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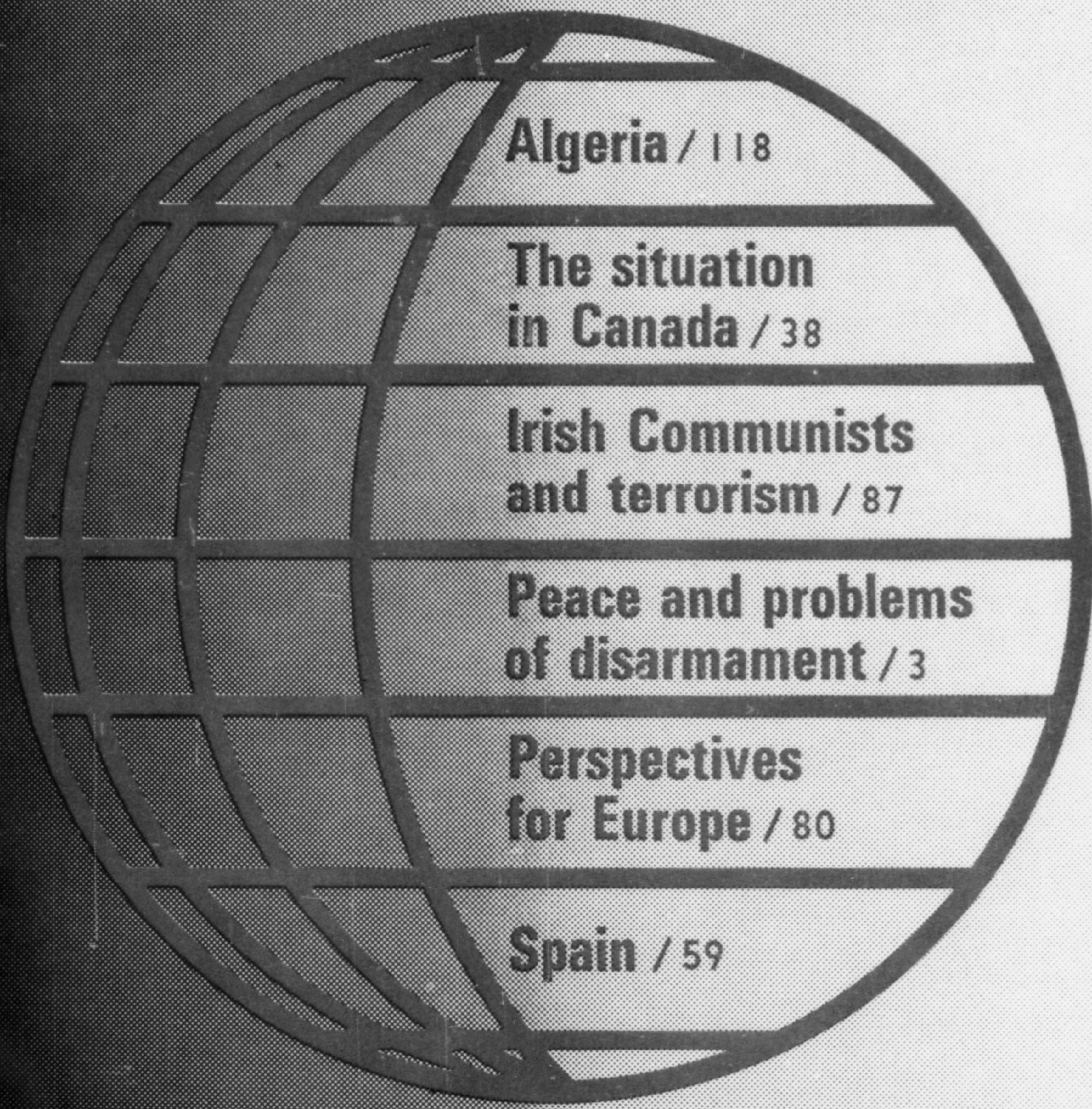
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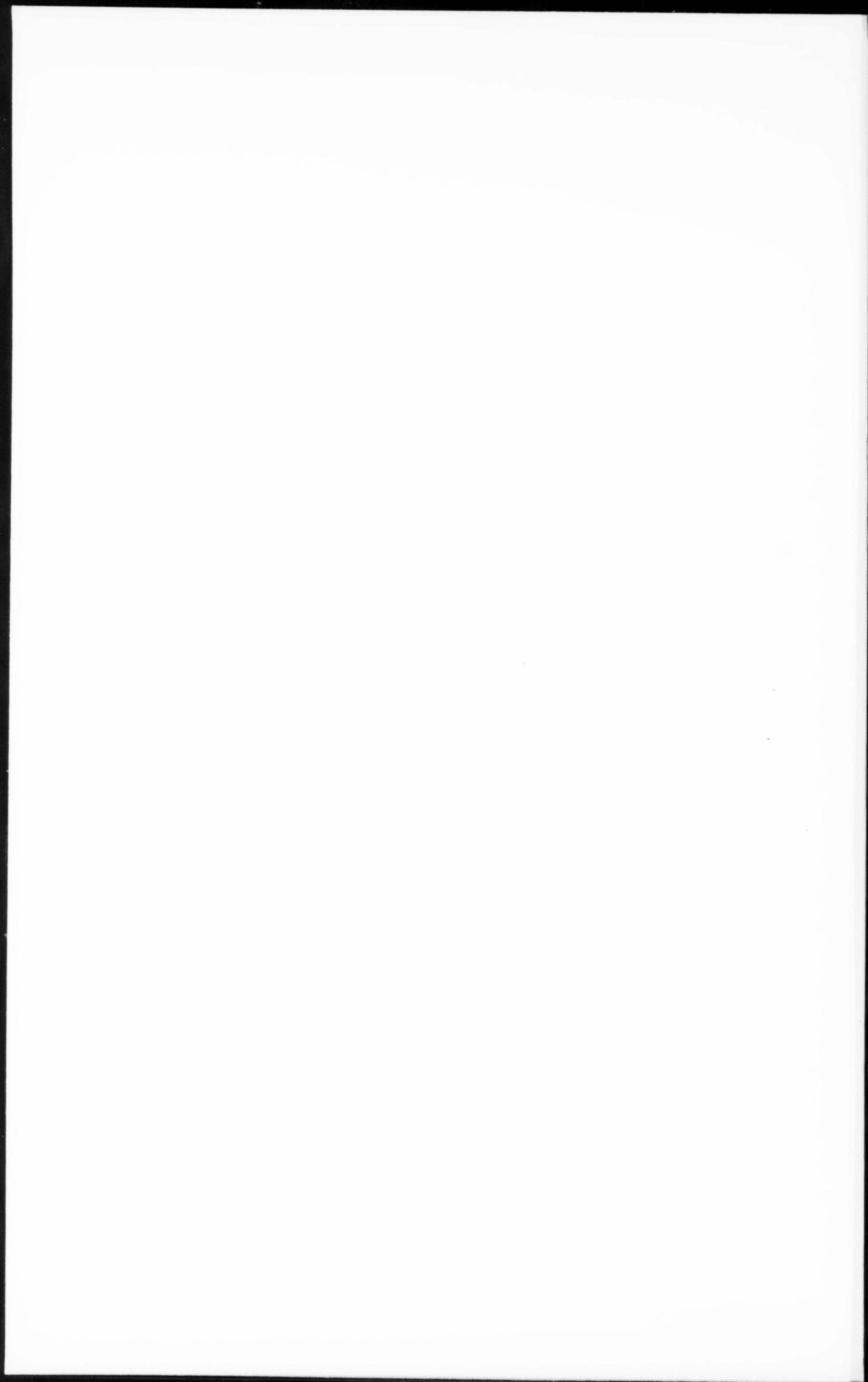
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October 1976, Vol. 19, No. 10

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Peace and problems of disarmament

The recent period has seen an appreciable expansion of the campaign against the arms race, for disarmament. The UN General Assembly has repeatedly devoted special attention to these matters and the Helsinki Conference, for its part, concerned itself with them. Social forces have become more active, as the successful collection of signatures to the new Stockholm Appeal of the World Peace Council indicates. The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe provided new guidelines for, and stimulated the struggle of, the working class and other working people against the arms race, for more durable détente.

Disarmament was the subject of a discussion sponsored by *WMR*. The participants were Herbert *Kellner*, staff member of the German Communist Party Board, Alberto *Kohen*, Argentine journalist, W. *Nkosi* of the South African Communist Party, Wojciech *Multan*, scientific secretary of the Polish Institute of International Relations, and Yevgeny *Primakov*, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, deputy Director of the Academy's Institute of World Economy and International Relations, as well as the following members of the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements representing fraternal parties on the journal: Zahi *Karkabi*, Secretary, CC Communist Party of Israel, Jeronimo *Carrera*, member, CC Communist Party of Venezuela, John *Pittman*, Political Bureau member, CC CPUSA, and Hamid *Safari*, Executive Bureau member, CC People's Party of Iran. They analyzed the main causes of the continuing arms race, exposed the ideological arguments of the opponents of military détente, surveyed the early gains and likely further advances in curbing the arms race and assessed the prospects of the Communists' struggle for disarmament.

Fundamental causes of the arms race

The roots of the stockpiling of armaments, begun long before the world's first socialist state came into being, lie in the very nature of

capitalist society, participants in the discussion noted. In terms of source and class essence, the current arms race, imposed on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries after World War II, is a product of capitalist monopoly, of its reactionary character and its pursuit of selfish aims. It swallows about \$300,000m. a year.

If the arms race is continuing in spite of the peace efforts of the majority of mankind, *Primakov* said, it is because the military-industrial complexes have a vested interest in it. After all, their representatives participate, sometimes very actively, in framing the policies of capitalist countries. The approval of a record military budget (\$112,300m.) by the United States, *Pittman* said, is due to increasingly close links between the country's military establishment, the biggest banks and the aerospace, nuclear, radioelectronics, ship-building, chemical and other industries, which seek profitable orders from the Pentagon.

This is also in evidence in the FRG, *Kellner* said. West Germany is to spend 47,500m. marks, or 28.5 per cent of this year's budget appropriations, for military purposes. The case of Bavaria, governed by Strauss' party, the Christian Democratic Union, shows how the arms race harmonizes the interests of monopoly capital and reactionary revanchist groups. The Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke, and Dornier AG aero-space concerns are the backbone of the military-industrial complex. War contracts account for 85 per cent of their output. MBB is closely linked with the military-industrial complexes of other capitalist countries. In cooperation with British and Italian firms, it is working on a new multi-purpose combat aircraft, the Tornado. This is one of many instances of the integration of arms production in Western Europe.

The integration, participants in the exchange of views pointed out, is aimed, among other things, at intensifying the fight against socialism and, on the other hand, at helping West European arms manufacturers compete with their American rivals.

Contradictions between capitalist countries, which find marked expression in the West German imperialists' effort to win a dominant position in Western Europe, spur the arms race, *Kellner* said. It is plain that French imperialism has no intention of merely looking on as the FRG builds up its strength. The French government has announced plans to double military spending in the next few years. It assures the French people that the measure is needed to maintain European 'equilibrium.'

The arms race, which is gaining in intensity due to inter-imperialist rivalries, tends to sharpen the imperialist powers' mutual antagonisms.

Pittman said that by increasing military expenditures, the rulers of

America want to help the monopolies overcome serious difficulties due to the cyclical and structural crises which aggravate the general crisis of capitalism. He quoted Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, who has said that without the \$100,000m. war budget, some huge corporations 'would go under' as a consequence of the economic recession.

Participants in the discussion stressed, however, that attempts to ease the economic crisis by increasing military budgets have proved ineffectual.

The causes of the acceleration of the arms race were examined. Military political doctrines of the ruling quarters of some imperialist countries, said *Multan*, regard the arms build-up of the West as a condition for 'developing relations' with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. Washington's conception of détente as 'peace through strength' is typical of this approach. This is where NATO strategy cuts both ways: while carrying on the dialogue on détente with the socialist countries, members of that bloc step up war preparations year after year.¹

The tensions maintained by imperialism in various parts of the globe are another important reason for the stepped-up arms race. In this connection, *Karkabi* pointed to the Israeli ruling circles' dangerous policy of forcibly holding the occupied Arab lands and resisting every attempt to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel's bellicose stand is directly based on the arms race and rampant militarism. Military expenditures have been going up nearly \$1,000m. a year since 1973, and reached about \$6,000m. in 1976. Israel ranks second in the capitalist world in military spending per soldier. Twenty-five per cent of its work force is associated with arms production. Owing to this disastrous militarization, the external debt of Israel stood at almost \$8,000m. by late 1975, and direct and indirect taxes claim about 70 per cent of the workers' income. Another most disturbing fact is that over the past 15 years, total military spending in the Middle East has increased eightfold due to Israel's imperialist policy of aggression. As we see it, *Karkabi* went on, the Soviet Union offers a constructive approach to the problem of removing Middle East tension, in particular in the 25th CPSU Congress's Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, which proposes a just solution for the Middle East crisis and calls on 'the states concerned to examine the question of helping to end the arms race in the Middle East.'

Safari called attention to arms sales as a factor contributing to the arms race. The United States has become the biggest arms exporter in the world. From mid-1974 to mid-1975, it sold 71 countries military

supplies and services worth over \$10,500m. From July 1975 to June 1976, it exported an estimated \$12,000m. worth of arms. The Persian Gulf countries, which are ruled by right-wing, conservative regimes, accounted for \$4,400m. of this amount in 1974, and \$4,300m. in 1975. In selling military supplies and training foreign personnel in the use of modern weapons, the U.S., like other imperialist powers, tries to impose its will on Middle East countries, keep them dependent and create conditions for the continued exploitation of their natural resources, first of all oil.

The U.S. exports more arms than all other countries of the world put together, *Carrera* said. In Latin America, it not only makes profit in that way but bolsters reactionary military regimes and generates tensions between states. In 1975, three countries of the continent headed the list of big military spenders: Brazil with a \$1,300m. war budget, Argentina with \$1,000m., and Venezuela with \$494m. And since Latin American countries are not too rich, they find themselves increasingly dependent on U.S. imperialism.

In speaking of the role of Latin American militarism, *Kohen* said, we never identify it with the role of the armed forces, in which a more and more noticeable differentiation is taking place. The role of Latin American militarism, reinforced with the aid of U.S. weapons, is not confined to the continent and this fits into the U.S. imperialists' general strategy. Public opinion is concerned about plans for a 'triangle' comprising Brazil, Argentina and South Africa. It is linked with U.S. reaction's plans to turn the South Atlantic into a base of aggressive policy and struggle against national-liberation movements, into an area of undivided monopoly domination preventing the peoples of Latin America and Africa from disposing independently of their natural resources. To put these plans into practice, U.S. reaction would like to unify, on its own terms, the southern cone of the continent. It is doing all it can to strengthen those who want to see Argentina under a Pinochet-type fascist regime. In other words, it still pursues the aim it failed to achieve when the March 24, 1976, coup was carried out.

Racism in Africa, *Nkosi* said, is based on brute force and the arms drive. Pretoria is increasing war preparations in an effort to maintain white minority rule. The imperialist powers carrying on a neo-colonial policy in Africa overtly and covertly supply the latest weapons to Vorster's fascist regime.

Participants in the discussion pointed out that the assistance which socialist countries extend to a number of states striving for independent development has nothing in common with the imperialist policy of keeping up the arms race. Socialist countries deliver military supplies to victims of the imperialist policy of aggression and to

national-liberation forces fighting for independence, against attempts to restore colonial practices. These deliveries help to increase the defense potential of the recipient countries and to free their peoples from colonial oppression and imperialist dependence.

The socialist countries, where there are no exploiting classes, *Primakov* said, regard disarmament as an important task of mankind in staving off both nuclear and conventional war and, moreover, as a prerequisite for building the new society, for substantial means would be released for constructive purposes if the arms race were stopped and disarmament brought about. 'We make no secret of the fact,' L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, told the 25th CPSU Congress, 'that we can see détente as the way to create more favorable conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction.' Communists in developed capitalist countries, *Kellner* said, explain to the working people that under socialism there is no class seeking profit through armaments. The desire for peace, détente and disarmament is inherent in socialism and flows from its class character. In contrast, imperialism, which puts the drive for profit above everything else, has a vested interest in arms build-ups.

It follows, participants in the exchange of views stated, that the arms race is due to the aggressive nature of imperialism, to its desire to revive the cold war, to militarism, the greed of military-industrial complexes and multinational companies, neo-fascism, racism and neo-colonialism.

The ideological arsenal of militarism

The degree of détente achieved to date heartens and strengthens the forces fighting for peace and social progress and enhances their prestige and influence among the masses. Realistically-minded spokesmen of the ruling quarters of capitalist countries also show an interest in promoting détente. On the other hand, there is evidence of the increasing bellicosity of reactionaries and militarists, of those who would like to pull the world back to the days of the cold war and brinkmanship, or who, like the Maoists, openly urge the people 'to prepare for a new war,' hoping to gain from it.

The range of opponents of disarmament is wide and their ideological arsenal is varied, said *Pittman*. In the United States, they include such ultras as the backers of racist Governor George Wallace, Senator Henry Jackson, former governor Ronald Reagan, official spokesmen of legislative and executive bodies who still think in cold war terms, refusing to take sober stock of the realities of a changed world, and anti-communist trade union bosses. Maoists, Trotskyists and Zionists betray a growing readiness to do the dirtiest work in the struggle against détente. There are intensive propaganda campaigns

carried on by the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex as a whole, which have learned to manipulate the masses by suggesting that greater military spending is indispensable to the country. Already these militarists want to reconcile the people to the prospect of increasing the Pentagon's budget to \$150,000m. by the late 70s.

The enemies of peace also gamble on people's fear of losing their jobs. *Kellner* referred to a demagogical idea propagated among the working people of developed capitalist countries which alleges that the arms race benefits society by maintaining an adequate rate of employment. There is nothing new about this talk. As far back as 1913, a Professor Robert Hoeniger published in Germany a book called *Economic Significance of the German Armed Services*. He praised growing military expenditures and tried to prove that they benefited the economy. Lenin gave him a fitting rebuff, describing the professor's allegations as 'banalities of a pro-militarist who seeks to prove that military expenditure is not a loss, for the money remains in the country and yields vast profits . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 39, p. 203). Now that there is a crisis and the unemployment rate is high, social demagoguery is being stepped up and has a certain effect, which is made easier by the position of certain trade union officers. In a letter to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the heads of the production councils of 16 West German munitions plants even warned him against cutting expenditures on armaments and insisted on increasing arms exports.

This position, it was noted during the discussion, is short-sighted and at variance with the interests of labor. While the U.S., West Germany, France, Britain and Belgium are arming, unemployment in these countries has been at a record high in the past decade. There are other facts disproving the claim that only huge military allocations can curb growing unemployment, *Pittman* noted. According to official data, the spending of \$1,000m. in the U.S. creates 66,000 new jobs in the arms industry, but the same allocations, if diverted to the manufacture of industrial plant, could provide jobs for 73,000 workers in that industry, 77,000 in construction, and 82,000 in the light and food industries.

Opponents of disarmament pin great hopes on steps to foment anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, chauvinism and nationalism. A widely used spurious argument is that of the 'Soviet threat,' said *Multan*. Advocates of the arms race, who try to justify mounting military expenditures, tell world opinion that this is a 'protective reaction,' for the Soviet Union is bent — or so they say — on 'exporting revolution.' This idea is not original. Enemies of progress try to attribute every victory of revolutionary and progressive forces to Soviet 'military interference.' They used this device successively in regard to Cuba, Portugal and Angola. They resort to the myth of

the 'Communist threat' as a means of uniting the adversaries of détente all over the world.

Capitalist propaganda tries to justify the record war budgets of imperialist countries also by talking about the military 'weakness of the West.' Lately, *Karkabi*, *Carrera*, *Kellner* and *Multan* noted, the specious contention that some arms limitation agreements afford 'unilateral advantages to the socialist countries' is being peddled in connection with the Soviet-U.S. SALT I agreements. Participants in the discussion rejected the claim, saying that unlike some Western powers, which yearly increase military appropriations, Soviet defense spending has for years been unchanged and in the 60s the Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed strength.

Maoists in Latin America use the Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation and other issues, *Kohen* said, to peddle the thesis of 'collusion between the two superpowers.' This thesis is used by certain reactionary regimes and played up by 'leftists' of every shading. There are various reasons for this. Some governments and parties question the value of the Soviet-U.S. talks merely because they want to justify intensifying the arms race in their countries.

The Maoist thesis about 'collusion between the two superpowers,' *Safari* said, is untenable if only because it is wrong to equate the United States, an imperialist power, and the Soviet Union, the first socialist state. The two powers are the main forces of the two opposed socio-political systems. Furthermore, they command the greater part of the nuclear and missile potential of the world. This makes Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks and agreements highly important. Those who oppose agreements of this kind, said *Primakov*, are virtually advocating impermissible passivity in the search for solutions likely to go a long way toward stopping the strategic arms race. Also, the practice of preliminary Soviet-American contacts on multilateral measures to curb the arms race and promote disarmament have proved useful. This largely applies also to the Geneva disarmament talks. In short, disarmament should combine bilateral and multilateral agreements.

One of the ideological objections to radical measures to end the arms race comes from Peking: the disarmament problem, it says, cannot be solved at all. The idea of denying the need and advisability of partial disarmament measures — an idea publicized by Peking and echoed by some in the West — and the motto 'all or nothing,' *Multan* said, are designed to prevent a halt to the weapons race.

A program of general and complete disarmament, *Primakov* pointed out, would obviously be the best solution, once and for all putting an end to the development, manufacture, perfection and use of all types of mass destruction weapons, including nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union has presented just such a program at the United Nations. In the absence of any agreement on general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are doing all they can to promote specific agreements restricting the arms race and thereby gradually bring the idea to fruition.

Appeals for disarmament and general slogans are not enough, the participants in the discussion noted. They must be supplemented by extensive information of the public regarding concrete manifestations of the arms race. It must be shown that the transfer of war industries to peaceful production can facilitate the solution of social problems. It is necessary to expose the false thesis of the 'Soviet threat,' the spurious 'two superpowers' theory, the preaching of nationalism, militarism and anti-communism. The ideological content of the Peace Program being implemented by the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community, with the support of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces, should be brought home to the broadest sections of public opinion.

The Communist approach

Considerable attention was devoted to problems of the day-to-day struggle of the socialist countries, Communist and Workers' parties, and all democratic and progressive forces for peace and international security, elimination of hotbeds of tension, complementing political détente with military détente, ending the arms race, and disarmament.

Since its inception, said *Kohen*, the international communist movement has been advocating banishment of wars from the life of society. The need for, and possibility of, disarmament was stressed by Frederick Engels as far back as the end of the last century. He saw the existence of powerful armies and the steady increase in arms manufacture as a serious threat to the peoples. In his work, *Can Europe Disarm?*, he wrote: 'Is there no other way out of this dead end besides a devastating war which the world has not yet ever known? I assert: disarmament, and hence the guarantee of peace, is possible.' Lenin, in a number of works, offered an example of the class internationalist approach to disarmament and flexible consideration of all relevant historical circumstances in working out the strategic and tactical positions of revolutionaries. Disarmament, he stressed, is an ideal of socialism.

Marxist-Leninists, *Multan* noted, have always reckoned with the difficulties of resolving the problem, but they have always been optimists, convinced that sooner or later human reason would realize the peoples' age-old dream of peace. This optimism of ours is free of

pacifist illusions and misconceptions; nor do we underestimate the need for active struggle to overcome the stubborn resistance of militarist circles.

The fact that Communist Parties are in the front ranks of the fighters for general and complete disarmament rests on a profound objective basis, stressed *Safari*. Militarism, a direct consequence of the development of capitalism, is the most anti-democratic, anti-communist force both in international relations and in the internal policies of capitalist countries. It is the worst enemy of the peoples fighting for the right to independent existence, against attempts to restore colonialism. The People's Party of Iran, *Safari* went on, demands that the government give up its arms race policy and pursue a national, peace-loving, independent foreign policy. It sees this as an important way of overcoming the influence of imperialism, strengthening economic and political independence, and assuring the security and social progress of Iran and other countries of the Middle East.

Far from clashing with the class of objectives of the labor movement, the participants in the discussion noted, the struggle for peace, for general and complete disarmament creates more favorable conditions for achieving them. It is only natural that Communist Party documents, national programs and day-to-day activities devote great attention to the struggle against the arms race.

The CPSU Program, said *Primakov*, states that 'general and complete disarmament under strict international control is a radical way of guaranteeing durable peace.' The countries of the socialist community are striving for the systematic reduction of military expenditures in many countries. Socialist diplomacy and the Communist Parties urge the early convocation of a world disarmament conference, as suggested by the Soviet Union. Such a forum, at which all countries, big and small, possessing nuclear weapons or not, participants in military groupings, non-aligned and neutral, would participate on an equal basis in examining the problems of disarmament and taking the necessary decisions, would be in the interests of all mankind.

The participants in the discussion noted that several important steps have already been made to restrain the arms race. The principles of peaceful coexistence are becoming a standard of relations between states with different social systems. Détente and a higher level of cooperation between such countries have made it possible to take some practical steps toward ending the arms race and eliminating the threat of nuclear war which only recently seemed unrealistic to quite a few people.

Kohen noted the importance of the achievements in this field: the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty,

the treaty banning nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction from the seabed, the convention on banning bacteriological weapons. The struggle for disarmament was given a boost by the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks, notably the agreement of June 22, 1973, on the prevention of nuclear war, the agreement restricting anti-missile systems, the interim agreement on certain measures to restrict strategic offensive weapons, as well as the understanding reached at Vladivostok in November 1974 on a new long-term agreement restricting strategic offensive weapons, and the treaty on underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes. If not for the establishment of ceilings, the levels of strategic forces by the end of the 70s would be much higher than now. In the light of these and other steps, stressed *Multan*, the claim of determined opponents of disarmament and that of its advocates who are sincerely dissatisfied with the rate of progress, arguing that the agreements reached are 'insignificant,' is unconvincing.

Underestimation of the agreements and measures put into effect, the speakers stressed, is harmful to the general struggle for halting the arms race and complementing political with military détente. The socialist countries, while giving due credit to the significance of these achievements, strenuously pursue negotiations on further steps. The European Security and Cooperation Conference created a favorable climate for disarmament talks. True, the Vienna talks have not yet produced the ultimate results awaited by the peoples of Europe — the reduction of armed forces and armaments in the central part of the continent.

The stand of the NATO countries is not conducive to progress in Vienna, *Multan* continued. They keep speaking of the Warsaw Treaty countries' so-called superiority and demand 'asymmetric' reductions of armed forces. The NATO Council meetings in Reykjavik (1968) and Rome (1970) put forward widely advertised proposals for the reduction of the military build-up in Europe. But at the Vienna talks the Western powers considerably scaled down their proposals, leaving little of their original idea. Recently, in an attempt to move the issue from its dead point, the socialist countries submitted new proposals providing for an initial troop reduction this year by the Soviet Union and the United States, while freezing the levels of the armed forces of other participants in the negotiations with an eye to starting to reduce them in 1977-78. Much depends on public opinion in the Western capitalist countries. Rallying it and stepping up pressures on governments could make for progress at the Vienna talks.

After exchanging views on the main directions in the struggle to prevent the further build-up and perfection of arms, the participants in the discussion concluded that in present-day conditions an under-

taking not to produce new types and systems of mass destruction weapons could be a breakthrough. It is well known, *Pittman* said, that the Pentagon sponsors research and development that could lead to the creation of new methods and weapons of mass destruction.² This is an indication of the timeliness of the Soviet initiative in submitting to the 30th UN General Assembly a draft agreement banning the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

Also of great significance is the struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. A number of participants in the debate stressed the tremendous importance of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, signed by 96 countries. However, much has still to be done to have the treaty signed, ratified and implemented by *all* countries. For in the conditions of industrial, scientific and technological progress the once insurmountable economic and technological barriers to the possession of nuclear weapons are becoming lower. More and more countries link energy development with the construction of atomic power plants. It is therefore important to reckon with the mounting potential danger that, in countries where militaristic reactionary forces are active, the nuclear fuel of electric power plants may be utilized for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.³

In this connection *Karkabi* recalled Israel's refusal to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Reports in the U.S. press claim that Israel already has more than 10 low-yield atomic bombs. The latest agreement between Israel and the racist Pretoria regime contains a clause providing for deliveries of South African uranium to Israel. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, *Karkabi* said, issued a statement in connection with the visit of South African Prime Minister Vorster. It draws attention to the great danger that may arise if Israeli militarist circles create an atomic arsenal. An extensive campaign for the collection of signatures to the new Stockholm Appeal is being conducted in Israel with active communist participation. The Israeli Peace Committee has suggested two additional clauses to the Appeal and called upon the people to sign them: (1) that Israel seek to make the Middle East a nuclear-free zone, (2) that Israel accede to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Public opinion in African countries, noted *Nkosi*, is seriously concerned over the implementation of South Africa's nuclear program. Cooperation with Israel, the aid of West German firms in nuclear research and development, the U.S. State Department's decision to endorse the sale of two nuclear reactors to South Africa, France's readiness to supply two nuclear power stations — all this creates the danger that the racists may acquire nuclear weapons.

Although in principle the German Communist Party does not object

to the export of nuclear power installations from the FRG, said *Kellner*, it does object to their supply to reactionary regimes, specifically to the export of nuclear reactors to Brazil and South Africa. On May 22 last, the largest demonstration in the history of the FRG in support of disarmament took place in Bonn. More than 40,000 participants denounced, among other things, cooperation between West Germany and South Africa in the nuclear field.

Some circles, especially Peking and pro-Peking, noted *Nkosi*, would like to treat the banning of nuclear weapons as an isolated problem. But a ban on the use of nuclear weapons not linked with a ban on the use of force in international relations would provide military advantages to some states, which is a serious threat to the cause of peace.

Speaking of the urgent tasks of the struggle against the further stockpiling and perfection of armaments, the participants in the discussion noted that it is impossible to achieve success without mass action by the working class, all working people, the peoples as a whole for halting the race in all types of weapons, nuclear in the first place. They analyzed the experience of Communist Parties in drawing up program positions on questions of disarmament and mobilization of the masses to work for their realization. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties made an important contribution facilitating concrete measures to curb the arms race. 'We call on all peace-loving forces,' states the meeting's final document, 'to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.' The Karlovy Vary (1967) and Berlin (1976) conferences of European Communist and Workers' Parties and other regional conferences of fraternal parties devoted great attention to questions of the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament.

U.S. Communists, said *Pittman*, take part in virtually all undertakings and actions in support of détente and against increased U.S. imperialist expansion abroad. The CPUSA has been the initiator and organizer of some of these actions. We hold that there are real opportunities to develop the American people's sincere desire for international détente and peace into a powerful organized movement for disarmament.

The German CP, *Kellner* said, is stepping up propaganda of its proposals on disarmament, which are part of its anti-monopoly program. This is important also because, among other things, not all

factory and office workers appreciate and support demands for disarmament. The Bonn Congress of the GCP called upon all FRG citizens to fight together to complement political détente, facilitated also by the Federal government's realistic attitude, with military détente. It will be recalled that back in 1971 the Düsseldorf GCP Congress called for making all war enterprises in the FRG public property. The question is not just of nationalization, but of increasing worker influence in the whole sphere by establishing democratic control of trade unions and worker collectives over war enterprises. This will make it possible to divert these enterprises to peaceful production as disarmament measures are carried out.

The Communists of Venezuela, *Carrera* said, closely link the struggle for disarmament with the struggle against the interference of U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of Venezuela and other countries of the continent, and for the return to the Latin American peoples of control over their countries' natural resources. The Communist Party's stand in Parliament with respect to the military budget is significant in this context. As oil revenues increased, the Venezuela government increased military expenditures very substantially within a short period of time. Representatives of different parties unofficially voiced their dissatisfaction, but only the Communists openly voted in Parliament against the inflated war budget. In the conditions of anti-communist and chauvinistic propaganda that was a bold move. The Communists stressed that the mounting oil revenues should be used not to finance questionable militaristic projects but to raise the people's living standard. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Communists of Venezuela and Colombia oppose the efforts of reactionary circles to fan militaristic passions around the oil controversy in the Gulf of Venezuela. The Communists hold that the issue can and should be resolved through negotiations, with due consideration of all pertinent historical and legal factors. The Communist Parties support bilateral meetings of peace champions, trade unionists, women's and students' organizations of the two countries on the Venezuela-Colombia frontier. At these meetings they explain the importance of the peaceful settlement of issues between the two countries and of preventing any possibility of an armed conflict, which would serve to whip up the arms race in Latin America.

When we speak of restraining the arms race and of disarmament, *Safari* noted, it is not partial, specific tasks that are at issue. The fate of social progress all over the world depends on the solution of war and peace. The progressive front is currently reaching out to new frontiers on social and economic development. The policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community aimed at strengthening universal security has a positive impact on this process.

Therein we see the manifestation of proletarian internationalism in the struggle for the peace, security and disarmament.

There are still many technical and other objective obstacles on the road to ending the arms race; there are also many obstacles erected by the opponents of disarmament. Speaking of the actions of certain circles that have a hand in determining the foreign policy of the main capitalist countries, CPSU General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev noted in an interview with a *Pravda* correspondent (July 30, 1976) that they 'evidently do not like the course for peace, for checking the arms race and relaxing tensions, which the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe . . . proclaimed at their Conference in Berlin.'

In the document 'For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe,' 29 Communist and Workers' Parties stressed the need to end the arms race and initiate a process of reducing armaments and armed forces. They pointed out that the growing arms expenditure bears down more and more heavily on the working people. If these resources were spent on raising the living standards of the peoples, on overcoming economic backwardness, on aid to the developing countries, this would benefit the advance of all mankind.

The struggle for halting the arms race and for disarmament not merely coincides with fundamental Communist objectives; it is also an important condition for achieving them. The effectiveness of the Communists' struggle for disarmament is all the greater because it is conducted with due consideration of the national and international interests of the peoples and on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

1. NATO military spending went up from \$135,000m. in 1974 to \$149,000m. in 1975. The bloc's direct military expenditures in the 1949-75 period exceeded two trillion dollars. For data on the growing military spending of each NATO country, see 'Imperialism's powder kegs' in *WMR*, April 1975.

2. The press and science publications in the United States speak of the possibility of producing nuclear weapons in the 1,000 megaton range, i.e., equivalent to 1,000 million tons of TNT. The possibility of producing so-called 'genetic weapons,' paralytic nerve weapons based on physical, chemical or other means of affecting the human brain, geo-physical weapons for changing the environment for military purposes, etc., is considered quite feasible.

3. In 1975, there were more than 500 nuclear reactors in operation in 45 countries. Scientists estimate that by 1985 there will be some 2,000 reactors, and world production of plutonium, a raw material for nuclear weapons, will increase from 27,000 kg in 1980 to 700,000 kg in the year 2000.

The Communists' historical optimism

Luis Carlos Prestes
General Secretary,
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The 25th CPSU Congress holds a place of its own in the major developments of our time. Its international significance is multi-dimensional. If we were to define it in a few words, we would first of all have to say that the Congress infused new energy and inspiration in all fighters for social and national emancipation. Comrade Brezhnev declared in his report: 'The world is changing before our very eyes, and the change is for the better.' Synthesized in these words is our Communist understanding of the march of world events.

The Soviet Communists have described their 25th Congress as a symbol of confidence in their forces and future victories in building communism. Blended in that judgment is realism and historical optimism.

And we have every reason to associate ourselves with it. First, because the Congress highlighted the Soviet Union's social and economic achievements and mapped out a program of further progress in communist construction. Both are irrefutable evidence of socialism's superiority over the doomed and historically obsolescent capitalist system.

We share that judgment, secondly, because materialization of the plans adopted by Lenin's Party objectively leads to new changes in the global balance of class and political forces. This is bound to consolidate the positions of socialism and of the world revolutionary movement.

We share that judgment, thirdly, because the Soviet Communist Congress extended the theoretical horizons of everyone involved in the revolutionary process. For it generalized the wealth of experience of the Party that is blazing the trail to the communist future, made a profound analysis of crucial world problems and significantly contributed to our scientific theory. These are all invaluable assets for the entire international movement. They fortify the confidence of all Marxist-Leninists that mankind's future lies in socialism and communism.

I

The 25th CPSU Congress could look back on an impressive record in directing developed socialist society. In fact, its proceedings, resolutions and conclusions convincingly show that at the present stage of building communism, as in the past, in the revolutionary struggle for power and in the effort to affirm and consolidate socialism, the Party of Lenin is the leading force of social reconstruction, the concentrated expression of the people's thoughts and efforts. More, its leading role acquires greater importance as the social, history-making creativity of the masses grows in scope and complexity.

In fulfilling its mission of political leader, the Communist Party must always bring out the political implications of all phenomena and processes, of all the changes in the life of society. And in a socialist society, as Lenin once remarked, for the Communists the most interesting area of politics is the economy. It is therefore only logical that the Congress gave priority attention to the results and prospects of the country's economic development.

There is no need to cite the figures of Soviet economic progress. They are well known. I would emphasize, however, the new vast achievements in building the material and technical basis of communism. The Land of Soviets has considerably increased its economic and defense potential, at the same time raising the people's material and cultural standards. The last, ninth, five-year plan was the most successful in all decisive indicators. We can safely say that never before has the purpose and function of the socialist economy, i.e., serving the people, been so clearly demonstrated.

Calculations by Soviet economists show that the country's material and financial resources will double in the next 15 years, 1976-1990. The CPSU is confidently aiming at that goal, and its 25th Congress indicated the most effective ways of employing the country's rapidly growing wealth. The tasks it set are both bold and realistic, adding up to a carefully designed economic strategy for the present stage of the all-out building of communism.

I say that the tasks are both bold and realistic. I could put it another way: the Party's economic strategy goes hand in hand with its philosophy of revolutionary optimism. For setting a bold goal, one bordering on a dream, is only half the job. The other half is to chart, with scientific precision and clarity, the ways and means of achieving this goal. It is this that distinguishes the Communists' revolutionary confidence in the feasibility of their ideals from the grandiose but groundless projects of petty-bourgeois dreamers. Communist optimism rests on a concrete analysis of objective social-development processes. In other words, on a philosophy that stems from a clear

understanding that we are living in a world in which imperialism's sphere of influence is contracting, and that nothing can halt the revolutionary movement of the peoples for independence, freedom and social progress.

Though fully convinced of the reality of their plans, the Communists have no illusions they will be carried out automatically, without difficulties and, in some situations, without the exertion of every ounce of energy. One would have to be a utopian to believe that socialism is a society free of problems and contradictions.

Building the new world is not that simple. And the 25th Congress demonstrated anew the responsible approach of the Party that guides the world's first and most powerful socialist state to the problems it has to face, its deep understanding of their complexity and its ability to work out in detail the methods of their solution. This was evidenced by the Congress, which was permeated by Leninist fidelity to principle, exacting criticism and self-criticism, and realism in assessing achievements as well as missed opportunities. Its business-like discussion created an atmosphere of confidence and optimism which made such an indelible impression on me and, I feel, on all other foreign guests.

Let me add: the firm confidence that dominated the Congress, and communist optimism in general, should not be equated with euphoria, or the good mood of festive occasions. Revolutionary optimism is based on the course and direction of history and on the laws governing it.

In this sense, the optimism of the 25th Congress was the optimism of a Party whose activity is based on the objective laws of the development of socialism and on a scientific understanding of the world's social and political future. For the CPSU, the political vanguard of the entire people, is today, too, an integral part of the working class — more than half of new Party members come from the working class. And so, in the final analysis, the optimism of the Soviet Communists is the optimism of a class that is in the center of our epoch and determines, in Lenin's words, 'its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145).

We Brazilian Communists, as representatives of a national contingent of the international working class, share with the CPSU and other fraternal parties this common historical optimism. For those who lead, and speak for, the class that has firmly taken the historical initiative, have every reason to be confident of their ability to accomplish the magnificent tasks of revolutionary refashioning of the world.

II

The same projection into the future, the same unremitting concern for the people's supreme interests that underlies the internal policy of the CPSU, is also central to its international activities.

At their 25th Congress the Soviet Communists spoke with a feeling of justified pride of their country's splendid foreign-policy achievements. The outstanding results in implementing the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program are due to the Party's consistent Leninist policy of peace and its efforts for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The correctness and realism of this policy were confirmed by such momentous events as the victory of the Indochina peoples and the Helsinki Conference, at which the European governments solemnly pledged to cooperate for peace and security. On the wider, world scene, substantial progress has been made in the transition from cold war to détente.

It should be emphasized that Soviet foreign policy rests on a reliable scientific and theoretical basis. For it follows Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence, and its key element — the result of collective creative thought by the communist movement in the second half of this century — is the proposition that in present-day conditions sparing mankind the horrors of war is no longer a utopia.

Basing itself on a scientific understanding of the social development processes that determine the character of today's world and on accumulated experience, the Congress called for redoubled effort in pressing the peace offensive. It approved a set of priority foreign-policy tasks designed to promote practical realization of the international strategy set out in the Peace Program. One of these is to complement political détente with military détente. Another is to rid the world of the burden and danger of the arms drive and pass to reduction of armaments, to disarmament.

'It is not simple to defuse the powder keg, or rather the atomic magazine, into which Europe has been converted today,' L.I. Brezhnev declared at the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. 'But it is important to make a realistic start in that direction. Any concrete measures aimed at preserving and multiplying the elements of trust taking shape in relations between the countries of the East and West are valuable under present-day conditions.'

The essence of the foreign-policy strategy adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and reaffirmed and amplified by the 25th Congress is fundamental restructuring of the whole system of international relations. The object is to banish from international practice the use of force, of oppression of one country by another, and impairment of political, economic and national rights and interests. Much has been

accomplished in this respect, but much still remains to be done. That is why the 25th Congress singled out the following practical tasks: conclusion of a world treaty renouncing the use of force in international relations, elimination of the remnants of the colonial system, of all centers of colonialism and racism, of all forms of discrimination, all artificial barriers, all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations.

This is truly a program of revolutionary scope and significance. But it is fully realistic, for it takes into account both the new alignment of world forces and the fundamental laws of social development. Cognition of these laws and the ability to apply them in formulating policy are at the heart of the Communist approach to the most complicated problems, the content of which is determined by the dialectics of war, peace and revolution.

'Stop the class struggle, abandon revolutionary activity in the name of détente!' — that insistent demand comes from the right, from bourgeois ideologists and politicians. 'Stop détente in the name of the revolution!' — that demand comes from the adventurist 'left.' Diametrically opposite positions? No, both speak with the same voice, a voice of despair. And common to both is failure to understand the objective course of history. Hence, the illusion that the class struggle can be regulated by international treaties. And hence also, the equally absurd notion that the revolution can be performed without first building up our forces, that an international upheaval is enough to set off a revolution. Unmitigated historical pessimism — such is the common denominator of these conceptions.

In contrast, Marxist-Leninist theory and policy reflect the real, objectively existing relations between détente and the class, revolutionary struggle. Enduring peace is not an obstacle to, but an invaluable ally of, revolution. And, conversely, every revolutionary gain makes for more effective resistance to the forces of war, and is a guarantee of universal security. The link between the two, peace and the class, revolutionary struggle, is a key aspect of the Communists' historical optimism.

Being an optimist does not, of course, mean seeing everything in rosy colors. The extension and deepening of détente is a difficult process. Nor are things easier in the social, revolutionary struggle. It is not fortuitous that détente and revolution have the same enemy, imperialism. Brazilian Communists know this only too well.

Brazil is now under a dictatorship which, though a pliant tool of U.S. imperialism, has itself become a center of international reaction. It is a threat to the peace and security of Latin American people. It has turned Brazil into a bulwark of the continent's most reactionary forces. It is out to acquire nuclear weapons — witness its recent

nuclear agreement with West Germany. This is a crime against the present and future of our country. But not the only crime, for the entire policy of the ruling military and police clique can only be described as one of violence and humbling of the Brazilian people.

Such is the reality we face today. It imperatively calls for unity of all the anti-war, peace and democratic movements with the working class fighting for its rights and for social progress. The task before our people has been clearly formulated by our Party, namely, the formation of a patriotic anti-fascist front.

We are fully aware of the difficulties this involves, but we look to the future with justified optimism stimulated by the changes wrought by socialism's peace offensive and by the new foreign-policy propositions of the 25th CPSU Congress. For peace is indivisible. We Brazilian Communists regard the significant headway toward a peaceful Europe and the tangible progress in normalizing Soviet-American relations, not only as an important gain, but also as an important step toward peace in other parts of the world, including Latin America. We see this as a precondition for isolating the Brazilian military-fascist regime, and as a new weapon in our revolutionary arsenal. In fact, it is already helping us explain the situation to the working people and continue the difficult work of developing their political awareness and organization. And we do not doubt that tomorrow we shall conduct this work with even greater effect, for socialism's successful peace policy deprives the Brazilian reactionaries of their last argument and makes all their anti-communist clamor about a 'Soviet menace' and an international communist 'conspiracy' hopelessly anachronistic.

III

In the dark night that followed the 1964 coup, our Party was subjected to a trying ordeal. All its qualities, political, organizational and ideological, were put to the test. The decline of the mass labor, patriotic and democratic movements brought joy to our enemies. They prophesied the destruction of our Party, its total collapse. But, notwithstanding all the severity of our defeat, we maintained our contacts with the masses. The Party retreated, but in a revolutionary way, retaining its primary units and central leadership.

It held its Sixth Congress, a unity congress, in 1967 in underground conditions. The Congress strengthened our organization. It formulated a correct political line and directives for the ideological struggle against reaction and against the factionalist leaders expelled from the Party for directing it toward rash and adventurist actions which would have isolated us from the masses. But most of our cadres and the absolute majority of Party members did not succumb to despair and

pessimism. Notwithstanding the harsh police terror, we were able, in the 1965 elections and again in 1967-68, to use what legal opportunities remained to mobilize the masses against the dictatorship.

The military dictatorship reacted to the growing mass resistance by a series of preventive fascist-type measures. These included Institutional Acts 2 and 5, designed to bring the country under the domination of national and international monopolies and place the state at their service. The regime stepped up its persecution of our Party, and in the past two years, under the Geisel government, there have been more kidnappings, torture and murder of Party activists, including several members of the Central Committee.

Frightened by its defeat in the 1974 elections, the regime sought to destroy our Party leadership, but it continues to operate. Last December, the Central Committee discussed the situation in the country and the Party and adopted important decisions. Party activists and rank-and-file members have lost none of their courage and hope, nor their faith in the coming rise of the revolutionary struggle and in victory. They have never evaded struggle. The Party is winning influence throughout the country as the only organized force consistently fighting the tyrannical regime.

'I am firmly convinced that, having once taken the revolutionary path, every really strong personality draws new strength even from defeat and becomes all the more resolute the further he swims in the stream of history.'

These words of Karl Marx fully apply to my many Party comrades, those whom I came to know in 1924-27 during the march of the Invincible Column and on other occasions, when things were especially difficult for our Party. Many of its members were jailed and tortured, but always they remained proud and unbending, never losing faith in the justice of our cause.

For instance, in 1935, after the brutal suppression of the national-liberation rising, no amount of repression could break the will of the majority of our patriots and democrats, Communists and non-Communists, who had taken up arms against fascism in Brazil. In more recent years many leaders and members of the Party were done to death in the torture chambers; they had given their lives for the noble cause they had so fearlessly served. David Capsitrano da Costa, Joao Massena Melo, Luis Maranhao Filho, Valter de Souza Ribeiro, Elson Costa, Hiran Pereira de Lima, Jaime de Amorin Miranda, Itair Jose Veloso, Orlando Bonfim Junior, Celio Augusto Guesdes, Jose Roman, Jose Montenegro de Lima, Manuel Fiel Filho — their names are inscribed on our banners, and they will bring new hundreds and thousands into the fight for our country's independence, for our just cause.

The military clique wanted to instill fear in the people by repression and terror. But the very opposite happened: its terror, to borrow the words of Engels, 'is the rule of people who themselves are terror-stricken.' The ruling caste is losing its presence of mind, for it knows that the collapse of its domination is inevitable. It is trying to reassure itself by useless cruelties. Such has always been the meaning, or rather the lack of meaning, of all counter-revolutionary terror. The usurpers fear the future and are wreaking vengeance on the Communists. This savage tyranny reflects a situation which the regime itself admits to be hopeless. For when one goes against the course of history, he has nothing to rely on, nothing to hope for.

And so, on the one hand, there are the Communists, unbent by decades of underground struggle, and on the other, the military clique which, though at the zenith of its power, is conscious of its shaky position. Nor is this merely a confrontation of two political forces; it is a confrontation also of two philosophies, the historical optimism of revolutionaries and the spiritual senility of a doomed class.

Of course, the ruling clique, closely tied in with the monopolies and the Pentagon, still holds sway in Brazil and has at its command impressive economic and political means of safeguarding its interests. But since life does not stand still, and since the concluding quarter of the century is bound to see new and very sharp social battles, the Brazilian Communists say with full conviction: we are stronger, the impending battles will end in our victory.

To what I have already said about the sources of our confidence in victory, I would add another, especially important consideration. Our Party is a national force, but it has never, ideologically or politically, placed itself in the nationalistic corner from which one can see what is happening in one's own country, but not what is happening beyond its boundaries. We have always appreciated that international factors and epochal processes have a tangible influence on the relation of class forces within the country and visibly affect their struggle. And if one were to gauge the political weight of our Party by describing it merely as a Party of the Brazilian revolutionary underground, we would have every right to object. For our Party is more than that; it is solidly merged with the international communist movement.

And with that movement we today celebrate a signal success — realization of the main provisions of the action program advanced by the 1969 world communist conference. We see in this added confirmation of the value of collective theoretical and political work by the fraternal parties. We see in this evidence of the immense vitality of proletarian internationalism, a source of strength for our Party throughout its history.

In the 54 years of its existence, the Party enjoyed only two years of

legality. It is proud of its consistent championship not only of the interests of our working people and national sovereignty, but also of the principles of proletarian internationalism. For the Brazilian Communists, genuine patriotism — the patriotism of the working class and the laboring masses — is inseparable from internationalism. The interests of the Brazilian working class and all working people are inseparable from those of the working class and working people of the world. For it is only through united action that we can defeat our common enemy, imperialism.

Principled support of the Soviet Union — the first land of victorious socialism — of the socialist world system, unremitting struggle against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in whatever form — now as always, they hold an important place in Party activity.

In the hard years preceding World War II, when fascism was advancing and gaining ground in the capitalist world, we were the first in Brazil to call for a fight against fascism. And we did fight it, in the 1935 rising and later in the International Brigades in Spain. Our Party led the broad mass movement that compelled the Brazilian government to break off relations with the Axis powers, join the war on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition and dispatch Brazilian troops to the Italian front. Communists played a leading part in the battles there.

The Party continued to discharge its internationalist duty throughout the cold-war years. It clearly stated its opposition to any Brazilian participation in the Korean war and in all subsequent imperialist-engineered conflicts directed against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and peoples battling for national emancipation.

Internationalism is ideology, a qualitative characteristic of the Party's strategic line and of its day-to-day political activity. As Comrade Brezhnev declared at the 25th Congress, Soviet Communists consider 'defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist.'

We understand internationalism primarily as community of class interests that transcends national boundaries. Life itself dictates closer international unity on a class basis. The monopoly bourgeoisie of various countries, too, strive to coordinate its actions against the socialist states, the working class and the Communist Parties. But the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, are divided by irresolvable conflicts. There are no such barriers to international proletarian unity, for its foundation is genuine class brotherhood. This is so powerful an objective factor that he who would consign proletarian internationalism to the archives would in the end undermine his own position in the battle against the monopolies and imperialism.

We understand internationalism as unity on fundamental problems of ideology and theory; unity that reflects our Marxist-Leninist, that

is, the only scientific, understanding of the cardinal regularities of social, revolutionary development. At times we are faced with political situations in which these regularities are not readily visible. All manner of anti-communist trends try to capitalize on this, alleging that experience has shown Marxism to be 'outdated.' Such situations are a test for Communists, their convictions, the depth of their understanding of the international, worldwide relevance of Marxism-Leninism. World revolutionary experience has shown that in such situations any concession to reformism can cost us very dearly.

Loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism implies, above all, closer interaction of fraternal parties, expansion and deepening of their joint struggle for peace and security and for social progress.

The Brazilian Communists know, see and highly appreciate the CPSU's unfailing solidarity with all the forces of the world committed to liberating the peoples from exploitation and national oppression. Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev said: 'We act as our revolutionary conscience, our Communist convictions, dictate.' Accordingly, the Soviet Union supported and aided the Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples in their fight against aggression, for national and social freedom. It is cooperating with the Arab peoples in their effort to build relations in the Middle East on peaceful and just principles. It has shown its solidarity with the revolutionary people, the Communists and all democrats of Portugal. For 15 years it has worked in alliance with the patriots in Angola, who have now scored impressive successes in the battle for national independence. It has energetically campaigned for the release of Communists, democrats and patriots, of all champions of the people, languishing in the prisons of dictatorial fascist regimes. That demand has been set out in a special document of the 25th CPSU Congress. We Brazilian Communists regard this as a sterling example of international class solidarity with our struggle, with the struggle of all who find themselves in the same dire circumstances as we.

The stand taken by the CPSU gives all revolutionary forces the assurance that they are not alone in their struggle, that they are backed by the immense international authority and political weight of the Soviet Union. And our own confidence that the Brazilian people will, by active struggle, destroy the fetters of capitalist slavery, is fortified by the knowledge that we are marching with the working class, the working people of the world, and can rely on the solidarity of fraternal parties, above all, on the support of the great Party of Lenin. That is why proletarian internationalism is so important a component, or, more accurately a generator, of the Communists' historical optimism.



Educating the new man

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Many interdependent objective and subjective factors go into the building of communist society, in which millions of Soviet people, led by their Leninist Party, are involved. Our central aims at the present stage are to build the material and technical basis of communism, shape communist social relations and educate the new man. The three are dialectically interconnected, are being pursued simultaneously and express the essence and humanism of the new system: 'Everything for man, everything for his well-being.'

'For, in the final analysis,' CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev has said, 'the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in our country aimed at delivering the working people from exploitation and oppression and affording them opportunities for a free, secure, cultured and creative life worthy of man in the loftiest sense of the word.'

For our people these opportunities have become material, political and legal realities. The socialist way of life has been developed and enriched in an atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship, steadily growing friendship among the nations and peoples of our country. There is a new code of conduct and morality that guides the organization of public life and moulds and consolidates man's finest traits.

Our country has eliminated the age-old alienation of labor, when the fruits of the working man's mental and physical labor were appropriated by the exploiting class and used against the working man as a hostile force limiting his political and social freedom. The assumption of power by the people and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production made it possible to transform labor from a compulsory into a voluntary and conscious effort. Labor thus became life's prime necessity, making it possible for the individual freely to apply his intellectual faculties and physical abilities.

Contrary to bourgeois theorists who contend that human nature is inherently depraved and base and that this no revolution can change,

the Soviet Union has reared a communist-minded individual endowed with the highest social, spiritual and moral qualities. In days of peace as in the years of the trying ordeals of war, millions of our men and women showed such splendid traits of Soviet man as devotion to communist ideals, heroism and mass courage, scope and vision in their daring and innovative endeavors. And this went hand in hand with kindness, sympathy, optimism and cheerfulness. They thus provided concrete confirmation of Marx's conception that human nature changes with the march of history and that under socialism social production becomes a process which Marx described as 'the development of the richness of human nature as an end in itself.'

However, the ideological and moral growth of Soviet man does not proceed automatically. Translating the standards and principles of the socialist way of life and the lofty ideals of communism into ingrained convictions and moral habits is a complex process.

Our Party has always been aware of this. It has approached this problem creatively, modifying both the main lines of its ideological education effort and the ways and the methods employed in concrete historical circumstances. At the dawn of the Soviet state, we strove to rid people of the private proprietor mentality inherited from the capitalist system and promote and cultivate the new mentality of collective proprietors, of masters of their enterprises, of their country. Today as in the past, inculcating a keen sense of duty and a communist attitude to one's job and to public property is a key objective of the Party's ideological activity. This applies especially to the youth, who, in Lenin's words, advance to socialism 'in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 146).

The task is much broader and more challenging at the stage of developed socialism. For in this age of the scientific and technological revolution one needs a tremendous amount of knowledge fully to use his creative gifts, and a broad social outlook to clearly understand the big problems of life, and fight staunchly for communism from correct ideological and moral positions.

The problem of educating the new man is also complicated by its all-inclusive character, for it involves harmoniously developing every member of society and not merely certain groups, or even the majority. Furthermore, developing man in every respect, both intellectually and physically, enabling him fully to reveal his gifts and abilities, is at once the highest goal in building communism and a most important requisite of achieving it.

From year to year, with every milestone on the road to communism, the material conditions for improving the Soviet people's life are growing, as is also their role in the society. In step with this,

millions of working men and women rise to a new cultural and moral plane. They come to take a different view of themselves, of the nature and results of their work, of the significance of their part in attaining our overall goals. The objective process of the spiritual growth of the individual is limitless and is acquiring increasing importance.

In educating the new man, the CPSU draws on the experience of Party organizations, the increased potentialities of mature socialism, and is guided by the perspective of building communism. The documents of the 25th CPSU Congress stress the importance and necessity of more fruitful ideological work. They emphasize that the key to this is a 'complex approach to the whole matter of education, that is, an effort to secure well-integrated ideological, political, labor and moral education, taking account of the specific features of various groups of working people.'

Education of the new man is closely linked with solving major social, political and economic problems of communist construction. Take, for instance, efficiency and quality, advanced by the 25th Party Congress as main goals of the 10th five-year plan. They go beyond a purely economic approach and have a very definite moral and psychological aspect. We realize that to raise the effectiveness and quality of production in every field, we must abandon outdated, stereotyped patterns of economic management, and this means reorienting people's attitudes and thinking. Consequently, in our society the effort to organize production more effectively and achieve higher quality indices implies both perfecting man professionally and ethically and firmly establishing the principles of communist behavior.

Anti-communists and anti-Sovietists claim that ideological education in socialist society is motivated solely by economic considerations, that the Party strives to 'tighten control' over the production activity of the people and that, in general, Marxism-Leninism regards the individual as no more than an 'unquestioning tool of the party.' Their allegations boomerang, for it is capitalism that assesses the working man solely according to his capacity for work, his ability to produce profit, giving him only the required education. Every attempt by the individual to grasp the meaning of his place in society and interfere in the affairs of the capitalist state is curbed as a negative and most undesirable side-effect of education and training.

For Communists and for our Party there is no such dilemma as 'production or man.' Our principle is: production is for man, and not man for production. We never ask ourselves whether the interests of the individual or those of production should predominate, for we regard this approach as essentially wrong and unfounded. For man, his well-being and happiness are the point and purpose of social

development. This fully applies also to the Party's ideological education, for it pursues thoroughly humanistic aims by helping people to become better and live better.

Marxist-Leninists recognize the fact that the ruling class in any society wants to establish its own ideology and its system of values and to bring spiritual life into conformity with its political goals. The decisive thing is *what* class is in power, and do its ideology and political aims accord with the objective requirements of social development and the people's interests.

Under capitalism, the powerful ideological conditioning media represent a force alien and hostile to the working people. The atmosphere and practice of capitalist 'social education' are such that 'it is very easy for one to be "bad" . . . and one has too few reasons to be "good",' as Maxim Gorky put it.

In contrast, the system of social relations, the efforts of the Party and the people, politics and ideology in the Soviet Union and in other countries of the socialist community are aimed at one goal: 'What is involved,' Engels said, 'is to create for *all people* such a condition that everyone can freely develop his human nature and live in human relationship with his neighbors' (Marx and Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 263).

In educating the new man, the Communist Party of Byelorussia, a militant contingent of the CPSU, proceeds from the humanistic goals of our Leninist Party. We have a scientifically based Marxist-Leninist program of forming the new personality of developed socialism, an action program whose fundamental provisions are clearly and comprehensively set out in the documents of the 25th Party Congress, decisions of the CC CPSU on ideological matters and L.I. Brezhnev's speeches on topical problems of communist education.

The main factor in shaping the new mentality in our society is emancipated, creative labor organized on socialist principles and inspired by lofty social goals. We hold that workers and collective farmers, engineers and teachers, people of every profession or trade are all capable of creative effort. This effort is becoming a standard of labor for millions upon millions of Soviet people. Last year worker innovators and inventors applied for five million innovation certificates. In our republic, the number of inventors and rationalizers who proposed innovations rose from 98,000 to 154,000 in the ninth five-year plan period alone — an increase of over 50 per cent, indicative of the people's growing creative potential and the rising standard of creative work in the material production sphere.

Of course, much remains to be done. We know that the scientific and technological revolution has still to influence every area of production. In many operations, the creative element is still inadequate.

Accordingly, the CPSU has set the priority task of 'improving the social, economic and industrial conditions of labor, enhancing its creative character and reducing manual, low-skill and arduous physical labor.' The Communist Party of Byelorussia is making a special effort to accomplish this task.

And in this context we are working to improve the system of relations within the work collective. We are introducing work-assessment criteria to encourage initiative and an interest in raising one's cultural, educational and professional standards.

Labor festivals on a mass scale, various forms of paying tribute to labor veterans, front-rank workers and innovators, meetings at which people are initiated into the industrial or farming community, and so on, have become traditional in many industrial collectives and in the towns and villages of our republic and the country as a whole. The socialist world pays the highest honor to men and women of labor who set an example for others. What is evaluated is not only the materialized results of people's work, but also their civic and moral qualities. Mayakovsky once remarked that 'the country needs everyone's work.' In our country, the individual's attitude to his job, his ideological and moral principles are the yardstick by which his standing, honor and dignity are measured.

We see everywhere the traits of the Soviet man of today, which embody the collective principle, 'Not mine for me, but ours for us' manifest themselves in people's thinking and in their attitude to the community, production and public affairs.

Apologists and ideological underlings of capitalism have used up much ink and paper in attempts to minimize the value and misrepresent the nature of Soviet society's collectivist principles and traditions. They affirm that collectivism 'reduces' all people to one level and suppresses their individuality and freedom.

In reality, socialist collectivism is a great achievement of the new system. 'Only in community with others,' Marx and Engels wrote, 'has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible' (*The German Ideology*. Moscow, 1968, p. 93).

In the Soviet Union, where the economic and political foundations of society are consistently collectivist, the individual and the collective operate as inseparable components of an inherently harmonious social system enriching each other.

With us, the main condition for accomplishing production and social tasks is orientation on people, promotion of their growth in terms of ideology, education, vocational training and morality. This is stressed in the CC CPSU resolution 'On the Activity of the Party

Organization of the Minsk Tractor Plant in Increasing the Production and Socio-Political Effort of the Work Collective.'

The plant's Party organization has an integrated system of ideological, political, labor and moral education. Public activities here range over a wide area. Every second worker takes part in the activity of a public body or mass organization, every third worker studies Marxism-Leninism or economics in a political school or theoretical seminar, hundreds of young workers study in higher, technical or secondary schools in their free time. The result is gratifying both for themselves and society. The plant reached its ninth five-year plan targets ahead of schedule and is now in the van of the higher efficiency and quality drive. The workers live a spiritually and socially full life.

The creative nature of labor manifests itself above all in the countrywide socialist competition movement. As well as furthering social production, this movement helps to mould and harmoniously develop the personality, reveal and foster its finest traits. In competing for high production targets, our people grow and become spiritually enriched, first of all by coming to appreciate the significance of their personal contribution to the common effort of the Soviet people. Widespread socialist competition based on personal work plans is a clear indication of this. At the 25th Party Congress, L.I. Brezhnev spoke highly of this convincing expression of our people's social commitment and mentioned, among others, the instructive example of the Minsk automobile plant. In the current five-year period, over 12,000 workers at the plant have personal work plans. They have already proposed and put into practice about 4,000 efficiency innovations.

The Party organizations of Byelorussia see their duty, as stated in the CC CPSU resolution 'On the Selection and Education of Ideological Cadres in Byelorussia's Party Organization,' in turning *all* work collectives into virtual education centers for fostering the new man. Soviet citizens find help and support on the part of the state, industrial executives and public organizations in resolving both production and personal problems in the community of mature, convinced, well-disposed people, in an atmosphere of mutual exactingness, warmth and sincerity. It is for this that we strive to overcome all manifestations of formalism at all levels of activity, especially in the lower echelons of work collectives, which are closest to people and in which it is especially important to maintain an atmosphere of greatest attention to every person, an atmosphere of real, not ostentatious, concern for his material well-being and interests.

The internal world of every Soviet person is infinitely complex, diversified, and in its way inimitable. Yet for all this diversity of

individualities the overwhelming majority of our people share in common one dominant quality: the strength of their communist convictions. It motivates the acts and deeds of Soviet citizens, unites the efforts of millions for the attainment of a common goal. Marxism-Leninism is the spiritual, ideological foundation of our socialist way of life. It brings together classes and social groups and shapes the moral and political cast of a new historical community — the Soviet people. However, even in conditions of the unchallenged dominance of Marxist-Leninist ideas one cannot expect them to operate automatically. It is impossible to master revolutionary theory in depth without studying it thoroughly and consistently in the public education system and the system of Party and Komsomol education, without a well-thought-out and efficient mass propaganda effort.

Accordingly, the Byelorussian Party organization, as required by the CC CPSU, gives unremitting attention to perfecting the whole arsenal of ways and means of bringing the Marxist-Leninist teaching and policies of the Communist Party home to the workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, young people.

As all over the country, we are now devoting prime attention to bringing the wealth of ideas and inspiring decisions of the 25th Party Congress to the conscience, mind and heart of every person. Know more, understand deeper, do more and better — this is the motto in studying the documents of the congress.

Devotion to communist ideals is the mainstay around which the personality of the man and woman of the new world is formed. From childhood on, purposefully, by word and deed, we instill in people the habit, the inner urge for the kind of actions and behavior that contribute to the cast of the Soviet man.

But this is no simple matter. Take, for example, such a complex and delicate sphere as family education. It is hard to imagine parents who would not like to see their children imbued with kindness and goodness as measured by the criteria of human values. Our society creates ever better conditions for this. Alas, in many families education is on the whole spontaneous. Educational efforts usually lack system and more often than not fail to take account of recommendations of pedagogical science. Nor are the necessary authoritative recommendations always available. Here, of course, we can expect more from our educators, psychologists and methodologists in child education.

In Byelorussia, we are expanding and deepening a system of parent education. Accordingly, we have set up parent guidance centers whose programs include questions of family education. We are putting out more books, television and radio programs and films on important problems of child education.

We attach prime significance to the enhancement of the ideological-moral aspects of work with students. The curricula of secondary general schools include, along with social sciences, the basics of communist ethics, while institutes of higher learning and specialized secondary educational establishments have been teaching courses in Marxist-Leninist ethics for several years now.

Special attention is given to raising the quality of education in secondary schools on the basis of consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of polytechnical education. We orient our Party organizations, the Komsomol, and teaching staffs on filling the student years of the young people with more interesting and diversified activity associated not only with the accumulation of knowledge, but also with effective participation in work and public life. For only in this way can an active stand in life be fostered in young people, with qualities not of an aloof onlooker but of a conscious, responsible member of society who would be able, in Lenin's words, to 'act the way communism really demands' (Vol. 31, p. 285).

In conditions when the well-being of the Soviet people is steadily rising considerable significance attaches to questions of consciously and purposefully fostering reasonable material and spiritual requirements and enhancing the prestige and role of ethical values in the life of one and all.

Communist ideals have nothing in common with the bourgeois-philistine cult of things and money. And in vain are the hopes of politicians and ideologues of the capitalist world for any transformation of Soviet society, for its infection with the 'virus of consumerism.' Neither are we ascetics, of course, and the Party spares no effort to promote the continued growth of the Soviet people's material and cultural standards. But our philosophy is incompatible with fetishism of things, with the drive for profit and acquisition. Our position is that a person, if his mentality is not infected with philistinism, sees genuine wealth not in the world of things, but in the happiness of the people surrounding him, in spiritual values, in an urge to do useful creative work for the benefit of the society and, hence, himself. The task of all tasks has always been, and will be, to encourage people to see values not in the drive for money, not in the cult of things, but in opportunities for the utmost development and manifestation of their abilities and spiritual strength.

Like other Party organizations of the country, the Communist Party of Byelorussia studies and selects the most effective approaches to the solution of the complex problem of harmonizing material and spiritual requirements, defining their optimum structure, filling the free time of our citizens, especially the youth, with meaningful activity of greatest value for the development of the personality: studies,

self-education, sport, various publicly useful functions, technical and artistic creativity, all of which already now plays a prime part in the free time of a great many of our people.

The socialist state, as Lenin said, is strong by the consciousness of the masses. It is all the stronger the higher the level of their political maturity, the broader the scope of their creativity and initiative in all spheres of life. The individualistic approach to public affairs, the 'philosophy' of the small person holding that 'it's none of his business,' is alien to Soviet people. In contradistinction to philistine indifference, socialism fosters initiative and activity in people, who think and act in a statesmanly way, making no distinction between personal and public interests.

Millions of Soviet people take part in the work of the Party, government, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. At meetings, through letters to the press, radio and television, they make proposals which are used as a basis for elaborating local and state laws, plans of economic and social development of enterprises and the national economy as a whole, and expose shortcomings, poor management, bureaucracy and arbitrary decisions by some executives.

The CPSU creates the necessary conditions for Soviet people to display their qualities of active and committed citizens. It equips them with knowledge of the laws of social development and extensive information concerning the state of affairs in the country.

Bourgeois propaganda resorts to sensationalism, vulgarity and commercialism in an effort to draw people's attention away from the genuine problems of society and prevent their participation in the solution of social, national questions. The task of our propaganda, of our information media, is not to cater to idle philistine curiosity but to create conditions for the growth of the ideological and cultural perspective of the people, for the civic activity of every citizen, so that he or she can take part in managing affairs of state, the whole life of society, with genuine interest and concern.

'We have created a society free from domination by a monopoly oligarchy, free from fear of crises and unemployment, and free from social upheavals. We have created a society of people with equal rights in the broadest sense of the word, without estate, property, racial or any other similar privileges, a society that not only proclaims the rights of man, but also assures the opportunity to use them.' These fine, forceful words were said by L.I. Brezhnev in his speech at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party, the Soviet state stand guard over the interests of the working people, resolutely nip any attempt to misuse power, and boldly direct the weapon of criticism against formalists

and bureaucrats. We openly expose errors and mistakes in the actions of all management echelons, punish people for red tape, callousness and infringement of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens. In short, we carry on a resolute, uncompromising struggle against everything that hinders the normal life and work of Soviet people.

The rights and freedoms of citizens gain in scope and content in the course of communist development. We have created a system of guarantees which assures that the life and health, work, rights, dignity and honor of every member of our society are reliably protected. The individual, his present and future, does not depend on the arbitrary workings of blind fate. Soviet people are confident that their abilities and knowledge, their energy and initiative will find worthy application, support and appreciation.

In our country every worker is free from fear for the future and is imbued with social optimism and confidence. He knows that the society will not leave him in the lurch, that he will receive free medical aid in case of illness, a pension in case of disability, and security in old age.

Society's responsibility for man is one of the most vivid manifestations of socialist humanism, and it permeates every aspect of our life. This is the main guarantee of the development of the personality and its genuine freedom.

But socialism also resolutely rejects the distorted idea of freedom of the individual which bourgeois propaganda usually associates with unrestricted egoistic and individualistic aspirations. The price of such freedom is the alienation of the individual from society, morality from humanism, conscience from reason, it is the aggravation of ruthless competition and 'war of all against all.' The bourgeois state does not burden itself with concern for the fate of the, to put it mildly, 'less fortunate' in that fierce struggle. No one in the capitalist world guarantees the right to work, that basic right which, as was long ago noted by the utopian socialist Charles Fourier, is the prime right of man.

Only socialism and communism assert genuine freedom by assuring every citizen real opportunities to create the present and future for the good of the society and for his own good. At the same time, genuine individual freedom is inseparable from responsibility to other people, to the collective, to the society.

Our people resolutely oppose any attempts to use the flag of freedom and democracy to shield unseemly, anti-social deeds and actions. They do not allow renegades or self-seekers, individualists or demagogues, hooligans or drunks to profit by our democratic and humanitarian principles. The good will toward people and socialist democracy inherent in our way of life naturally presume non-

acceptance and firm condemnation of every kind of anarchistic actions, of any actions running counter to the public interest. There is no freedom without responsibility, no democracy without discipline. As in other socialist countries, in the Soviet Union there are no rights without obligations and, conversely, no obligations without rights. As L.I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, 'It is a responsible approach by every citizen to his duties and to the people's interests that constitutes the only reliable basis for ... true freedom for the individual.'

In the spirit of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Party organizations of Byelorussia foster in the working people, in the youth, deeply conscious attitudes toward public obligations. In our society, only that person is seen as politically mature who is militantly implacable to any manifestations of ideologies and ethics alien to socialism, capable of standing up for his convictions, effectively utilizing the force of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the achievements of existing socialism in the ideological battle with the world of capital. And this means that in the conditions of a society where there are no class antagonisms, in conditions when the overwhelming majority of the population no longer possesses any personal experience of class struggle, it is incumbent on Party and Komsomol organizations, on our ideological cadres, to promote a deep class awareness in the working people, above all the youth, and help our people correctly to understand the laws and main trends in contemporary world social development.

The world has changed considerably. The efforts of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and all anti-imperialist forces, have assured a change-over from cold war to international détente. This process must be made irreversible. But the triumph of the ideas of peaceful coexistence does not mean peace on the ideological front. The struggle between the socialist and bourgeois outlooks is becoming ever more acute. Reactionary forces in capitalist countries resort to the most refined methods in an effort to influence the convictions of Soviet people, undermine their ideological fortitude and sow the poisonous seeds of individualism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism and disbelief in the triumph of communism in the minds especially of young people. As L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress: 'Here, there is a need for constant political vigilance, active, efficient and convincing propaganda, and timely rebuffs to enemy ideological subversions.'

Taking all this into account, the Party organization of Byelorussia persistently perfects and deepens propaganda of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, teaches its propaganda cadres the Leninist art of

criticizing bourgeois and revisionist ideology, analyzing and exposing the insoluble contradictions of imperialism.

With the help of the most diverse ideological means, Party organizations demonstrate the profound organic link between the Soviet people's work and achievements and the solution of the most acute problems of our time in the interests of peace and social progress. We consider it important to continuously educate the masses in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, consistent solidarity with the fighting contingents of the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement, in the spirit of readiness to do everything to help our class brothers and comrades in the struggle for the bright future of all mankind.

The Communists of our republic deeply realize that moulding the new man constitutes the nucleus of all the revolutionary-transforming activity of the Leninist Party, which regards the all-round and harmonious development of the personality as its loftiest goal. And every achievement in this noble work is a real and weighty contribution to the triumph of communism.

The situation in Canada and the Communists' tasks

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Below is an abridged transcript of the talk on the socio-political situation in Canada, given by William Kashtan at a meeting of the journal's Editorial Council.

Canada at the present time, like the other capitalist countries, is in the grip of a crisis. True the capitalist press now speaks of a partial recovery. We would call it a special kind of recovery and the reason we say that is because investment continues to stay at a low level, and unemployment and inflation are rising.

Mass unemployment is perhaps most indicative of the bankruptcy of the 'controlled growth' policy which the ideologists of state-monopoly capitalism present as the acme of economic wisdom. The line of unemployment is growing from year to year in Canada: in 1957 there were 315,000 unemployed, in 1964 there were 500,000, and in

1974-75, 700,000-800,000. Particularly hard hit are the young people, who seem to be excluded from production. About 50 per cent are those within the 14 to 24 age bracket. High unemployment is a phenomenon that is typical in many capitalist countries today, one might say it is the grimmest expression of present-day capitalism.

The crisis is aggravated by the close relationship of the Canadian economy with that of the United States because 70 to 75 per cent of Canada's exports is within the United States, and this time even the bourgeois economists admit that recovery in the United States such as it is may not have the same positive effects on the Canadian economy as was the case in the past.

The continuing crisis has led to a sharp offensive on the working class of Canada by monopoly, and this finds its expression in the efforts of monopoly, aided by the government's anti-inflation program, to load the costs of the crisis on the backs of the working people, and to limit the extent to which workers can achieve gains in their living standards. Indeed, there are practically no controls over food, rents or transport fares, while the goal for wage raises is set at eight per cent this year, six per cent next year, four per cent the third year. The main attack is directed at the wages and incomes of workers and on the rights of the trade union movement. The workers of Canada are faced with the fact that the collective bargaining right which they assumed was their right, has now been taken away from them because they are limited by the extent to which they can increase their earnings, by the percentages I indicated.

This attack on wages, on earnings is combined now with a second line of attack, so to speak, on social services. Unemployment insurance benefits are being amended, so that workers instead of having to get unemployment insurance when they are unemployed for eight weeks now receive it only after they are unemployed for 12 weeks. Health care and education costs are being curtailed. There is a psychological drive by monopoly and its press directed to create the impression that it is the workers with their 'unrestrained' demands of higher wages who are responsible for inflation. The argument is being put on a false footing, because what is being left out of the situation is that capitalism is the source of inflation.

This attack on the working class and the working people has brought about a situation in which the working-class movement has undertaken a rather militant upsurge of action not seen for many, many years in Canada. More workers have been on strike in Canada than in any of the capitalist countries other than Italy in the past few years. And the strike movement has spread to all industries, including not only blue-collar workers but white-collar workers as well. It reflects the campaign the Communist Party has undertaken calling

upon the workers to unite their efforts to bring about the defeat of the wage- and price-control program, to ignore the rates being set by the government in the interest of monopoly and to go after larger aims and objectives.

Today the workers realize that the government's one-sided anti-inflation program is nothing but anti-labor legislation which must be combated with all means at their disposal, including a general strike if necessary. Such a stand was taken by the Canadian Labour Congress, the main trade union center embracing about two million organized workers, which endorsed the idea of a National Day of Protest. So the likelihood is that this fall, perhaps October, a general strike may take place. For Canada, this is almost virtual to a revolution because the working class of Canada never was in a general strike except once in the city of Winnipeg, in 1919.

We Communists are striving to influence the direction of this struggle and to relate it to the larger political issues that are involved so that it should not be limited to economic issues alone but aimed at changing government legislation and the overall direction of the government economic and social policy. In the process of this striving it will be possible to bring about a coalition of democratic forces that could increasingly begin to challenge monopoly power.

As part of this struggle, the Communist Party has called upon the workers to raise the demand that they should have a say over economic and social policy in Canada, over investment policy, over questions of production in addition to questions of safety and health in industry. And we have raised here two separate questions: the necessity of enlarging the scope of collective bargaining so that it is not only limited to the questions of increases in wages but includes questions of investment policy and production for the unions and the workers to have a say about the closing down of plants or the moving of plants to other localities.

We combine this with the necessity for a radical reconstruction of society through democratic nationalization of the monopolies and multinational corporations in Canada, and democratic planning on that basis, carried through by a coalition of democratic forces. The struggle here is still at an early stage, but this is the direction we are striving to give to this developing anti-monopoly movement.

The concern that the Canadians could determine their own future and become masters in their own house is important in the activities of the Communist Party. This also gives an impulse to our resistance to the domination of U.S. multinational corporations which own a good part of the Canadian economy. In particular, they own 58 per cent of the manufacturing industry. The auto industry is 100 per cent owned by the three big auto corporations of the United States. U.S.

corporations also control the extraction of Canada's raw material resources.

The domination of multinationals has engendered numerous conflicts and contradictions between them and national, especially non-monopoly, capital. A reflection of these contradictions was the formation of a special government commission to study U.S. corporate concentration in Canada. And our effort here is to strive to utilize these contradictions in order to advance the fight for democratic control over the monopoly interests because we can see by many examples how these multinational corporations can use their positions to undermine the effectiveness of the working class, of the trade union movement and its ability to defend the interests of the workers.

It is interesting that such a bourgeois body as the special government commission gave its very close attention to the submission of the Communist Party. We called for democratic control and public ownership of the multinational corporations, and compelled the New Democratic Party, the trade union movement and even sections of the capitalist parties to begin to come forward with some expressions of support for parts of our program.

The struggle against the multinational corporations is in fact a struggle to strengthen Canadian independence and the sovereignty of the people. This is evident from the situation that exists in the use of the natural and, in particular, energy resources of our country. There has been the assumption for many years that Canada has unlimited amounts of energy resources. And the fact is that it has unlimited amounts of energy resources. If you combine oil and gas, water power, electricity, uranium, other forms that are available in Canada, there are inexhaustible resources. And yet Canada did not avoid the energy crisis. This happened so because most the resources that are presently developed are owned by U.S. multinational corporations. And more often than not the latter deliberately curtail production to dictate their terms to consumers. The vast oil resources, for example, of the Province of Alberta, where the main oil deposits are to be found at the present time, are owned by U.S. multinational oil corporations. And they have said that they will not develop these resources unless the government makes available to them guaranteed maximum profits.

At the present time there is a rather sharp struggle being developed in Canada between the government and the multinational corporations on one of the main last reserves of oil and gas in the north of Canada. For there is talk of development there and putting a pipeline from there to the United States (Mackenzie Gas Pipeline). Our Party has taken the position that the problem could be resolved under public ownership of these resources, and a new Canadian energy plan under-

taken by the government, that until such a policy is agreed to, the Canadian people should oppose the development of energy in the north because it will only go to the United States and serve U.S. imperialist interests. And it is interesting to note that there is a vast popular movement throughout the country around this issue corresponding to the demands that the Communist Party has advanced.

Other issues have also come to the fore in the recent period, particularly that of the national question in Canada and its concrete reflection in Canadian reality. Our Party has for years called for the solution to this question based upon the concreteness of the particular issue in Canada by proposing the adoption of a 'made in Canada' Constitution, based upon the equal, voluntary partnership of the two peoples, the French-Canadian people and the English-speaking people, based upon the right to self-determination of the French-Canadian people, including secession, if this they desire. Until this is done, until the equality of the two nations in Canada is effectively ensured, the people's unity will not be firm even if some people begin to think in terms of the national question losing its relevance. Quite recently the Canadians and the world were reminded of this by the nine-day strike of air controllers and pilots which paralyzed air communication in Canada. The worst feature of this was the ugly expression of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism that came to the fore in the course of this strike provoked by the pilots' refusal to use French, on an equal basis with English, as a means of communication in Montreal airport, French Canada. As is usually the case in such situations, this stimulated the growth of anti-English, separatist tendencies among the French-Canadian people in Québec.

It is our deep conviction that this and similar events reaffirm how urgent is the need to ensure the adoption of a 'made in Canada' Constitution based upon the equal partnership of the two peoples, the two nations in one state. The government, however, is reluctant to compile and adopt a new constitution to replace the present one which is a remnant of the colonialism of the past. This means that it wants no change in the legal status of the two nations and, in effect, has no desire to confirm their equality.

In the recent period, as a result of the efforts of the Communist Party and progressives in the trade union movement, some changes have begun to find reflection inside this movement that recognizes the binational character of Canada. New, healthier relations are being established between English-speaking and French-Canadian working people. And this, in turn, has brought about some positive attitudes in the working-class movement in French Canada. Some years ago when the workers in Québec demonstrated on May Day they said: 'Québec for Quebecers.' Later the slogan began to change, so they

said: 'Québec for the workers.' Now at the last May Day demonstration this year they spoke of 'Québec for international solidarity.'

And this was further expressed in a recent demonstration in Ottawa organized by the Canadian Labour Congress against the government's wage- and price-control program. For the first time in many years the workers of French Canada participated in this demonstration. And what one saw was the unity of the English- and French-Canadian working class against monopoly and the monopoly offensive upon working-class standards and gains. Our aim here is to strive, jointly with other progressive forces, to bring about an understanding in the working class of the need for unity of the two Canadian nations against the common enemy — monopoly capital. At the same time we are aware that only socialism can resolve and overcome the national problem that is now plaguing the country.

Among the positive tendencies is certainly the intensification of the struggle for peace. And it is interesting to note that around the Stockholm Petition campaign in Canada we find generally a very favorable response, much more favorable than most of our members thought would be the case. What is particularly interesting here to note is the fact that the trade union movement is increasingly being involved in support of the Stockholm Peace Petition. Almost every labor council today in Canada in the main industrial centers had endorsed the Stockholm Peace Petition. And here too we are striving to show the workers that they cannot fight inflation without coming to grips with the arms race and the arms program. We show them the inconsistency of the Canadian government, which, while speaking in support of détente and disarmament, has nevertheless agreed to reinforce its contribution to NATO and to increase military expenditures in Canada from about two billion to over three billion this year.

Answering questions put by *WMR* Editor-in-Chief *Konstantin Zarodov* and Editorial Council members *Jeronimo Carrera* (Venezuela), *Betty Sinclair* (Ireland) and *Vasilis Venetsanopoulos* (Greece), *William Kashtan* dealt in greater detail with certain aspects in the activity of the Communist Party of Canada, with special emphasis on problems of building a united anti-monopoly front.

Our objective is the setting up of a national-democratic coalition with the working class as the base, the Communist Party of Canada and the New Democratic Party as the political force, and comprising the national-democratic currents that can be united in Québec among the French-Canadian people, the farmers and those sections of the urban small bourgeoisie that can either be neutralized or won over for democratic coalition.

We see in the Canadian reality the necessity of close cooperation between the Communist Party of Canada and the New Democratic

Party. Why? The point is that, with the exception of Communists, there is no other party in our country with a clearly expressed socialist orientation. However, the NDP stands closer to this orientation than all others. The New Democratic Party, as you may know, is a social-reformist, social-democratic movement, with support in the organized working class, somewhat like the British Labour Party. One cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that the Canadian working class as a whole does not yet have a revolutionary world outlook and shares reformist ideas. Hence the NDP's influence. But be that as it may, it is a serious force, whose support is essential in the fight for social change. It is the ruling party in two provinces, holds rather firm positions in the trade unions of the industrial centers, in local government bodies, and has visible parliamentary representation although it has drastically shrunk (to 16 seats) in the last elections.

It should be said that the relations between the CPC and NDP are rather difficult. Of course, in the recent period, the NDP has shifted its positions to some degree. They have undertaken to express support for policies of disarmament and détente, solidarity with the democrats of Chile and other victims of imperialism. They no longer advertise their anti-communism as openly as in the past. For a party whose general orientation for some years was to support cold war policies and to try to dislodge the Communist Party of Canada from many positions it held in the working-class movement, this is no insignificant a change. Today the NDP leaders react more often to what the Communists have to say and take up the positions that we fight for. Sometimes they would certainly want our support, but they would never admit this because in this case the bourgeois press would attack them and they would have to attack the Communist Party, to show that they have no relationship with it. That is why, frankly speaking, we refrain from public support of the NDP even when we consider their actions correct. In fact, we feel it more useful to criticize them. Our criticism helps them more than our support. This may seem to be strange, upside-down logic, but this a reality in Canadian politics.

The duality of the NDP's policy has led to the emergence of two extreme tendencies in our Party. One tendency is to ignore them because of the right-wing leadership notorious for their attacks against the Communist Party, against the Soviet Union, and for their policy of collaboration with big business. On the other hand, there is the tendency to sort of tail behind them, and hide the existence of the Communist Party, particularly in the electoral fight. So that we have to oppose both these tendencies in our ranks, at the same time as we continue a consistent struggle for unity in action with the New Democratic Party.

We consider it highly important to carry on the struggle against the 'left'- and right-opportunist tendencies which should be combated if the Party is to move forward. It is clear that a weak Communist Party can never become the core of unity, that only a party that has strong roots in the working class can influence the course of events. So we combine the struggle for a united front with the struggle for the advance of our program. Unity in action with our allies can, in our opinion, be achieved only on the basis of a principled common program, while establishing closer ties with them must be accompanied by strengthening the Communist Party's independent role.

A few words about other elements of the democratic coalition we are now fighting for, but which is yet to be achieved. We have not yet reached a stage at which such a broad democratic unity is feasible.

Now, we have a very complex situation in Québec because more often than not French-Canadian workers there follow the separatists who, in home policy, adhere to a social-reformist program — moreover, a nationalist-tinted program. And we are against separatism because it has no advantage for the working class, it breaks them up, divides them against each other, instead of uniting them against monopoly. As far as the NDP is concerned, it generally has no chances in Québec, since it does not recognize the existence of the national question there. Thus, in French Canada, we strive to see whether there are national-democratic forces (not nationalist, but genuine national-democratic forces) that could be won to become part of a democratic anti-monopoly coalition. And we are working along these lines in Québec to strive to achieve these objectives basing ourselves mainly on the trade union movement. And certainly, we attempt to estimate the positions of that part of the bourgeoisie which is concerned with the U.S. control of the country's economy and which, under definite conditions, could be won over for the struggle for genuine Canadian independence.

Let us consider another force, the farmers, the farm movement. And here, too, we are faced with a very complex problem. Despite the fact that the population on the farms has diminished and continues to diminish (if I am not mistaken, it may be between six and eight per cent of the total work force), it is an important productive part of the nation. Canada's agriculture is highly mechanized, one of the most mechanized in the capitalist world.

By virtue of their position the farmers have supported bourgeois parties, bourgeois politics in the main. This is due in part to the fact that of late there has been a break off of even the limited forms of cooperation that developed in the past between worker and farmer.

We have raised this question rather sharply in our own Party and are striving at the same time to raise it in other organizations of the

working class. We cannot imagine the democratic movement being victorious without the farmers as its ally. Despite the contradictory nature of the farmers' political attitudes, they cannot be regarded as the mainstay of monopoly. It is characteristic that in Saskatchewan and Manitoba — two largely agrarian provinces where the New Democratic Party elected provincial governments — an important section of the farmers voted for the NDP as the most progressive current.

The sharpness of the problem of allies of the working class with which we in Canada are faced, demonstrates once again that no simple and easy solutions to it can be expected. What we need is constantly to study experience, both our own and that of others, thoroughly formulate our tactics and put forward correct slogans of the struggle. These and other questions will be included in the agenda of our 23rd Convention next October. Preparing for it, we analyzed our program time and again, striving to enrich it with new experience, remove all lack of clarity and all traces of a too narrow, sectarian approach. At the same time we endeavored to present problems in such a way as to leave no room for illusions concerning the substance of the capitalist system and monopoly rule.

William Kashtan also commented on the results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The document the Conference adopted, he said, is of great significance for the Communists of Europe, and not only for them, but for the fraternal Parties throughout the world. The aims of the Conference, which we had always supported and which it reached, correspond with the aims of our own Party. The European Communists' advances in the fight for peace, security, cooperation and social progress inspire us with confidence of achieving tangible results in our campaign for peace and disarmament in Canada that will help us to extend the fight for Canada to withdraw from NATO and from NORAD. We see another important result of the Conference in the attention it paid to an analysis of the present stage of the imperialist crisis. We agree with the conclusion that, though imperialism's positions have weakened, its essence has not changed. It remains the enemy of mankind, the threat to world peace, it remains a potential aggressor, and it remains the enemy of the working class and all working people in each capitalist country. But since imperialism's nature has remained the same, the role of proletarian internationalism, in our view, also remains the same. Moreover, at the present stage of the struggle to reinforce and widen the positions of the working class on a world scale the significance of internationalism for our movement is increasing.

In conclusion I would like to commend *World Marxist Review* for the contribution it makes to our common cause by organizing ex-

changes of experience between the Parties and collective discussion of important theoretical questions. We find this journal an important ideological weapon of our Party in the solution of very complex and complicated problems confronting us and other Communist Parties throughout the world.

Origins of the Fatherland Front

Tsola Dragoicheva
Member of PB, Bulgarian CP

The Communists and working people of Bulgaria, especially we of the older generation of Communists, will soon celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Fatherland Front, which brought our country salvation. Bulgaria's revolutionary history has seen many a memorable event, but we consider the rise of the Fatherland Front, set up in conditions of illegality during World War II, to be one of the most momentous. Some may accuse me of a certain partiality, for it so happens that my name is directly associated with the formation and consolidation of the Front and with its political activity in the period of illegality and after victory (September 9, 1944). I hope, however, that the suspicion of bias will soon be discarded because it is a question of an event highlighting profound social processes and also because the problem of uniting popular and democratic forces today is as important as several decades ago.

This is, in fact, what has prompted me to look back at the formation of the Fatherland Front. While the Front is Bulgarian and so takes account of the political characteristics of our country and meets the interests and goals of our working people, its evolution undoubtedly has universally valid aspects.

On July 17, 1942, Radio Khristo Botev, the Party's illegal station, announced the formation of the Fatherland Front and set out the Front program. It was an event of exceptional importance in the tense political situation of the time.

The summer of 1942 was a profoundly trying period for the anti-Hitler coalition, primarily for the Soviet Union. It was also a 'bloody summer' for Bulgaria's Communists and anti-fascists, who, immediately after June 22, 1941, responded to the Party leadership's call by launching an armed struggle against a greatly superior, well-armed and organized enemy. It was in the spring and summer of 1942 that

the fascist police shot dozens of prominent Communists and Resistance leaders in an effort to quell the anti-fascist rising.

As if in reply to the enemy's fierce onslaught and the shootings, the star of the Fatherland Front began to shine in the dark night that had engulfed Bulgaria. It was an expression of indomitable courage. The formation of the Front, an alliance of all sound national, patriotic and democratic forces resolved to save the country from fascist tyranny and win genuine freedom, democracy and independence, was an act of the greatest political wisdom, maturity and perspicacity, qualities which Georgi Dimitrov showed as General Secretary of the Comintern and leader of our Party.

A few days after the Radio Khristo Botev broadcast, members of the illegal CC BCP met (they were all threatened with life imprisonment or death) to organize the Fatherland Front. I was entrusted as a Political Bureau member and CC secretary to supervise the work. At the same meeting, we decided to set up a Front committee under the CC, to be composed of authoritative and experienced Communists.

Ten days later the committee met clandestinely in the Vitosha forests. That was how the formation of the Front began. The Front's program provisions were published in *Rabotnichesko Delo* and had a strong political impact, which gave the Party access to all anti-fascist forces in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

I must say a word about the period preceding the formation of the Front, for so great a political development could not spring up spontaneously. The rise of the Front was the result of a profound assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the fruit of creative application of the experience of the world revolutionary movement, especially the experience of the CPSU, in the political context of Bulgaria. At the same time, it was what Dimitrov described as something our people had learned from their own history. The roots of the Front lie in the bitter lessons drawn by the BCP, Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU) and other democratic organizations from the telling reverses of the soldiers' rising in 1918, but above all from the events of 1923, when the fascists staged a coup and usurped state power. The coup succeeded precisely because there was no unity between the BCP and BAPU, the working people's two major democratic parties.

Our Party did not lose heart in those tragic days. It accepted the criticism of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and took a realistic view of its mistakes and mustered enough strength to plan and carry out an anti-fascist rising in September 1923 which went a long way toward 'Bolshevizing' the Party. For the first time ever, the Communists and BAPU members showed unity in policy and struggle, thereby laying the groundwork for a united front of the working people.

The September rising was a turning point in our revolutionary movement. The BCP learned an important lesson and drew the conclusion that all anti-fascist and progressive forces must fight in common if they are to win.

After the rising, over a period of two decades, the Party gained further revolutionary experience in uniting the working people. And this experience showed that leftist departures from Marxism-Leninism, such as forcing a revolutionary conflict without proper account of the situation (the ultra-leftist deviation in 1924-25 was a case in point) or 'left'-wing sectarianism (1929-34) tend to isolate the Party from the people and cause severe setbacks. Experience also showed how greatly right-wing opportunism injures the revolutionary struggle.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and Dimitrov's report, 'The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Working-Class Unity Against Fascism,' were of tremendous significance to the BCP. I was fortunate enough to attend the Congress and will never forget the international solidarity and inseparable unity of deep patriotism and proletarian internationalism that the working class and other working people showed. The policy of united popular anti-fascist front and the slogan of popular front government which Dimitrov substantiated at the time became the pivot of the Leninist line of the world communist movement and are as valid as ever.

To the Bulgarian Communists, the years of heroic anti-fascist struggle, the years of World War II, were a test of Marxist-Leninist maturity, staunch internationalism and the ability to unite the people. Condemning dogmatism and sectarianism, our Party did much to unite all democratic and progressive forces. It reached the masses through the trade unions, cooperatives, people's banks and other channels, building up a popular front against monarcho-fascism and imperialism. Without regarding parliament as the main arena of class conflict, but taking an active part in communal, district and general elections, the Party found ways and means of cooperating with other progressive political organizations, first of all with the BAPU.

The Party's strategy and tactics at the time were prompted by patriotism, for Bulgaria had to be saved from the new national catastrophe to which its bondage to nazi Germany was leading, and by ardent and consistent internationalism, by the determination to help the first socialist state, the Soviet Union. The Party called for a popular front against fascism and war, for friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, which was resisting attempts to unleash an imperialist war. Late in 1940 and early in 1941, Bulgaria's Communists launched a nationwide movement in support of the

Soviet proposal for a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between the two countries. Besides the Communists, it involved numerous progressives, primarily BAPU members.

That action (300,000 signatures were collected) played the part of a referendum in which young and old alike said, as it were, 'We want friendship with the Soviet Union. Hands off the USSR.' This campaign meant a great deal for the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and is engraved forever on the minds of organizers and participants alike.

In spite of the people's explicit stand in favor of a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, the ruling monarcho-fascist clique in March 1941 dragged Bulgaria into the Hitler bloc. The urgent task of the revolutionary movement was to withdraw Bulgaria from that bloc, ensure national independence and pave the way for democratic progress. This could only be done by forcibly overthrowing the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and establishing people's democratic rule, which was also of decisive importance for achieving the Party's main goal, socialist revolution.

In striving for this goal, the Party leadership was guided by Lenin's statement that the vanguard of the working class cannot win by itself, that revolutionary action by the masses is a requisite of victory, and that to rouse them to struggle the Party must use slogans understandable to all. In those days of dramatic tension, it was extremely important for the BCP to formulate such slogans and find proper forms of bringing the masses into the fight against the war and fascism. The slightest indulgence in 'leftism' would have threatened to isolate the Party from the people. In discussing strategic issues, we, the majority of CC members, considered that the people's armed struggle should be carried on under the slogan of popular, democratic rule. This was also Dimitrov's opinion. He held that the Party could unite the nation's patriotic and anti-fascist forces solely on the basis of defending the national interests, severing the shackling alliance with the nazis and winning democratic freedoms for the people. He emphatically rejected the socialist slogans suggested by some comrades, dismissing them as premature.

That was how, after almost a year of difficult and uncompromising struggle against monarcho-fascism and sustained effort to expand the struggle, the idea of setting up the Fatherland Front matured in the summer of 1942 and the Front's program was proclaimed.

It was an entirely new development in Bulgarian politics. It was aimed at thoroughly revising Bulgarian foreign policy, terminating the alliance with nazi Germany, restoring national independence and safeguarding the national interests through agreements with fraternal

Balkan peoples and through close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving countries.

The program also envisaged steps to defend the immediate interests of urban and rural working people, end nazi Germany's plunder of the Bulgarian economy, create conditions for economic progress and provide jobs.

The program urged all progressive forces of the country to overthrow the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and bring about a genuinely national government that would, with support from the people and in accordance with their will, establish constitutional and material safeguards of the freedom, independence and prosperity of Bulgaria.

It will be seen that the first program of the illegal Fatherland Front did not call for socialist change. This was expressive of the Front's political acumen and realism. It would have been wrong for our Party leadership to set socialist objectives at the time, since that would have prevented popular unity in a broad patriotic anti-fascist front.

Needless to say, we Communists did not lose sight, even during the war, of the future of the revolutionary working-class movement or of its main strategic objective. We proceeded from Lenin's thesis that accomplishing democratic tasks, far from moving us away from the struggle for socialism, creates the requisites of far-reaching revolutionary changes and a victorious socialist revolution.

The actual formation of the Fatherland Front proved a very hard task indeed. To begin with, we had to operate in conditions of savage repression and massive terror. Leaders and committees were persecuted by the fascist police. Front activists were arrested, imprisoned, sentenced to death or sent to concentration camps. The authorities made no distinction between Communists and other progressives but treated them all with equal brutality. These, of course, were the worst trials for us. But there were other difficulties that, while not leading to bloodshed, required infinite patience and tact to overcome the indecision of some of our allies.

The insincere, double-dealing attitude of certain leaders of the legal bourgeois opposition was a serious obstacle to setting up the Front. They all had long held aloof from the people and pursued narrow class or personal aims. History seemed to have taught them nothing. They persisted in their anti-Soviet and anti-communist views and pinned their hopes on their Anglo-American protectors. Their 'struggle' against monarcho-fascism was confined to non-committal statements in favor of restoring bourgeois parliamentarism. What they were afraid of was not so much the regime as the powerful upsurge of the anti-fascist movement led by the Communist Party.

For all the insincerity, duplicity and anti-communism of the leaders of the legal bourgeois opposition, we BCP leaders kept up our con-

tacts with them, showing patience and tact but entertaining no illusions. In the discreet meetings and interviews we had with them, we called on them to approach developments more realistically. We told them that narrow party interests were not conducive to unity of action in saving the country from the national catastrophe to which the monarcho-fascist rulers were leading it. This line of ours, while constant, varied in accent from one stage of formation of the Fatherland Front to another, to the point of publicly exposing the bourgeois opposition for its objectively conciliatory approach to the reactionary regime. Almost every issue of our Party publications carried an article arguing with or exposing the leaders of those opposition parties and their attitude to the Front.

Our real political allies, whom we counted on and who really sought unity, were the BAPU (with which the BCP had made common cause since the September 1923 defeat), as well as the left-wing Social Democrats, the Democratic, Radical and other progressive parties and movements.

At the same time we strengthened contacts with the anti-monarchy organizations of patriotic intellectuals and military men (mainly from sections of the middle bourgeoisie) known as the Zveno (Link) political group. Its members had attempted a coup in 1934 and now, sobered after their failures, accepted our Party's proposal for united action against monarcho-fascism.

Recalling those difficult years, I must say that for some time many members of these parties and organizations rejected practical steps to set up the Fatherland Front, claiming opposition to armed struggle.

Our Party's Central Committee was guided on this issue by the Leninist thesis of using all forms of struggle. There had been no revolutionary situation in Bulgaria in June 1941, but immediately after Germany's attack on the Soviet Union our Political Bureau set its sights on armed struggle against the nazi invaders and Bulgarian fascists, in defense of the first country of socialism. Communists realized that in the prevailing conditions armed anti-fascist resistance would entail many sacrifices, but this could not stop them. We were in duty bound to display our international Communist solidarity in revolutionary ways.

In speaking of the success of setting up the Fatherland Front and defining its social base, it should be said that mass organizations became a major force in strengthening its base. While seeking united action with political parties, alliances and movements, the Communist Party devoted special attention to the mass organizations among which it had won firm positions before the war. Now they resolutely joined the ranks of the Fatherland Front, while production

cooperatives and associations gradually became a regular 'supply' base for the anti-fascist Resistance.

Although the Front's program did not define the forms of anti-fascist struggle, in the conditions of the monarcho-fascist dictatorship implementation of the main task of overthrowing the regime and setting up 'a genuinely popular government' presumed an armed struggle. As I noted before, the leaders of some parties hated fascism, but at the same time were unable to break with the political traditions of legal action and banked primarily on parliamentary methods. They accepted illegal forms of struggle with difficulty. Furthermore, they were frightened by the tremendous growth of the prestige of the BCP and the logical consequences of the defeat of monarcho-fascism and capitalism.

That is why we had to work persistently to explain the necessity of the Fatherland Front's using all legal and illegal forms, including armed struggle, and many gradually came to realize this. Underground local Front committees began to organize mass legal actions such as strikes, demonstrations, protests among the rural population against forced expropriation of grain, cotton, wool and other produce by the fascist authorities, action in defense of democratic cooperative associations of the working people.

Our greatest effort was concentrated on organizing the armed struggle against the nazis and Bulgarian monarcho-fascists. Despite extremely difficult conditions, the BCP were able to organize the People's Liberation Insurgent Army. It was active in 12 operational zones, and on the eve of September 9, 1944, constituted a partisan division, nine brigades, 37 detachments and hundreds of combat groups. Through the Fatherland Front the Insurgent Army was helped by some 200,000 people who, risking their lives, supplied it with arms and food, gave shelter to the wounded and sick, etc. Partisan units fought under the banners of the Fatherland Front for the implementation of its program objectives.

I should also like to note another significant point characteristic of the period: the Party carried out a tremendous amount of work to win over the army and revolutionize the soldier masses. Communists set up clandestine Fatherland Front committees in many army units, and through the Front we got closer to sections of the democratically-minded officers and especially, soldiers, which played an extremely important part in the armed uprising of September 9, 1944.

In advocating the creation of the Fatherland Front, the BCP realized that its political activity had to be conducted through an appropriate organization. Our first task was to set up a National Committee which would include leaders of the parties subscribing to the Fatherland Front's program, as well as prestigious public figures

known to be true Bulgarian patriots. Initially our efforts to win them over encountered serious doubts and hesitations. However, developments kept pressing, and we simultaneously appealed directly to their supporters among the people, who unhesitatingly and genuinely supported us. As a result, even before the National Committee was set up, clandestine local Fatherland Front committees began to appear all over the country. Their core was made up of Communists, courageous, devoted people ready to risk their lives for the common cause. Gradually, representatives of other progressive forces began to join the committees, mainly cooperative farmers, members of mass organizations, as well as non-party patriots, anti-fascists and democrats who clearly perceived the course events were taking and realized the historical necessity of the Fatherland Front.

Thus, the Fatherland Front, as willed by the people, was built and consolidated, as reliable buildings are built, on a rock base, on a firm foundation. That is why it became strong and invincible and not only withstood all storms and upheavals, but continues today to be a major force in the political life of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

As mentioned before, 1942 was a year of incredible difficulties, suffering and sacrifice in our armed struggle. This naturally affected the formation of the Fatherland Front. But its prestige grew quickly and the anti-fascist struggle led by our Party was carried out under its banner.

The creation of the first Fatherland Front committees alarmed the ruling circles. That fascist hangman, Alexander Tsankov, appealed to his friends and supporters with a proposal to establish a 'National Front,' while the Palace tried to get in touch with some leaders of the BAPU, promising them participation in government in an attempt to undermine the united action of Communists and Agrarians.

The following year, the year of the great Stalingrad battle, created substantially new, more favorable conditions for developing the armed struggle and the Fatherland Front. The number of clandestine committees increased rapidly, and by the end of 1942 there were 230, and not only in neighborhoods, but also at industrial enterprises, offices, educational institutions and in army units.

Most of our allies worked loyally to unite the anti-fascist forces. However, there were also a few people who had joined the National Committee with the purpose of disrupting our efforts to establish militant popular unity. We therefore had to display maximum vigilance, flexibility and talent to fathom their intentions and expose their actions.

In the spring and especially, the summer of 1944, conditions for expanding the Fatherland Front became still more favorable. It is no secret that the main factor in this was the historic victories of the

Soviet Army, which had finally driven the invaders from its own land and begun to liberate Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. This provided powerful impetus to the armed anti-fascist struggle in Bulgaria. The number of waverers rapidly decreased and the network of clandestine Fatherland Front committees grew. On the eve of the popular armed uprising of September 9, 1944, there were more than 750 committees, and in some places Fatherland Front organizations were also set up. Our Party combined illegal and legal forms of struggle to rally the broad masses of the people, actively preparing them for the national anti-fascist uprising.

Throughout the hard years of war the BCP attentively followed the course of events and sought the most correct and effective ways of overthrowing the bourgeois-fascist rule. Our Party's leadership bore in mind Lenin's view that in some cases there appears an 'extremely rare' possibility to 'ensure the peaceful development of the revolution' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 36, 67). We held that if there was even one chance in a hundred, an attempt to make use of such an opportunity would be worthwhile. Accordingly, a delegation of the Fatherland Front's National Committee visited the government in the summer of 1944 and, in view of the prevailing situation and with the purpose of averting a national catastrophe, suggested that it voluntarily hand over power to the Fatherland Front. As could be expected, the fascist rulers turned down our proposal. And yet our move was not useless. It helped some of our allies to shed illusions about the legal, peaceful assumption of power and accept the idea of armed uprising.

As we all know, it began on September 9, 1944, and with the decisive aid of the Soviet army was crowned with victory. The Bulgarian people, united in the Fatherland Front and led by a generally recognized political force, the BCP, destroyed the traitorous monarcho-fascist regime and assumed power, once and for all taking their fate in their own hands. Bulgaria won freedom and independence and chose the socialist road.

Looking back on the historical past, we can say with full justification that the political strategy and tactics of the BCP were correct. The Fatherland Front made it possible for us to get still closer to the BAPU, our natural and important ally, achieve united action with the Social Democratic Party, with the Zveno political group, the Radical Party and many economic, cultural, public, cooperative and other mass organizations. Representatives of all these parties and organizations worked together in Fatherland Front committees, but the decisive influence was that of the Communist Party. This state of affairs came about naturally, because our Party was the main force that organized the mass anti-fascist struggle and formed the People's

Liberation Insurgent Army. Communists consistently and tirelessly upheld the vital interests of the working people. As a result the masses looked upon the Party's activities, slogans and struggle with mounting understanding and trust and firmly followed its lead. Thus, the Fatherland Front developed into the most suitable form of rallying other sections of the working people around the working class and isolating the reactionary big bourgeoisie. Through the Fatherland Front we combined the struggle for democracy and national independence with the struggle for socialism.

The creation of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria was a triumph of our Party's policy of uniting the democratic forces, of creative development of Lenin's united front tactics. We were thus able to involve not only the broad working masses in the struggle, but also large sections of the urban middle strata and a part of the anti-fascist bourgeoisie. That was the main internal factor that contributed to the victory of the September 9 armed uprising.

With the formation of the Fatherland Front and its victory the BCP rose and established itself as the embodiment of the Bulgarian nation's progressive spirit. At the same time, the Party never stopped developing and enriching its internationalist essence. It was this close combination of national patriotic and international tasks that contributed to the victory of our revolution, democratic in form and socialist in content.

In the specific conditions of Bulgaria and in view of the correlation of its class forces, the people's democratic government began from the outset to perform the functions of socialist government. Proletarian dictatorship took the form of people's democracy, one of its main features being the existence of the Fatherland Front as a mass public and political organization and the fraternal cooperation of the BCP with other political parties.

In the words of Georgi Dimitrov, the Fatherland Front was a historic necessity for Bulgaria — not for one statesman or another, not for one party or another, but for Bulgaria as a whole.

The victory of September 9, 1944, was a historical turning point in the life of the Bulgarian people. But tremendous efforts were needed to stabilize and consolidate it, and in this the Fatherland Front and its local committees, which covered the country with a dense network, played the leading role. It was through these committees, in which Communists enjoyed prestige, that the whole policy of the people's government found practical realization. They initiated the consolidation of the new government's economic policy, mobilized the people for the rehabilitation of the economy, and did much for the successful participation of our forces in the final phase of the war against nazi

Germany, when the army of the new Bulgaria fought side by side with the Soviet Army.

The Fatherland Front's struggle under the leadership of the BCP for the consolidation and stabilization of the people's power understandably met with the desperate resistance of internal reaction, which refused to be reconciled with its losses and was utterly unscrupulous in the methods it employed in an effort to halt the development of social processes and prevent the victory of the socialist revolution. As could be expected, internal reaction was supported by international imperialist reaction: infuriated by the victory of the democratic forces, it did all it could to cloud the clear skies of the new Bulgaria and attempted to provoke chaos, subversion, political unrest and even civil war in an effort to deflect it from the chosen road. These forces met with the internal political support of reactionary opposition parties and reactionaries who had found either shelter within the ranks of the BAPU, the Social Democratic and the Radical parties. Our experience has shown that the struggle against the opposition and its defeat is essential for the consolidation of popular unity, the defense of the revolution and its further progress.

Our society's development after the victory of the revolution, the liquidation of the social conditions for the appearance of the bourgeoisie and its political parties, the strengthening of the ideological and political unity of the people, and the very evolution of the non-Communist parties in the Fatherland Front, made it possible and necessary to rebuild the Front as a single public political organization with a common socialist program, common discipline, and under the generally recognized leading role of the Communist Party. Thereby its coalition aspects were eliminated, the mutual trust of the parties belonging to it increased still more, bringing them closer together, and possibilities were created for the reorganization of some parties in the Front's framework on the basis of its program, and for the consolidation of the unity of all the democratic and progressive forces.

In the course of joint action and struggle to promote the general democratic tasks of the Fatherland Front, the healthy forces of the BAPU, Social Democratic Party and Zveno group underwent a substantial evolution and carried out a significant organizational restructuring of their ranks, which made them active builders of the new, socialist society. And when the country's government and social development reached the stage beyond which there was no longer any perspective or social base for the independent political life of some of those parties and their objective role in the development of the country was exhausted, they voluntarily ceased their existence. This was effected in various ways, depending on the ideological and political features of each party.

Members of the Social Democratic Party joined the ranks of the Communist Party on the basis of full recognition of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and organizational principles of Leninism.

The Zveno group and the Radical Party voluntarily dissolved themselves as independent organizations. Most of their members joined in the life and activities of Fatherland Front organizations. Leading members of these parties continue to work in national and local bodies of the people's democratic state and head important public institutions. For example, Angel Shishkov, a former member of the Zveno group, is now a member of the State Council, Dr. Pencho Kosturkov, a former member of the Radical Party, and Zdravko Mitovski, a former member of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, are secretaries of the Fatherland Front's National Council.

The Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union continues to exist as an independent political and public organization and has influence over a section of the working peasants. In October 1948, after a protracted ideological evolution, the Union's Supreme Council declared that the BAPU was to be transformed from a general organization of the peasants as a social stratum into an organization of a part of the working peasants, and that the basic principle of its organizational and political activity would henceforth be the education of its members in the spirit of people's democracy and socialism.

The BAPU's ideological evolution was vitally necessary for its transformation into a democratic organization of a part of the working peasants, into an ally of the Communist Party in the construction of socialism, into a socially useful factor whose role has not been exhausted to this day.

I have set forth some of my recollections and reflections about the Bulgarian Fatherland Front. I hope that these reflections on the vicissitudes of its formation and difficulties of its development will be of use to other parties facing similar tasks, for the birth and development of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front is an inalienable part of the treasure-store of the world revolutionary movement and its experience in such an important task as the forging of popular unity.

A turning point in the struggle for democracy in Spain

Sebastian Zapirain
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Faced with the stubborn refusal of the government of King Juan Carlos to allow the Communist Party of Spain to function openly — as demanded now not only by Communists, but also by the democratic opposition as a whole — the Party's Central Committee held a plenary meeting in Rome.

On July 28 after long and grim years of underground work, the Central Committee of the CPS, supported by representatives of the parties and movements united in the Democratic Coordination, appeared openly before representatives of all the democratic political forces of Italy who had gathered to demonstrate their solidarity, and Spanish and Italian journalists of all trends. Hundreds of Spaniards and Italians came to Rome's Teatro della Arti to greet the selfless leaders of the CPS, undaunted by years of suffering and prison. They came also to greet the young people who, firmly convinced of the correctness of the Communist Party's policy, have occupied responsible positions in the Party and who represent the hope of the future of Spain. As for the Spaniards, they came to Rome with demands for freedom for the whole people of Spain without exception.

It is difficult to express in a few words the emotions of those who attended that historic meeting in Rome, which represents one more step toward the freedom, for which Spaniards made such tremendous efforts and countless sacrifices, but which is now becoming an irreversible reality.

The meeting was presided by Dolores Ibarruri, chairman of our Party, who in moving terms greeted the representatives of the Spanish and Italian Parties. She thanked the Italian Communist Party, represented at the meeting by comrades Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer, for its hospitality, and then opened the historic plenum with a brief review of the situation in Spain. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of great spiritual uplift.

The young people who had arrived from all parts of Spain reaffirmed, by their very presence, their adherence to and love for the

glorious Communist Party of Spain. With enthusiasm they chanted slogans which can be heard today throughout the country, including the emotional call: 'Dolores, to Madrid!'

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the CPS, noted the absence in the hall of some of our most esteemed comrades, such as Simon Sanchez Montero, Francisco Romero Marin, Santiago Alvarez, Lucio Lobato, Jose Luis Nieto and Horacio Fernandez Inguanzo (some of them were still in jail on that day, but now, happily, they are free). After conveying fraternal greetings to them, he went on to explain why the meeting was being held in Rome and not Madrid, as everyone would have wished. In his report he noted that the struggle for democracy, an important part of which is now the struggle for the legalization of the CPS, should be unfolded before the eyes of the people and with their direct participation. He pointed out that the first government crisis after Franco signified the failure of the much-vaunted policy of reformism. Francoism cannot be reformed on the basis of its own laws and institutions or by its own representatives. It took only a few months for reformist illusions to be dispelled. Many factors contributed to this, but the main role was played by the mobilization of the masses and the unprecedented demonstrations for amnesty held at the initiative of the Democratic Coordination in almost all the cities and communities of Spain. Santiago Carrillo set forth in unequivocal terms the conditions on which the democratic opposition could conduct a dialogue with the government with full responsibility, and listed its main demands. He also stated that the opposition had many proposals, that it was not coming forth 'with empty hands' and undertook to carry out democratic transformations in conditions of civil peace, without calling for revenge.

Other speakers were Gregorio Lopez Raimundo for the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, Ramon Ormazabal for the Communist Party of the Basque Country, and Rafael Pillado for the Communist Party of Galicia. They spoke of the need to establish autonomous governments in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia on the basis of the historical statutes of autonomy. Marcelino Camacho, Ramon Tamames, Alfonso Carlos Comin, Pilar Bravo and other leaders dealt with spheres of Party activity close to them and expanded upon positions set forth in the General Secretary's report. All these speeches were greeted with warm applause.

Representatives of other parties of the democratic opposition addressed warm greetings from their organizations to the Central Committee of the CPS. They put forward demands for the legalization of the Communist Party as a condition without which freedom in Spain would be impossible. Representatives of Italian parties attending the

meeting also conveyed their greetings to the Central Committee of the CPS.

After the speeches, Dolores Ibarruri put forward the following resolution for the consideration of the Central Committee:

'The plenum of the CC CPS, having met after preliminary consultations with each of its members at an open meeting in Rome on July 28, 1976, resolves:

'1. To confirm its position that the opposition as a whole can begin a dialogue with the government if the following democratic changes are introduced:

'(a) general amnesty for all political prisoners and political exiles without exception;

'(b) suspension of the law on political associations until such time as conditions are created for working out a new and truly democratic law; in the meanwhile all political parties without exception should be allowed to function freely;

'(c) the formation of a provisional government of national reconciliation including representatives of all forces — right, centrist and left — that agree with the restoration of national sovereignty. This government shall function for a specific period. Its prime task is the holding of elections and the guaranteeing of democratic freedoms for all citizens. This government shall also undertake and accelerate the implementation of urgent measures to reduce unemployment, provide unemployment benefits, raise wages for low-paid categories of the working people and increase pensions, and guarantee agricultural producers, especially the poorer sections, fair prices for their produce;

'(d) declaration of a constituent period and the holding of elections for an assembly empowered to draw up the country's Constitution;

'(e) the formation of autonomous governments in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia on the basis of the historical autonomy statutes. Elaboration of autonomy statutes for other peoples and regions of Spain that demand this as a beginning for the democratic solution of the national question.

'2. To continue work to strengthen the Democratic Coordination and expand it through the attraction of new forces, while at the same time establishing close ties with unitary organizations of various nationalities and regions.

'3. To start this autumn to issue Party cards to all Party members.'

The resolution was unanimously passed by all Central Committee members attending the plenum and supported by the loud applause of the public, which had keenly followed the debate at this meeting, a new landmark in the life of the Communist Party of Spain.

Discussion of the report of the Executive Committee continued on July 29, 30 and 31.

Written in moving terms and on a high political and theoretical level, it encompasses a wide range of socio-economic and political problems. Prime attention is given to the need to strengthen and expand unity with all opposition forces. Simultaneously, it stresses the necessity for the Communist Party to become, as quickly as possible, a large mass party. It set the priority task of nearly tripling Party membership to 300,000 within the next few months, even before gaining legal status.

The plenum stressed that the main goal is to create a society without exploiters and exploited, in which the monopolistic oligarchy would no longer dominate and the dominant role would be played by the forces of labor and culture, with the working class as its main base.

Spanish Communists strive for the broadest democracy and for achieving it through democracy. This plenum was the first open step in that direction. It heralds the beginning of a new stage, because it clearly proves that our Party wishes to play the democratic game honestly and openly, for the whole society to see. It is thus prepared to offer an example to all the democratic forces of the opposition, stressing the need to work together, stating at all times and in all circumstances our intentions and immediate and ultimate objectives, without concealing our shortcomings. It is prepared to listen to and heed all positive criticisms.

The Party sets itself the task of struggling for socialism by profoundly democratic means, combining direct and representative democracy. Assuming that in the society thus created contradictions and conflicts between the new and the old could appear, they can in our view, be resolved without resorting to violence through fruitful competition. Thereby the possibilities will be created for the growth of the public well-being, culture and human solidarity, with the direct participation of every and all citizens.

The Communist Party of Spain is an organization full of vitality when the time comes for debate, but also full of energy when the time comes to act. This makes for unity and assures practical implementation of the policy elaborated by the Party as a whole.

Such united action does not preclude a diversity of theoretical approaches to the new, historically evolved problems, to the existence of various trends in the cultural sphere. There are a number of devout Christians among the Party membership. They are increasingly active and we treat them without prejudice or distrust.

The plenum also dwelt on the question of women's emancipation which had been raised at the Second National Party Conference.

Several months ago a conference was devoted wholly to these problems and approved policy statements. Women constitute a half or more of the Spanish population. They represent a force that can play a decisive role in the struggle for freedom and socialism. That is why the plenum considered it necessary to bring more women into the Party and promote them to leading positions. Communists must help women to realize their true role and fight for their own emancipation and for the emancipation of society. The plenum noted that women were not adequately represented on the Central Committee (only 17) and called on Party organizations to give women a bigger share in the leadership of the Party.

The plenum also declared that the Young Communist League was an important force and it was necessary to help young Communists to popularize the League's program and objectives and evolve more flexible organizational forms that would make it possible to reach out to the as yet politically passive masses of the youth. We must win over to socialism the broad masses of the youth and not only the politically-minded minority.

The plenum welcomed the decisions of the recent assembly of Workers' Commissions in Spain and the establishment of their new secretariat composed of prominent workers' leaders and headed by Marcelino Camacho, who has won the confidence of the Spanish working people and respect in the international trade union by his devotion and abilities, and his years in prison.

The plenum regarded as a positive development the establishment of the Workers' Commissions Coordinating Committee, the General Working People's Alliance and the Union of Worker Syndicates. We Communists contributed to the development of the Workers' Commissions. In future a unified trade union organization must be set up on the basis of the free will of the workers and not imposed upon them. We know that today the Workers' Commissions are the most powerful trade union movement in Spain, but we have no intention of using its strength against other organizations. The Communist Party will continue to give firm support to the Workers' Commissions and uphold their independence, and that will continue to be its stand when a unified trade union is established.

The Communist Party has always upheld the interests of rural working people, and at present favorable conditions are forming for the peasants to overcome their disunity and organize. Things are on the move in the countryside, examples of which can be seen in actions by the peasants of Catalonia, the Association of Land and Livestock Farmers of Aragon, the Peasant Commissions of Galicia and the peasant demonstrations in Palencia on a hitherto unprecedented scale.

The plenum discussed far-reaching changes in Party organization and activity to bring them in line with the task of creating a mass Party and assure greater scope and democracy and closer contacts between leading bodies and local branches. The first undertakings should be the issuing of Party cards, preparations for a mass recruiting drive, and the change to more flexible organizational forms.

The lengthy period of illegality and harsh repressions have left many comrades who consider themselves Communists unattached to Party branches. The plenum decided that they are all entitled to receive Party cards; many of them spent years in prison and risked their lives in defense of the Party.

Formerly we had set ourselves the task of winning over a heroic minority for the Party. Then it was very difficult to be a member of the Communist Party. Now we strive to win over hundreds of thousands of people, and we must from the outset assure that they have a clear idea of our Party as an organization fighting for democracy, socialism and peace, observing democracy in the Party itself, making sure that the word accords with the deed, and offering alternative solutions on all vital problems of concern to the population, as a party which under all circumstances will recognize the results of general elections, even if they are unfavorable. Ours is a party without whose participation democracy and freedom for all citizens are impossible.

The discussion at the plenum confirmed the Party's line on a democratic break with the institutions and laws of the former regime, through negotiations between the authorities and opposition, on strengthening and expanding the Democratic Coordination and setting up a provisional government of national reconciliation which should assure really free elections to a constituent assembly.

It reaffirmed the concept of struggle for democratic pluralist socialism which would preserve and expand all democratic gains and individual rights.

The Central Committee approved the activity of our delegation at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Berlin and reaffirmed the independence of the Party's positions.

At that meeting, we Spanish Communists demonstrated our will to cooperate in a democratic and constructive solution of Spain's problems with everyone who shares this desire.

To sum up, we can safely say that the strategy and tactics outlined by our Party at its Eighth Congress and elaborated in the Program-Manifesto endorsed at the Second National Conference, the correctness of which has been vividly tested in practice, were carried forward at the plenary meeting and will assure even greater successes in the Communists' struggle for democracy and freedom in Spain.



The middle strata and the policy of alliances

Rodolfo Mechini

Member of CC, Italian CP

To win victories in the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism, against the dominance of foreign monopolies, for democratic and socialist transformations in Italian society, the working class must attract a substantial segment of the intermediate, middle strata to its side.

The middle strata include, first of all, the peasants — tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and small and medium landowners who work the land themselves, without hired labor. They also include such social groups as owners of small and medium businesses in industry, trade and services and artisans. Finally, there are the white-collar workers, specialists, intellectuals in the broad sense of the word — from school teacher to clergyman; and professionals: cultural and art workers, scientists, writers, etc.

The importance of the intermediate, middle strata in a country like Italy is apparent. It is determined by the great part they play in the economy and the public sphere and the steady growth in their numbers. This growth is due both to the general population increase and to the spread of rising demands for services and consumer goods to new regions. Another factor is the development of the educational system and technological progress, which makes the structure of production and distribution more complicated.

The following figures offer an idea of the numbers of the middle strata. According to the Ministry of Industry, the number of artisans, together with their partners, increased 10.3 per cent between 1968 and 1973, reaching 1,367,000. Ministry of Labor estimates put the number of small and medium industrial enterprises employing from 10 to 50 workers in 1974 at 49,151 (with a total workforce of 2,578,000). If one takes into account that there were 1,033 large enterprises employing more than 500 persons each (and a total of 1,419,000), one can appreciate the significance of small and medium businesses. In 1974,

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there were 105,000 such businesses in wholesale trade, 840,000 in retail trade, and 192,000 service enterprises and hotels.

In the countryside in 1970, there were 3,119,000 farms with a total area of 14.4 million hectares worked by their owners without hired help. Almost half were less than five hectares (1,393,000 farms totaling 3.5 million hectares). There were 287,300 farms which employed hired labor or were worked in partnership, and on 130,400 farms sharecropping was practiced.

The development of state-monopoly capitalism over the past 20 years has substantially altered the country's socio-economic structure. The agricultural sector has contracted considerably. Since 1960, about a million small farms have disappeared. According to the 1970 census, cultivated areas had decreased from 1960 to 1970 by 3.5 million hectares, and 1.5 million hectares are no longer even treated as farmlands. The share of agriculture in gross incomes in the private sector declined from 24.6 per cent in 1951-53 to 10.9 per cent in 1971-73. Employment in agriculture declined from 5,823,000 in 1962 to 3,111,000 in 1974, or from 29.1 to 16.4 of the total workforce.¹

Mass migration from the countryside is a development common to all countries and its causes are known. However, as far as our and, it seems to us, all developed capitalist countries in general, are concerned, it should be emphasized that the situation in agriculture and all its problems have undergone important changes. New technologies, mechanization and chemicalization have sharply reduced manpower requirements. Medium and small farms spend less on wages and more on industrial goods. The main problems of concern to these farmers are not so much wage settlements with farm hands, although they have not disappeared, as accounts with big industry, with the bank, relations with the domestic and international markets, prices of agricultural products and, hence, government and Common Market policies. Today the main adversary of the rural middle strata is not so much the Farm Laborers Federation, although problems remain, as private and state-monopoly capital and the big landowners connected with it. The latter have an organization of their own, Confagricoltura, which upholds ground-rent and the interests of the parasitic classes as a whole.

Thus, there exists an objective basis for an alliance between the working-class movement as a whole and the small and middle farmers. It should, however, be borne in mind that such a farmer is no longer the poor, illiterate, ignorant peasant he once was, though the type may still be encountered in some small, very backward areas. Overall, the Italian farmer's way of life hardly differs now from that of the small or medium urban businessman. The classical formula of the alliance of workers and peasants no longer corresponds to present-day

social realities in our country. The alliance between the working-class movement and the peasantry takes new forms, for the peasant is at the same time an active creator of material wealth and a worker of high cultural standard employing modern technology. En masse, the Italian peasants are no longer a passive, scattered and unorganized force. They are active in economic, social and political struggles as members of independent organizations which, it is true, have yet to unite.² The peasants' desire for unity has a firm base in the community of their demands and the struggle to satisfy them. The working people of the countryside are fighting mainly for the development of agriculture and, hence, for a new economic policy that would lead the nation out of the crisis and assure agriculture the place it deserves in the economy.

For a correct policy of working-class alliances (and only a correct policy can yield positive results), it is important not to lapse into oversimplifications in defining the large social groups that constitute the middle strata. A debate on the subject aroused considerable interest in our country, and scholars of diverse ideological and political convictions took part in it. Obviously, in view of the objective fact that the middle strata are increasing, it is necessary to undertake a theoretical investigation of the phenomenon, avoiding schematicism. Besides, the question is not of providing a once-and-for-all classification. The middle strata are so diversified, with such complex and contradictory interests, and holding such diverse social and cultural positions, that they should be treated not as a *middle* or *petty-bourgeois* class, but rather as *intermediate strata* occupying different positions in society. Nor can such classification criteria as income, place in production and distribution or role in society be considered in isolation. In our view, these elements are inseparable, and they should be examined in their totality and interconnection.

It is impossible, of course, to go deep into theoretical investigations in the framework of one article. I should, however, like to emphasize certain key positions. First of all, we disagree with the assertion, supported by some in Italy, that the mass growth of the intermediate strata and, in particular, the white-collar petty bourgeoisie, is an indication of the 'deproletarianization' of Italian society. Such growth is certainly taking place, but it does not mean that workers are changing their status to that of the petty bourgeois. On the other hand, also erroneous are assertions about the proletarianization of Italian society. They cannot be accepted even if they imply no more than that there is a similarity between white-collar and blue-collar workers. Actually, though, the difference between them is great.

It will be seen that the thesis of 'deproletarianization' is used as proof of the disappearance of classes, while the thesis of proletarianization is supported to prove that the class bipolarity of society is

becoming more pronounced. In both cases, intricate phenomena and their effects, which are typical of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in Italy, are ignored in favor of a simplistic approach. Strategically and politically, both theses suggest that the problem of alliances no longer faces the working class.

Actually 'the growth of the middle strata in the manner and proportions in which it has been going on in Italy is due to a very complex intertwining of economic and political factors of an objective and subjective nature that do not fit into any pattern' (*Rinascita*, June 27, 1975). This is important to stress because it is a question of the working class and its parties, which must evolve and carry on a correct and bold policy of alliances and draw as wide a range of political and social forces as possible into the struggle to renovate the country. Italian reality is characterized by a complex stratification expressing itself in the existence of a vast variety of political forces. Any policy aimed (as it should be) at extending social alliances into the political sphere must accept the principles of a pluralist society, as Italy's Communists do, and not reject them.

The Communists of Italy devote much attention to the policy toward and work among the intermediate strata. This is also prompted by the bitter experience of the past when in the 20s, underestimation of work among the middle strata by the working class and its parties created a vacuum that was filled by fascism, which found a mass basis and sympathy among these strata. For all its distinctive character, the experience of Chile too, confirms the importance and necessity of a correct, non-sectarian and non-extremist policy toward the middle strata. We consider that the Chilean army played the part of an executor, of the last actor in a scene already staged in terms of social class alliances. In fact, the leadership of the Chilean Communist Party had a clear presentiment of that.

In working among the intermediate strata, Italy's Communists proceed from the policy statement approved by the Eighth ICP Congress (1956). 'It should be clear,' it says, 'that the transition of decisive groups of members of the middle strata to new, socialist-type or socialist relations will only come about on the basis of their economic advantage and with their free consent, and that in a democratic society advancing to socialism, their economic activity will be guaranteed.' Accordingly, we now put forward two theses. One, we do not at all consider that everything should be nationalized. On the contrary, we believe the economy should be developed in a way making it possible for a public sector, a cooperative sector and a broad private sector to coexist. Second, while small and medium enterprises are still largely dependent on big enterprises and influenced by the Christian Democratic Party, we Communists do not want one kind of

dependence to be replaced by another. Our effort is directed toward protecting the economic interests of the productive middle strata, supporting their legitimate requirements and demands, and encouraging their cooperation and association. In broader terms, we want to help these strata to organize and to politically influence, according to their own interests, the country's development on democratic, progressive, anti-monopoly lines.³ We see our task in securing their consent to an alliance of the workers, peasants and intermediate strata, since none of these classes or strata can do without the two others: either they will advance *together* to a new and higher level of socio-economic development, or they will fail *together*. In the light of these considerations, it should be evident that we are justified in proposing an agreement among the three major currents — Communist, Socialist and Catholic — and that the perspective of the historical compromise is important.

Forming such an alliance depends, first of all, on the ability of the working class to exercise its leading role. It also depends to a considerable extent on the attitude and activity of the trade unions and on implementing a differentiated policy toward large-scale industry and the small and medium enterprises. There is reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of working people see these points. However, there are still many difficulties to overcome and they are quite serious owing to the complexity of the problems involved and to inevitable objective contradictions. Hence the need to search continuously and carefully for constructive solutions that would in no way injure the interests of wage labor. For the same reason, it is necessary to emphatically condemn corporate tendencies and to fight unrelentingly against them, against an approach sacrificing the general to the particular, and against all sectarianism. Both are very much in evidence in our country, as numerous facts indicate. Such slogans of small extremist groups as 'Higher wages for the workers, less money for the shopkeepers' do not help the working class to retain its leading role and position. It is also essential to resist those who say the working class nowadays should only think of its wages and ignore the crisis that has hit the capitalist system, and who would like to confine the working class to the ghetto of a barren and suicidal *operaismo*.⁴

The present crisis affects all working people and first of all the working class. The latter is forced into struggle to protect its wages and jobs. But its struggle should not conflict with the effort to solve the problem of ending the crisis. The working class should assume responsibility for the fate of the jobless, the living conditions of all social strata, including the intermediate ones, and the solution of the country's general problems. It should offer, and fight for, its own solution to the crisis. This is the only way for the working class to

establish its leading role, denying such a role to the monopoly bourgeoisie, the class responsible for the crisis, and thus remove the very cause of the crisis.

To carry on a correct policy of alliances, it is also indispensable to keep up the fight against dogmatism in any form. Palmiro Togliatti insisted that the Party should never shut itself up in its own shell by merely 'working out and studying formulas and discussing hypotheses'; it should always strive for new '... gains among the working people, among the peasants, productive middle strata and intellectuals, among all segments of the population.' Hence it must reject 'every form of sectarianism, every form of dogmatism which hamper the search for new ways of developing our action and impose "taboos" on either side to tie our hands and check our progress.'

The June 1975 and June 1976 elections confirmed that a substantial if still insufficient section of the middle strata refuses to be intimidated and blackmailed by the more reactionary and conservative forces in Italy and abroad and voted for the ICP. However, another and no less considerable section of these strata, as well as other sections of the people, has strengthened the Christian Democrats' positions, if to a small degree, by voting for moderate candidates. This is not to say, of course, that these strata want to set up a homogeneous, well-knit bloc against communism, one that could turn down our proposal for new forms of political and economic organization. We think it means that the subjective consciousness of the middle strata does not yet correspond to their objective interest in progressive democratic change to such an extent as to manifest itself when they vote. We think the actual position of these social strata should be considered regardless of the results of their voting in elections. This means that the mass political movement needs to be extended. The position of the middle strata also demands of us more precise and resolute action in the ideological and cultural spheres. Coupled with political initiatives, this action will help to achieve harmony and coincidence of class interests and a subjective realization of the need to transform the economy and social relations and institutions along democratic and socialist lines.

1. The mass exodus from the Italian countryside contributed to a growth of manpower in the service sphere, where employment increased from 5,250,000 in 1951 to 7,723,000 in 1972, reaching almost 40 per cent of the total workforce (39.8 per cent in 1974). Most of the increase took place at state enterprises: 59.4 per cent between 1961 and 1971, as compared with only 16.9 per cent in the private sector. Unlike other countries, the expansion of the tertiary sector of the economy in Italy was accompanied by a simultaneous, though slower, growth of employment in industry. The distribution of employment according to branches in the service sphere can be judged from data for 1972: 2,766,000 in trade and utilities, 1,062,000 in transport and communications, 319,000 in banking and insurance, 1,726,000 in other services, 1,850,000 in the state sector. See *Critica marxista*, No. 6, 1975, pp. 157, 158, 162.

2. There are three Italian peasant organizations: the National Federation of Smallholders, the most numerous, follows the Christian Democrats and has a conservative leadership; the Farmers' Alliance and the Peasants Union, which are progressive, democratic organizations favoring unity of action. There is also a National Federation of Agricultural Workers, which, to promote the unification of all such organizations and in connection with the planned peasants' congress, has altered its status of affiliated member to that of associate member of the CGIL (General Union of Italian Workers).

3. The small and medium manufacturers have their organization, the Italian Confederation of Small and Medium Industry, but many of them belong to the General Confederation of Italian Industry (Confindustria). Merchants and owners of small enterprises of the service industry are united in two organizations, *Confcommercio* and *Confesercenti*. The handicraftsmen belong to three organizations: the National Confederation of Handicraftsmen, *Generali Confindustria*, and Confederation of Associated Handicraftsmen, an organization with Christian Democratic leanings which now seeks unity.

4. Pursuit of narrow working-class aims. — *Ed.*

'Marxology' versus Marxism-Leninism

*Rolf Bauermann,
Karl-Heinz Geyer,
Eilmar Julier
GDR scholars*

'Marxology' is a specific component of bourgeois ideology specializing in distortion and 'refutation' of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin from positions of bourgeois ideology. Mainly and essentially it represents a defensive reaction by bourgeois ideology, now in profound crisis, to the growing authority of Marxism-Leninism, the spread and influence of its ideas in the working class and among the masses generally. The growing influence of Marxism, Lenin remarked, inevitably intensifies bourgeois attacks on it and compels its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists in the hope of undermining and weakening its attractive power and directing the growing interest in Marxism into false channels. This ideological mimicry has been more intensively used over the past years, in the period of the fundamental change of the world balance in favor of socialism. That bourgeois ideologists have turned to the works of the founders of scientific socialism is, of course, no mere accident.

'Marxology' is one of the ideological sources of anti-communism. A clear understanding of its class nature and its place in the battle of ideas will importantly contribute to the task set by the recent Confer-

ence of European Communist and Workers' Parties,¹ namely, to isolate and defeat anti-communism.

Bourgeois ideology is now faced, on the one hand, with the continuous progress of socialism and, on the other, with the continuous aggravation of the inherent contradictions and instability of the capitalist system. Its representatives can no longer afford to disregard the fact that capitalism is being increasingly discredited in the eyes of the masses. That is why they so seldom venture openly to defend their system and more and more frequently resort to camouflage. Even in conservative bourgeois circles the accent has shifted from maintaining to 'regenerating' the capitalist system. Its ideologists have before them the insoluble problem of finding an alternative to the existing socialism.

It is probably right to say that the growing influence and strength of socialism and of the world communist movement, the constantly growing influence of Marxism-Leninism, have created a situation in which capitalist ideology can no longer fulfill its class functions without a ceaseless struggle against scientific socialism. Accordingly, distortion and outright falsification of the views of the founders of Marxism-Leninism has become an in-built feature of contemporary bourgeois ideology. 'Marxology' is one of its branches, and not some special school of thought, existing 'all by itself,' alongside or outside the bourgeois world outlook. For as Lenin pointed out 'the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course' (Vol. 5, p. 384).

Some authors define 'Marxology' as the sum-total of research now being conducted in the West and concentrated on the formation and development of Marx's ideas rather than on Marxism-Leninism as a whole. That definition is too narrow, for even when 'Marxologists' confine themselves to interpreting Marx's work, their aim is to refute contemporary Marxism and undermine existing socialism. No definition of 'Marxology' can rest only on the range of questions it treats, nor on the methods and techniques it employs. It must take into account the purpose and direction of this 'research' into the ideological heritage of the Marxist-Leninist classics. 'Marxology' is an attempt to 're-read' Marx, an attempt to use Marx against Marxism-Leninism.

'Marxology' follows the development laws of bourgeois ideology generally. Bourgeois criticism of Marxism-Leninism is not an integrated phenomenon. For within 'Marxology' there is a kaleidoscope collection of differing concepts, schools, trends. This hodgepodge of theories and concepts stems from the heterogeneity of capitalist society, and is certainly not an expression of what bourgeois ideologists are fond of advertising as capitalism's 'spiritual riches' and freedom.

Whatever differences exist, they do not run counter to the common objective class content of 'Marxological' theories. Differences and contradictions between various representatives of 'Marxology' are of minor importance compared with their common anti-communist and anti-Marxist substance. (No one, of course, will deny that a concrete differentiated approach is necessary for effective struggle against 'Marxology'.)

An analysis of 'Marxological' literature indicates that distorted interpretations of Marxist ideas revolve around problems vital to the working people's struggle for peace, social progress and socialism, problems that have a special bearing on the present development stage of the international communist movement and the further strengthening of its unity. The 'Marxologists' question Marx's teaching on the objective regularities of social development and the inevitable triumph of communism; they are at pains to refute Marx's idea about the historic mission of the working class and its leading role in the revolutionary refashioning of society; they proclaim the Marxist theory of the state obsolete.

As for their tactics, one can single out two basic forms of attack on Marxism-Leninism: open, gross anti-communist falsification that stoops to outright distortion, slander, etc., and veiled methods of falsifying Marxism-Leninism. The two forms exist side by side and complement each other in pursuance of what is, in effect, one and the same aim. But one or another of these forms can be given prominence depending on the concrete situation.

Today, the 'Marxologists' are out to achieve the following main ideological and political aims:

- counterpose Marx's doctrine to the social practice in the countries of the socialist community;
- refute the universal character of Leninism by ferreting out 'contradictions' between Marx, Engels and Lenin, between their views and the aims and tasks of the world communist movement;
- propagate the idea of 'several Marxisms' in order to deprive the Communist and Workers' Parties of a unitary philosophical and theoretical foundation.

In counterposing the teaching of the founders of Marxism to the practice of socialist and communist construction and the policy of the Communist Parties of the socialist community, the 'Marxologists' are above all concerned with discrediting existing socialism. One example: their comparison of the existing forms of the socialist state with the Marxist concept of political power. Bourgeois ideologists know only too well what role the theory of the state plays in Marxism-Leninism, and the socialist state in socialist construction and in socialism's confrontation with imperialism. The capture of power by

the working class and the institution of proletarian dictatorship is the fundamental question of socialist revolution and of socialist refashioning of society. Hence, the socialist state is a main target.

One of their 'arguments' can be reduced to the following: Marx, they affirm, counselled the speediest possible liquidation of the state, including the socialist state, as evidenced, they allege, by his attitude toward the Paris Commune.² But what were the real views of Marx and Engels on the 'withering away' of the state, and what was their attitude toward the Paris Commune?

Marx and Engels proved, on the basis of historical materialism, that the state is a weapon of class domination. Bourgeois ideologists regard the state idealistically, divorced from its class basis, as an institution standing above society. Furthermore, they are inclined to see in the state an instrument of order 'for the common weal.' Others, in contrast, equate the state with violence and coercion. The former view is held by frank apologists of the imperialist state, the latter by diverse pseudo-Marxist petty-bourgeois ideologists, for instance, the Frankfurt School, the 'left radicals,' 'anarchists,' et al. The 'Marxologists' who represent these petty-bourgeois sentiments, ascribe to Marx and Engels an abstract, non-class view of the state, and ascribe to the socialist state the 'repressive qualities' that are characteristic of the imperialist state.

The sleight-of-hand method used in this particular instance is to extend to socialist society what Marx wrote about the exploiter state,³ after which the 'disparity' between state power in the socialist countries and Marxist theory is, naturally, 'taken for granted.' At the same time, passages in Marx's works that refute this are simply 'not noticed.' In particular, 'Marxologists' studiously ignore the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, in which Marx formulates his view on the state in communist society and shows that throughout the transition period from the capitalist to the communist formation the state can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁴ Similarly ignored is the Marxist proposition that the socialist state ceases to be a weapon of the exploiter minority and embodies the power of the majority of the working people, led by the working class, and serves to abolish all exploitation and build a classless society.

The transition from capitalism to socialism, in its political aspect, is not a transition from democracy to dictatorship (as apologists of capitalism would have us believe), but from monopoly dictatorship (in its various forms, including bourgeois democracy) to proletarian dictatorship (i.e. socialist democracy for all the working people). And there is ample historical evidence to support that. 'The broad social strata in capitalist society that are now joining the struggle against monopoly omnipotence and for deep-going social change,' Erich

Honecker said in his report to the Ninth SUPG Congress, 'are encountering resistance from the monopoly capitalists, who use every available means to retain their class dictatorship. Experience has shown that, in the final analysis, social progress is possible only if we abolish this bourgeois class dictatorship.'

Marx's and Engels' attitude to the Paris Commune was not unqualified. While welcoming and supporting the Commune, they criticized its leaders for their excessive magnanimity toward enemies and the absence of a central authority. Engels wrote that the lack of centralization and authority had 'cost the Paris Commune its life When people talk of authority and centralization as two things to be condemned under all circumstances I have a feeling that those who say so either do not know what revolution is or are revolutionaries only in name.'

The importance and role of the socialist state do not diminish but increase, especially at the present stage, as the experience of the GDR and other socialist countries shows. The state's increased role is needed to perfect the socialist social system and manage social and economic processes in the interests of the working people, extend socialist economic integration, safeguard socialist achievements against imperialist encroachments and provide favorable international conditions for the development of socialism by promoting world peace and peaceful coexistence. This does not in any way conflict with Marxism.

Falsifiers of Marx's teachings deny the universal validity of Leninism. 'Marxologist' attacks on Leninism pursue two closely interlinked aims: undermining the world communist movement by destroying its ideological and theoretical foundations, and detracting from the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading force of the world's most powerful socialist state. In this imperialism is helped by the great-power policy of the Maoists, whose ideological positions are hostile to Marxism-Leninism. In fact, their objectives are virtually the same.

'Marxologist' treatment of Marxism and Leninism as antipodes covers all of Lenin's basic contributions to Marx's teachings. The 'Marxologists' concentrate on refuting Lenin's theory of socialist revolution or confining it to narrow geographical or historical boundaries. They stubbornly suggest that 'Leninism . . . is nothing but Marxism applied to the conditions of an underdeveloped country.'⁵ Their arguments are anything but novel for they center on ideas proclaimed by the enemies of Leninism decades ago. They include the allegation of leaders of the Second International that Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was 'incompatible' with Marx's views because Lenin applied Marx's doctrine in conditions it had 'not envisaged,' since in the early 1900s the Russian working class did not

constitute a majority and the country was 'not ripe' for socialist revolution. There would hardly be any point in dealing with these contentions, for Marxist-Leninists have long since disproved them theoretically and practically. However, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism trot out these battered propositions time and again. It is along these lines that capitalist ideology is mounting its new counter-offensive.

In trying to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution and oppose Lenin's views to Marx's, 'Marxologists' follow the example of leaders of the Second International by referring to Marx's work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which points out, in particular, that 'no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed' (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 504). They claim that this was not the case in Russia where the productive forces were not sufficiently developed for the capitalist formation to be replaced by the socialist. Let us note in passing that they treat the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union as a means of rapidly overcoming the country's lag and achieving the kind of industrial society the West had achieved through capitalist development. From this they infer that the Soviet example cannot serve as a model for the contemporary working-class movement of the developed capitalist countries of the West.⁶

These arguments are manifestly a mechanical interpretation of the Marxian idea. 'Marxologists' use them to show that socialist revolution in any country is entirely conditional on the level of its productive forces (defined, moreover, according to involved and vague criteria). Actually, the possibility of socialist revolution depends on the maturity of the prerequisites of socialism within the capitalist system as a whole. Marx advanced the thesis, in generalizing the experience of the revolutions of the 1840s, that capitalism must attain a definite degree of maturity before socialist revolution can be accomplished. He showed that while still on the rise, capitalism was becoming an obstacle to social progress and the objective and subjective prerequisites of socialism were rapidly maturing within it. This applies still more to the subsequent period.

At the turn of the 20th century, capitalism entered its imperialist stage, and its production relations began to hamper the growth of the productive forces to a much greater extent than in Marx's days. It became a world system which from then on was, on the whole, ripe for socialist revolution. The epoch of socialist revolutions set in. Given the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, the socialist revolution was bound to take place in the country where contradictions were sharpest. That country was Russia, a component

of the imperialist system, a country where the development of monopoly capital had reached a high level. There, the contradictions of capitalism, coupled with feudal contradictions and oppression by tsarism, one of the world's most reactionary political systems, became particularly acute. They made Russia fully ripe for the socialist revolution even though it was not yet among the most industrially developed countries of the world. These contradictions were resolved by the three Russian revolutions.

All this gives the lie to 'Marxologists' contention that Leninism is a 'specifically Russian variant of Marxism.' They question its universal validity and claim that there is no continuity between Marx's and Lenin's views on history.

Just as groundlessly, 'Marxologists' argue that Marxist theory is 'outdated' as a method of analyzing problems of today's world revolutionary process and interpreting capitalist realities. Until very recently, bourgeois ideologists described the new developments of the epoch of state-monopoly capitalism engendered by the scientific and technological revolution and characterized by the changing social composition of the working class as indicative of capitalist stabilization, the integration of the working class into the capitalist system or even its 'disappearance.' However, the drastic exacerbation of crisis phenomena in the capitalist world has disapproved these contentions. With every mechanism of state-monopoly regulation in crisis, the bourgeois ideologists' hope of stabilization and of effecting constructive changes in a society based on private ownership of the means of production have turned out to be wishful thinking. The intensifying general crisis of capitalism, plus growing class struggles and the worst economic crisis since World War II, leave nothing of the theory of the working class losing its revolutionary potential and being integrated into the capitalist system. It is 'Marxologist' research that has proved untenable, not Marxist concepts of the nature of capitalism, nor Marx's forecast that capitalist contradictions cannot be resolved.

A further idea advocated by 'Marxologists' is pluralist Marxism and the 'legitimacy' of the existence of different and, indeed, partly conflicting 'Marxisms.'⁷

Marxist-Leninist science has passed through different stages, its attention focusing on one or another set of theoretical problems. Marxism-Leninism had to answer various questions arising in the course of the developing revolutionary struggle of the international working class. And this is what 'Marxologists' speculate on. Noting that there were differences in the approach to problems at different stages, they hold this up as proof that Marxist-Leninist thinking was 'contradictory.' Hence the constant opposing of 'humanist' to scientific Marxism. Marx's entire ideological legacy is treated in the spirit

of idealistic-anthropological interpretations of his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. It is claimed that the original humanist content of Marx's doctrine, which was 'indifferent in class terms,' was 'lost' as the doctrine became 'politicized' and turned into an ideological weapon of the workers, which was allegedly facilitated by Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, a work which influenced Plekhanov and Lenin. Present-day partisans of this approach to Marx's teachings⁸ continue to 'demonstrate' the existence of a contradiction between the 'early' and the 'latter-day' Marx, and on the other hand, oppose Marx to Engels.

There is no question that at the early stage of shaping and developing scientific communism, Marx was interested primarily in philosophical problems of man and humanism. But even at that time he examined them in context of understanding the objective laws of social development. In later years, Marx concerned himself in *Capital* above all with a scientific analysis of the objective development laws of the capitalist mode of production. This analysis also served as the basis for a deeper substantiation of socialist humanism. In *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels endeavored to show the universal applicability of the dialectical materialist principles of cognition, specifically in investigating nature. The 'Marxologists' create an impression of contradiction by disregarding the known fact that the fundamentals of the materialist conception of nature and society were jointly elaborated by Marx and Engels as early as the 1840s.

A further attack on the unity and intrinsic integrity of Marxism is the 'Marxologist' contention that there were differences between Marx and Engels on dialectics, socialist revolution, the doctrine of the party, and other points. Yet Marxist-Leninists have long since shown in their works that these 'contradictions,' too, are a figment of the imagination of critics of Marxism. What is contradictory is not Marxist-Leninist theory, but its interpretation by bourgeois ideology, which distorts everything like a crooked mirror. It turns Marxism — a solid system cast as it were out of one piece of steel — into an amorphous, inherently contradictory doctrine.

We have said that critics of Marx use overt and covert methods. So far we have dealt chiefly with the 'flexible' method of their current struggle against Marxism-Leninism. However, we must also say a word about the other method, blatant anti-communist propaganda devices and calumnies, all the more so as this method is now again being widely employed. One reason is that with the deep crisis and growing inner political instability of the imperialist system, some of its apologists fear even the pseudo-Marxism of petty-bourgeois and revisionist 'Marxologists.' Another reason is that imperialism wants to

take an ideologically tougher stand against socialism in the new situation of peaceful coexistence.

As a rule, traditional anti-Marxist clichés are used. For instance, bourgeois ideologists depict Marxism as a utopian, semi-religious doctrine lacking all scientific substance, and slanderously describe it as 'anti-human' and 'dictatorial' while portraying existing socialism as a materialization of this 'anti-humanism.'⁹

One does not have to be a prophet to say that no form of anti-communist reaction to Marxism-Leninism can prevent it from gaining ground among the working people, and will not help to stabilize capitalism, a system that has outlived its *raison d'être*.

1. The full text of its document will be found in the August issue of this journal.
 2. See G. Petrovic, *Philosophie und Revolution*. Modelle für eine Marx-Interpretation. Mit Quellentexten. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1971, p. 138; P. Vranicki, *Geschichte des Marxismus*. I. Bd. Frankfurter am Main, 1972, p. 198; E. Fischer, *Was Marx wirklich sagte*. Unter Mitarbeit von Frank Marek. Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Zürich 1968, p. 133.
 3. See R. Supek, *Soziologie und Sozialismus*. Probleme und Perspektiven. Freiburg 1970, pp. 192-193.
 4. See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 26.
 5. P. Von Oertzen, 'Thesen zur Strategie und Taktik des demokratischen Sozialismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,' in: *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1974, Vol. 1, p. 77.
 6. See, e.g., N. Leser, *Die Odyssee des Marxismus. Auf dem Weg zum Sozialismus*. Vienna-Munich-Zurich, 1971, pp. 52-53.
 7. See H. Schack, *Marx, Mao, Neomarxismus*. Frankfurt am Main, 1969; W. Leonhardt, *Die Dreispaltung des Marxismus*. Düsseldorf, Vienna, 1970; D. Oberndörfer, W. Jäger, *Marx-Lenin-Mao*. Stuttgart, Cologne, Mainz, 1974.
 8. See, e.g., I. Fetscher, *Karl Marx und der Marxismus. Von der Philosophie des Proletariats zur proletarischen Weltanschauung*. Munich, 1976.
 9. See E. Topisch, 'Wie human ist der Marxismus?' in: *Die Welt*, October 4-5, 1975; F.J. Raddatz, *Karl Marx. Eine politische Biographie*. Hamburg, 1975.
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Perspectives for Europe

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That the Communists are the most consistent motive force of progress in the world of today was confirmed anew at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Berlin on June 29-30, held under the slogan 'For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe.' All participating Parties, including ours, the PUWP, have commented on the wide scope and high level of representation unparalleled in the whole history of the European communist movement. And in Berlin that movement raised key questions of Europe's future and worked out a concrete basis of solidarity and interaction. The Conference document indicates to the laboring masses, the European peoples, to all who want peace and social progress, concrete aims in the fight for a Europe without war.

This important aspect of the Conference was emphasized by the leader of our Party, Edward Gierek, in his Berlin speech: 'We are jointly examining the problems of peace, security and social progress in our continent, i.e., problems of vital concern to all European nations. And we are animated by a feeling of responsibility to our peoples and by international solidarity, the main principle of our ideology and the main guarantee of success in the struggle of each of our parties and of the movement as a whole.' Our Party is acquainting its members and the public at large with the achievements of this forum: the Party publishing house has put out a complete collection of all the Berlin Conference documents and speeches.

The Polish Communists and people welcome the successful conduct of the Conference and its important results. And it is gratifying to know that the initiative in convening the Conference, taken by the Polish United Workers' Party and the Italian Communist Party with the effective support and fraternal cooperation of other parties, has yielded such good results and has made a substantial contribution to the struggle of the Communists and all peace-loving forces for security and social progress in Europe.

The PUWP, it will be recalled, organized and played host to the

Consultative Meeting in Warsaw, had an active part in inter-party consultations and made a modest but, we hope, weighty contribution to the Berlin Conference commensurate with the place Poland holds in the socialist community and in Europe and our Party's role in the international communist movement. The Polish United Workers' Party has followed a consistent policy of promoting a Europe of peace and cooperation, never sparing efforts toward that end. This follows from our fundamental policy principle of assuring the Polish people — who have gone through the terrible ordeals of World War II, the biological and material aftermaths of which are being felt to this day — conditions of peace and peaceful socialist construction. It follows from our Party's deep sense of international solidarity with all the forces fighting for progress and peace, against fascism, reaction, colonialism and attempts to stifle national independence and freedom. It follows from our progressive emancipatory and revolutionary traditions. We consider our part in preparing the Berlin Conference and in its deliberations one of the most vivid expressions of our international activity.

The successful conduct and fruitful results of the Conference were the sequel to many months of preparatory work by delegations from a number of fraternal Parties. And in the course of this work all the Parties concerned clearly and comprehensively stated, on the basis of incisive Marxist-Leninist analysis, their position on the cardinal issues of Europe's future, inter-party relations, attitudes to other political forces, etc. This was the basis for the discussions at working sessions, each of which was a step forward in our joint preparatory work. The best criterion of its effectiveness is that the decisions and formulations worked out in democratic, patient and principled debate, were acceptable to all the parties.

Notwithstanding the allegations of our opponents, we have every reason highly to appraise the results of this preparatory work and the splendid atmosphere in which it proceeded. More, it is no exaggeration to say that the more than 20 months of businesslike discussions, beginning with the Consultative Meeting in Warsaw, were the prelude to the successful Berlin Conference of 29 Parties. This gives cause for satisfaction, for we had no illusions about preparation of the Conference being a simple or easy task: it would have to reflect the wealth of experience accumulated by the fraternal European Parties operating in different countries and in differing conditions. The fact that these objective distinctions and specific conditions were no obstacle to framing a joint document in a spirit of unity, is the best proof that what unites the Communists — their class fraternity — is incomparably stronger than possible differences in their approach to one or another problem.

The Berlin Conference met nearly a year after the one in Helsinki. A year is a short span, but it does allow for an appraisal of the results of Helsinki and their significance for the evolution and shaping of international relations. It also allows one to see who is not too happy about the Helsinki agreements, who is trying to belittle its results and distort the spirit and letter of the Final Act. In this atmosphere of activization of the enemies of détente, of the militarist forces, there came from Berlin the firm and convincing call of the leaders of Europe's Communist and Workers' Parties for full implementation of the Final Act provisions and for action to make political détente irreversible. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of this joint appeal of the European Communists, prompted by their fidelity to the ideals of peace and security. It reaffirmed that communism and peace are indivisible and demonstrated anew the deeply humane character of our movement, oriented above all on the well-being of the peoples.

Speaking at the Helsinki Conference, L.I. Brezhnev said: 'Relations between participating states have been placed on the solid basis of fundamental principles which are to determine the rules of conduct in their relationships. These are the principles of peaceful coexistence for which the founder of the Soviet state, V.I. Lenin, fought with such conviction and consistency and for which our people are fighting to this very day.'

The Berlin Conference closely examined another aspect of this process. Détente, it declared, provides favorable conditions for upholding the social and democratic rights of the working people. It declared, also, that peaceful coexistence has a clear class content and implies ideological struggle, not a class truce; it favors a progressive refashioning of the world, not hardening the status quo. We know that it is precisely this understanding of détente and peaceful coexistence that has become the target of virulent attacks by the most zealous defenders of imperialism and reaction — the South African colonialists and racists, the Chilean fascists, representatives of the military-industrial complexes in the leading imperialist powers. Their common denominator is anti-communism.

The Conference call for an end to the arms drive and for disarmament logically followed from its Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the European and world situation and of the détente process and peaceful coexistence. Once again the Communists' stand has proved correct: if political détente is to be made irreversible, there must be effective steps toward disarmament, and not only in Europe. With the stepped-up NATO arms drive, the development of new, even more destructive weapons, and with annual world armaments expenditure now at \$300 billion, the concrete disarmament program proposed by

Europe's Communists acquires truly epochal importance. It fully accords with the innermost aspirations of Europe's peoples, is realistic and timely. In the opinion of our Party, it will doubtlessly be seen as a key achievement of the Conference. And we must make every effort to bring it to the knowledge of the people and mobilize them for more effective action to make this program a reality, a part of international life. The Berlin proposals continue and develop the earlier initiatives and the traditions of our movement in the battle for a Europe of peace and social progress.

Events since the Conference have centered on military détente. And one of the main aims here is to achieve positive results at the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The socialist states have made constructive proposals to that end.

The International Committee for European Security and Cooperation declared in its appeal on the first anniversary of Helsinki: 'The Stockholm Appeal has highlighted Europe's duty to take the initiative on an issue which from the very start was included in the Helsinki Conference agenda. Public opinion expects European governments to prove that they are really trying to make détente continuous and irreversible. Consistent armaments reduction is the most tangible evidence of a desire for peace and renunciation of the threat and use of force.'

At the same time, the USSR and other socialist countries have taken many initiatives which include the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference and the proposal for a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations put forward by L.I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. These and other proposals have met with warm support in public and political circles, thus creating a congenial climate for implementing the Helsinki recommendations and the more far-reaching disarmament program advanced by the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

The Berlin Conference call for peace, détente and disarmament came as a fitting reply to the militarist forces, the enemies of détente and the cold warriors. In this context it should be noted that three trends, three orientations, on détente, peaceful coexistence and attitude toward the socialist countries have surfaced in the capitalist world.

The first, and oldest, goes back to the days of primitive, bellicose anti-communism. It is supported by the most reactionary imperialist circles, who reject détente out of hand.

At the opposite pole is a realistic trend which has gained dominance in the past few years. It represents fairly wide public and government circles conscious of the changed world balance of forces, from which

they have drawn logical conclusions. They accept détente as the only choice open to the world, as a process which — notwithstanding ideological differences between the two systems and divergent social structures — should produce a set of rules governing peaceful coexistence and, on this basis, promote cooperation in various fields.

Between these two trends there is taking shape, I think, a third, representing those who realize the absurdity of reverting to cold-war methods in the present changed alignment of forces. They might be prepared to accept a certain minimum of détente as the 'lesser evil,' but they are determined to keep it within a limited framework, and would like to adapt it to their anti-socialist policies.

That trend is evident in statements about the possibility, indeed necessity, of combining political détente with the arms drive (the so-called 'cold peace' theory). But it should be perfectly clear that, by its very nature, détente does not allow for any narrowing of its scope, or for emasculating its content. With the changed relation of international forces, détente can be only a dynamic factor, a continuous process leading to new frontiers in security and cooperation, and to ridding mankind of the threat of war. That was stressed at the Berlin Conference. The clamor of the hard-line cold warriors, with their dark forebodings about the future of Europe and the world, the bourgeois pseudo-theoreticians of 'cold peace,' and the arms drive, with all its implications, were countered by the Communists' optimistic picture of a world of peace and social progress. This, we believe, is of cardinal importance for Europe and its peoples at this stage, so crucial to its future.

I shall not deal in detail with the Communists' historic mission; it is known and obvious. But I do want to emphasize that these optimistic perspectives for Europe are eloquent evidence of the Communists' leading role as the most consistent force in the battle for peace and social progress in Europe and the world.

The picture of Europe's development given by the Communists in Berlin would be incomplete without broad economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. The constructive proposals on all these questions set out in the Berlin document are premised on the belief that the Helsinki Final Act has created the necessary preconditions and a favorable climate for broad economic cooperation, a vital factor in promoting peace and security. As a matter of fact, we in Poland have always considered dynamic development of economic cooperation a key element of the infrastructure of peaceful coexistence. And though such cooperation accords with the objective requirements and opportunities of the parties concerned, there are still many barriers to closer international division of labor. Accordingly, the Berlin Conference urged surmounting all existing difficulties to

design a 'material pattern' of peace based on equitable interests, mutual advantage and trust. In this context, we believe, the constructive CMEA proposals for an agreement with the EEC on the principles of relations between them would well serve the interests of Europe and its countries.

The Communists' perspective for Europe is above all a perspective of social progress, of continuous democratic, progressive change, the road to socialism. That is clearly stated in the Conference document and was stressed in the speeches of leaders of the participating parties. Both provide a wealth of theoretical generalizations based on the accumulated experience and practical decisions of fraternal Parties in the conditions of their respective countries. And it is highly indicative that such a comprehensive picture of Europe's social progress could not be presented by any other political force or social trend. For it is scientifically substantiated, is based on the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and backed by social and political practice. It is sepecially important now, at a time when anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet attacks are multiplying, and when our class enemies are trying to blacken existing socialism in the eyes of the working people.

The Conference was a clear refutation of all anti-communist and anti-socialist fabrications. It reaffirmed that the main force in the fight for peace and social progress is the countries of the socialist community, which are bringing into the life of their peoples the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and consistently support these ideals in their international activity. Socialism has still to pronounce its final word. Historically, it is still a relatively young system that does not accept set patterns, is steadily developing, and is looking for the best formulas and solutions. The Conference showed the growth of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, their fight in behalf of the interests of the working class and all working people and the way this was tied in with all-out support for European progress. An eloquent example of the growing role of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries is the recent election success of the Italian Communists, the greater influence of the Communist Parties of France, Portugal, West Germany, Spain, Greece and many other countries.

At the same time, the Conference was a powerful demonstration of Communist solidarity with the progressive forces of other continents and national-liberation movements. The Communist perspective for Europe is not divorced from the struggle for world peace and social progress. The Conference underscored the role of the non-aligned and neutral countries in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. This is one more confirmation that narrow 'Eurocentrism' is alien to the fraternal Parties of our continent. It is from this standpoint that we

see in the Berlin Conference a link between the European Communists and the struggle of the entire international communist and workers' movement, and a meaningful contribution to the worldwide revolutionary process.

The very fact that the Berlin Conference was held, that it was preceded by fruitful all-round preparatory work, that the representatives of 29 Parties unanimously adopted the joint document, is eloquent proof that our Parties are united in aspirations and action. The fact that each Party enjoys full sovereignty and independence, and that there was mutual respect of everyone's position in the preparation and conduct of the Conference, is added evidence of the Communists' internationalism, of their close solidarity and sense of responsibility to the laboring masses and the peoples of Europe for its peaceful development. The Conference was a powerful demonstration of the unshakable international solidarity of the fraternal Parties and of their desire to achieve their jointly and voluntarily adopted aims.

Shortly after the Conference, Edward Gierek told a meeting of worker activists in Katowice: 'We can already say that this was an important, historic meeting at which the Communists of Europe demonstrated anew that they are the leading force in the struggle for peace, security and social progress on our continent. To the great work of implementing the ideas of the Berlin Conference our Party will make a contribution worthy of our people, worthy of socialist Poland. The results of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties are a common success for the working people of our continent, and inspire a feeling of satisfaction in every Party and in all the democratic and progressive forces.'

We are convinced that the perspectives for Europe outlined in Berlin, in the main Conference document, are addressed not only to the Communists and their closest allies, but represent a program for a dialogue and interaction for the attainment of common goals, and together with all other Parties, the Polish United Workers' Party will contribute to this.

Irish Communists and terrorism

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Almost daily there comes news of acts of violence in the countries where the national-liberation struggle is being fought; in advanced imperialist countries and, not least, the undercurrent of action against the countries where the people are building socialism. The violence has taken different forms, e.g., bomb explosions, hijacking of planes — and even trains (Ireland) — hostages held for ransom money or the release of prisoners or, as has happened, as a gesture to obtain food for needy people.

These happenings often reflect to a degree the new heights to which feelings for national liberation have risen as an outcome of the changed balance of forces which has left the imperialist forces in a much weaker position. This has also widened the struggle by bringing into play petty-bourgeois, anarchist elements who desire to 'quicken' the pace of the struggle but whose actions of terrorism are counter-productive, weaken and isolate the forces of liberation and progress, polarize the working-class leadership and create, in the minds of many people, confusion and, not least, provide by their actions 'justification' for the repressive actions by the forces of the state.

These elements eventually pass from the 'heat' of the battle either into obscurity, at the best, or end up as allies of the forces of reaction.

Communists place no reliance on terrorism as a political weapon in forging the struggle for national liberation and the advance to socialism. Lenin characterized terrorists as persons who either had lost faith in the working-class movement, or had never believed in it.

The history of the Irish struggle for national independence is strewn with examples of individual heroism which at the same time jeopardized that struggle. They date from the middle of the 19th century to the present day. The Fenian Brotherhood of the 1860s, for instance,

exploded bombs in Britain as part of its liberation struggle against British imperialism.

The radical movement of the Fenians of the 'lower orders' waged their struggle for Irish independence at a time when the working class was a very weak force indeed and only little more than a decade after the years of the 'great hunger and famine' of 1845-47 in which one million people died and more than one million emigrated from the villages, towns and cities of Ireland. Despite the weakness of the working class at that time, there existed an Irish Section of the International Working Mens' Association which sided with Marx in his great controversy with Bakunin against terrorism. Despite the so-called 'Irish glamour for violence,' often invoked by coercive and repressive legislation emanating from London and actions carried out by the armed Royal Irish Constabulary and British Armed Forces, the working class was slowly but surely beginning to claim the leadership of the struggle for national independence and linking up that struggle with vital social issues — the latter ignored by many of the brave and courageous men and women whose names and deeds have come down the past century and a half in songs and poems. Frederick Engels had personal relations with the Fenian leaders but he criticized their way of struggle as 'the stupidities which occur in every conspiracy.' Jenny Marx waged a tireless campaign for the release of the Fenian prisoners who suffered years of brutal treatment in British prisons, and Marx saw these men primarily as victims of British imperial state terror who had bravely, but incorrectly, tried to fight state terror with ineffective individual terrorism.

The Irish bourgeois leaders wished to engage only in Parliamentary struggle — at Westminster. They declared that 'liberty was not worth the price of one drop of blood,' sought to harmonize their bourgeois nationalist class interests with those of British imperialists and were closer to the latter than to their own working-class compatriots. This Irish bourgeois capitulation to British interests was well expressed by Henry Joy McCracken, a leader of the 1798 Rising, when he declared prior to his execution: 'The rich always betray the poor.' It was in such a historical context that there developed in Ireland an idealization of terrorist methods and a tacit belief that in every generation the sons of Ireland would be called upon to give their lives in the struggle for independence.

There can, of course, be no comparison between the men of 1798, the Fenians, those who fought in the 'four glorious years,' 1918-22, and others since, and the present-day Provisional IRA. There is a gap of history between in which genuine struggles for national and social liberation have the benefit of the experiences gathered in such a struggle, as well as the clear theoretical knowledge brilliantly ex-

pounded by the most successful of all revolutionary leaders — V.I. Lenin.

Terrorism is not something peculiar to either the Irish character or to its people's history. It is a universal phenomenon wherever the working class is weak, wherever there is a strong petty-bourgeois stratum in society, and where socialist consciousness is at a low level. Lenin faced this problem in building up the party of the 'new type.' He had to show the role of the Economists who believed that all emphasis should be placed on the 'economic struggle' and those who believed, like the Narodniks, that individual acts of bravery would rouse the people and lead them onto the revolutionary path. In his book, *What Is To Be Done*, he stated: 'The Economists and the present-day terrorists have one common root, namely *subservience to spontaneity* . . . At first sight, our assertion may appear paradoxical, so great is the difference between those who stress the "drab everyday struggle" and those who call for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals. But this is no paradox. The Economists and the terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity. The Economists bow to the spontaneity of the "labor movement pure and simple" while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole. It is difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or who have never believed, that this is possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy other than terror' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 418). These lines could have been written specifically about the situation today, and for the last 60 years, in Ireland!

In a divided Ireland, the labor movement also became divided. In the South, Social Democracy accepted the state set up as a result of the division and, in essence, accepted the role and rule of the Irish capitalist class which always carried an Irish 'nationalist tinge.' In the North, the leaders of Social Democracy accepted the state of Northern Ireland, with its strong links with the 'United Kingdom.' Gradually, the trade union movement in the South (85 per cent) came under 'Irish influence' but, in the North, over 80 per cent of trade unionists maintained their links with British-based unions. Despite this set-up, Irish trade unionists maintained a united all-Ireland trade union center, with the exception of the years between 1945 and 1959, but the national question was continually ignored by the Social-Democratic and trade union leaders thereby leaving the field clear for the unstable leadership of the bourgeois national forces who are both unwilling and incapable of confronting British imperialism in Ireland.

Such 'national leaders' feared, as James Connolly, an outstanding

Irish Marxist, stated in *Labour in Irish History*, '... to call into existence a spirit of inquiry into the right of property which would not halt at a negation of the sacredness of fortunes founded on rent, but might also challenge the rightfulness of fortunes drawn from profit and interest. They instinctively realized that such an inquiry would reveal that there was no fundamental difference between such fortunes; that they were made, not from land in the one case nor workshops in the other, but from the social subjection of the non-possessing class, compelled to toil on the land as tenants or as employees in workshop or factory' (p. 132). Connolly recognized that: 'The merely political heresy under which middle class doctrinaires have for nearly 250 years cloaked the Irish fight for freedom has thus run its course,' and stated that '... the Irish question is a social question.'

While recognizing that the rebellion of 1798 was an 'Irish expression of the tendencies of the First French Revolution,' that the '1848 (revolt) throbbed in sympathy with the democratic and social upheavals on the Continent of Europe and England,' so Fenianism was a 'response throb in the Irish heart to those pulsations in the heart of the European working class which elsewhere produced the International Working Men's Association — branches of which flourished in Dublin and Cork until after the Paris Commune' (p. 131).

Connolly repudiated the policy of 'physical force' and showed how it harmed the social struggle of the Irish people. His slogan was: 'The Cause of Labour is the Cause of Ireland and the Cause of Ireland is the Cause of Labour.' It was for those principles and beliefs that he gave his life in the insurrection of Easter 1916 when he took the same path as Lenin in attempting to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and one of liberation for the Irish people against the forces of British imperialism.

Ireland today provides a classic example of the imperialistic technique of 'divide and rule,' and as well the sheer counter-productive character of terrorism, particularly in the context of imperialist divisivism.

From 1920 the six Northeast counties of Ireland were included in the 'United Kingdom' and given a devolved government with little power. The population was made up of 1.5 million people and which included 500,000 Catholics whose political affiliations were with the rest of Ireland — and not with the so-called mainland of Britain. The built-in minority suffered discrimination in jobs, homes, education, culture and political representation. The seeming 'fairness' of the Government of Ireland Act 1920, i.e., proportional representation in the electoral process and refusal to permit laws to be passed and enacted which savored of religious discrimination, was unavailing

against the complete social, economic and political control in the hands of the dominant Unionist Party. This discrimination also created divisions among the Protestant and Catholic sections of the working class which again assisted the employers to maintain their control at the expense of the whole working class. Standards of living, wages, housing, education, etc., of the working class in Northern Ireland were, and are, always below those in Britain. (To the present day, income per head in Northern Ireland is only 75 per cent of that in Britain). Housing conditions are the worst in all of Western Europe. Unemployment was always a feature of the state and emigration was the means of getting rid of the 'surplus' labor force.

Throughout this half-century the struggle of the minority has seen many campaigns of individual terrorism and attempts to organize armed campaigns. In 1956 the Irish Republican Army (IRA) opened out an armed struggle against the state and police forces of the North. The slogan was to defeat the state and the armed forces there, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the 'B' Specials.* The terrorism continued until 1962, had no relation to the struggles being waged by the workers for jobs, homes, educational facilities and a more democratic way of life, i.e., for the repeal of the Special Powers Act (enacted in 1922 as an 'emergency measure' and made permanent in 1933 following the great unemployment struggles of 1932). Little or no support was given to the IRA in their campaign by the minority and it was 'called off' in 1962.

A process of re-thinking took place within the IRA and their leaders began to read the works of Connolly, Lenin and other Marxists. Consequently, the leadership began to take note of the social aspects of the whole struggle and not least in relation to winning the major forces of progress in the whole country for the completion of the independence struggle, under the aegis of the working class, and going on to the struggle for socialism in Ireland. Along with Communists and other progressives the IRA, at the close of the 1960s, became engaged in building the broad movement for democratic rights under the leadership of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). This body brought the people out onto the streets in a mass movement that had tremendous political potential. The Northern Ireland and British rulers met this movement with the use of their armed forces but the NICRA stood firm for mass non-violent action and against provocation by the armed forces of the state and its courts. It grew in strength. It not only opposed the concept of individual terrorist counter-actions; it also strove to implement an alliance with the organized working-class forces in Britain. Thus it

* Exclusively Protestant-manned auxiliary units whose members receive special pay for performing duty after working hours. — *Ed.*

recognized that the prerequisite for advance for a people whose country is ruled by the government of another country is the establishment of the closest unity with the working people of the governing country.

The reorientation of Republican policies toward socialism met with resistance within the councils of the Irish Republican Army. This resistance was led by those with petty-bourgeois ideas, who continued to place their beliefs in the 'power of the gun,' terrorist tactics, and a total disavowal of mass struggle, of a mass movement in which the working class would play the leading role. Their attitudes were based on their 'elitist role,' they and they alone would end the struggle for national liberation and after this had taken place, 'the people could decide what kind of a country they wanted.'

The government of the day in Dublin, led by the Fianna Fail party, also saw the dangers implicit in the mass movement which linked Socialist Republicans, Communists and other progressive forces in the North. They feared an 'over-spill' of that movement into the South and took steps to prevent this.

As the campaign for democratic rights and better living standards advanced in the North, the ultra Unionists launched, with the aid of the armed police and security forces, a pogrom against the Catholic people in Belfast. It was then that the Dublin government approached the leaders of the IRA with an alleged offer of £100,000 to 'defend the Catholic people' of Belfast. The leaders of the IRA refused this unprincipled offer, which could only split the unity of the movement in Northern Ireland, but those in the IRA who wanted to adhere to the policy of the gun and their 'elitist' stance, accepted the offer. In early 1970 the Provisional IRA came into being with the old policies of military attack against the forces of the state in the North.

The official IRA proclaimed their policy of defending the people, irrespective of their political and religious beliefs, against state terror.

The Provisional IRA proclaimed their policy of attacking the forces of the state and engaged in a bombing campaign which had as its aim, in the main, civilian targets. Factories, homes and businesses became targets. Workers lost their employment, but the Provisional IRA regarded this loss quite cynically as they claimed — and which was true — that the jobs lost were not 'Catholic jobs.' It was not long, however, before the 'Protestant boomerang' was set in motion, triggering anti-Catholic terror, with Unionist 'volunteers' taking an active part. The polarization of the working class began and continues until the present day. The 'campaign' was extended to Britain, with loss of life in most cases, and thus began the movement to prevent the unity that was building up between the democratic forces in Northern Ireland and in Britain.

The 'campaign' drove the people off the streets and caused the greatest exodus of workers from their homes in Europe since the end of the last war. Death, injury and property destruction became the order of the day. (At the time of writing some 1,600 people, mainly workers, have lost their lives and thousands have suffered permanent injury. Such are the bitter fruits of the state-organized and sectarian terror of the recent years).

The terrorist campaign called into being paramilitary forces led by extreme Unionism, and the working class in the 'Protestant areas' suffer under the same disabilities as the working class in the 'Catholic areas.' Hooliganism and sheer gangsterism are widespread in both areas. After the resumption of direct rule by Britain, March 1972, the paramilitary forces of extreme Unionism extended their activities into the Republic of Ireland with the aid of a bombing campaign. In both parts of the country, and in Britain, legislation against 'terrorism' has become commonplace which is a serious threat to all democratic forces, and, sinisterly enough, since the failure of the 'political solutions' of the Northern Ireland problem by successive British governments, (i.e., unsuccessful attempts to form the Assembly and Executive and the constitutional Convention), the only forces with which the Northern Ireland Offices talk are the paramilitaries of extreme Unionism and the Provisional IRA!

Claud Cockburn, in the *Irish Times* (June 8, 1976), stated: 'Without accepting conspiracy theories it is obvious enough that there are important interests who fear above all a social and political solution of the conflict,' i.e., in Northern Ireland. Cockburn goes on: 'On both sides there are those, and some of them are financially very influential, who see the development of, for example, the trade union campaign (A Better Life for All) for united social progress in the North, as something menacing to themselves. For both of them it could be considered more advantageous to keep in being and even exacerbate the sectarian conflict rather than that the whole situation be seen by the Protestant and Catholic workers alike as one in which sectarianism can be nothing but disastrous to the advancement of working-class interests.'

'This is after all a moment when the future of Harland and Wolf (10,000 shipyard workers) is under the most earnest discussion and when the whole future of industry in the North could be imperilled by a continuance of sectarian uproar. There are always people who can, or at least think they can, make money out of anarchy. These people are dangerously united in their belief that their real enemy is a united working class.' Cockburn's words and conclusions are very pertinent indeed.

The whole industrial fabric of Northern Ireland is in great danger.

The crisis of the world capitalist system, and particularly that of Britain, is affecting the whole industrial, commercial and social system. Britain controls some 80 per cent of all industrial production, the banking system and other forms of commerce and has the right to decide how much will be spent on social services. In 1975, the numbers employed in manufacturing industry fell from 166,000 to 153,000. British multinationals continued their branch closures during 1976 and, by July 1976, the percentage of unemployed had gone up to nearly 12 per cent. Emigration in 1975 rose to 16,000, the highest figure since 1939.

Due to the crisis facing Britain, some 18,000 shipbuilding, engineering, aircraft and workers in the motor car industry, controlled in the main by the British government, have been 'warned' that their jobs may not last beyond 1977-78. The social services, whose workers increased from 273,000 to 280,000 in 1975, and now account for over 40 per cent of all insured workers, face severe cuts in the numbers employed. The housing situation is more acute than it was in 1945. All the public services, i.e., gas, electricity, transport, housing, etc., are heavily in debt (mainly due to very high interest charges), and the people are being forced to 'make good' the losses by having to pay very high increases for the basic services.

It is easy to imagine how, in this crisis situation, life in Northern Ireland is further complicated by the terrorist activity of irresponsible groups. Quite possibly, the leaders of the Provisional IRA believe that, by so doing, they are creating 'unbearable conditions' for the occupation forces, meaning the British administration. But in fact, the terror and its social aftermath hit hard primarily ordinary people — workers, office employees, small proprietors and entrepreneurs. Of course, big companies, too, suffer some losses, but they find it easier to cope with them, for their interests are protected by the state, banks, insurance companies and, moreover, they can make up for them without difficulty by intensifying exploitation. Some multinationals see the 'riots' in Northern Ireland as a welcome pretext for closing down businesses that no longer yield profit and transferring them elsewhere.

The aims of terror do not seem to preoccupy the extremist leaders. At times one finds it hard to get rid of the impression that terrorism in Northern Ireland has degenerated into a policy of 'murder for murder's sake' intended to keep as many people as possible in a state of fear and insecurity. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the Provisional IRA has practically no sound program of demands, no idea of the Ireland it wants or of what makes it shed blood so readily — both that of its own members and, especially, the blood of others.

In their statements for the press, top leaders of this organization, its

'ideologists' so to say, rush from one extreme to another. They alternately say that they no longer think of a united Ireland and are prepared to put Ulster (all nine counties and not six as now) under Unionist rule and threaten to raze Belfast to the ground 'stone by stone.' Claiming responsibility for the bombing of houses, shops and business premises in Derry and Coleraine, the Provisionals bombastically declared: 'All this is part of the continuing struggle for freedom.' Is there any need to prove that these 'melodramatic' stupidities of terrorism, to use Marx's words, can only discredit the 'freedom' in whose name these methods are used?

In condemning the petty-bourgeois extremism flourishing in Northern Ireland, we Communists do not do so for lack of revolutionary determination or lack of courage to fight for a just cause with arms in hand when necessary. What prompts us is our responsible attitude to the struggle for the interests of the working class, for the people's general national aims. From Ireland's bitter experience we have long since satisfied ourselves of the correctness of Lenin's conclusion that 'individual terrorist attacks are *inadvisable* means of political struggle.' Marxists, he wrote, do not in principle reject violence and terror against the class enemy, which no revolution can dispense with, but they favor forms of revolutionary violence involving direct participation by the masses. He invariably emphasized that 'only the mass movement can be regarded as a truly political struggle. Only in direct, immediate connection with the mass movement can and must individual terrorist actions also bear fruit.' In our view, this is the only correct approach — at once humane and resolute, free from the ruthlessness inherent in adventurism and from pacifist feebleness.

While condemning anarchist extremism, Irish Communists have always been aware that the true initiators of terror in our country are British imperialism and its Unionist allies, not the IRA men who, more often than not, merely try to counter blow by blow. As a matter of fact, today the British government's responsibility for the acts of terror is admitted even by bourgeois observers. 'In Northern Ireland,' the *International Herald Tribune* (Sept. 27-28, 1975, p. 4) commented a year ago, 'the British government practically paved the way for terrorist activity. In August 1969, it sent in the troops to deal with a level of violence that was below what it is in Detroit on an average Saturday . . . Now, after more than six years — a period longer than World War II — the British Army is still there, a monument to British inability to respond effectively to a dissident minority.'

The Communist Party of Ireland has stated that continual repression by the British would fail, as in the past, to solve the 'Irish question.' Blind acts of violence by 'elitist groups' would not win national independence and unity for the Irish people. The state of tension

inaugurated by the British cannot be defeated by acts of counter-violence directed against civilians in their places of work, their centers of social gatherings and other public places. Such acts only help grievously to divide the working people leading to a deepening of sectarianism, to the strengthening of this basis of division by which the British have been able to hold on to the country and such acts must be unequivocally condemned as outrages on the people's cause.

At its 16th Congress, March 1975, the CPI declared that it had 'become more and more apparent that the Provisional IRA, far from learning the need for a united people's movement,' had 'escalated their violent activities which deepened disastrously the divisions in the ranks of the ordinary people.' The Party went on to point out that the continuance of such policies had shown that the policies of the Provisionals had become 'more and more right-wing nationalist, militaristic and anti-popular' and had enabled the Unionist right wing, whose ultra organizations also engage in lethal violence, to consolidate its reactionary position on a sectarian basis among the Protestant section of the working class and had also helped to strengthen the position of some opportunistic sections of the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) among part of the Catholic section of the working class.

Regardless of the subjective intentions of some participants in terrorist activities, their conduct often impels people to give their sympathy and support to those who operate under the slogan of 'restoring law and order' (as if they had ever existed in Unionist Northern Ireland). Such was the case on July 21, 1976, when terrorists assassinated the new British Ambassador in Dublin. Sympathy and support for the struggles of the people of the North were immediately transformed into sympathy and support for the victims of terror and, ultimately, for the British administration and the opening out of the greatest manhunt in the whole of Irish history — some 3,000 Irish Civic Guards as well as the Irish Army involved — by the Irish government. There can be no doubt that the manhunt will be extended to the six Northeast counties still under direct rule by Britain and into Britain itself.

How different the picture became in contrast to the early days of February 1972 when, in reaction by the people of the South to the murder by the British Army of 13 civilian Civil Rights Marchers in Derry, the British Embassy in Dublin was burnt down in a mass outburst of the people's anger and indignation against the British administration and their armed forces.

There is a growing realization from the results of 'revolutionary adventurism' that another way must be found in Ireland. The CPI has declared that there is only one force and one movement in Ireland

which can bring about an end of violence, the provision of jobs and the longer-term power needed to transform the country into a place where the interests of the working people are paramount; that is the organized working class in the Irish trade union and labor movement which embraces thousands of organized workers. This all-Ireland trade union movement, despite all the divisions, has shown not only its ability to reunite, but also, as an Irish Congress of Trade Unions, to continue as the single trade union center uniting workers, North and South, Catholic and Protestant. The campaign launched this year for 'A Better Life for All' in the North has linked the fight against unemployment and terrorism together, has come out strongly for democratic rights and has projected the concepts of unity in action of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working class. The sleeping giant of working-class power has at last awoken and the months that lie ahead will witness new forms of struggle that can fundamentally alter the situation in the whole of Ireland.

In the Irish Republic, the united platform of the CPI, the Labour Liaison of the Left and the Sinn Fein Party (political wing of the Official IRA) for the Left Alternative to meet the economic and political crisis of unemployment and robbery by foreign multinationals of the untold mineral wealth recently discovered in Ireland, has lifted the struggle of the Irish people there to new and greater heights as their program is linked with that of the ICTU which has in affiliation upwards of 600,000 manual and professional workers.

Thus, forces capable of radically changing the historical destinies of the Emerald Isle in the interests of all the Irish people are maturing simultaneously in the South and North.

For Portugal's new role in the world

Sergio Vilarigues
Member of PB, CC Secretary,
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Portugal, with its population of nine million, poorly developed industry and backward, semi-feudal agriculture, is a small country with no great influence in international affairs. However, a nation striving to effect socio-political change cannot but attract attention, and democratic Portugal is becoming a factor in world politics. The

people's victory over fascism is one more element in the changing balance of world forces.

Salazar and Caetano with their 'policy of proud solitude' doomed the country to international isolation. But, since April 25, 1974, Portugal's foreign policy has been to establish relations with all countries irrespective of political, economic or social system, relations founded on the principles of friendship, respect, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs. Relations of this type help to maintain stable peace in the world. The 13 years of colonial wars have taught the Portuguese to cherish peace. And that is why the new Portugal, in the words of its President, was prepared to 'direct its efforts toward strict fulfillment of the Helsinki line.' Relaxation of tensions in Europe is important for the victory of peace and true national independence, for ensuring the right of every nation to freely choose its socio-economic development without outside interference or pressure.

That is why Article 7 of the new Portuguese Constitution¹ states that:

'1. In international relations Portugal shall be guided by the principles of national sovereignty, the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence, equality of states, peaceful solution of international conflicts, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and cooperation with other nations in the name of man's emancipation and progress.

'2. Portugal stands for the abolition of all forms of imperialism, colonialism and aggression, for simultaneous and controlled general disarmament, for the dissolution of military-political blocs, for a system of collective security with a view to establishing a world order capable of ensuring peace and justice in relations between nations.

'3. Portugal recognizes the right of nations to take armed action against any form of oppression, notably against colonialism and imperialism, and will maintain special bonds of friendship and cooperation with Portuguese-speaking countries.'

Peace is inseparable from a final and just solution of the colonial problem.

April 25, 1974, was the culmination of a long process influenced by many factors. The key factor was the colonial war in Africa, which led to the regime's economic and political bankruptcy. Portugal, with the lowest standard of living in Europe, and with a third of its population illiterate, spent almost half its budget on the criminal war in 'overseas territories.' (After 1951 the word 'colony' was dropped, a ruse that fooled no one.) Money so badly needed to modernize Portugal's industry and make it more competitive was devoured by the colonial war machine. While economic development plans failed

due to a shortage of labor, more than 180,000 men were fighting in the colonial wars (60,000 killed or wounded in 13 years). 'The government's colonial policy,' wrote Alvaro Cunhal, 'is a crime against the colonial peoples, and a crime against the Portuguese people.'

The military and political victories of the national-liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the growing international solidarity they enjoyed, Portugal's growing international isolation, and the social injustice reigning in the colonies led realistic-minded officers — the core of the Armed Forces Movement — to realize the senseless futility of the colonial war and the need to find a political way out of the impasse. One of the main goals of the working class, the youth, soldiers and officers, the popular and democratic forces was to end the war.

The overthrow of the fascist regime, however, did not of itself end the war or abolish colonialism. Up to the resignation of Prime Minister Palma Carlos and four rightist ministers on July 9, 1974, the new regime's anti-fascist policy at home was accompanied by a policy of 'liberally-enlightened' neo-colonialism in foreign affairs.

The first stage of decolonization went no further than replacing the governors of the 'overseas territories' and transforming the former PIDE, which also operated in the colonies, into a military police. The program of the Armed Forces Movement issued on April 26, 1974, made no mention of immediately stopping the war, nor of the colonies' right to independence. It said that this problem would be dealt with in accordance 'with the will of the Portuguese people.' On April 29, General Spínola declared that a preparatory period was required to bring home to the colonial peoples this choice: preservation of ties with Portugal in a federation (which, he said, would signify success of the 'new course'), or independence (which would, in his view, mean the defeat of this course). This statement reflected the views of certain financial-industrial circles with international monopoly connections. (Spínola was a member of the board of directors of the Champalimaud monopoly group with investments in Angola and Mozambique.)

The influence exerted by Spínola's followers on colonial policy was seen in the appointment of General Silverio Marques (Governor of Angola from 1962 to 1964) as the new head of government in Angola, and of Veiga Simão, former minister in the Caetano government, ambassador to the UN.

Subsequent events, however, forced the government to reconsider its colonial policy, and this led to disagreements and, finally, to the resignation of Carlos. On July 27, 1974, Portugal announced its recognition of the right to independence of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, the San Tomé and Príncipe Islands, and Eastern

Timor. This right was recorded in the Constitutional Law which soon appeared, repealing Article 1 of the 1933 Constitution.

This was a historic victory both for the peoples of the colonies and the Portuguese people, and also for the Communist Party which for a long time had been the only political force opposing colonialism. The Communists continually stressed that the colonial war was a main obstacle to the country's economic development. In fact, our country was a colonized colonizer: while it dominated its colonies it was itself dominated by foreign imperialists. The Portuguese people would never be free and independent until the colonies were free and independent. The Communists were fulfilling their internationalist and patriotic duty by opposing the regime's colonial policy.

The Communist Party's position was supported by the working people. A statement of the Intersindical Congress in the summer of 1974 said: 'Ending the war and recognizing the right of the colonial peoples to independence is the only possible way of stopping the outflow of economic resources and opening the road to reforms and the consolidation of democracy. It is also a prerequisite for meeting the working people's economic demands.'

With the granting of independence to its former colonies, Portugal was faced with the problem of its relations with the new African states and their economic ties with it. In its Emergency Platform² the Communist Party said that 'relations must be developed with all the new states on the basis of friendship, equality, respect for sovereignty, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs; economic cooperation should be promoted, but with due account of Portugal's limited financial resources; the new states should be helped by supplying technology and personnel.' In an interview for the newspaper *Avante!* Alvaro Cunhal said that 'free Portugal will build its democratic future in close and friendly relations with the liberated colonies.' Decolonization is not only a political, but also an economic and social process. It does not imply that the population of the former colonies should be abandoned to fend for themselves. They must be helped to overcome backwardness and poverty and build a free and just society.

Our Party's position was confirmed by a visit in March of a Communist Party delegation headed by its General Secretary to the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola. The goal was to strengthen the friendship, solidarity and militant fraternity between FRELIMO, the MPLA and the Portuguese Communist Party, forged in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for a new society free of exploitation of man by man. This was not just a Party visit, however. It was also meant to help develop the traditional ties between our peoples who have common

interests and goals. 'Our parties are responsible for our peoples' future,' said Alvaro Cunhal, 'that is it is both natural and essential to discuss problems of relations between our countries.'

In spite of attempts by certain forces to prevent normal relations between Portugal and Mozambique and Angola, we believe that broad opportunities exist for their progress. These relations must be built on the principles of equality, sovereignty and mutual respect for their interests. Portugal must reject any claims to supremacy or paternalism, it must respect the right of free and sovereign Angola and Mozambique to choose their political and social systems themselves.

The overall results of the decolonization policy of the past two years can be viewed as highly positive. True, there were deviations and mistakes linked with political developments in Portugal itself. However, the main idea of decolonization was carried out — the former colonies won their independence. This was made possible by their armed struggle for national liberation and the resolute demands of progressive forces throughout the world, especially of the socialist community, for the complete liquidation of the colonial system.

The campaign of slander and attacks against decolonization launched by the Popular Democratic Party, the Social-Democratic Center Party and other reactionary forces, is seriously harming Portugal's interests. The Communist Party warns that the imperialists and reactionary forces in Portugal itself are planning to take revenge on the colonial issue.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the socialist countries was of great help to Portugal in breaking out of its international isolation. These countries supported the Portuguese democratic revolution and our quest for a new foreign policy.

The old regime made it its policy to isolate Portugal from the socialist world, to prevent any contacts with it. In contrast, the Communist Party maintained that contacts with the socialist states were in the interests of the Portuguese people and were needed for the country's economic and cultural progress. This became possible after April 25, 1975; the overthrow of fascism opened the road to normal relations.

A trade agreement was signed with the USSR in December 1974, based on the most-favored-nation principle. Steps have been taken for cooperation in trade, air transport and shipping, scientific and cultural exchanges. A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has also been concluded with Rumania, providing for annual trade reaching \$150 million by 1980. Contacts are expanding with the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Relations with the socialist countries are to our advantage. They

provide new markets for Portuguese goods, and more exports make our country less vulnerable. These contacts will help us deal with many of the serious problems inherited from the fascist regime. They will enable the Portuguese people to become directly acquainted with the experience and achievements of socialism and allow this country to follow a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation. Equitable cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will help consolidate our national independence. This is particularly important now, when our independent domestic and foreign policies are being viciously attacked by certain political forces.

A desire by the more aggressive imperialist circles to influence the development of the Portuguese revolution and force upon us a 'democracy' styled by world capital and the NATO militarists is the spring behind the anti-Portuguese campaign in progress now for more than two years. Claiming they want to see Portugal 'return to democracy' and the 'Portuguese people's rights and freedoms protected,' our country's North Atlantic partners are actually blackmailing it. This is conceded even by the bourgeois press. *The New Republic* (Aug. 30, 1975, pp. 9-10), published in the United States, writes of the 'virtual ultimatum from the European Economic Community to withhold economic aid from Portugal until the emergence of a truly democratic government,' in other words a government obedient to the Common Market. Writing in the French *L'Express* (Feb. 10-16, 1975, p. 37), J.-F. Revel suggests that Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing 'draw up a veritable Marshall Plan' for Portugal on behalf of the EEC, which Portugal would then join. 'Many values in Europe' could then be 'salvaged' together with Portugal.

Alvaro Cunhal called Portugal's economy 'appendicular' because of its dependence on the imperialist powers and international capital. The 1965 legislation encouraging foreign investments was one of the most 'liberal' of its kind in Western Europe. Although the small Portuguese market was of little interest to foreign capital, investments in it were lucrative because of the low wages making possible outrageously high profits. It also opened the road for foreign monopolies into the African colonies with their huge resources.

The labor market connects Portugal with the West European countries (one million Portuguese have emigrated there). They also account for over two-thirds of its foreign trade. Although Portugal is relatively backward compared with the continent's big industrially developed countries, its problems are identical to theirs. Therefore, whether Portugal is with the 'third world' or with Europe is largely an academic question. As a developing country, it has much in common with countries in the national-liberation zone with whom it could become very close thanks to its decolonization policy. But for these

ties to be fruitful, Portugal needs closer relations with Europe. We are for a Europe of peace and collective security and not a Europe of blocs. We are for an independent and democratic Europe where an independent and democratic Portugal could occupy a worthy place.

Communists do not propose a policy isolating Portugal from the capitalist countries. They are for maintaining and expanding its co-operation with Western Europe and the United States, but oppose any political diktat or interference in its internal affairs. The Communist Party is very concerned over the present policy of restoring imperialist domination over Portugal's economy. We need aid, but not aid that would lead to colonization by the large multinational companies and control by international capital.

The anti-communist syndrome, still very apparent, prevents some of Europe's Social-Democratic leaders from seeing the true state of affairs. They are hostile to the Portuguese revolution. The right-wing Social-Democratic regimes in many European countries are using the power of government and state to strangle the new Portuguese democracy economically and keep it under constant diplomatic and political pressure.

This policy dovetails with the position of NATO circles. 'It should not be forgotten that NATO is a treaty meant to prevent Communist advance,' said the Deputy Commander of Iberlant.³ 'The situation in Portugal is very delicate due to Communist participation in government. Logically, corresponding countermeasures have been taken.'

Outspoken indeed. However, more could be added. A meeting on February 24, 1975, attended by NATO Secretary-General Luns, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and the then U.S. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, discussed the 'Portuguese question' and possible consequences that events there could have for NATO in the Mediterranean, particularly in the Gibraltar area. On March 11, the WINTEX-75 NATO maneuvers were held, and Portuguese reactionaries chose precisely this time to strike.⁴

And all this in spite of numerous statements by Portuguese officials that the country would continue abiding by its international commitments and that Lisbon was not contemplating pulling out of NATO.

The Portuguese Communist Party's view on the place this treaty occupies in international relations is absolutely clear. However, at the present time it, too, does not insist that the country leave the Atlantic bloc. Portugal's membership in NATO and the question of military bases in the country should be discussed in the broader context of détente and progress in security and cooperation in Europe and the rest of the world. The Portuguese people will voice their views on this issue at the appropriate time. And what they say will largely depend on the evolution of relations between countries with different socio-

economic systems. It is quite possible that, after being adequately informed, the majority of Portuguese will opt for non-alignment. We Communists believe that foreign policy should be founded upon the principles of peaceful coexistence. One may ask whether there is not a contradiction between these principles and membership in NATO. Contradictions are ever-present. The Preamble to the Atlantic Charter says, for example, that NATO is an association of democratic states, but still, fascist Portugal was a NATO member.

The Boston *Christian Science Monitor* (March 27, 1975, p. 1) wrote: '... NATO governments are likely to be less excited by Portugal's own willingness to be within or without the alliance than by the shift within the Portuguese government ...' And recent events support this. At a colloquium held in Munich by a West German association specializing in military problems, General Alexander Haig, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, said he would never agree to Communist participation in West European governments. Not a new idea. The U.S. Secretary of State and the President had already spoken along similar lines, although they were more careful in their choice of words. General Haig, however, preferred not to mince his words. 'I will never agree ...' he says. However, it is for the Portuguese people to decide whether or not the PCP will be in the government, whether Portugal will continue building democracy with the prospect of transition to socialism, as is stated in the Constitution. And this will be decided irrespective of the wishes of NATO generals.

The United States has made it plain that credits depend on the political climate in our country. The European Nine are resorting to similar methods in order to speed up Portugal's internal evolution in the direction they desire. The leaders of the Socialist and certain other parties seem to think that economic aid from the capitalist countries is a panacea for all problems. We do not share this view. We do need foreign credits, but with no strings attached encroaching on our national independence. So far, however, all talk of credits and economic aid revolves around political conditions and this is interference in our internal affairs. Its aim is to destroy the gains of our revolution.

Prior to April 25, Portugal with its fascist regime, colonial wars and its zeal in serving the most bellicose imperialist forces, was a seat of tension in Europe, and a source of increased danger to world peace. Of particular importance in this connection is new Portugal's desire to help extend European détente and put into effect the historic Helsinki decisions. For this democratic Portugal needs the international solidarity of all progressive forces, of all who are truly concerned with our country's democratic and socialist future. Addressing the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, Alvaro

Cunhal said: 'If we, in Portugal, needed international solidarity during the many years of the severe struggle against the fascist dictatorship, then we need it no less now in our life or death struggle for freedom and social progress that started on April 25, 1974, and which we shall continue.'

1. The new Constitution was approved by the Constituent Assembly on April 2, 1976. It formalizes the most important political and socio-economic gains of the working people as a result of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. — *Ed.*

2. The Seventh (special) Congress of the PCP (October 1974) adopted the Emergency Platform of political and economic measures which were incorporated into the Party program as priority tasks. — *Ed.*

3. Iberlant — Command of NATO's Pyrenean-Atlantic flank. — *Ed.*

4. A counter-revolutionary coup attempted by General Spínola's supporters. Its failure signified a new step in the development of the revolutionary process. For details see *WMR*, May 1975. — *Ed.*

How CMEA membership benefits Mongolia

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The role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as an international organization of a fundamentally new type is becoming increasingly apparent as its activities unfold. The CMEA demonstrates the advantages of economic cooperation based on fraternal mutual aid, complete equality, mutual benefit and respect for the national interests and sovereignty of the member countries. This new pattern of relations derived from the socialist world system strengthens that system. Sustained joint effort and coordinated use of vast material resources and scientific and technological potentialities advance each national economy and help to establish a solid economic alliance between them.

Five years ago the CMEA countries adopted the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration. So far implementation is only in its initial stage but the gains are none the less remarkable. In 1971-75 the national income of the CMEA countries went up by almost 36 per cent and industrial production, 45 per cent. In those five years, the average annual increase in the CMEA countries' national income has been almost twice that of the developed capitalist coun-

tries, and the advantage on the industrial production scoreboard is even more impressive.

Last year the CMEA countries were able to adopt their first integration plan, which served as an important overall guide for drafting and coordinating of the national economic plans for the 1976-80 period and was amply reflected in these plans.

The growing cooperation between CMEA countries and the growing socialist division of labour are intended to achieve strategic objectives. These consist in 'raising the efficiency of social production, and helping to attain a high growth rate in the economy and standard of living of all socialist countries, carry forward industrialization and gradually eliminate historically evolved distinctions in the economic development levels of the socialist countries.' To our country, this last objective is particularly important because the gap between the other countries and Mongolia, which skipped the capitalist stage on its way to socialism, was very great at first. Fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries has made it possible to close that gap.

There is no need to demonstrate how difficult it is for any country to eliminate its economic lag or to stress the urgency of the task for Mongolia and for the world, where the new developing states account for 70 per cent of the population and only 30 per cent of the income. The debate on problems of development and international cooperation at the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly (1975) provided additional proof that the developing countries have good reason to fight for national independence and progress, and against imperialism, which bears the full historical responsibility for plundering and holding down one-time colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies. Their effort to regain their rights and bring about genuinely equal international economic relations has yielded good fruit in recent years.

Due to changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and to the gains of the national-liberation movement, imperialism can no longer maintain the status quo by which it profited in the past. By using new methods, however, it still tries to control the economic development of newly independent countries and safeguard the profits of multinational companies. 'Aid' to developing countries based on this neo-colonialist policy does nothing to narrow the gap between the wealth of some countries and the poverty of others. In certain important fields, it is widening. For instance, the gap in per capita GNP has doubled in 20 years, from eightfold in 1953 to 16-fold in 1973. As for the future, per capita income in the case of 1,000 million inhabitants of the planet is expected to grow by only three dollars

(from \$105 to \$108) between 1970 and 1980, as against a probable \$900 (from \$3,100 to \$4,000) in the more developed capitalist countries. The new states' mounting foreign debt swallows a good half of the 'aid' they get and the modest growth of agricultural production falls short of population growth, dooming 700 and 800 million people to undernourishment. The situation is made worse by upheavals throughout the capitalist system. 'The economic crisis is spreading from capitalist to developing countries, where it has aggravated poverty and social problems,' declared the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries in August 1975.

It is perfectly logical that the socialist countries, having abolished relations based on exploitation, should lead the way in mutually beneficial international cooperation on an equal footing. Furthermore, they tackle the problem of ending the economic lag of some countries on new lines.

Our countries had greatly differing economic potentials when they set out to build socialism. Some of them were among the foremost industrial countries even before the socialist period. As for Mongolia, it had a primitive natural economy, based entirely on nomadic stock-breeding. The differences in economic level are bound to show in national income, the relative shares of industry and agriculture, the use of technical facilities, production patterns, and so on. But to base a comprehensive socio-historical analysis on these indices alone would be obviously inadequate.

The world standing of any country depends fundamentally on its social and political system and the prevailing type of production relations. Distributing a given amount of national income on the principles of private property or on those of social ownership of the basic means of production, within the framework of a planned economy, is, of course, not the same thing. Mongolia is a socialist state and this fundamental fact accounts for the country's vast progress and determines the new laws, ways and means of gradually reaching the level attained by other socialist countries. From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, it is indisputable that only with the transition to socialism can the social and economic problems of the developing countries be solved in a way to satisfy the working people's interests. Like other countries that have effected this transition, Mongolia is faced with new tasks and has new opportunities to build up its economy and end its lag. These opportunities are due, first of all, to the fraternal, internationalist cooperation of the socialist community.

Now for specific data on economic progress in CMEA countries.

National income and industrial output in CMEA countries, 1975
(% increase on 1970)

	National income	Industrial output
Bulgaria	146	155
Cuba		150
Czechoslovakia	132	138
GDR	130	137
Hungary	135	136
Mongolia	138	154
Poland	159	164
Rumania	171	185
Soviet Union	132	143

Source: *Economic Cooperation of the CMEA Countries*. Information Bulletin. CMEA Secretariat. Moscow, 1976, No. 1, pp. 29 and 31 (in Russian).

While the overall rate of production growth is high, the less developed countries of the socialist community have been making more rapid headway, which is evidence of their increasingly close economic relations and the steady equalization of their economic levels. This trend is neither accidental, nor spontaneous. It is a result of deliberate policy followed by the fraternal Parties and countries and is typical of every member of the socialist community, as the development of our country, for one, exemplifies.

Mongolia joined the CMEA in 1962. It has since increased the basic assets of its industry by 270 per cent, per capita industrial output 90 per cent, and the average annual growth rate of industry was 8.6 per cent. The share of industry in the national income, which was 14 per cent in 1960, reached 25 per cent in 1974.

With due regard to Mongolia's interests, the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration provides, within the framework of solving the general problem of gradually equalizing levels, for measures to speed the development of our economy and raise its efficiency. At the 30th CMEA session held in Berlin on July 7-9 of this year the heads of government of the member states reaffirmed their readiness to continue to carry out special measures aimed at accelerating the development and raising the effectiveness of the economy of our country and Cuba, where specific conditions of socialist construction exist.

The International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank grant Mongolia credits on much more favorable terms than to other CMEA countries. Socialist countries have fixed preferential prices for key Mongolian exports. On the basis of

our proposals, CMEA agencies work out and discuss specific measures for the advancement of our economy.

To speed our scientific and technological progress, CMEA member countries have decided to give us their free assistance in setting up 11 research laboratories and a national scientific and technological information center and in training a large number of specialists, including researchers. This decision is being carried out.

The Comprehensive Program defines Mongolian territory as a geologically promising region. This definition is borne out by ascertained deposits of iron ore, copper, tungsten, tin, molybdenum, gold, fluor-spar, phosphorites, piezo-electric materials and various salts. There is evidence of deposits of manganese, chromite, lead, zinc, silver and other metals. An agreement has been signed to organize an international geological expedition to Mongolia. The expedition, gratuitously financed by CMEA countries, will work in the eastern part of the country to ascertain, explore and assess mineral deposits needed for our economy and those of other member countries.

A measure contributing to the implementation of the Comprehensive Program is the agreement signed in 1973 by Mongolia and the Soviet Union to work the big copper and molybdenum deposits at Erdentiin Obo and build a joint plant there. The republic's export potential will sharply increase when the plant goes into operation. Construction is in full swing. We have also set up a joint enterprise for mining and processing some of our country's minerals.

Incidentally, joint projects of this nature reveal the difference between socialist and capitalist cooperation. Imperialist multinationals attach various strings to their 'aid' to secure unilateral advantages. On looking into 409 agreements on the transfer of progressive technology to developing countries, a committee of the Andean Pact countries found 317 of them to contain provisions banning exports while the remaining 92 greatly restrict them. By contrast, sales of the output of the joint Mongolian-Soviet enterprises mentioned above and others like them are the prerogative of the Mongolian side and the enterprises' founding capital is divided equally between the two partners. The enterprises are juridical persons of Mongolia.

In an effort to discredit the nature of relations between our countries and detract from its worldwide appeal, bourgeois authors occasionally claim that cooperation between socialist countries undermines their sovereignty. This allegation is groundless. The formation and development of the socialist inter-state economic complex add to the strength of the national complexes, which are the material basis of the independence and sovereignty of the countries concerned. Our participation in the international socialist division of labor enables us

to build up our economy judiciously, with a view to making the most effective use of material, financial and manpower resources.

Economic, scientific and technological cooperation within the CMEA is promoted on terms in no way curtailing the member countries' economic autonomy and sovereignty. Mongolia remains master of its natural resources and its national, economic, scientific and technological potential. Socialist economic integration makes for the growth of its economy and standard of living and strengthens its international standing.

'There is no contradiction,' said Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP, Chairman of the Presidium, Great People's Khural of the MPR, 'between the properly conceived interests of each socialist country and those of our whole community. And just as the conception of socialist internationalism implies the concern of each for all and of all for each, so the socialist conception of sovereignty implies consideration for the interests of brother countries.'

Cooperation within the CMEA and fraternal aid from socialist countries have enabled Mongolia to score substantial gains in developing its productive forces and improving its living standards. In the past five years, we have made investments of about 7,000m tugriks. Seventy per cent of these investments has gone to the material production sphere, industry getting more than 25 per cent and agriculture, roughly 27 per cent.

The growth rate of social production showed an appreciable increase. Whereas the annual increase in GNP in 1966-70 averaged 4.8 per cent and that of the national income 3.9 per cent, the respective percentages for 1971-75 were seven and six.

Industry progressed at a particularly high rate. The annual increase in GNP was 9.2 per cent in the past five years. This exceeds the CMEA countries' average (7.7 per cent), a fact showing that the task set by the Comprehensive Program — equalizing economic and industrial levels — is being carried out.

In the previous five years, the average annual growth of agricultural output topped the indices registered in the fourth five-year period. Due to measures adopted by the Party and the government, we achieved a stable livestock growth rate and a notable reduction of losses, with the result that gross output in stock farming as a whole is up.

Rapid economic progress has helped to increase foreign trade. While its growth in 1965-70 was about 10 per cent, in the subsequent five-year period it increased by 60 per cent, with exports going up 70 per cent. This was accompanied by an improvement in the pattern of

exports: the share of industrial products exceeded 50 per cent against roughly 30 per cent in the 60s.

With due regard to the positive results of the past five years and to long-range social and economic tasks, the main guidelines for economic and cultural development in 1976-80 were drawn up, publicly discussed, and endorsed by the 17th Party Congress. As in the past, the plan gives prominence to key industries, including mining, fuel and power, metal-working and industries processing agricultural raw materials. It includes important measures for the further advancement of farming. Specifically, besides increasing output of animal and vegetable products, we plan to plough up 230,000 hectares of virgin lands. The growing volume of investment enables our country to build on a large scale, this being a surer way of extending capacities and raising the efficiency of material production. Over one-third of the gross industrial output in the current five-year period will come from new enterprises.

The growth rates of national income and industrial and agricultural production planned for the sixth five-year period will be considerably higher than those reached in the previous five years. A comparison of the CMEA countries' new five-year plans reveals that Mongolia will continue to have the higher growth rate that it needs to come up to the other socialist countries. Its national income in the 1976-80 period is expected to rise by 37 to 41 per cent. This exceeds the average growth index of the CMEA countries. It is also important to note that in the current five-year period the country will have an extremely favorable labor power balance. The trend is for the able-bodied to form a larger proportion of the population and their absolute increment is also increasing.

Economic growth will raise the standard of life. There are to be average pay rises of 7 to 9 per cent, and the money income of members of agricultural associations will go up by 14 to 17 per cent. Retail trade is to grow by 32 to 35 per cent.

The guidelines for 1976-80 state that the sixth five-year period will see the fulfillment of big economic and cultural development projects specifically aimed at transforming Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian country and establishing closer links with brother countries.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party concentrates the efforts of all institutions and organizations and of all working people on keeping to the timetable of new industrial construction with the aid of socialist countries and making full use of capacities. Utilization of the advantages of close economic cooperation and the growing economic assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and full mobilization of the country's own potentialities will assure the ful-

fillment of the Party's plans for building a socialist society in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Discrimination: a bankrupt policy

Salim El-Qassem

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The political, economic and social crisis in Israel is going from bad to worse. The ruling quarters and other right-wing extremists cling to their bankrupt home and foreign policy. Its salient features are aggression, the arms drive, attempts to perpetuate the occupation of Arab lands and suppression of their people's struggle by force. To this should be added disregard of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine; defense of the U.S. imperialists' strategic positions in the oil-rich Middle East; protection of the interests of domestic and foreign big capital, which makes fabulous profits by exploiting the working people and lowering their standard of living; attacks on democratic freedoms and trade union rights; national oppression and racial discrimination against the Arabs. It is this policy that is behind the crisis, which would have been even deeper and more comprehensive but for the Lebanese events and the sharpening of contradictions between anti-imperialist Arab forces. These developments benefit the ruling circles of Israel.

The crisis is particularly marked in the Israeli economy, as data on the 1976-77 budget indicate. The new budget has increased by almost 20,000m. Israeli pounds over last year's, or from 65,500m. to 85,200m., due chiefly to a sharp upturn in direct military spending. It accounts for nearly two-thirds of budget appropriations, with 33,000m. earmarked for current military needs and 22,000m. for payment of debts and interest on loans used in the past for purchasing arms and other material. In addition to direct military appropriations, there are indirect ones listed as civilian appropriations. Military spending is going up, spending on housing, education, health and other peaceful purposes is going down.

The enormous military outlays are the main cause of the runaway inflation and the drop in the value of the Israeli pound. It was devaluated by 42 per cent in the autumn of 1974 and another 10 per cent in the summer of 1975. Its value (8.25 Israeli pounds to the dollar) now drops by two per cent virtually every month.

The mounting economic crisis affects the people's everyday life. Real wages and salaries are falling off and so are the incomes of the rural population. The cost of living is rising and not a month passes without the prices of several necessities being put up. Taxes are going up simultaneously and, according to some estimates, add up to 71 per cent of budget revenue.

The crisis is accompanied by new attacks on trade union rights and the standard of living. With support from the compromising leadership of the Histadrut trade union center, the government and employers prevent pay adjustments necessitated by the growing cost of living and talk about the need to tighten the belt still more.

The working people's condition is also threatened by a further rise in unemployment. During the Knesset debate on the budget, the Minister of Finance and other ministers said there were 56,000 jobless this year, and predicts that the figure would stand at 70,000, by December 1976.¹

The crisis has aggravated labor relations. Workers in various economic fields, first of all the employees of government enterprises and institutions, call preventive and general strikes, work to rule, express protest, hold demonstrations outside the Knesset and Histadrut headquarters. They demand higher pay, better working conditions and an end to dismissals.

Our Party invariably backs these demands in the Knesset and Histadrut bodies. It tries to unite the workers and bring more of them into united action committees grouping working people from various enterprises irrespective of political allegiance. Through various publications and public meetings, it tells the workers about the causes of the crisis. Its activity has already borne tangible fruits. CPI representation in the building workers' union bodies has increased from 4.5 to 9 per cent. Workers on united action committees often operate under our Party slogans.

Of course, the economic crisis in Israel should not be dissociated from the political crisis. The latter manifests itself in the most complete form in differences and struggle for power within the Labour Party and other parties of the ruling coalition, as well as within Zionist parties outside the government. Another sign of the crisis is the failure of the authorities' attempts to find collaborationists in the occupied Arab areas.² The government is compelled to use force in order to crush mass actions of the population of these areas against occupation, for legitimate national rights. These actions have continued since the beginning of the year. The political crisis also finds expression in the marked international isolation of Israel.

A special committee has been formed to study differences in the Labour Party, one of the country's biggest, and to overcome the

difficulties facing it. The committee includes the Party's General Secretary, the Prime Minister, several cabinet members and Golda Meir, who was removed from the leadership earlier for the policy that led to the October 1973 debacle. However, this committee cannot resolve the Party's crisis, which is due to an invariably aggressive policy kept going by the right-wing extremists' fanatical stubbornness. Small wonder that the opposition — the extreme right-wing Likud bloc — is very active now. It demands to be included in a government of 'national unity' or that a general election be held at an early date. Some cabinet ministers and other ruling party leaders tend to support its demands.

A debate is also in full swing in the Mapam, another government party,³ specifically on whether the Mapam stands to gain from a coalition with the Labour Party. Young Party members holding leftist views insist that, to preserve its influence on the masses, its autonomy and its independent policy, the Mapam should join in the coming elections with its own candidates.

In an effort to divert attention from the crisis, the government and the Zionist media are conducting an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. This purpose is also served by generating a stifling atmosphere of chauvinism, fanatical nationalism and racism spearheaded against the Arabs of Israel.

For over 28 years now, the Arabs of Israel have had to bear all the horrors of the Israeli authorities' policy of national oppression and racial discrimination. Not a class or stratum of the Arab population has been spared its blows.

Arab workers are discriminated against in regard to their right to work. Most of them are compelled to take arduous building jobs. In other industries they are usually given only seasonal jobs, where wages and conditions are worse. Arabs who have become skilled industrial workers have done so in spite of official policy.

Discrimination is practised not only by the authorities and employers, but also by the Histadrut leadership. Arab workers are not allowed to set up local workers' councils.⁴ Instead, an attempt is made to bring them under the 'Arab sector of Histadrut.' The very existence of this body is indicative of the practice of national discrimination, which is common in the health, educational, cultural, sports, social and other institutions controlled by Histadrut.

Even May Day has become an occasion for discrimination. On this day, the Jewish workers of Tel Aviv, Haifa and other cities are allowed to demonstrate. But in towns inhabited mostly by Arabs, May Day demonstrations have been strictly banned ever since 1969. As for the Histadrut leadership, it does not move a finger to have the ban lifted.

Discrimination also hits Arab intellectuals and students. The latter come up against innumerable difficulties in seeking admission to a higher institution⁵ and when they do succeed they are harassed by right-wing extremists propagating the idea of the Jews' racial and national 'superiority.' Many graduates find no employment, especially in industry (chemicals, electronics, mechanical engineering).

The Israeli rulers are following a policy of virtually strangling Arab towns and villages by refusing to approve municipal improvement plans, blocking the provision of supplies for the fast-growing Arab population and expropriating its lands. Arab areas get less than one-tenth of the subsidies for Jewish areas.

Our Party calls for the unity of all Arab local authorities in struggle for their rights. Early in 1975, the CPI sponsored a conference under the slogan 'We want equality.' The conference, attended by representatives of all urban and rural municipal councils, set up a standing committee to seek equality in the distribution of government subsidies for construction, the adoption of reconstruction plans and an end to the expropriation of Arab lands.

Ever since the formation of the State of Israel and up to this day, it has engaged in the crudest form of national oppression and racial discrimination — unlawful seizure of Arab lands. The best farm lands were confiscated. This affects not those who left after the war of 1948. Territories were likewise confiscated of war-ravaged towns and villages whose Arab population remained in the country but was forced to seek refuge in neighboring regions.

Unofficial figures place the area of land taken from the Arab population in Israel at 1.5 million dunams.⁶

The Israeli rulers, inspired by their racist doctrines, are clamoring for the Judaization of Galilee, i.e. for radical demographic changes in this region populated mainly by Arabs. As the first step it is planned to requisition 20,000 dunams. The Arab population is to be evicted and their homes destroyed. It is also planned to deprive many Arab villages in other regions of their ownership rights to large tracts of land.

All this has stirred up the Arabs residing in Israel and they are starting energetic measures to defend their homes and lands. In October 1975, Knesset deputies, chairmen of municipal councils, lawyers, clergymen and public figures formed the Land Defense Committee. It includes Communists and members of other parties. This is, actually, a broad and representative national front which, cooperating with the Committee of Chairmen of Local Councils, is demanding repeal of all instructions on land expropriation and a stop to discrimination against Arab citizens. The Land Defense Committee held meetings and press conferences, and issued statements in

order that the broad public should hear the voice of the Arab population. As a result several members of the Ma'arach⁷ bloc demanded that the government either postpone or freeze the land requisition plans. These plans were likewise opposed by part of the Jewish population.

However, on February 29, 1976, the government decided to launch its plans on Galilee. The Israeli Land Department sent the Arab population notices of the expropriation of their plots. In response the Land Defense Committee, the Committee Chairmen of Local Councils and broad sections of the Arab population decided that if the authorities continue with their racist plans, the Arab population would call a general strike on March 30. To prevent this from happening the authorities resorted to gross pressure and terror, to deceptions and trickery. The Arab population did not retreat and the strike was held. March 30 was proclaimed Arab Lands Day.

This was meant to be a peaceful event. However, long before this date the reactionary Israeli press launched a hysterical campaign against it. On the eve of the strike the leadership of the ruling Labor Party, which includes ministers and their advisers, decided to crush the strike by force, to teach the Arabs a lesson so that in future they would obey the government. On the evening of March 29 security forces, police units, border and regular troops arrived in many Arab villages where they started shooting and beating people to provoke trouble so as to clamp down on the population.

On Arab Lands Day, six Arabs were killed and scores wounded, women and children among them. Hundreds of people were arrested or brutally beaten.

But the repressions did not subdue the Arab masses, who continue to oppose the policy of land expropriation and insist that the actions of security forces on Arab Lands Day be thoroughly investigated. The Arab masses are resolved to fight against oppression and discrimination.

The general strike on Arab Lands Day showed that the Arabs are becoming more active in the country's political affairs, forcing the regime to start dealing with the problems of the Arab population, including the question of repealing plans for land expropriation, of equality for Arab nationals. In this, the Communists see the indisputable success of the strike. It demonstrated that Arabs will not accept a miserable existence under uncouth, bankrupt politicians, dependent on imperialism, who treat them as second-class citizens.

The strike laid bare the true essence of the policy of oppression and discrimination and was a warning to the sober-thinking, democratic segments of the Jewish population of the dangers of this pernicious policy. Many Jewish citizens, including Knesset deputies, cultural

workers, teachers, researchers and outstanding public figures, protested the bloody actions against the Arabs and supported Communist demands for a commission to investigate the actions of the security forces who are directly responsible for the bloodshed and brutalities.

On March 31, Communist Party General Secretary Meir Vilner moved in the Knesset a motion of no confidence in the government and severely criticized the disgraceful and cruel discrimination against the striking Arab citizens. The Communist deputies exposed the provocations of the authorities. Their speeches were interrupted by deputies from the ruling party and the Likud bloc who tried to exonerate the security forces of responsibility for these crimes, placing all the blame on the peaceful Arabs. The regime and its press launched a slander campaign against the Communist Party. But it served only to show the futility of their policy and their fear that the Communists would increase their influence among the Arabs who, by rallying round the Communist Party, are demonstrating a high level of political awareness. The campaign also shows that the ruling circles are very much concerned over the growing popularity of the Communist Party among the Jewish part of the population.

The broad international and Arab sympathy for the historical strike on Arab Lands Day, and the militant solidarity of the Palestinians, living in occupied territories, all this is a source of strength and inspiration for the Arab population of Israel to continue efforts for their rights as citizens. Support is also increasing from the democratic Jewish forces — an important condition for consolidating unity of the Arab and Jewish workers for a just and democratic peace in the Middle East, for equal rights and a brighter future for both peoples.

The Communists view the struggle of the Arab population as part of the general democratic movement for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and for profound changes in Israel itself. As in the past the Party believes it must continue warning the Jewish people of the dangers of the policy of the Israeli rulers, calling on them to be more active in working to change this policy, to awaken the forces of good will in the country and demand a stop to all punitive actions against the population of occupied Arab territories and the Arabs in Israel.

The Communists continue to rally the peace forces, all who want a brighter future, to demand withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied since June 1967, for recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination, including their right to establish an independent state bordering on Israel, for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all countries in the region, including Israel, and, jointly with all Arab peoples to form a united anti-imperialist front. We say 'no' to all who would involve us in an anti-Arab alliance with the imperialists.

The Communists are firmly convinced that opposition to the Israeli government policy of national oppression and racial discrimination against the Arabs, is an integral part of the movement for realizing the lofty goals reflecting the true interests of the Jews and the Arabs. We are aware of the difficulties facing us but we are optimistic of the future because our political line is correct. Our Party firmly adheres to proletarian internationalism and enjoys the broad support of the world's forces of peace, socialism and progress.

1. Speaking to a building workers' trade union conference last February, the Minister of Housing announced plans for the dismissal of up to 10,000 workers. With budget allocations cut, housing construction is expected to decline to almost half of the 1974-75 figure. Yet the housing crisis hits hundreds of thousands of Jews and Arabs.

2. This is also seen in the results of the municipal elections held on the West Bank (April 12, 1976). They were won entirely by the patriotic forces.

3. Mapam (United Workers' Party) is followed by part of the working class and by intellectuals. Its leadership compromises with the nationalist and monopoly upper stratum and supports the official policy of the ruling Labour Party.

4. There is an elected workers' council in Nazareth only. It was formed after sustained struggles which the workers carried on under the leadership of democratic forces, with Communists at their head.

5. Arabs make up about 15 per cent of the population of Israel, but for only 2.2 per cent of the students in the country's universities.

6. 1 dunam = approximately 0.1 hectare. — *Ed.*

7. Ma'arach, a Labour and Mapam Party coalition bloc in the Knesset — *Ed.*

The agrarian revolution in Algeria

Ahmed Benabdelkrim
Socialist Vanguard Party
of Algeria

The last few years have seen the successful development of far-reaching transformations in Algeria's agriculture. The agrarian revolution was the first major class battle since independence, and it has dealt a telling blow at the big landed proprietors. Its prime objectives were defined in the Charter and Decree on the Agrarian Revolution¹ as: liquidation of the class of big landowners, doing away with absentee landowners in accordance with the principle 'The land to the tiller,' and assuring the right of land ownership to the middle and small peasants who work it. Profound changes are continuing in the

Algerian countryside despite the attempts of reactionaries to ignore the documents mentioned above and use their positions in central and local administrative bodies to prevent effective change. But change continues, however, thanks to the conscious participation of farm workers, poor peasants and all working people whose actions are guided and inspired by progressive forces. Today we can speak with full justification of substantial results of the reform, and not only in the agricultural sphere.

In the very first months after the proclamation of independence in 1962, the Algerian working class began, in the spirit of its finest traditions, to seek practical solutions to the agrarian problem through nationalization of the greater part of the lands in the modern agrarian sector, which had belonged to the French settlers and had been worked by capitalist methods. So-called self-managing enterprises appeared on those lands.² However, at the time the change did not extend to the vast traditional sector dominated by semi-feudal relations and those transitional to capitalism. To rebuild it, it was necessary to win mass support and achieve greater unity of the progressive forces. Algerian Communists and other patriots realized this only too well. Our Party, which has always consistently upheld the basic demands of the poor peasantry, called for agrarian reform as a first step toward deeper transformations.

An acute struggle developed around the issue of restricting large-scale private land ownership. It went on both openly and in veiled form, further aggravated by internal bickering within the government machinery and reactionary subversion. Reactionaries, directly or indirectly linked with imperialism, spared no effort to split the progressive forces, set them against each other, playing on differences of views on secondary issues and anti-communist prejudice, and zealously peddled the myth of 'national solidarity,' which they saw as the preservation and development of exploitative relations. Forced by mounting mass pressure to retreat, the bourgeois-landlord circles did all they could to delay at least publication of land tenure laws and portrayed the contemplated agrarian reform as a 'Communist plot' to split the Algerian people and 'import class struggle.' Then, when the documents on the agrarian revolution were finally published, the rightists, taking advantage of their positions in the state machinery, attempted to emasculate their progressive content, notably by setting a high landownership ceiling that benefited big holders. In other words, by its very logic, the agrarian revolution from the outset led to a sharp aggravation of the class struggle.

The key problem

The weakening of the positions of big landowners began already in

the 'first phase' of the reform, when state and communal lands, a large part of which was controlled by rich landowners and exploited by them either directly or 'in association' with smallholders and middle peasants, were distributed among the poor peasants. More than 700,000 hectares of such lands were transferred to the Agrarian Revolution Fund. More radical was the 'second phase' of the transformations, launched in 1972, aimed at restricting and redistributing large estates and expropriating the land of absentee owners. According to (as yet unpublished) estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture, 632,000 hectares of land and 769,000 palm trees³ were nationalized as a result of expropriation of holdings belonging to 17,000 absentee owners and restriction of the size of 5,000 large estates. Most of the nationalized land had been the property of big holders (about 500,000 hectares). The rest constituted holdings of numerous small absentee owners: workers, office employees, small traders, civil servants. These holdings were also nationalized, in accordance with the letter of the law, but also because right-wing elements involved in the reform strove to discredit it by exploiting some of the negative or untimely provisions of the laws.

By now some 1.3 million hectares of land and one million palm trees have been distributed among almost 100,000 landless peasants. Recipients of land constitute one-tenth of the active peasant population. The lands nationalized in the course of the reform comprised one-third of the cultivated area in the private sector. This is an indication of the road that still has to be traversed until production relations in the Algerian countryside are fully transformed. Big owners still hold 15 per cent of all cultivated lands. Some of them, by resorting to various dodges (false title deeds, fragmentation of holdings and illegal distribution among numerous relatives, references to alleged impossibility to divide fields, etc.), lost no more than half their holdings (some of which reached 4,000 hectares per owner). Besides, they have kept the best lands for themselves.

Although the economic base of large private landowners has been weakened, they retain greater or lesser political influence in various regions, rooted in the still existing dependence of broad sections of the poor and middle peasantry on sharecropping and lease-holding and continued indebtedness to the landlords. The latter also possess all the farm implements. The village rich occasionally even rent them out to cooperatives, set up as a result of the reforms, which are still short of equipment. In their efforts to preserve their economic privileges in the new conditions, big landowners invest in real estate and wholesale trade, they engage in black marketeering and other illegal operations, and frequently substitute, not unsuccessfully (especially in buying up and selling fruit and vegetables), for state

bodies set up within the framework of the new organization of agricultural production in line with the objectives of the agricultural revolution. This brings them tremendous profits. At the same time the rich engage in litigations in grievances commissions set up on the basis of agrarian revolution laws, occasionally managing to win back confiscated lands.

Still, the main trend today is the weakening of the positions of large private landownership. In the last elections to communal popular assemblies the working masses and all progressive forces managed to bring about a favorable change in their social composition and expel notables and feudals from them in areas until recently regarded as their strongholds. It is now especially important for the people to continue to build up pressure against the proprietary strata. It has been amply demonstrated that such pressure can yield success: the working peasants see more and more clearly who their real defender and ally is and realize the need for active support of agrarian changes.

Advances in cooperative development

A major result of the measures carried out to date is the creation of a system of rural cooperatives heralding the beginning of far-reaching changes in rural production relations. Some 5,000 cooperatives and 'development groups' (pre-cooperative associations) were set up on lands transferred to the National Agrarian Revolution Fund. Virtually nowhere were holdings allocated on a private ownership basis. There are now more than 3,500 cooperative associations of the higher type.

There were quite a few difficulties, both objective and subjective, in the course of cooperative development based on the fundamental, decisive achievements of the agrarian revolution. It so happened that most of the 'first phase' cooperatives⁴ inherited poor lands: unimproved, marshy or stony land subject to erosion or flooding, exhausted by many years of cultivation of the same crops. Big landowners managed to keep the most fertile lands. Difficulties have also been due to certain voluntaristic tendencies in the early period, such as attempts to skip objectively essential stages of cooperative development and impose an immediate transition to higher-type associations. Such cooperatives were relatively easy to organize, largely because poor people could only get land by joining them. Adroit reactionary propaganda never fails to exploit every case of ignoring the level of peasant consciousness. Initially the work of cooperative associations was often hampered by incorrect distribution or mistakes in performance of duties, tribalism, shirking, excessive expectations of government help, the possibilities of which are not unlimited; some people who had received land under the agrarian reform withdrew from cooperatives. All this could have been overcome fairly quickly.

What was needed was a thorough analysis and understanding of the underlying causes of the difficulties encountered by the self-managing and cooperative sectors in the countryside, and the elaboration of better forms of alliance with the poor and middle (private) peasantry.

There is at present nothing more dangerous than attempts to artificially accelerate the cooperative process, to say nothing of suggesting its expansion at this time to small and medium private farms (although in the long term this is a legitimate objective). Excessive zeal in this extremely delicate matter might lead to a political backlash and disillusionment of peasants who have shown an interest in the cooperatives and felt their benefits. The progressive forces must clearly explain to the peasants that, along with the development of cooperatives, small and medium landownership will exist for a long time and, within legal bounds, be preserved by the state. It is necessary to enable primarily the small peasantry to go through the school of cooperation, in contact with cooperatives and self-managing enterprises, so that the peasants could gain a better idea of all its advantages and the difficulties involved in the objectively necessary stage of its development.

Now, four years after the agrarian reform was initiated, and with improved conditions for the cooperatives, the new production system has proved its viability. Faith in it increased after the first encouraging production successes of the cooperatives and the rather sizable incomes of their members. The number of farms making a profit increased noticeably. A report by the National Bank of Algeria (September 1975) said that in 18 of the 27 vilays (districts) surveyed the farms were operating at a profit. The cooperatives are starting to function normally, new lands are being cultivated, wells sunk, mechanical pumps installed, storehouses and livestock buildings are being erected, etc. More peasants who had left the cooperatives are now asking to be reinstated. The excellent harvest in 1975, favored, it is true, by comparatively good weather, confirmed that cooperatives are the best form of agricultural production, of effective use of farm implements and introduction of modern farming machinery.

The multi-purpose service cooperatives set up in the communes in line with the Agrarian Revolution Charter are doing much to raise the peasants' consciousness. Their objective is to supply the cooperatives with all they require to cultivate the land, increase yields, diversify production and market their produce through special government agencies. These service cooperatives take part in land reclamation and improvement operations and help improve living and working conditions. Now they have farm-machinery repair shops at their disposal. They are the answer to the realities of rural life, the demands of agrarian transformations, the efforts to abolish exploita-

tive relations. They are increasingly becoming the base of the state agricultural sector.

Successful development of the rural cooperative system depends largely on how effective and extensive is the aid it receives from the state. For the system to function properly it is important to strengthen cooperative positions in marketing produce, improve the maintenance and supply of farm machinery, fertilizer, seeds and other items, provide financial assistance, credits, etc. Care and concern must be shown for everything new and progressive.

A few words about the villages of the agrarian revolution. Today, three years after the first such village was founded, there are about 30 of them (a thousand are planned). In other words, in only these 30 are there basic communal facilities designed to become an integral part of the material base of the public agricultural sector — both cooperative and self-managing. It is now essential to create everywhere and as soon as possible the core of such villages based on collective production, as well as cultural and other facilities (buildings, repair shops, schools, medical centers), to draw the population into building homes, etc. The agrarian revolution villages should be instrumental in discouraging a mass exodus from the rural areas, and provide an example of the new way of life, the result of the agrarian revolution.

The third phase

The priority task today is to carry out the main guidelines of the agrarian revolution. After the distribution of communal and state lands ('first phase'), restricting the size of big holdings ('second phase'), the revolution has entered its 'third phase' — limiting privately owned flocks of sheep and nationalization of pasture lands. This will help to end oppression of share-croppers and herdsmen and organize sheep grazing on a cooperative basis. As a result, about 100,000 persons will be freed from feudal-type exploitation and all forms of large private landownership will be liquidated.

The urgency of this step in stock raising is evidenced by the fact that half of the country's flock of 12 million sheep is in the hands of a thousand private owners; 90 per cent is concentrated in the hands of 30 per cent of the owners. The reform is to break this outdated system by partial or total confiscation of herds,⁵ and nationalization of approximately 20 million hectares of pasture lands. At its present stage the reform will not affect intensive 'industrial' stock-raising in distant pasture lands.

With the distribution of state-purchased excess sheep, each poor peasant will receive 105 sheep free of charge and the use of pasture lands on a cooperative basis. Their produce will be marketed through the service cooperatives, to whom they must also turn in all extra

sheep. A vast program to improve old and develop new pasture lands is also envisaged.

The officially proclaimed 'third phase' of the agrarian revolution faces certain difficulties caused by the intrigues of the rich sheep owners, on the one hand, and, on the other, a tendency on the part of certain officials to focus attention on purely technical problems, such as restoring forests and pasture lands, developing veterinary services, etc., while underestimating the socio-political essence of this phase, meant to abolish private ownership of large flocks as a condition for effective state technical aid.

Such an approach, often motivated by the need to form cooperatives immediately, can keep the people from seeing the main thing, namely, the contradiction between the big sheep owners, on the one hand, and the small and middle owners, the share-croppers and herdsmen, on the other. Instead, they will see the artificial contradiction, between all sheep owners and the cooperative of new owners, which the reactionaries will try to depict as an alien body 'grabbing' the best lands and watering spots. (There should be no doubt this is exactly what the rich will do.)

Such tendencies can be quickly overcome firstly by publishing the names of all rich sheep owners whose flocks are being restricted, and those who have been denied the right to use pasture lands. Second, pasture lands should be placed at the disposal of small herdsmen. Third, the service cooperatives should reach the individual small and middle sheep owners (providing them with fodder, veterinary services, consumer goods, etc.). All this would create more favorable conditions for carrying out the agrarian revolution at its present stage and would normalize the meat market, only 20 per cent of which is controlled by the state. Greater mobilization of the people and closer united action by the progressive forces will ensure success.

The socio-political effect of the reform

The most outstanding socio-political result of the agrarian reform is that, by accelerating class differentiation and polarization in society, it provided conditions for the national-democratic revolution to advance and helped effectively to mobilize all the forces opposing imperialism and working for social progress (making it possible at the same time to deal with other economic problems).

The 'volunteers of the agrarian revolution movement' is highly indicative of these positive processes, which it has helped to stimulate. Born of the initiative of university students in 1972, it embraced the revolutionary-minded intellectuals, workers, women — in short, the broadest sections of the population. The movement draws on the strength, aid and advice of both the vanguard of the working class (the

Communists and their Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria) and the leading revolutionary democrats on the Presidential staff, in the National Agrarian Revolution Commission and other official agencies. The volunteers help the peasants in the field, explain the agrarian reform laws, organize cultural work, etc.

This volunteer movement has also helped invigorate such public organizations as the General Union of Algerian Working People, the National Union of Algerian Peasants and the National Union of Algerian Women. Committees in support of the agrarian revolution are being quickly formed throughout the country (factory, school, communal and urban neighborhood committees). The events unfolding in the country have had a positive effect on some local organizations of the National Liberation Front Party, particularly in areas where big and middle landowners have little influence, making it possible to expel them from the communal people's assemblies.

An important achievement of the volunteer movement and a big event in Algeria's public life was the First National Youth Conference (May 1975), which led to the formation of the National Union of Algerian Youth. Although attended by delegates of only a part of the students and pupils (since there are no officially recognized mass organizations, only committees of volunteers were represented) and a small number of young workers and peasants, the conference nevertheless passed a political and an organizational resolution and a clear anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary action program.

The agrarian reforms highlighted the need to consolidate the national and progressive forces in the course of and for united action. This struggle also made the people more aware of the social problems facing them in developing Algeria. And, finally, the concepts of revolutionary democracy were enriched and clarified. The guiding role of the revolutionary forces has increased and, under their influence, the idea is maturing of a national anti-imperialist front with a worker-peasant alliance as its nucleus. And we are witness to steps leading to such an alliance. They include support by workers from the self-managing sector for the emerging rural cooperatives; urban workers donating their free days and even part of their vacations to help peasants; repairing farm implements free of charge; voluntary labor days at enterprises for the cooperatives, and each enterprise helping a particular cooperative on a regular basis. The growing alliance between the workers and the peasants is favorably influencing peasant and labor unions and the working people's assemblies at enterprises in the state sector. By helping to carry out the radical reforms in the rural areas, working to improve labor and living conditions, supporting peace and détente and opposing imperialist intrigues, that are also endangering Algeria and its gains, the working

class is raising the level of its consciousness and is making an effective and growing contribution to national construction.

A visible, sometimes outstanding, role in promoting agrarian changes was played by numerous representatives of such social strata and groups as soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers of the National People's Army where patriots and progressives have the decisive say; students, pupils and other young people; engineers, technicians, managerial personnel, women, veterans of the liberation war, cultural workers and other intellectuals.

The advance of the agrarian revolution strengthens the realization that effective mobilization of the masses for united action on specific issues is the main condition for the formation of a progressive front which would work for national-democratic goals with a socialist perspective.⁶ This front must find the political means to unite, within its ranks, the existing multiform progressive movement and all its components on a voluntary and conscious basis.

The intrigues of the external and internal enemies of the Algerian revolution demand that all patriots — revolutionary democrats, Communists and others — fully aware of their special responsibility should follow a common line that has justified itself in the eyes of the people and produced favorable results already at the present stage of the country's development. For this reason it is important to work together and conduct a constructive exchange of opinions in the spirit of healthy competition, criticism and self-criticism, in the spirit of the motto: 'All for the defense of the country and the gains of the revolution.' Most important here is the agrarian revolution and the measures to increase worker participation in control and management of enterprises in the state sector. The struggle to realize these goals continues.

1. Official documents published in November 1971. — *Ed.*

2. See A. Karim. 'Agrarian changes in Algeria: Their nature, significance and perspectives.' *WMR*, January 1973.

3. Date-palm cultivation is a leading branch of agriculture in the south.

4. The stage in which communal and state lands were distributed.

5. A person with an income derived solely from livestock raising can own a flock of 300 sheep if he has no children and 450 if he has two or more children. Those not depending on livestock for an income will not be allowed to own a flock or use pasture lands. It is the owner's duty to sell either excess sheep or the entire flock.

6. An important step in this direction was the nationwide approval in June 1976 of the National Charter which stipulates such a perspective and the country's corresponding orientation.



Book reviews

'THE SEVEN SISTERS' — OIL AND POLITICS

Anthony Sampson, *The Seven Sisters. The Great Oil Companies and the World They Made*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1975. 334 pp.

Formation of the huge oil monopolies dates back to the latter part of the 19th century. However, already in the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin, in his work 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' cited Standard Oil's international operations as an example of the division of the world among capitalist monopolies (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 249). In the 60 years that have elapsed since, the oil giants have not only greatly multiplied their economic might, they have also sharply increased their influence on imperialist foreign policy.

So, it is only natural that there should be such interest in Anthony Sampson's book *The Seven Sisters. The Great Oil Companies and the World They Made*. The author, a British journalist and political analyst specializing in studies of multinational firms, relates the history of the major oil companies and of the crises and international issues they have provoked. His chief source has been the Multinational Corporation Subcommittee Hearings Reports of the U.S. Senate.

'Seven Sisters' is the descriptive term applied to the seven most powerful and monopolistic of the big capitalist oil corporations, the 'family' relationship implied being that of the international cartel. Five of the 'sisters' are U.S. corporations: Exxon, Mobil, Gulf, Texaco and Standard Oil of California. British interests predominate in the other two 'sisters': Royal Dutch Shell which is a British-Dutch company, and British Petroleum wholly British-owned. These oil corporations have no equals in might and concentration of wealth.¹ The Seven Sisters occupy a crucial, key position in the capitalist economy; the slightest ripple in oil produces tidal wave effects in that economy.

However, economic wealth is only one, although very important,

aspect of the might of the oil monopolies. In addition, the sisters play a powerful political role internationally, as recent investigations into the activities of multinational firms have revealed. They participate in 'destabilization' activities to bring down governments and utilize their vast incomes to bribe ranks of politicians and political parties in many capitalist and developing countries.²

In general, the oil tycoons have been among the most reactionary of all imperialists, anti-Soviet, anti-communist and bitterly resistant to liberation movements. Obviously fascinated by the history of the Seven Sisters, by the ruthless business methods through which they gained their dominant positions, and especially by the 'buccaneering' (his word) of individual owners and executives, the author describes in detail how Henri Deterding and Walter Teagle, heads of Shell and Exxon respectively for several decades, both carried virulent anti-communism to the point of nazi sympathies, entering into arrangements with Hitler Germany's corporations that led them to being charged with treason (pp. 77-83).

At times Anthony Sampson creates the impression that the companies are run by small groups of polymaths constantly taking big decisions. For example, the 'oil crisis' that burst upon capitalism in the early 1970s, contrary to the author's opinion, is not basically the fault of a few corporation heads and their policies but is part of the general crisis of capitalism. It is interesting that he sees ambivalence and contradiction in U.S. governmental backing for Israel while encouraging oil company relations with Arab oil producers. However, what Anthony Sampson calls 'ambivalent' and 'contradictory' is, after all, ordinary imperialist policy of supporting all types of reactionary regimes in the Middle East against revolutionary or national-liberation movements.

A large portion of the book deals with the struggle in the recent years, particularly in the Middle East, between the oil companies and the producer countries over who is to control, own, produce and set the price of oil. One of the most useful features of the book is its detailed account of the confrontation and interplay between the companies and the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Commenting on the events following the 1973 OPEC price-raising and embargo, the author says that after the first shock the oil companies, commanding the international market and distribution system, dovetailed their profit-making with OPEC policies, passing the higher cost of oil onto the people in the consumer countries, multiplying their own profits still more.

When the Seven Sisters' 1973 profits were announced, the figures were staggering: Exxon's profits for the whole year turned out to be

an all-time record: a total \$2,500 million (see p. 266). Weighing these facts the author stresses one of his principal conclusions, generally current now in the capitalist press, that OPEC has merely become another cartel alongside of and inter-related with the Seven Sisters. This present situation, however, is better viewed as a prolonged struggle by the developing producer countries to gain control over their natural resources and against imperialist plunder. Within OPEC itself there are a diversity of forces, representing both capitalist and non-capitalist forms of development, the clash of which militates against OPEC functioning as a traditional cartel.

As his central thesis, Anthony Sampson asserts that the governments concerned must assume control over the Seven Sisters. He projects a form of supranatural agency to supervise production, allocation and pricing. Not surprisingly, this was treated as rather naive and impractical in the review it received in *The Times Literary Supplement* (September 26, 1975) in Britain. 'The oil companies would be far worse off under such conditions,' said the reviewer, who happened to be Sir Frank McFadzean, chairman of the Shell transport and trading company.

The author's proposals do tend to be naive and he has a hazy concept of the relations between imperialist governments and their own multinational firms. Democratic control over the multinational Seven Sisters could only involve the curtailment and restriction of the imperialist process.

This book is a serious research of and a sincere protest against the unscrupulous operations of the oil monopolies. Anthony Sampson successfully exposes the evils generated by the Seven Sisters and other multinational corporations.

William Pomeroy

1. In 1972 all the Seven Sisters were listed in the roster of the 12 largest corporations, by assets. Exxon, with \$21,558 million in assets, came at the top of the entire list, and Shell, with \$20,066 million, came second. In comparison, the huge manufacturing firm, General Motors, came merely third in the list (p. 189).

2. In 1975 the Securities and Exchange Commission began investigating political contributions that revealed that one of the 'sisters,' Gulf, between 1960 and 1973 used approximately \$10.3 million of corporate funds in the United States and abroad to bribe politicians, ruling parties and some dictators (see p. 207).

CULTURAL EXCHANGE: FACTS AND FICTION

The capitalist press has been commenting and editorializing on the anniversary of the Helsinki Conference. The impression one gets, however, from its voluminous comment is that its interest in implementing the Helsinki agreements is, not to put too fine a point on it, of a very special kind.

One of its favorite themes is that the socialist countries are not adhering to the section of the Final Act on Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields, the so-called third basket. There have been frequent allegations that the socialist countries are hampering cultural exchanges. The *Nouvelles atlantiques* writes: 'This is precisely the section of the Final Act implementation of which creates the biggest difficulties for the East (the Western nations have long been applying many of its provisions).' The *Washington Post* describes the socialist countries' performance as 'disappointing.' Much the same conclusion is drawn by other capitalist media. What is more, they give a biased interpretation of cultural development in the socialist countries, depicting them as an island isolated from the rest of the world, and with its peoples allegedly denied acquaintance with the cultural values of other nations.

What are the facts about cultural exchange? And who is encountering difficulties in fulfilling, for instance, the Final Act provision 'to promote wider dissemination of books and artistic works' and 'promoting, on a wider scale, the translation of works in the sphere of literature and other fields of cultural activity?'¹

According to UNESCO statistics, the Soviet Union holds a leading place in the publication and circulation of translated works. In fact, translated literature accounts for about a tenth of all literature put out in the USSR. Since the war, about 7,000 works by U.S. authors and 4,500 each by French and British authors have been put out in a total printing of more than 600 million copies.² Besides, the Soviet reader is kept abreast of new foreign prose and poetry by the monthly journal *Foreign Literature*³ and other periodicals. Readers in the socialist countries have access to a wealth of reference and bibliographical information.⁴

While accusing the socialist countries, the capitalist press is, as a rule, studiously silent about translations of Soviet books in the West. And that is not accidental. In 1974-75 the USSR published 675 works by British, Italian, U.S., French and West German authors, whereas all these countries taken together put out only 69 works by Soviet writers.⁵

The situation is much the same with theatrical productions. In 1974-75 Soviet theatres staged 172 plays by contemporary British, Italian, U.S., French and West German dramatists. There is no complete data on the number of Soviet plays produced in Italy, the U.S., France and West Germany, but beginning with May 1973, when the Soviet Union joined the Geneva Convention, the Soviet Copyright Agency received applications for the production of only 19 Soviet plays — 3 from Britain, 5 from Italy, 2 from the U.S., 5 from France and 4 from West Germany.

The position is even more revealing in the cinema. For instance, in 1974-75, 14 French, 10 American, 7 Italian and 3 British new films were widely shown in the USSR, and this in addition to films purchased earlier. Significantly, even *U.S. News and World Report* feels obliged to admit, albeit with certain reservations, that American films can be seen in practically all East European cities. However, it makes no mention of Soviet films being shown in the United States.⁶ But the USSR film administration reports that Soviet films, even those bought and paid for, are not, with one or two exceptions, shown to the general public in the U.S.⁷

Literary criticism and literary studies generally is still another field allowing for acquaintance with the cultural life of other countries. The USSR and other socialist countries have published many monographs on contemporary poets and novelists or on definite periods of literary life in many different countries. Last year, for instance, the Soviet Union completed publication of the eight-volume *Short Literary Encyclopaedia*.⁸ It contains more than 12,000 entries, mostly biographical information about the world's leading authors. And every entry, besides a terse characteristic of the writer's works, lists all of them, together with information on translations into Russian and available studies. The eighth volume, for instance, which appeared in 1975, has more than 40 items on American writers of different creative schools.

Similar encyclopaedias have recently appeared in capitalist countries too. One of them, the biographical dictionary *World Authors, 1950-1970*, was put on sale in the U.S. last year.⁹ It is part of a series and its compilers say its purpose is to 'provide authentic biographical information on the writers of all nations, most of whom came to prominence between 1950 and 1970.'

Compiling a biographical dictionary of the world's leading writers, and consequently, of the world's best works of literature over the past 20 years is no easy task and allowances have to be made for inaccuracies and omissions. However, it is important to give the reader a truthful picture of the literature of any given country, acquainting him with new developments and with leading literary personalities. Unfortunately, that does not fully apply to this biographical dictionary in dealing with literature in the socialist community, notably the Soviet Union.

The figures speak for themselves: of the 959 names in the dictionary, only 32 are of past and present Russian authors. The reader is left to conclude that the compilers of this biographical dictionary were motivated by other than literary interests. This is obvious from the way they assign places in their literary Olympus. Their purpose seems to be to prove that the finest works of contemporary Russian writing come from the pens of the so-called dissidents. For instance,

an article about one of them, Tarsis, takes up two and a half pages, the longest about any writer over the past 20 years. And yet the dictionary quotes an English critic as describing Tarsis' work as 'Sovietological rather than literary.' What has Tarsis done to earn so much space? By manifesting, it appears, 'extreme dislike of the Soviet system' (p. 1409). Anti-Sovietism is the criterion (regardless of the writer's literary merits) by which the dictionary judges the motley group of dissidents, Solzhenitsyn, Tarsis, Tertz (Sinyavsky) or Brodsky.

Another category of writers to get favorable treatment are the emigres who fled the country after the Revolution. Surprisingly, we find that the list of leading authors of the past 20 years contains such writers as Khodasevich (1886-1939).¹⁰

Another long article (two pages) is devoted to the emigre Georgy Ivanov, an acmeist poet whose works are highly eclectic (p. 710). If to this is added that Ivanov's talent reached its zenith in the 20s and 30s, when he produced his main works (pp. 710-11), his appearance among the leading authors of 1950-70 is, to say the least, inexplicable.¹¹

And so, in this dictionary, Russian Soviet literature of 1950-70 is represented by 32 names — 3 emigres who left Soviet Russia during the revolution, 5 dissidents specializing in anti-Soviet propaganda, 15 Russian Soviet poets and prose writers of the 1920s and 30s, and only 9 contemporary writers. It need hardly be said that this does not provide even a rudimentary idea of Soviet creative art in the 50s-70s.

And yet the postwar years have produced many new writers and new works, including some by representatives of other Soviet nationalities which, incidentally, are not even mentioned despite the promise to 'provide information on authors of all nations.'

Regrettably, this approach to modern Soviet literature is not confined to the biographical dictionary. Professor Erlich, known in the capitalist world as a specialist on Russian and Soviet literature, has put out a collection, *Twentieth-Century Russian Literary Criticism*.¹² Of the 17 critical essays written in Russian between 1909 and 1972 and included in this collection, many are by emigre critics and dissidents. And, of course, the analysis of verse and prose by men who had left their country as children and grew up in the emigre milieu betrays, at best, complete ignorance of Soviet reality and more often than not is permeated with vicious anti-Sovietism, not even veiled by simulated objectivism.¹³

What this leads to can be judged by the following example. Pupils of Westminster School, one of Britain's best secondary schools, were asked to name Soviet writers. They named Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoievsky, obviously oblivious of the fact that all of them died

before the October Revolution. They could not name a single Soviet poet or novelist, but they did know of several anti-Soviet writers.

This can hardly be regarded as a normal situation. And that has been noted by *The Times Literary Supplement*. Of British authors published in translation in Moscow, it said, the list is 'both more representative and more interesting than that projected in the popular English image of Soviet publishing.'¹⁴

These are only some of the facts about cultural exchanges. And they suggest that the cultural policy of a number of capitalist countries draws on anti-Soviet sources and gives the reader a one-sided picture. That does not make for closer acquaintance with the values of world culture and runs counter to the obligations assumed by the states represented at Helsinki.

Latterly some capitalist papers, alongside their traditional charges that the socialist countries are pursuing a policy of self-isolation, have sought to explain why the West lags in cultural exchanges. The *Washington Star*, for instance, found no better explanation than the 'unreadability' of Soviet books and the 'boredom of officially approved movies.' Whom is it meant for, one wonders. For we are dealing with works in the Russian and other Soviet languages that have won worldwide recognition, and with films that have won high marks at many international festivals.

'Boring' seems to have become a regular anti-Soviet propaganda cliché. The *Washington Star* tries to explain why the Western commercial press did not publish the full text of the Helsinki Final Act: 'The document is not more tedious and boring than the usual stuff in Communist newspapers,' it wrote.

A rather original line of reasoning, to say the least. The Final Act is not published on the pretext that it is too boring, but very much is made of the third basket provisions. Then, on the same pretext, but this time in relation to socialist literature and art, the problem of cultural exchange is shunted aside, though it figures prominently in the Helsinki Act. In reviewing the results of the first post-Helsinki year, commentators of some of the leading capitalist papers argue that there is nothing new to report.

But no amount of rhetoric, and no procrastination and reservations can cancel out the facts. And the facts convincingly prove who is erecting an 'iron curtain' to cultural exchange, and which society is really open to cultural values that can enrich the peoples and bring them closer together. The socialist countries have repeatedly emphasized their readiness to facilitate fulfillment of the Helsinki agreements, and in line with that they are increasing exchange of cultural values, setting an example for other countries.

D.P.

1. A collection compiled by competent Soviet specialists (*The Truth About Cultural Exchanges*, Politzdat 1976, 62 pp.) contains a detailed analysis of international exchanges in science and education, publishing, the cinema, tourism, and discusses the status and work of foreign correspondents in the USSR.

2. The USSR has put out a total of 30 million copies of Jack London's books, 25 million of Hugo, 24 million each of Dickens and Balzac, 21 million of Mark Twain, 20 million of Zola, 19 million of Jules Verne, 18 million of Dreiser, 15 million of Maupassant, 13 million of Galsworthy.

3. Founded in 1955, and published by the Union of Soviet Writers, it has a circulation of 600,000.

4. For instance, the two Moscow Weeklies, the *Literary Gazette* and *Literary Russia* (total circulation over 2 million), regularly publish reviews of new books put out in France, Britain, Italy, the U.S. and other countries. The Moscow Foreign Languages Library puts out annually about 10,000 catalogue cards in a total of nearly 5 million copies.

5. Many other examples could be cited. In 1971-74, Czechoslovakia published translations of 20 books by Belgian authors, whereas Belgium published only two books by Czechoslovak authors. In 1974 Czechoslovakia published 85 works by French writers, compared with 3 Czechoslovak books in France. Also this figure: for every book by a Czech or Slovak author published in capitalist countries, 75 books by Western authors are published in Czechoslovakia. In 1975 Czechoslovakia translated and published 236 books by authors from the socialist countries and 220 from capitalist countries.

6. This attitude is typical of a number of capitalist papers. The *Washington Post* waxes indignant over the socialist countries' accusation that the U.S. is restricting the dissemination of Soviet films and books, but does not cite a single fact to refute that charge, or even to show how things really stand.

7. That has been the fate in the U.S. of such Soviet films as 'Liberation' and 'The Dawn is Quiet Here,' which won an Oscar, and of 'One Hundred Days After Childhood,' which won high marks at the West Berlin and San Francisco festivals.

8. Published by Soviet Encyclopaedia in 1962-75.

9. *World Authors, 1950-1970*. New York, The H.W. Wilson Company, 1975. 1,594 pp.

10. Khodesevich died in France, to which he had emigrated in 1922.

11. Georgy Ivanov died in 1938 in France, unknown and poor.

12. V. Erlich /Ed./ *Twentieth-Century Russian Literary Criticism*. Yale University Press. 317 pp.

13. See for example G. Struve. *Russian Literature under Lenin and Stalin. 1917-1953*. England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

14. *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 11, 1976.



Integration and the 'small countries'

The growing internationalization of social production and integration processes associated with it is a characteristic feature of present-day economic development. Integration processes are taking place in the economy of socialist as well as capitalist countries. Obviously, like the general development of the two opposing social systems, they are rooted in the fundamental laws governing them.

The editors of *World Marxist Review* asked specialists from two countries, Bulgaria and Denmark, to set forth some facts and figures illustrating the impact of integration processes on their countries. The comments of G. Stoyanov (Bulgaria) and Hans Kloster (Denmark) follow.

Bulgaria and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

People's Bulgaria, which embarked on building socialism in 1944, became a member of CMEA in January 1949. As a result of fraternal cooperation with other CMEA member countries, the national economy grew markedly stronger, while the persistent and purposeful creative efforts of the Bulgarian people and correct leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party helped to turn Bulgaria from a backward country trailing all European countries but one in economic development into a modern industrial-agrarian state. Bulgaria's GNP increased nearly sevenfold between 1952 and 1974, and its national income more than fivefold. In the last two decades nominal incomes of the population increased 3.5-fold and real incomes — fourfold. Some examples from the history of that cooperation offer an idea of what specifically Bulgaria has gained from socialist integration.

Key industrial enterprises were built with the help of the Soviet Union and they form the basis for continued industrial growth. These factories account for some 95 per cent of the national iron and steel output, 85 per cent of non-ferrous metals, 80 per cent of oil-processing and chemicals, 60 per cent of electric power. Of great importance for the development of Bulgaria's industry are CMEA contacts with

other socialist countries: with Hungary in chemical, petro-chemical and pharmaceutical production; with the GDR in engineering, electrical engineering, electronic engineering and chemicals; with Poland in shipbuilding; with Czechoslovakia in engineering, chemicals, power production, metallurgy, truck manufacture. An idea of the changes in Bulgaria's industry since it joined the CMEA is offered by the following figures.

Per capita production of some industrial goods

	1948	1952	1956	1974
Electricity — kwh	77	186	316	2,627
Coal — kg	598	1,019	1,428	2,984
Iron ore — kg	1.4	7.4	13.9	97.5
Pig iron and ferro-alloys — kg	0.1	1.2	1.3	176
Steel — kg	0.7	0.8	17.1	252.1

Power and raw materials were traditionally the bottlenecks of Bulgaria's economy. The problem is now being solved with the help of the countries of the socialist community. Thus, construction work has been completed at an atomic power plant near the town of Kozlodui, the first in the Balkans, erected with the help of the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia is taking part in the construction of several thermal and hydroelectric power plants with an aggregate installed capacity of 900 megawatts. In recent years Poland has also been taking part in the construction of a number of energy projects, notably the Bobov Dol thermal electric plants (630 megawatts).

Also being developed is such an advantageous form of cooperation as the construction of joint projects, the output of which is being, or will shortly be, supplied to Bulgaria. These include the Ust'-Ilim pulp mill in the Soviet Union (with Bulgaria receiving an annual share of 50,000 tons of pulp), the Kiembai asbestos mills (40,000 tons of asbestos annually for Bulgaria), the Orenburg gas fields and pipeline to the western frontier of the Soviet Union, with a capacity of 15,000 million cubic metres of natural gas (of which Bulgaria will receive 2,800 million cubic metres). Bulgaria is also a participant in agreements on raw material extraction in other European CMEA countries, as well as on the building of nickel manufacturing capacities in Cuba with an annual output of 30,000 tons.

By taking part in CMEA activities, Bulgaria was able in a short time to renovate and modernize its agriculture. All this has contributed to a substantial increase in the commodity range of agriculture and farm production in general.

Per capita output of some agricultural products

	Average over the period				
	1949-52	1953-57	1958-60	1966-70	1971-74
Wheat — kg	245	267	305	349	372
Tomatoes — kg	21	39	67	85	93
Milk — litres	90	97	130	183	193
Eggs	90	110	132	190	227
Meat (slaughter weight) — kg	28	34	41	59	65

The CMEA countries constitute a large and unfluctuating market on which 80 per cent of Bulgaria's industrial and farm output is realized. Between 1950 and 1974, Bulgaria's foreign trade increased 26 times, with exports up 28 times, and imports, 24 times. Our mutually beneficial trade with the fraternal CMEA member countries is balanced over all main industries, including imports and exports of machinery and equipment.

Of great importance for Bulgaria in the immediate future will be participation in comprehensive integration measures together with other CMEA countries in jointly planning whole industries or types of production, promoting scientific and technological cooperation and expanding specialization and cooperation. Already now Bulgaria is launching, in the CMEA framework, large-scale production and is building optimum size enterprises to specialize in the manufacture of some 400 engineering-industry items.

Participation in the CMEA is, and will continue to be, of prime importance for Bulgaria. The policy of socialist integration rests on the firm foundation of cooperation with the USSR and other countries of the community, and it is in the fundamental national and international interests of the Bulgarian people.

G. Stoyanov

Denmark and the EEC

Before the referendum on joining the Common Market, EEC supporters claimed that its expansion, with the joining of Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain in 1973, and the commercial and political agreements that would be concluded between the expanded EEC and countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), would result in a considerable growth in West European trade. This, it was assumed, would provide Denmark's economy with a 'shot in the arm' and considerably boost trade in industrial and agricultural commodities.

Joining the EEC, opponents pointed out, would harm the country,

while the vaunted 'benefits' were highly problematic. They proved right: in 1964 the eight other EEC members accounted for 51.6 per cent of Denmark's exports, while in 1974 they took in only 42.8 per cent. The balance of trade deficit increased sharply, particularly with the FRG.

Denmark's trade deficit (billion kroner)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
All countries	8.2	7.3	5.0	9.4	13.5	9.4
FRG	3.0	2.9	2.9	4.6	6.0	5.1

Denmark has suffered twice the consequences of import restrictions imposed by Italy. Time and again we have seen the devaluation or revaluation of the currency of one Common Market country after another, according to its own needs and in violation of EEC treaties. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is precisely the EEC that drives Denmark to protectionist measures.

The benefits of EEC membership were supposed to be the greatest for agriculture. In 1972 the supporters of joining the Common Market claimed that the income of Denmark's agriculture would increase by two or three billion kroner a year. Danes were told that access to EEC markets would make its agriculture more competitive.

The Communist Party of Denmark stressed that joining the EEC would do nothing to improve national agriculture, since costs would tend to rise faster than incomes. These arguments were not heeded.

Denmark's agriculture has been stagnating for many years and it is continuing to stagnate. In the first two years of EEC membership raw material and machinery costs increased 52 per cent. Incomes per farm increased by an average 37 per cent, but half of this was swallowed by inflation. That was the situation after Denmark's first two years in the Common Market. Estimates for the third agricultural year (1974-75) indicate a 15 per cent drop in incomes. Mounting difficulties in agriculture increasingly demand state subsidies.

Common Market membership has meant more dependence on foreign capital. In 1969 foreign capital owned 13 per cent of the stock of Danish industry but paid only 4 per cent of the compulsory tax on industrial enterprises. In 1974 every nine of Denmark's 50 largest enterprises were controlled by foreign capital.

In 1973 one per cent of the largest companies accounted for 60 per cent of the total turnover. The trend toward concentration of the turnover has accelerated since Denmark joined the EEC. Simultaneously, the position of small enterprises is worsening.

Thomas Nielsen, President of the Central Trade Union Association, promised guaranteed employment after Denmark joined the EEC. But here are the facts: unemployment averaged 34,200 in 1971, 39,000 in 1972, 22,900 in 1973, 56,000 in 1974, and 121,900 in 1975. Since Denmark joined the Common Market every seventh worker in industry has lost his job.

In March 1975 a wage-freeze was introduced, and the government wants to prolong collective bargaining agreements for another two years. In other words, the workers were told not to expect wage increases. Inflation is eating into past rises in pensions and wages.

In 1975 rent was increased by about 40 per cent, which especially affected the least well-off sections of the population. The situation of students also worsened after Denmark joined the EEC, when state stipends and grants were annulled. Instead, the state now merely guarantees loans from private banks.

Average percentage growth of consumer prices

1962-72	1973	1974	1975
6.0	9.3	15.3	9.6

Galloping inflation coupled with high unemployment — these are the main consequences of Denmark's membership of the EEC. Faith in the numerous promises of the 'benefits' that would accrue from EEC membership has been shaken. After three years in the EEC they are still only promises.

Hans Kloster

The officially unemployed

The world press is full of statistics about the position of the working people in capitalist countries. The figures speak for themselves.

According to the International Labor Organization, unemployment in the capitalist world is the highest for the past 40 years. There were about 18 million unemployed in 23 capitalist countries at the end of last year, more than 5 per cent of their total work force. And unemployment keeps on growing. The European Communities Commission reports an increase of 447,000 in Britain, 111,000 in France, 85,000 in Italy and 53,000 in Belgium in the 12 months between June 1975 through June 1976.

Unemployment in capitalist countries July 1976

	Number Unemployed 000's	Percentage of Work Force
Belgium	225.0	8.5
Britain	1,294.0	5.5
Holland	207.3	5.0
France	1,135.0	4.8
FRG	921.0	4.0
USA	9,700.0	10.2

The youth is especially hard hit: more than 2 million unemployed in the EEC countries in the middle of this year, and the outlook is for a 25 per cent increase before the year is out. Also hard hit are ethnic minorities: unemployment among Blacks in the U.S. stood at 13.3 per cent in June, and at 40.3 per cent among young Blacks.

There is much unemployment among women: in 23 developed capitalist countries seven million lost their jobs during the recession. Over the past 12 months the percentage of unemployed women rose from 40 to 46.

Higher living costs are a fact of life in the Common Market and other developed capitalist countries. Here are the figures for increases in the first half of 1976: Britain 19.1 per cent, Ireland 16.2 per cent, Italy 14.3 per cent, Luxembourg 10.6 per cent, Denmark over 9 per

cent. Also these prices rises: Sweden 11 per cent, Norway 9.5 per cent, and USA 6.3 per cent.

The number of those classed as 'poor' in the capitalist countries is steadily increasing. Patently minimized official figures for the first half of 1976 show that 16 per cent of the population in France, 13 in the U.S., 11 in Canada and 7.5 in Britain were classed in that category.

Notes on international organizations

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

After the defeat of the fascist coalition in the Second World War, young anti-fascists from 63 countries met at the World Youth Conference held on November 10, 1945, in London's Albert Hall and decided to set up their own international organization. They vowed to 'secure the unity of the youth all over the world without distinction as to race, color of skin, nationality or religion; to destroy all the remnants of fascism on earth; establish sincere internationalist friendship between the peoples of the whole world; maintain lasting and just peace, eradicate poverty, lawlessness and unemployment...' That was how the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) came into being and November 10 became World Youth Day.

Throughout the 30-odd years that have since passed, the WFDY has remained true to the letter and spirit of that oath. In fighting for peace, the rights and unity of the youth, and against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and racism, it has become a powerful international union of youth organizations, an international center of the democratic youth movement. Today it unites more than 200 national youth organizations in 108 countries.

The WFDY's highest directing body is its Assembly, which convenes every three years. The Assembly elects the Executive Committee, convened once a year, and the Bureau, a permanent working body comprising the President, the Vice President, the General Secretary and his deputies, and the Treasurer and his secretaries. The Federation issues the journal *Youth of the World*, the newspaper *WFDY News* and a number of bulletins.

The WFDY has such specialized agencies as the International Committee for work among children and teenagers, and the International Bureau for tourism and the exchange of youth delegations. Both agencies are housed at the Federation's headquarters in Budapest. The WFDY enjoys consultative status at UNESCO.

The history of the WFDY's struggle, its experience and achievements show that one of its main activities is strengthening solidarity among the militant youth of the world. Such examples as the worldwide movement for solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, against imperialist aggression, and the immense success of the 1968 campaign 'For Final Victory' convinces us of the WFDY's ability to mobilize the world's progressive youth to tackle the burning problems of our time.

On the WFDY's initiative, April 24 (the anniversary of the Bandung Conference) was declared International Day of the Youth's Struggle Against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-colonialism; and subsequently, after the downfall of the colonial empires, it was called International Youth Solidarity Day. On this day tens of millions of young men and women demonstrate their support for the peoples fighting for freedom, independence, democracy and peace.

An important field of the WFDY's activity is its struggle for the rights of the youth, for democracy and the release of political prisoners in Latin America. The Federation and its local organizations are conducting a permanent campaign aimed at exposing the fascist junta in Chile, saving the life and securing the release of Luis Corvalan and restoring democracy in that country. The Federation pays a great deal of attention to solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, who are fighting for their legitimate rights and independence.

The Federation's International Solidarity Fund gives active help to youth organizations, especially to those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. For example, it sponsored a successful campaign to collect funds for building a children's hospital and then a school in South Vietnam. To promote closer unity and friendship among the youth of the world, the Federation also organizes international labor and sports activities, exchange of letters, etc.

The WFDY is the sponsor of, and an active participant in, world youth and students' festivals. By decision of its Eighth Assembly (1970), it set up another specialized agency — the International Volunteer Service for Solidarity and Friendship among Youth, one of the tasks of which is coordination of solidarity actions of young people the world over. The International Permanent Volunteer Youth Brigade, which bears the name of the Cuban hero Julio Antonio Mella, is already well known in many countries. It will participate in building the headquarters of the Standing Committee for the preparation of the 11th World Youth and Student's Festival, to be held in the summer of 1978 in Havana.

The Federation greatly assists the struggle waged by the youth for their social rights, against exploitation by the monopolies, for their right to adequate occupational training.

It contributed to peace, security and cooperation in Europe by initiating a dialogue between youth and student organizations representing various political and ideological trends on the continent.

The Ninth WFDY Assembly (1974) announced the beginning of a new international campaign for joint action under the slogan 'The youth for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and progress.' The Federation is now busy with this campaign, the aim of which is to unite the youth at large in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy, national independence and equality throughout the world.

Yenö Kovacs
Vice-President of the WFDY

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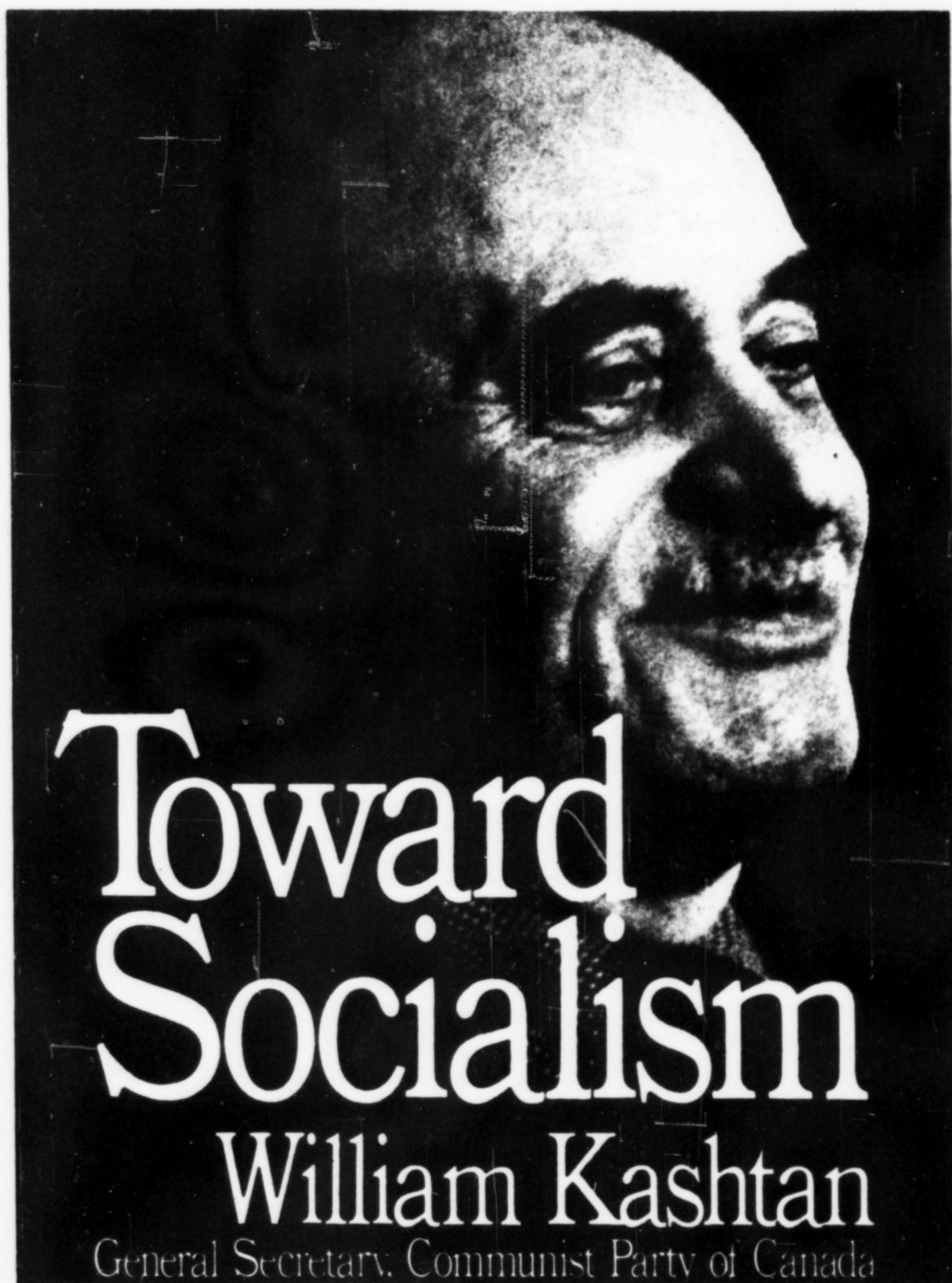
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