cuba grew 17-fold between 1960 and 1974, totalling 193.2 million marks. Trade between Czechoslovakia and Cuba rose from 3 million pesos in 1958 to nearly 100 million in 1975.

The other countries of the socialist community also help Cuba: Bulgaria in agriculture and irrigation, Hungary in engineering, sugar refining, communications and television, and Poland and Rumania in establishing several key industries.

In July 1972 Cuba joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which, the country's leaders hold, will further her economic development plans and assure fuller use of collective experience and the advantages of socialist integration.

The First Congress of the Communist Party has set the trends and targets of socialist construction in 1976-80. Under the leadership of the Party, the heroic people of Cuba are determined to fulfill the set tasks with the same selfless dedication as they did in the preceding period, when they battled the aftermath of colonialism to transform their country into a free, rapidly growing socialist state.



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