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Workers of all countries, unite!

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feature

Democratic centralism in the activity of the CPSU

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Contemporary social development is characterized by the fast-growing influence of the Communist and Workers' parties in public life. The increasingly manifest gains of existing socialism add to the prestige of the ruling parties of the socialist countries. Sustained struggle for the fundamental interests of the masses has made the communist parties of many capitalist and a number of developing countries an authoritative political force. They largely hold the political initiative and offer crisis-bound society a real alternative of development. *'The growth of the influence of communist parties in the capitalist world,'* said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, speaking to the 25th CPSU Congress, 'is an auspicious development of the past five years.'[1] It is fair to say that the communists assume responsibility for the destinies of their countries and the world.

This now confronts every party with difficult tasks in both the theoretical sphere and in organizing the masses to fight for peace, democracy and socialism. Hence the communists' special attention to problems of building and developing their party. One of the most important questions they discuss in this connection is the significance and application of the principle of democratic centralism in specific conditions.

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union came to the conclusion that the dynamic progress of Soviet society, the growing scale of communist construction, and the international activity of the party and the state make it imperative to raise the standard of party leadership in advancing the economy and educating the people and to improve organizing and political work among the masses. The Congress pointed out the importance of having all the units of the party working smoothly, actively and purposefully. 'This can be achieved,' says the CC CPSU Report to the Congress, 'only through unfailing application of the Leninist rules of party life and

principles of party leadership, and the principles of democratic centralism.'

This conclusion is well-founded and logical. At present, in the year of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, we have every reason to say that the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which our party has tested at diverse stages of struggle and in diverse conditions, has fully proved its worth and has invariably contributed to the success of the communists' organizing and political work. The experience of the CPSU furnishes a wealth of material for analyzing the significance and application of this principle in the activity of our Marxist-Leninist Party.

I

The principle of democratic centralism was brought into being by the need to form a political party capable of organizing the working class, rousing large sections of the population to struggle and leading the masses to a revolutionary transformation of society. The idea of democratic centralism was contained in the Rules of the Communist League founded under the leadership of Marx and Engels. Lenin thoroughly substantiated and elaborated this principle, which was necessitated by his effort to bring about a new type of party and prompted by the experience of the struggle of Russia's workers and their vanguard.

The turn of the century in Russia was marked by an upsurge in the working-class movement, which culminated in the first Russian bourgeois democratic revolution (1905-07). In the course of class battles, especially in the first armed clashes with the tsarist regime, the working class of Russia began to realize that without a high degree of organization and without solid unity of the will and action of its vanguard, it could not defeat a highly centralized bourgeois and landowner state commanding a gigantic coercive machinery.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks knew that if they were not to wait until capitalism began to 'transform' itself and 'grow' into socialism (as the opportunists expected it to) but were resolved to change society by revolutionary means; if the party were not to bow to a spontaneous working-class movement, but were to organize the workers and lead them to a clearly defined ultimate goal; if it did not regard parliamentary debate as the main fighting method, but concentrated on mobilizing the masses for struggle wherever possible, then the party could not be an amorphous organization like the social-democratic parties of the Second International. It must become a well-organized contingent operating on a principle that enabled it to combine democracy in drafting programs and making decisions with centralized organization in carrying out these programs and decisions.

In the early years following the defeat of the first Russian revolution, some people in the party wondered whether the party should be preserved and should carry on its work. There were those (known as 'liquidationists') who were ready to go back on the party's principles by renouncing its program, tactics and organization. But the majority had learned a different lesson. 'Take the whole pre-revolutionary period and the first two and a half years of the revolution (1905-07),' Lenin wrote. 'Compare our Social-Democratic Party during this whole period with the other parties in respect of unity, organization, and continuity of policy. You will have to admit that *in this* respect our party is *unquestionably* superior to *all* the others — the Cadets, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc.' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 13, p. 103). It was due to its unity and organization, as Lenin repeatedly stressed, that the party was able to lead millions in the struggle against tsarism, hold out in the years of reaction, lead the people to victory in the socialist revolution and consolidate the victory. We may now add that this enabled it to lead millions in the great cause of building socialism and in a trying but victorious war against fascism, and enables it today effectively to guide communist construction in our multinational state.

Democratic centralism as an organizational and political principle of activity of our party was evolved and established in struggle against opportunism. However, it would be wrong to believe that it was the danger of opportunism gaining ground in the Russian social-democratic movement and in the party that led to the establishment of this principle. To think so would mean misinterpreting the issue and emphasizing a factor which, though important, is subjective. Lenin's propositions in regard to party building were prompted by his analysis of objective reality and by the tasks which the party had to fulfill. Nor is there any doubt that his principles of organizing the party, first of all the principle of democratic centralism, are the exact opposite of the notions which prompted the opportunists and which they tried to impose on the Bolsheviks. This opposition stemmed from the antithesis between the fundamental concept of social development and notions about the role of the working-class party in it.

Opportunism is logical in its own way. It holds that if the goal is not to transform society on revolutionary lines, then organization, party discipline and the principle of democratic centralism can apparently be dispensed with. In seeking and winning power, the social democrats never intend to radically change anything in the capitalist system, in the substance of a system based on private property and the exploitation of labor. The idea never occurs to them, nor do they ever make such a change. In many cases, they turned out to be very convenient partners of the capitalists. This is why, in speaking of the

watershed between revolutionary and opportunist trends, we stress that the concept of the goals of the movement has always conditioned everything else.

Revealingly, the opportunists have tried more than once to win over the communists to their side — to induce them to renounce strict organization and, above all, the principle of democratic centralism. This links up, among other things, with the problem of peaceful revolutionary development. But does the possibility of such development really make it necessary or advisable for the communist party to abandon the principle of democratic centralism? The experience of our party attests to something entirely different.

After the February bourgeios democratic revolution in Russia, it became possible to continue the revolution by peaceful means. But this did not at all imply the slightest revision of the party's organizational principles. Indeed, Lenin saw the reasons for setbacks in the peaceful transfer of all power to the Soviets, specifically, in the workers' and peasants' inadequate class consciousness and organization, and stressed the need to unite for proletarian class work so as to win over the majority. He repeatedly pointed out the importance of mobilizing the party and of its preparedness to change forms of struggle.

Developments showed that that was the only correct solution. Summing up the events of July 1917 later on, Lenin noted that the critical situation was inevitably leading the working class — perhaps with catastrophic speed — to a situation in which, due to a change in events beyond its control, it would find itself compelled to wage a determined battle with the counter-revolutionary bourgeois and thus gain power. This, of course, requires the greatest concentration and staunchness on the part of the proletariat and its party.

But there is yet another aspect to the matter, one that became perfectly obvious afterwards.

After the victory of the socialist revolution our party, having set out to build socialism, learned from experience that to mobilize the masses for a great creative effort was a task likewise requiring organization and leadership by a united working-class vanguard and that the new conditions made party organization as important as ever although its foundations and forms were being developed and enriched. Ever since then, the principle of democratic centralism has been a dependable basis for our party's entire activity in building the new society. The 25th CPSU Congress stressed that Lenin's principles of party building are not a thing of the past but remain the basis for the party's development in our day as well.

II

The connection between the organizational problems of party building and party ideology is logical. Lenin described idealess organization as utterly absurd. The 25th Congress, for its part, pointed out this connection and had every reason to state that 'on the basis of observance of the Leninist rules of party life and the principles of party leadership, the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks has been further consolidated.' In fact, an ideologically heterogeneous party cannot organize properly because the important thing for the vanguard leading the working class and the people in the struggle for fundamental changes in society, for progress toward its higher formation, is not merely a temporary coincidence of views on this or that specific issue of program or policy, but precisely ideological unity, as the experience of the CPSU has shown.

The question may arise: What makes it possible to apply the principle of democratic centralism, which is based on submission of the minority to the majority? Why is it that communists who state their opinion on this or that question submit in the end to the decision adopted by the majority and proceed accordingly? Because divergences of opinion bear on particulars and not on fundamental issues, and because the organization is based on ideological unity.

Democratic centralism does not rule out but presupposes wide discussions on current problems of theory and practice, a free exchange of views, which, in turn, makes for closer ideological unity of the party. Lenin pointed out that when opinions differ everyone must be enabled to present his view. The party always abides by the following inviolable rules: discussion shall be based on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism; it must result in a decision, a specific individual or collective commitment, and responsibility; once adopted, a decision becomes law, and the party expects every one of its members to carry it out without fail. 'Discussing the problem,' Lenin wrote, 'expressing and hearing different opinions, ascertaining the views of the *majority* of the organized Marxists, expressing these views in the form of decisions ... and carrying them out conscientiously — this is what reasonable people all over the world call *unity*' (Vol. 19, p. 519).

The Bolsheviks considered that if the party failed to uphold its ideological unity and allowed compromise over ideology from the first, with the admission of new members, the organization would in definite conditions be threatened with factionalism and even division. Our party saw this above all during the discussions preceding its Tenth Congress (1921). There were important political discussions at

the time. Elections in party organizations were based on political platforms and that procedure was allowed even in electing delegates to the Tenth Congress. But experience showed that the need to subscribe to this or that platform prevented communists from taking a stand of their own and from freely stating their opinions, and was an obstacle to businesslike discussion of every issue. Group activity turned into attempts to create group discipline. The discussion they imposed on the party did not lead to any constructive conclusions. The decisions of the Tenth Congress, which rebuffed the Trotskyists, the 'workers' opposition,' 'democratic centralists' and other opportunist groups that sought to legalize the existence of diverse factions and groups in the party, marked a real turn toward democratizing party life, raising the activity and extending the rights of every party member. The relevant Congress resolution described the key task of the day as raising the level of the membership and drawing it into the life of the party as a whole.

The principle of democratic centralism can be correctly understood and applied, we believe, only if the essence of conscious discipline is fully understood. It implies that anyone joining the party is making his ideological choice and consciously bringing his behavior and activity into line with principles, standards and rules worked out collectively. But while attaching the greatest importance to the very process of selecting and admitting people into the party, we are far from simplistically imagining this to be sufficient. The party strengthens its ideological unity, and hence the basis for its organizational unity, first, by drawing its members into discussions on current theoretical and ideological problems, as has been said (in the CPSU, many important theoretical and practical problems of developed socialism were discussed at party congresses, CC plenums and representative theoretical conferences); secondly, by organizing an in-depth study of Marxism-Leninism by the membership and applying the results in daily practice. The party education system today encompasses about 20 million people. In the Azerbaijan SSR, almost 300,000 communists and non-party people attend various party schools and classes. The communists' ideological convictions, which are strengthened in this way, are the most reliable basis for conscious discipline, that is, the highest form of discipline. Lastly, party discipline, being based on ideological convictions, is evolved in an atmosphere of broad and comprehensive democracy, active participation by every communist in the shaping and implementation of party policy and decisions of his own organization. This is an important requirement of applying the principle of democratic centralism and is linked with the dialectics of the two aspects of this principle, a problem we will now proceed to discuss.

III

Democratic centralism is a principle, not a rigid formula. Its application and functioning are closely linked with the actual conditions in which the party is operating. The standards of party life stemming from democratic centralism and giving it concrete expression develop in step with the development of the party itself as a political, ideological and organizational entity. Practice enriches this principle.

In our party, the dialetical connection between the two aspects of this principle — democracy and centralism — has always been determined by the given situation. There have been periods in the history of our party when conditions, far from favoring, prevented democratic discussion and solution of problems and at the same time demanded strict discipline from top to bottom. Those were the years of clandestinity, of the despotic regime of tsarist autocracy. The principle of democracy could certainly not be developed to the full in those conditions.[2] This did not mean, however, that if the circumstances changed the party could not change the balance between centralism and democracy in favor of the latter. Our experience does not prove that illegality lays an all but everlasting imprint on party activity. On the contrary, already during the first Russian revolution, Lenin's party was the first to take advantage of the 'temporary spell of freedom' to build a 'legal organization with ... a democratic structure, an electoral system, and representation at congresses according to the number of organized members' (Vol. 13, p. 103). Before October 1917, our Party held six congresses and seven conferences whose decisions were worked out by all delegates; there were elections to the Central Committee and CC meetings. There was a similar increase in the activity of party members and collective forms of work developed fast after the victory of the February 1917 revolution. Party membership showed a rapid numerical growth, which in itself refuted the notion that the party of Lenin with its organizational principles was adapted solely to narrow underground activity.

Unfailingly applying the Leninist standards of party life and party leadership, the principle of democratic centralism, and combating every breach of them, the party has always displayed a highly principled approach. 'The decisions of the 20th Party Congress were very important in this respect,' says the CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress. '... The decisions of the October 1964 plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the 23rd and 24th congresses of the party played an important role in strengthening and carrying forward the Leninist standards and principles of party life.'

Today, under mature socialism, when comprehensive development of the people's creative activity and participation of millions in

economic management, government and public affairs generally are becoming particularly imperative as objective requisites of social progress, it is just as objectively imperative to extend democratic principles in the life of the party itself, raise the activity of its members in formulating and implementing party policy, strategy and tactics, and ensure creative participation of the party rank and file in all party affairs. It is now more important than ever to take into account and compare different views on this or that question in the process of discussing it, weigh different circumstances, take counsel with non-party people and bear their views in mind. The party is well aware of this objective requirement and reflects it in decisions of its leading committees and in day-to-day practice. Implementation of the decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses and of CC plenary meetings has been instrumental in promoting collective leadership at all levels and the democratic forms and methods of party work.

The CPSU sees a real guarantee of successful solution of taday's problems in encouraging the initiative of local party organizations. In recent years, certain powers previously exercised by the CC CPSU have been delegated to the Central Committees of the communist parties of the union republics. Independent solution of local problems ensures implementation of the party's general policy with due regard to the distinctive conditions in which the organization concerned is operating. The powers of district party committees have been extended, and important changes toward furthering democracy have taken place in the activity of party branches. Specifically, in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the right to supervise the activity of administrative bodies has been granted (besides organizations functioning in the production sphere, which already had this right) to more than 170,000 branches with a membership exceeding four million. In our republic, virtually all the 8,591 party branches have the right of supervision.

All fundamental issues of economic, political and social development, plans for the future and all projected changes bearing on the interests of the working people, are discussed at party meetings and conferences and meetings of activists. This has become a firm rule in our republic's party organization today. Nor is it only a question of discussing prepared drafts but of communists' participation in working them out. A widely practised method is the setting up of working groups to analyze and formulate a concrete program for the solution of this or that problem, standing committees, etc.

In preparing for a 1975 plenary meeting of its CC on the selection, placing and training of personnel, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan set up over 100 committees with CC members at their head. The committees carefully analyzed work with personnel in most city and

district party organizations, all ministries, departments, and many research and cultural institutions. Their findings served as a basis for the documents of the plenum, whose decisions were subsequently discussed in all party branches and won full approval among the communists.

The logical result of this is a substantially higher level of creative activity on the part of the membership and greater participation by the rank and file in the affairs of the party, on which implementation of its general line depends in decisive measure. For instance, over 94 per cent of the members took part in annual party branch meetings during preparations for the 25th CPSU Congress and one in four spoke in the debate.

In Azerbaijan, so important a document as the CC CPSU Draft Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-80 was discussed at open party meetings attended by 240,840 members and some 400,000 non-members. Almost 148,000 of them joined in the discussion and many of their proposals were taken into account in drawing up the five-year plans of factories, collective and state farms and republican ministries, and some particularly valuable ones were incorporated into the plans of certain economic branches of the entire Soviet Union.

The promotion of democratic principles is becoming the basis for educating people in the spirit of conscious discipline, responsibility, civ' duty and thinking in terms of the whole state. An important feature of the party is that the greater the scope of inner-party democracy, the keener each communist's sense of responsibility for the common cause. With democracy advancing, the idea of the common, of the whole, increasingly takes the form of conscious discipline.

All this shows convincingly enough the meaning of democratically conceived and democratically applied centralism, namely, the democratic centralism of a party functioning in the conditions of developed socialism. While the party proceeds in the new conditions from a new ratio between centralism and local initiative, the two aspects of this twofold principle are not counterposed as it develops but are combined and strengthened. The CC CPSU Report to the 25th Congress emphasized that 'we shall have to reinforce both principles of democratic centralism simultaneously.'

IV

Democratic centralism, it will be recalled, is the scientific expression of the views of the working class on democracy and organization, freedom and discipline. And since these views were embodied in the political organization of the working class — the Marxist-Leninist party — their substance had to be embodied in one way or another in

the state founded by the working class. It is only logical that, having established its own state, the working class was enabled to organize all social development consciously and according to plan in the interest of the masses.

Revealingly, the impact of the principle of democratic centralism on life in socialist society is singled out for criticism by bourgeois and social-democratic ideologists, who claim that the CPSU has 'imposed' its accepted principle of democratic centralism upon society. Attempts are often made to counterpose the Communist Party to government agencies and mass organizations, treat the laws of social development and the aims set by the party as antithesis, make it appear that the party, being the only ruling party in our conditions, substitutes itself for everyone and everything.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the following circumstances.

First, in the Soviet state, elements of democratic centralism, namely, electivity of the leading bodies, their accountability to the electorate and their removability, naturally became a practice of local government bodies almost as soon as these came into being. The principles of centralism, the subordination of lower to higher bodies are prompted mainly by the need to manage a national economy based on public ownership of the means of production. This objectively demands one centralized leadership. To be sure, it poses the problem of properly combining local initiative and independent action with centralized unity in administration. 'Stereotyped forms and uniformity imposed from above,' Lenin emphasized, 'have nothing in common with democratic and socialist centralism. The unity of essentials, of fundamentals, of the substance, is not disturbed but ensured by *variety* in details, in specific local features, in methods of *approach,* in *methods* of exercising control...' (Vol. 26, p. 413). The party has carefully considered this problem at diverse stages and has solved it according to the given situation.

Second, in carrying on its work, the party gives general political guidance to government agencies and mass organizations without substituting itself for them or exercising petty tutelage. For their part, these agencies and organizations, which are vested with extensive powers, organize their work in line with party policy. The development aims of Soviet society, formulated by the Communist Party, are an expression of objective laws of socialist construction and meet the people's fundamental interests or they could never have been achieved.

Ours has become a state of the whole people, whose interests and will it expresses. A new historical community has taken shape in our country — the Soviet people — which rests on the unbreakable

alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, with the working class playing the leading role. Being the vanguard of the working class and the whole people, the party occupies a central place in the political organization of Soviet society. In our conditions, this is a result of historical development.[3] Needless to say, a different set of circumstances may give rise to a different political structure implying the existence of several parties, as is now the case in some socialist countries.

The chief criterion of acceptability of a political structure is, in our view, to guarantee genuine democracy for the working people and genuine participation of the masses in the management of society. Our search follows the lines of further development of socialist democracy based on the working people's constant and many-sided participation in government, production and all other spheres of public life through collective discussion of key draft decisions, all of which democratic centralism successfully serves. This is seen in the growing activity of government bodies at all levels, the trade unions, people's control bodies, general meetings, production and other conferences, and various organizations of the working people.

Speaking at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, L. I. Brezhnev cited these characteristic figures: more than two million persons are elected to Soviets of Working People's Deputies and nearly 30 million work as activists of the Soviets, helping voluntarily and without any compensation in the vast and complex business of governing the state. Another nine million work in elected people's control bodies, through which they bring to light bureaucratic practices and instances of carelessness. Permanent production conferences, 65 per cent of whose members are workers, have been constituted at enterprises. In 1975 alone, more than one million proposals advanced by these conferences designed to raise output and improve working conditions were put into effect.

In Azerbaijan, 48,159 persons have been elected deputies to local Soviets and 55.2 per cent of them are non-communists. By taking part in the management, deputies carry out the mandate of their electors. Out of the 17,512 mandates received by deputies to local Soviets during the latest elections and approved by working people's meetings, more than 13,780 were carried out in 1976. These are measures intended to modernize communities and improve working and living conditions.

Long-term economic development plans are discussed by all working people before they are submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for approval. Draft economic plans are discussed on a similar scale in the republics, regions, territories, cities and districts. Plans adopted by a majority become a law binding on all.

These are highly indicative facts. They go to show that when our party sets the task of making fuller use of the advantages of the socialist system, it has in mind primarily one of the main advantages — the inexhaustible reserves of people's labor and social energy, the initiative and conscious participation of all in economic and political activity.

Today the working people of our republic, like the whole Soviet people, are enthusiastically carrying out the plans charted by the 25th CPSU Congress. This noble constructive activity is being guided by the great party of Lenin — the communist vanguard equipped with an advanced theory, well-organized and closely-knit. We will continue to base our activity on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism because today's reality bears out the conclusion: this principle, applied dialectically and creatively, corresponds to the very essence of a Marxist-Leninist party and the fundamental aims of its activity and is inseparable from it.

1. All quotations from the Congress records here and elsewhere refer to the CC Report presented by L. I. Brezhnev. — *Ed.*

2. It is noteworthy that even then, in conditions of illegality, the Bolshevik Party conducted opinion polls among its members on the most important problems of party life. In 1913 for instance, party members were asked to discuss the stand to be taken by local party organizations on the formation of an independent Bolshevik group in the Fourth State Duma and on the splitting activities of the Mensheviks. Summing up the results of the discussion, Lenin wrote: 'No other political party in Russia can show, for the whole period of the counter-revolution in general and for 1913 in particular, a similar *open and mass opinion poll of all its members* on a most important issue of party life. None of the legalized parties in Russia, none of the wealthy liberal and democratic parties, which have a host of intellectualist forces and all sorts of publications at their command, has done as much as the party of the working class, the party of propertyless proletarians, who have been driven underground . . .' (Vol. 20, p. 539).

3. It is common knowledge that the one-party structure of political power in our country was by no means formed over-night. Neither was it a result of arbitrary choice but developed in step with the revolutionary process and in connection with its requirements. This occurred after the anti-popular activity of the Menshevik, Socialist Revolutionary (SR) and other non-proletarian parties had led them to political bankruptcy. For its part, the Bolshevik Party did its utmost to expand the social base of the proletarian dictatorship and enlist the cooperation of all democratic forces. The first Central Executive Committee, elected by the Second Congress of Soviets, included Bolsheviks, left SRs, Mensheviks-internationalists and others. From December 1917 on, the Council of People's Commissars was composed of 11 Bolsheviks and seven left SRs. And only when the latter launched an armed rebellion against Soviet power did this block naturally fall apart. The petty-bourgeois parties in our country were not 'forcibly' liquidated by the Bolsheviks as is sometimes claimed, but ceased to exist as a result of the anti-popular activity of the Menshevik, SR and other non-proletarian parties.

The victory of creative Marxism-Leninism in Laos

Kaysone Phomvihan
General Secretary, CC People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Prime Minister, Laotian People's Democratic Republic

The Laotian people, being in the midst of the liberation storm that swept across Southeast Asia, were not long in acquiring revolutionary consciousness under the leadership of their vanguard party (the Communist Party of Indochina, founded in 1930, predecessor of the present-day People's Revolutionary Party of Laos). They united closely with the peoples of the two other countries of the peninsula, Vietnam and Kampuchea (Cambodia), and fought unrelentingly for independence, democracy and socialism, using the opportunities afforded by our epoch. The result was that Laos, a country with an intricate ethnic composition, rose from a colonial and feudal condition to the stature of a people's democracy and took the road leading to socialism.

Our vitalizing revolution has gone through several stages.

One of its glorious stages was the 1945 general rising during which the people wrested power from the Japanese fascists and French colonialists. In the new strategic situation created by the victory of the Red Army over German and Japanese fascism and resulting in a revolutionary situation, the Laotian people rose under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. In cooperation with the Vietnamese people who had just accomplished their August Revolution, they took power throughout the country and declared independence on October 12, 1945.

The French colonialists resumed their aggression with U.S. and British backing in the very first days following the declaration of independence. Our party, taking account of the balance of forces between the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and imperialism and its lackeys, on the other, set out to organize sustained popular resistance. It combined the armed struggle with effort to mobilize the masses, set up political strong points and rear bases, form and build up revolutionary political and armed forces. By rein-

forcing our ranks and winning over more and more people to our side, we brought into being a united national front, a revolutionary army and Resistance government and consolidated the worker-peasant alliance. The revolution spread gradually all over the country.

Subsequently the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos (PRPL), exploiting the victories achieved over the French colonialists, raised the banner of the nation and of democracy and mobilized the whole people, who fought as one man against U.S. imperialism and its underlings, for a peaceful, neutral, united, democratic and prosperous Laos, for its social progress.

At the last stage, which began with the signing of the Vientiane agreements (February 21, 1973), the struggle went on in conditions of the existence of three different zones (liberated, neutral and enemy-controlled) and three different regimes (revolutionary, coalition and reactionary). The revolution controlled a vast liberation zone covering four-fifths of the country's territory. It was backed by a broad united national front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the party. Powerful armed forces of the people comprising the three armed services held strong positions in vital areas and were strategically placed in the enemy-controlled zone, where there were insurgent bases. Revolutionary army and police units were moved into Vientiane and Louang Prabang, with the result that strong positions were captured in key enemy centers. All this benefited our fight on the legal front* in coalition bodies (the Provisional National Unity Government and the National Political Consultative Council), a fight that also enjoyed powerful support among various population groups in the enemy-controlled zone.

Using the advantages provided by the revolutionary upsurge in Indochina and the gains made in Laos itself, the party rapidly built up the progressive forces. It split and isolated the more reactionary circles, extended the patriotic front and won the support of the middle strata and some of the vacillating elements in the rightist camp (the rest of them were neutralized) to spearhead the fight against the imperialists and their flunkeys on the extreme right. The PRPL strengthened its positions in all three zones, gave a new stimulus to the revolution and geared it to rapid progress and the seizure of all power.

The final victory of the army and people of South Vietnam and the national liberation war of the army and people of Kampuchea provided adequate objective and subjective conditions for a general armed rising, and the party took the necessary measures. During the

*Along with armed, political and diplomatic struggle, the leaders of the Laotian revolution speak of legal struggle, meaning the activity of revolutionary patriotic forces in the diverse government agencies set up in the country on a coalition basis.

rising, it combined the use of strategic methods (mass action, pressure by the revolutionary army, risings and division among the puppet troops) with legal struggle and measures to strengthen its positions in the three key areas.

The Laotian revolution launched an all-out offensive of the three armed services and crushed the enemy's local administrative, military and police apparatus. It set up its own rule in the enemy zone and ultimately took over central power. As the result of a vote in the National Congress of People's Representatives, it abolished the coalition administration and the monarchic system and founded the Laotian People's Democratic Republic.

I would like to deal in this article with some problems of the strategic and tactical leadership of our revolution in terms of applying Marxism-Leninism to Laotian reality.

1. *Advancing the slogan of national democratic revolution, correctly defining the relationship between the two strategic tasks — the national and the democratic — defining the content of each of them according to the distinctive aspects of the situation in Laos, and concentrating on the primary, fundamental task, that of uniting the whole people and mobilizing their forces in the struggle for national liberation.*

The imperialists who attacked our country always sought an alliance with reactionary feudal elements to use them as their mainstay and tool in suppressing the people. Feudal reaction, for its part, had invariably and faithfully served the imperialists to retain its own privileges. When U.S. imperialism began its war of aggression in Laos, it did its best to win the support of feudal lords, feudal bureaucrats and reactionary segments of the bourgeoisie and make them the social basis for its neo-colonialist policy.

A long period of oppression had left all the ethnic groups, classes and social strata of the exploited people of Laos with a common hatred for imperialism. Some bourgeois and feudal elements and even some members of the royal family joined of their own free will in the front of resistance to the aggressors. Therefore the main contradiction was that between the Laotian people and imperialism, and resolving it was a priority in the revolutionary struggle. The principal enemies of the revolution at the time were the imperialists and their zealous lackeys, members of the comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucrats, militarists and feudal reactionaries. Had this obstacle not been removed, Laotian society would have been unable to make headway. Hence the immediate task was to raise the national banner, unite and mobilize the forces of the whole nation, direct their effort against the chief enemy and fight for national liberation. To accomplish this task and win genuine national independence, freedom and democracy, it

was indispensable to defeat the imperialists, feudal lords and compradors.

Along with the national aspect of the revolution, account had to be taken of its democratic aspect. Ninety per cent of the population are peasants, an important force in both the production sphere and revolutionary struggle. They bore the brunt of exploitation by the imperialist aggressors and their reactionary henchmen, who succeeded one another in oppressing our country. In Laotian conditions, to free the nation and restore the people's democratic freedoms meant, first and foremost, freeing all peasants irrespective of ethnic origin and granting them democratic rights. This is why the task of raising the banner of democracy and freeing the peasants from feudal and pre-feudal exploitation, as well as of educating, winning over and mobilizing the rural masses was a matter of paramount, strategic importance to the revolution.

The two objectives — the national and the democratic — are inseparable; they influence, complement and stimulate each other. The national task comes first, for it is under its banner that freedom fighters unite. Fulfillment of the democratic task provides the main source of strength for the revolution, enabling it to achieve the national goal. In this process, the democratic aspect is subordinate to the national aspect and depends on it.

However, the effort to attain these objectives must be wisely adapted to the exigencies of the situation. Realization of the democratic task must be continuous so as to bring about the simultaneous and complete achievement of both strategic goals. These consist in defeating imperialism to re-establish national independence and in overthrowing the feudal class and comprador bourgeoisie to guarantee the people democratic freedoms and create prerequisites for the advance of the revolution to a new stage.

To solve the problem of these inherent and dialectical interrelations with due regard to national realities, our party championed the concentration of all revolutionary and progressive forces to fight against the imperialist aggressor, for national salvation. It expected the democratic task to be accomplished simultaneously but gradually, bearing in mind the primacy of the national objective.

The party called for solidarity, equality, mutual assistance and better living conditions, thus expressing the people's democratic demands in the political and economic spheres, first of all the demands of peasants belonging to diverse ethnic groups. The party drew the masses into the implementation of democratic reforms aimed at curbing and then destroying feudal and pre-feudal exploitation in any form. At the same time, it worked to mobilize the peasants and help them in the struggle against poverty and backwardness, for progress

in culture, education and health care. It helped them to organize mutual assistance in various forms to intensify production and gradually improve their living and cultural standards. The party worked continuously to materialize democracy and equality among the diverse ethnic groups, foster their solidarity, support the people's forces in every way and build them up so as to further the revolution.

By correctly solving the problem of the relationship between the national and democratic tasks and defining their content, the Loatian revolution increased its strength, gradually extended the national unity front, divided the classes hostile to it and localize them. It carried on a meaningful struggle to isolate and weaken the chief enemy, defeated the principal contingents of reaction one by one, achieved victory after victory and fully triumphed in the end, accomplishing the national and democratic tasks throughout the country.

2. *Effectively mobilizing the peasants, forming a solid worker-peasant alliance, and transforming it into the main force of the revolution and into the pivot of a united national front led by the party of the working class.*

The worker-peasant alliance is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism and its formation is a general law for every revolution led by the working class, a requisite of successful national democratic and the socialist revolutions.

Laos is a backward, agrarian country with strong survivals of feudalism and a predominantly small-scale, fragmented agriculture. Its population is composed of numerous ethnic groups. The economic development level varies from area to area and from ethnic group to ethnic group. The working class is still in the making. Naturally, forming a worker-peasant alliance in such a country is particularly important.

The colonialists and feudal lords brutally oppressed and exploited the peasants, who were doomed to perpetual poverty. The peasants strove for independence, freedom and a decent life. The period of French colonization was punctuated with risings among peasants of every nationality. But those spontaneous actions, on which the class nature of the participants imposed considerable limitations, failed one after another. They lacked a correct and consistent policy, which only a vanguard party can evolve. Our party, giving due credit to the peasants' big role and revolutionary spirit, propagated Marxism-Leninism among them, applying it to the policy of the national democratic revolution, and showed them the way to national and social liberation.

Operating in complicated conditions, the party found a solution to the peasant problem by encouraging relations of fraternal solidarity

among the entire population, primarily among peasants of different nationalities and tribes. This enabled it to mobilize this huge force and draw it into the revolutionary struggle.

The party carried out all this work, aimed at winning greater influence, educating the people and organizing joint actions through its members, the men and officers of its armed forces, and its mass propaganda and mobilization groups. Simultaneously the party effected, step by step, progressive changes that provided the peasants with economic and political rights and benefits. It gradually removed every form of exploitation and helped the peasants to combat poverty and backwardness and improve their living conditions. Therefore the peasants invariably showed sincere devotion to the party; the worker-peasant alliance was consolidated, and passed various trials with flying colors.

The conditions of our epoch, which are highly favorable to all revolutionary streams because socialism has become a world system, are a most important factor whose wise use with due regard to the realities of our country fully confirmed the following great truth: even in backward, agrarian countries, where the working class is only just beginning to emerge, it is possible and necessary to establish a solid worker-peasant alliance led by a Marxist-Leninist party so as steadfastly to further the revolution in the spirit of history, that is, in the direction of national independence, which is closely bound up with socialism. Without this, the revolution cannot win.

3. *Forming a broad united national front on the basis of a solid worker-peasant alliance led by the party, setting correct and specific political tasks, using a variety of organizational forms in accordance with the given stage of the revolutionary struggle, continuously extending this front, splitting the forces of the chief enemy and isolating them to the utmost.*

The century-long experience of our people's fight against foreign aggression shows that a small people, who are, moreover, ethnically heterogeneous and have to resist a conqueror vastly superior in strength, must form a bloc as solid as steel to strike at the enemy, defeat him and uphold their national independence and sovereignty.

I have said that our party solved this problem by forming a solid worker-peasant alliance as the basis for a united national front. The party found correct and specific political solutions and used organizational forms corresponding to the given stage of the revolution and aimed at uniting all the forces of the nation, all sects, prominent national leaders and adherents of diverse progressive trends to divide the enemy, isolate him and spearhead the struggle against the imperialist aggressors and their reactionary lackeys.

One of the most noteworthy successes of the party's united front

policy was that the intermediate social forces were brought in, which is an important strategic principle of every proletarian party, especially at the national democratic stage of the revolution. In Laos, where social differentiation has not yet gone far enough, the neutralist intermediate strata played an important part in the economy and politics and had their own political party and armed forces. They were dissatisfied with the imperialist policy of war and aggression, wanted to see their country independent and were searching for a way to achieve this goal. The party regarded them as a force of the national democratic revolution and used the Partiotic Front of Laos (the national unity front organized by the party) as a special form of alliance with neutralist strata.

This alliance was set up in the course of mobilization, persuasion and education. It required unrelenting effort and found expression, first of all, in everyday activities and in the formulation of concrete tasks. Afterwards it developed into a political alignment on the basis of a broad common program proposed by the party. The next stage of its development was military and political unity in the struggle for common objectives specified for every sector. The party strove gradually and meaningfully to win the neutralist forces for service in the people's cause. By combining loyalty to principle with flexibility in carrying out the various political tasks of the Front, we forged national unity and directed the energy of the whole nation toward achieving the aims of the revolution.

A decisive factor for the fruitful activity of the Front in addition to the party's correct policy was the unification of working people of all ethnic groups. Its basis was the worker-peasant alliance. Without the backing of these genuinely revolutionary forces, it would have been impossible, even using a flexible policy and efficient methods, to win over the intermediate strata and the progressive section of the upper strata to the side of the revolution. The forces capable of rallying together in a broad united national front under the party's leadership could do so only by leaning on the working people and the worker-peasant alliance as a basis, accurately analyzing the alignment of classes and social strata, ascertaining the potentialities of the revolution at its every stage and working out an appropriate and specific policy.

4. *Showing unfailing loyalty to strategic goals, abiding strictly by the theory of revolutionary violence and offensive strategy, stepping up the dynamics of the revolution, applying the right revolutionary methods, and exploiting partial gains to achieve complete victory.*

The Laotian revolution could not, of course, expect an easy victory over major imperialist powers commanding a large military economic potential. It had to advance gradually, using the opportunities af-

forded by our epoch and passing through many phases to force the enemy back step by step and defeat him in the end.

Fighting methods are conditioned by the phase and dynamics of the revolution, as well as by the quality of the leadership provided by the vanguard party. They are entirely effective only in so far as the theory of revolutionary violence is applied correctly and the spirit of an offensive strategy maintained, and provided the revolutionary forces win new positions and operate jointly against vital enemy positions (political, military, economic and control centers of the counter-revolution, etc.).

Revolutionary violence takes two basic forms: political and military. Imperialism held our people in subjection by carrying on a twofold policy: brutal repression and treacherous political and economic bribery. Its system of coercion involved every family and every citizen. This necessitated an effective combination of the two basic methods and forms of violence.

The struggle for a coalition, or, in other words, for a compromise is a characteristic of our revolution. The revolution must be willing to compromise in certain situations so as to consolidate and develop its forces and to contain, split and isolate the enemy. In turn, an enemy who is compelled to accept such a compromise tries continuously to counter-attack the revolutionary forces so as to weaken and then destroy them either through 'peaceful development' or through counter-revolutionary violence.

A compromise can only be achieved in the presence of such factors as steady consolidation of the revolutionary forces, powerful support from the mass movement, and courageous and competent party cadres. Had we relied solely on our representatives in coalition bodies and had they even been in a majority and held high positions enabling them to impose progressive legislation and decrees, this would not really have benefited the people, for the other echelons of the repressive and administrative machniery, being still in the enemy's hands, would have enabled him to carry on subversion or resist every measure beneficial to the people.

We also fought in parliament and in the legal sphere. We know by experience that this can produce good results in certain conditions, but it is not the important thing. What is important is to use legal opportunities for mobilizing the people, organizing their forces, extending the front, dividing and isolating the enemy, and bringing the masses into the political struggle. The revolution must be able to accept a compromise or to renounce it as soon as the enemy makes a volteface or when the compromise becomes a hindrance to the revolution, especially when the struggle has reached the highest de-

gree of intensity, conditions are ripe for an explosion and an immediate revolutionary situation has arisen.

5. *Working continuously to create a favorable revolutionary situation, using this situation, turning it into a real force, stepping up the dymanics of the revolution, preparing in advance for revolutionary leaps and taking direct measures to bring them about.*

A revolutionary situation is created by definite objective and subjective conditions. The party leading the struggle must contribute to the development of the prerequisites for an immediate revolutionary situation. As soon as this situation arises, the party, fulfilling its sacred mission in regard to history and to its country, must take a decision to bring about a revolutionary leap. To miss this opportunity is to make a most grave mistake and injure the interests of the people and country. When, in 1945, the Soviet Red Army defeated fascism and the August Revolution triumphed in Vietnam, our party took advantage of the situation to call for a rising whose victorious outcome was finalized by the declaration of independence on October 12 of that year.

Thirty years later our party, taking into account the victorious outcome of two resistance wars against the French and U.S. imperialists, as well as the partial gains of two years of struggle for a coalition under Vientiane agreements (February 21, 1973), resolved to muster forces according to a carefully devised and coordinated plan. Steps were taken to hasten the formation of political and armed forces, fortify the liberated zone, that rear base of the revolution, take up strategic positions in the enemy-controlled zone, extend the political and legal front, bring the masses into the struggle for the partial assumption of power, and prepare actively for a general offensive and a general rising, which originally was set for the dry season of 1975-76.

By early May 1975, the final victory of the great offensive and the risings launched by the armed forces and people all over South Vietnam, as well as victory in the liberation war of the armed forces and people of Kampuchea, had had a powerful impact on the revolutionary situation in Laos, which had fully matured by then. The mass movement had assumed an unprecedented scale and become irreversible. The U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys found themselves in disarray. Taking advantage of the victorious leap of the revolution in other countries of Indochina and stepping up its dynamics in Laos to the utmost, our party adopted the strategic decision immediately to launch a general offensive and simultaneous risings so as to seize all power at the earliest possible date.

In so doing, we relied on our decisive positions in the three zones,

flexibly combined the basic forms of struggle — armed, political and diplomatic — and supplemented them with legal struggle.

Not to miss a situation, use it to the hilt and act in time means increasing the forces of the revolution tenfold and winning new positions to crush and paralyze the enemy. The revolution transferred all power to the people, staving off an internecine war. That was how the rare and valuable opportunity of taking power by peaceful means — an opportunity provided to us and foreseen by Lenin — became a reality.

Revolutionary situations and revolutionary forces are inherently interconnected matters. Only by mustering forces and organizing them properly can the requisite situation be created; and only by firmly using the situation after promptly and correctly working out a strategic solution is it possible to win new positions and bring into being new forces capable of rapidly advancing the revolution by leaps.

6. *Remaining loyal to genuine proletarian internationalism, steadfastly consolidating the alliance and militant solidarity of the three countries of Indochina, using the opportunities afforded by our epoch, and relying on the moral support and concrete assistance of the world socialist system, the national-liberation movement, the movement for democracy and social progress and all the peace-loving peoples of the world.*

The splendid victory of the Laotian revolution confirmed the truth that in our epoch even a small, sparsely populated and economically underdeveloped country cannot be subdued by any imperialist aggressor if it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party following a correct policy and using proper methods, if it is resolved to fight for independence and freedom and if its just cause is backed by the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement, the national-liberation movement and all the peoples of the planet striving for peace and justice.

The solid and long-standing alliance between the Laotian people and the two fraternal peoples of Indochina was an important factor for the victory of the revolution in each of our countries and is a dependable earnest of our future victories.

In the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the Laotian revolution has ensured itself the sympathy, unanimous approval and effective assistance of socialist and friendly countries on all continents through its fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and through a foreign policy promoting solidarity and mutual support among progressive forces.

Today every people beginning to fight for national liberation must

lean on the socialist system, bulwark of the world revolutionary process. This is the only way in which they can defeat aggressive imperialism and achieve complete victory.

7. *Forming a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, making it the leading center of the revolution, steadily enhancing the class nature of the party and maintaining its ability to perform its leading role.*

This is the decisive factor for the victory of the revolution in our country. A worthy continuer of the cause of the Communist Party of Indochina founded by the great Ho Chi Minh, the PRPL was born in the battle between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in our region. For the revolutionaries and peoples of Laos, Marxism-Leninism has become a torch illuminating their path to national liberation, for an end to exploitation, poverty and backwardness, for a renewed country, for the prosperity and happiness of the whole people.

The rise of the PRPL was the result of a historical link-up of the patriotic movement of the whole people with Marxism-Leninism, whose spread in Indochina, begun by Ho Chi Minh, soon aroused class consciousness in all the oppressed countries of Indochina. Serious difficulties had to be overcome in the process, of course. They were due to the fact that the Marxist-Leninist party had to be created in a colonial, feudal country with lingering survivals of pre-feudal social formations, with an underdeveloped economy and culture, an indistinct class differentiation and a proletariat that was only just emerging (there is still no large-scale industry).

Applying the Leninist principles of building a proletarian party of the new type in Laos, we always regarded the problem of accentuating its class character as one of key importance. This is the main thing in forming a vanguard party.

In the trying conditions of a protracted resistance fight, the PRPL, overcoming innumerable difficulties, set up party schools and classes for the study of Marxism-Leninism and the line and concrete tasks of the party, for both cadre and rank-and-file members. They learned to ascertain the requirements of the national-liberation and class struggle. By constantly combining theoretical studies with everyday activities, the party was able to impart a Marxist outlook and a class position to them and to teach them the art of leadership. All this strengthened the party.

On the organizational plane, the party did much to educate, select and bring into its ranks the finest workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and other working people of every nationality who had passed the test of revolutionary battles. It made a special effort to organize and educate the workers and make them aware of their mission so as to put the party on a solid class foundation.

Selecting the finest fighters, drawing them into the party, actively studying Marxism-Leninism and the party's line and concrete political tasks, educating and training its members in accordance with the realities of revolutionary struggle, and fostering the class awareness and efficiency of party members and organizations were the main lines we followed in building the party.

Success in this effort is the principal condition if the PRPL is to assure the complete victory of the national democratic revolution. This explains why our party, which came into being in an underdeveloped, backward society, is essentially a Marxist-Leninist party none the less, the organized vanguard and most advanced force of the working class. The PRPL has retained and increased its role as the sole leader of the revolution, for the people, prompted by their own experience, trust the party leadership without qualification, rally closely behind the line and political tasks of the PRPL, and are entirely devoted to the party and willing to follow it. This is the decisive factor for our recent victory in a great national battle. It will also ensure victory in the incipient socialist revolution.

The national democratic revolution in Laos is at its closing stage. Our country is taking the road of socialist construction, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

A progressive political system has been established in Laos. However, the country's backward mode of production is out of keeping with this system. The material prerequisites of building socialism are very modest at the moment. Besides, class enemies and foreign reactionaries are engaged in sustained subversion against our revolution. In this situation, the party is striving to carry out the following tasks: consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, eliminate the effects of neo-colonialism, heal the wounds inflicted by the war, gradually reorganize small-scale production, primarily the fragmented agriculture, pave the way for large-scale socialist production and raise the people's standard of life step by step.

These are historic tasks for a country which after a century of colonial domination and 30 years of devastating war has been transformed by a victorious revolution into an outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia and which daily resists imperialist and reactionary attempts to eliminate the influence of socialism in this region of the globe.

Realizing its duty to the nation and the world revolutionary movement, our party is determined to carry high the banner of independence, democracy and socialism, mobilize the people and unite them even more closely, be vigilant and build up the revolutionary power

and the armed forces, thereby fulfilling simultaneously two highly important tasks of the day.

One of these tasks is to revive production, normalize the economy and rapidly provide the material and technical basis for the country's advance to the stage of building socialism. The other task is to ensure the country's defense and safeguard revolutionary power against the subversive and aggressive actions of imperialism and its underlings.

We are certain that our people will build a peaceful, independent, socialist and prosperous Laos by drawing on the natural resources of their country, using primarily their own forces and relying on their own constructive effort and also on the assistance and cooperation of fraternal and friendly countries.

U.S. 'hawks' step up activities

William Jackson
American journalist

There is no doubt that the most outspoken U.S. militarists and their underlings, known as 'hawks,' are stepping up their activities. Their utterances cause concern to millions of realistic-minded people in the United States and the world.

What makes the 'hawks' sharpen their talons and scream so ominously? It is fear. Fear of the fact that the socialist world is going from strength to strength. The ideas of détente, disarmament and cooperation between countries with different social systems are gaining ground among the masses. Beneficial changes in the international climate and a new balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism have led to impressive gains in the struggle for national liberation and social progress and given the Communist and Workers' parties added prestige. Lastly, there are more and more sober-minded people even among the ruling classes of the capitalist world while extreme reactionaries, or 'hawks,' find themselves in increasing isolation as a minority in the ruling minority. Peaceful development threatens to lose them political and economic leverage and positions. Terrified by the inexorable march of history, they are trying hard to turn it back.

Revealingly, the 'hawks' stepped-up activity was preceded by an almost two-year campaign during which reactionaries in the USA and other NATO countries strove to galvanize the cold war policy by telling parliaments and public opinion that the West was 'lagging

dangerously' behind the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in defense measures. The arguments used by them included the claim that détente had brought the socialist countries 'unilateral' advantages and that the capitalist countries' military spending was not enough.

More recently, the assertion that the West is 'lagging' has been supplemented with allegations about an 'increased Soviet military threat.' NATO Supreme Commander, General Alexander Haig, told *U.S. News & World Report* that 'Soviet military capabilities have been growing at a relentless pace'[1] and insisted that all NATO countries must increase military expenditures. At a press conference in London last fall, NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns, described the 'Soviet threat' as follows: 'The Soviet military machine is more threatening than it was six or seven years ago — on land, on sea, in the air and in nuclear capabilities.'[2] *The Washington Post* wrote editorially that 'NATO should modernize its forces and planning to counter the kind of brief and intense attack the Russians are now in a position to make.'[3] Capitalist press reports and news broadcasts today abound in this kind of provocative speculation or even worse. Those who would like to make capital of the 'Soviet threat' use this bugbear to scare the peoples of Western Europe and the Middle East, and even those of Africa and Australia. The idea is to use the powerful imperialist machinery of 'information' to implement their sinister plans.

One of the main centers coordinating and directing this campaign is the so-called Committee on the Present Danger, set up last November. It includes men who during the Vietnam war held key posts in the Johnson Administration and were among the more strident zealots of escalating the conflict — Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State, Eugene Rostow, former Under-Secretary of State, Henry Fowler, former Secretary of the Treasury, Paul Nitze and David Packard, former deputy Secretaries of Defense. Among the organizers are Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, and other 'hawks.'[4] However, it has been obvious ever since the committee came into being that peddling myths about 'dangerous Soviet policies'[5] is not its only aim. The group 'will challenge President-elect Jimmy Carter and anybody else who tries to cut the U.S. defense budget next year.'[6]

That's the real purpose. Sure enough, the 'hawks'' talk about a 'Soviet threat'[7] is a demagogic device aimed at prevailing on the Democratic administration that took over in January and on the U.S. Congress to continue the arms build-up. The U.S. intelligence agency's fantastic 'disclosure' coincided with the submission by the outgoing Republican administration of a record draft military budget of

$123,000m. To put greater pressure on Congress and public opinion, the press widely publicized the fact that both the outgoing Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, and generals still holding high positions in the Pentagon were dissatisfied with even that huge amount and insisted on more.

The allegation that 'the Soviet Union goes beyond what it needs for defense and that it seeks superiority in armaments to deliver a "first strike," was described as absurd and perfectly groundless by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his Tula speech. On behalf of the CPSU and the Soviet people, he declared that the Soviet Union 'will never take the road of aggression nor draw the sword against other peoples.'[8]

Meeting in plenary session to assess the results of the November 1976 elections, the CC CPSUSA warned that the reactionary forces were already pressing President-elect Carter to continue the harmful policies which a majority of the electorate had repudiated.

The Carter administration has declared that it plans to cut military spending and achieve further progress in the strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union. Nor is it immaterial that most Americans who voted for Carter expect the new government to deal with the economic crisis and meet the people's pressing and long-neglected needs. This calls for a substantial reduction of arms appropriations so that funds can be rechannelled into satisfying the country's requirements.

Widespread public support for measures of this kind played a notable part in the Democrats' victory, and now it imposes definite obligations on the Carter administration. During last year's election campaign, prominent Democrats promised the American public that if their party came to power it would put an end to covert day-to-day manipulation of the media.

These are all things that the militarists do not like. Trying to counter-attack, they expect to block any cuts in military expenditures and, indeed, to have them increased. They also hope that by brain-washing the public they can discredit détente and the progress toward a curb on the arms race made through talks and bar the way to their successful conclusion.

One has only to look into the causes of reactions' maneuvers to see that they are designed to neutralize mounting resistance to the military-industrial complex. This resistance is bound to influence Congress, the municipalities and state authorities. Public concern over the arms race and over the 'hawks'' increased activity found expression in a draft resolution submitted to the House of Representatives by more than 200 of its members. The draft stresses that the new government must back all steps to limit and prevent the prolifera-

tion of nuclear weapons and to continue the U.S.-Soviet effort in this field.

It was no coincidence that delegates from various national organizations fighting for peace, disarmament and social reform arrived in Washington on Carter's inauguration day to remind him of his election promises. Participants in the campaign against the development of the new expensive B-1 bomber demonstrated in the capital and other cities. The Committee on American-Soviet Relations, composed of Eugene McCarthy, George Kennan, John K. Galbraith, Edwin Reischauer, Donald Kendall, Jerome Wiesner, Leonard Woodcock and other prominent public figures and scholars, released a statement that may be seen as an answer to the campaign launched by the Committee on the Present Danger. The statement demands an emphatic renunciation of the battered slogans and reflexes of the cold war period.

The 'hawks'' challenge to the new administration suggests that the struggle to preserve and further détente is intensifying in the United States. As for the American communists, they stress the importance of uniting the people in struggle against the foes of détente and international security, for peace and the improvement of the American people's daily life.

1. *U.S. News & World Report,* January 17, 1977.
2. *International Herald Tribune,* November 19, 1976.
3. *The Washington Post,* November 17, 1976.
4. 'Paul Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, who helped organize the committee,' wrote *The Washington Post* (November 9, 1976) in one of its early reports on the committee, 'said its objective is to achieve ''a clear understanding by the populace of what's going on'' in the world as a result of Soviet expansionism.'
5. *International Herald Tribune,* November 10, 1976.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Operating on the same lines, the CIA on January 11 made public a report claiming that while the U.S. spent only $90,000m. on defense annually, Soviet defense expenditures were greater by $30,000m. Yet the U.S. Congress allocated the Pentagon $112,300m. for 1975-76. By contrast, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has appropriated $17,200m. for defense under the 1977 budget. Commenting on the trend of CIA releases, the *Defense Monitor,* a bulletin published by the Washington Center for Defense Information, wrote with good reason that Congress and the American people were an object of the most intensive scare campaign since 1960 and that estimating Soviet military spending in dollars had nothing to do with what the Soviet Union actually spent on defense, and provided no basis for judging whether or not the U.S. had adequate armed forces.
8. *Pravda,* January 19, 1977.

Party experience

The working class — national and international tasks

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History has proved correct the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that cyclical crises come and go while the general crisis remains a concomitant of capitalism in its last stage. What is new, is that today the capitalist economic crisis is characterized by an ever closer intertwining of the cyclical crisis with aspects of the general crisis. It is possible to speak, therefore, of a new stage in the postwar capitalist economy and, compared with the high business activity of recent years, the situation will be different even if there is a production increase.

Such signs of the general capitalist crisis as the monetary crisis, inflation, the failure of neo-colonialist strategy and the inter-imperialist contradictions have become more acute as a result of the constantly changing balance of world forces in favor of socialism. In the 50s imperialism could still place its hopes on a 'rolling back' strategy and threatening socialist countries with war. But, as the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union, gains in might (its share in world industrial output increased from 17 per cent in 1950 to 40 per cent in 1976), the confrontation between the two social systems is shifting to the ideological and economic spheres. While the socialist economy is continually on the upsurge, the capitalist crisis goes from bad to worse, its internal contradictions becoming more acute.

All this is likewise true for our country, where the economy is rapidly losing its stability and the population's social insecurity is growing. The politicians that only recently boasted of a 'welfare society' are now attempting to prepare the younger generation for the prospect of constant unemployment. The working people are facing serious problems and are uneasy over their future which is anything but radiant. The 22nd Congress of the CPL (Dec. 26-27, 1976) pointed out that Luxembourg was on the verge of a long period of development with extreme contradictions and crises.

The first to be affected were the steelworkers representing the country's key industry. The drop in production caused a sharp loss in wages and confronted the workers with a threat of unemployment. This situation is used by big capital to introduce modernization on a

broad scale by reducing jobs. Over a two-year period, 2,400 (over 10 per cent) jobs were liquidated in the industry while nationwide, according to trade union figures, approximately 9,000 jobs were liquidated as a result of the economic crisis. In this context the ARBED concern's joining the reborn German steel cartel is fraught with dire consequences. This concerns not only our economic and national independence. One of the cartel's main goals is to modernize the steel industry on an international scale and then start a mass layoff.

Our party warned of this danger. The communist parliamentary group tabled a government inquiry into the mass export of capital by the ARBED concern and demanded introduction of parliamentary control over investments in heavy industry. A second inquiry concerned the German steel cartel. In early November last year the Communist Parties of Belgium, the FRG, France and Luxembourg met in our country to plan joint action against cartelization of the steel industry.

The government sides with the powerful trusts and banks and all its important decisions on the crisis are intended to ensure heavy industry owners large state subsidies which the working people will have to pay. State aid to the steel magnates, declared as a means of maintaining full employment, in reality turned into a means of reducing employment. This is a characteristic trait of Luxembourg's state-monopoly capitalism.

Placing the country's finances in the hands of the big trusts reduces state social measures to mere handouts. Promised 'big reforms' in retirement pensions and education remained promises; nothing was done to improve the outdated medicare system and there is still no state-financed housing construction.

The governments' anti-social policy is likewise evident in the constantly increasing taxes. The budget for this year will see a 2.7 billion franc wage tax increase as against 1975. Ten years ago this tax accounted for only 18 per cent of government revenues, while last year it went up to 28 per cent. Together with the added value tax, which comes, for the most part, from the people's pockets, its share reaches 42 per cent. Meanwhile, the share of taxes on capitalist companies in overall revenues dropped from 17 to 11 per cent. One of the key demands in the struggle against shifting the burden of the crisis onto the working people is a fair distribution of taxes and a democratic tax system.

Depressing the working people's living standards and undermining their social gains simultaneously with a drastic curtailment of democratic rights is the general tendency of state-monopoly capitalism. One sign of this tendency is the encroachment on parliaments' democratic prerogatives and traditions. The time of debate on the state budget has

been cut by half, deputies have less time to state their points, while no time limit is set for ministers. This is done to prevent communist deputies, above all, from criticizing government policy in parliament. It is regrettable that all this is the work of a government that includes socialists who declare now and again that they are for society's 'democratization.'

It is time to stop curtailing the rights of deputies elected by popular vote, the Chamber of Deputies must be guaranteed the right to effectively control the government and government agencies. For this the government must not be allowed to bypass parliament on the grounds of EEC decisions or 'special powers.' Another pressing task is a reform of the Council of State whose members are not elected and where the doors are closed to communists. Not only its composition, but its functions also are indicative of its anti-democratic character. The communes must again be made independent.

In defending democratic rights it is important to oppose the 'intelligence agency' whose main function, time has shown, is to supply information on progressive organizations, sabotage them and intimidate their membership. Public aversion to this spy department is so great that the congress of the largest workers' trade union, the Luxembourg General Confederation of Labor and the congress of the Socialist Workers' Party demanded its abolishment. But a similar motion tabled in parliament by the communists was seconded only by two socialist deputies. Furthermore, the government intends to pass new legislation legalizing this department and giving it greater powers.

Communists are well aware of the fact that defending and broadening democratic rights depends in large measure on preserving the country's sovereignty and independence, and that is why the Communist Party is decisively against foregoing our national rights in favor of supranational institutes. Past experience has shown our position to be correct: capitalist integration, which means concentration of power in the hands of the big monopolies, is aimed against working-class interests. Capitalist contradictions are not liquidated but made more acute, this worsens the economic crisis and inflation, increases unemployment and exploitation of the working people by the multinationals.

Creation under the wing of the EEC of the steel cartel, which FRG concerns intend using to establish their economic and political domination in Western Europe, has shown the dangers to our national independence caused by concentration of international capital. We have good reason to resist the formation of a supranational state through a universally elected European parliament. Such projects are based on the intention to preserve at all costs the bankrupt capitalist

system in Western Europe. It is believed that a supranational regime will, more effectively than a national government, be able to oppose the working class and the growing resistance of the masses. That is why we insist that all legislation in Luxembourg should be passed by parliament and approved by the deputies elected by and accountable to the people.

Under the slogan of 'national solidarity,' an offensive has been launched against the people's living standards and social gains. The population is told that the only way out of the crisis is through 'coordinated action' by the employers, government and trade unions while spokesmen for big capital are grouped with 'the nation's vital forces.' This is a crude deception. The working people's gains and social rights can be ensured not by friendly cooperation with employers, but through a decisive struggle against big capital and its politicians. United action by workers and employees against the crisis policy of employers and government is the genuine solidarity that our country needs. Recent events are proof of this. A big protest demonstration in the capital on December 18 in which all trade unions took part, demanded guaranteed employment, maintaining the purchasing power, and defense of the working people's social gains. Many of these demands coincide with what communists have for long been fighting for.

The demonstration, an important step toward joint action by the trade unions, was aimed against the employers and the policy of the government coalition. This shows that the shifts in our country's policy following the 1974 parliamentary elections have not brought about radical changes. And there were great hopes for such change when, after a half-century rule by the Christian-Social Party it was replaced by the Socialist Workers' Party and Democratic Party coalition. Communists have always warned against harboring any such illusions. It soon became clear that the new coalition would not venture beyond a few timid and long overdue juridical reforms, but would ensure the continuity of pro-capitalist policies. As the crisis increased, it became evident that the pseudo-progressive composition of the new government and its influence among the unions would be used by big capital to preserve 'social peace,' shift the burden of the crisis onto the working people and reduce their social gains and democratic rights still more.

The purpose of the 'joint management,' introduced at large factories, is likewise becoming clear. Today many workers realize that the union spokesmen sitting on the boards of large companies and the creation of mixed committees at enterprises does not mean that the working people really have a say in management. All key decisions are maneuvered in such a way as to catch the workers' representa-

tives unawares and place before them a fait accompli. The questions discussed by this 'joint management' are kept secret and are not to be discussed with the workers. This allows the management to hold the representatives responsible for any trouble at the enterprise, compromise them before the workers and so split the working people and the unions. Such 'joint management' is nothing but a ruse by the employers.

Communists must expose these maneuvers and fight for genuine worker control, for joint management that would allow the working class to influence decisions, particularly those concerning profits and investments of big companies. Genuine worker participation in management is possible in our country only by radically changing the balance of political forces.

Our last congress has shown that communists cannot close their eyes to real problems, avoid decisions on crucial issues as certain other parties do. Because communists stand firmly on the principles of a scientific world outlook and, being the working class vanguard, they carry tremendous responsibility, and concrete solutions and a clear-cut position are expected of them, whatever the circumstances.

The Communist Party is convinced that a democratic way out of the crisis that has affected all spheres of life in the country is anti-monopoly struggle which would lead to a new situation in society, profound democratic reform and would open the way to socialism. There can be no social progress unless the working class and other democratic forces fight for socio-economic interests, democratic rights and for peace. It is in such struggle that a class awareness and organization are formed, so necessary to radically shift the balance of political forces and carry out social changes.

Our party's efforts helped to create conditions for a genuine left alliance, the need for which is widely realized. Participation of socialists in the bourgeois government, where they are repeating the bitter mistakes of the past has never prevented us from stressing the need of cooperating with them for common goals. Communists and socialists cooperate in the trade unions and, in some cases, at communal level in the framework of municipal coalitions. Problems arise, of course, but despite a difference in positions on certain issues, this cooperation has yielded good results and furthered our country's progressive development. We are certain that cooperation on a national scale between communists, socialists and other democratic forces is today a political alternative.

It is important to point out that unity for us is not an end in itself, but a means to better defend the working people's interests and speed up social and democratic progress. Cooperation with other political forces does not mean that communists forego their fundamental prin-

ciples, nor do they expect their partners to forego theirs. Therefore, communists would not endorse a policy that shifts the burden of the crisis onto the workers and preserves monopoly profits and power. An alliance of left forces will make sense only if it is anti-monopoly. It must serve as a prerequisite for an effective struggle against big capital, for democracy and socialism. While advocating cooperation with other segments of the population, we, nevertheless, are a working-class party and this underlies all our activities. With the working class and for the working class is the slogan of the Communist Party of Luxembourg.

The action program of the communists and the party program which the socialists pigeonholed when they entered the government have many points in common: greater participation in management, broader democratic and social gains, up-to-date systems of education and medicare, a progressive solution to the environmental problem. A joint communist-socialist program could include such pressing issues as providing employment and effective parliamentary and trade union control over investment. As the concentration of big West European capital continues and more manufacturing capacities are moved to other countries, the need arises to nationalize the steel industry. This is an extremely important national question since the country's economic structures are in danger. Nationalization of power engineering is another urgent issue.

Effective efforts to defend the working peoples' interests, a way out of the crisis and new steps toward social progress, are possible only if the political situation in the country changes radically and the power of the large trusts and banks is greatly reduced. To achieve this there must be political cooperation of the left forces which is possible only if the Socialist Party stops cooperating with the big bourgeoisie, returns to consistent class positions, and resumes its activity as a workers' party.

Anti-communism is the greatest obstacle to the unity of the working people, of all progressive and democratic forces. This classical bourgeois and reactionary means of preventing working class unity is, regrettably, also used by socialist leaders who still reject the idea of cooperation with communists. Our party is constantly accused of not being a 'national' party and of 'obeying instructions from Moscow.' Efforts are made to show that our solidarity with the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist community contradict the party's national policy. Many times the bourgeois parties and socialists have suggested that we dissociate ourselves from the USSR, the CPSU and existing socialism to prove our 'independence' and to merit recognition as being worthy of becoming part of the capitalist system. Our opponents even assure us that in this

case the influence of the Communist Party would increase among the masses (as if our opponents are interested in this).

Though the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns are spreading and numerous ventures are made to force us off our Marxist-Leninist positions in the national and international class struggle, Luxembourg's communists declared at their last congress that they would not retreat a step from the principles or proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the communist and workers' movement.

Our Party's 50-year history, has been a period of hard and selfless struggle. During the fascist years many communists, true patriots dedicated to the working class cause, gave their lives, languished in prison and concentration camp, and fought in the Resistance. Proof of the Communist Party's national character is its devotion to national sovereignty which today is consistently defended only by this party.

Today, as in the past, the Communist Party of Luxembourg draws up its program and plans its activities freely and independently in accordance with the country's specifics and traditions, our people's interests and the determination of the working class to attain democracy, peace and socialism.

We have always been inspired by our faith in the strength of proletarian internationalism and socialism's just cause which triumphed with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Is it possible that today, when existing socialism has proved its supremacy and is firmly in possession of the historical initiative, we could betray it for praise from the anti-communist forces whose system is on the verge of brankruptcy? Is it possible that we would dissociate ourselves from the socialist community of nations — the greatest achievement of the more than 100 years' struggle of the international revolutionary workers' movement -— just to be 'recognized' by the bourgeoisie and its bankrupt politicians?

The sincere friendship and solidarity binding us with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries is fully in the interests of our working class and our people. Thanks to the might and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies it has been possible not only to avoid a new world war, but to lay the foundations of a lasting peace, security and cooperation of nations, of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. This is vitally important to our people, for were it not for the mighty socialist camp, imperialism would long ago have turned to war as a traditional means of settling crises. And our people, too, would have been plunged into the abyss of misery.

The socialist states afford us the opportunity, while fully preserving our national sovereignty, of broadening trade with them and establish-

ing economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. Our close relations and friendship are on a much higher plane than what is preached by our 'European' politicians who are selling out our national sovereignty and freedom in the supranational institutes, are subjugating the country's economic interests to the interests of the West German concerns and are sinking the country over deeper in crisis,

We are well aware that it is no simple matter to build socialism and communism and that new problems constantly arise before the socialist countries. But we are equally aware that these problems are resolved in the interests of the working people as is seen in the steady improvement of all spheres of the economy, science, and social and cultural life.

The extension of democracy that accompanies this is based on such working class gains as social confidence, employment, the right to education, guaranteed rights for the youth and women and democratic participation in all spheres of life, particularly the economy. Such are the basic values of socialism that ensure genuine freedom for the working people. Such are the values which the working people in a capitalist society do not enjoy, despite the high rate of production in the 50s and 60s and despite the relatively high average consumption of material goods.

The plans of the anti-communists, who are stepping up their campaign of slander and provocations against the socialist countries taking full advantage of the entire capitalist media, are no secret to us. They would like to isolate the communists and the workers from the main force in the struggle to change the world in the direction of democracy, national independence, détente and socialism. In the worsening capitalist crisis they intend to distract the working people's attention from the socialist example of crisis-free development and prevent united action for social reforms.

We would be rendering our party and the working class a disservice if we yielded to the pressures of the mounting slander campaign against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, if we agreed, at the price of dissociating ourselves from existing socialism, to prove our independence, or to win the praise of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. On the contrary, we must increase our fight against anti-communism and popularize still more the great achievements and significance of existing socialism.

For us communists, a clear-cut stand in relation to existing socialism is a prerequisite of an effective struggle in the interests of our own working class. That is why our party's policy continues standing for greater solidarity and unity with the socialist world. No matter how malicious the attacks or slander aimed at us, Ernst

Thälmann's words, 'the attitude toward the Soviet Union is what determines the true face of a revolutionary,' remain true for us to this day.

In this same spirit our party is working to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement. In our struggle we find inspiration and support in the fact that we are marching side by side with millions of communists from all countries, that we are an active contingent of the internationsl communist and anti-imperialist movement, which today is the mightiest and most decisive force of progress on earth.

Psychological warfare: a political weapon of imperialism

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The very fact that Chile is living under a fascist regime shows that imperialism stops at nothing to stave off a threat to its interests. The Chilean experience, as well as impelling us to make a careful and constructive study of problems of the revolution, leads us to the conclusion that we must make as careful a study of the political arsenal of imperialism and reaction.

This article attempts an analysis of only one aspect of the subject — psychological warfare as a political weapon of imperialism — and examines from this point of view what happened in Chile.

Democratic rights and freedoms are admittedly a major factor for the development of the class struggle. The working class champions democratic development. The very existence of democratic rights for the people in capitalist countries today is conditional on how successfully the workers fight against imperialism, on the concessions which the ruling classes are forced to make to the working class and its allies. When the issue of reorganizing society on revolutionary lines comes to the fore reaction uses every means at its disposal against the democratic rights won by the workers.

In Chile there developed a situation in which the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority of the people could no longer be preserved, let alone extended, without stopping abuses of these rights on the part of a reactionary minority. The forces intent on installing

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fascist rule launched a psychological terror campaign through the mass media to pave the way for military terror. With the campaign gaining momentum and the fascist conspiracy unfolding, propaganda and physical terror merged into one. That these two forms of terror were not stopped in time was a sign of our weakness, as events revealed.

In an open letter to President Salvador Allende of Chile on August 29, 1972, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, stated the communist position as follows: 'Recognition of the rights of the opposition should not lead us to accept every kind of excess or misdeed. Some opposition spokesmen think the law can be twisted at will. There are opposition papers and broadcasting stations which have made lies, insult, slander, false and alarmist reports their daily bread ... Our first and foremost duty to the people and the country is to put a straitjacket on those who want to drag Chile into a bloodbath. The need to maintain and assure the development of freedom and democracy binds us to use the law against those who resort to crimes with an eye to bringing down the government and setting up a fascist dictatorship.'[1]

Developments proved this position correct. Furthermore, there is new evidence indicating that the propaganda machinery of Chilean reaction did not merely pursue propaganda aims but waged a psychological war preparatory to an armed struggle against the people.

The Chilean experience also shows that in exporting methods and techniques of this kind of warfare, imperialism tries in each particular case to represent them as a purely national or local matter. Yet it is manifest that the reaction-controlled media performed their part according to a 'script' written by experts of the CIA and other subversive agencies of U.S. imperialism. We find the fundamentals of this 'script' in *Psychological Operations,* a manual brought out by the U.S. war department.

Claiming that 'peace today ... is a continuation of the war by non-military means,' the manual describes 'psychological propaganda, or psychological operations,' as the principal means of this nature now in use.[2] These were planned and put into effect to influence the sentiments, attitudes or behavior of people in other countries in a manner 'favorable to the success of U.S. policies and objectives.' The purpose of psychological war, the manual notes, is to generate despondency, defeatism and apathy, encourage people to put their personal interest above the public interest and heighten their interest in private life so as to reduce their support of collective or national aims, foment skepticism regarding the political aims and ideology of the local or central authority (if these are hostile to U.S. intentions),

discord, dissent and strife, increase disarray and confusion in people's behavior, and incite them to violent anti-social actions so as to undermine the political structure of the country and encourage resistance movements against authority.

Precepts and recommendations of this nature were used most zealously in Chile. The psychological war served to aggravate the country's serious economic problems, set the middle strata of society against the working-class movement, bring about an alliance between these strata and the big bourgeoisie on the basis of imperialist policy and establish the hegemony of financial capital in the political leadership of the counter-revolution. Reaction strove through psychological pressure to drive a wedge between the government and certain sectors of the popular movement and to foment discord in it by publicizing the ultra-leftists' provocative and objectively counter-revolutionary concepts and actions. By taking advantage of the class character of the army and the fact that imperialist influence in its ranks had grown, reaction also strove to achieve in and outside the army a balance of forces that would help to move it away from the popular government, disregard the military's celebrated professionalism, 'indifference' to politics and respect for civilian authority and involve them in the dirty business of a coup and crimes against the people.

This policy was combined, not without antagonisms between diverse groups of the ruling classes, with the activity of all the power centers still in their hands, which led to a veritable institutional siege of the Popular Unity government and tended to become an obstacle to the exercise of power.

The Chilean experience has shown that psychological pressure is brought to bear by such traditional means as the cinema, television, the radio or the press plus such unseemly ones as gossip, rumor and intrigues. The idea is that at a time of social upheaval rumor and gossip begin to live a life of their own as it were, acquire a dynamic quality and, spreading through society like a malignant tumor, stimulate an irrational behavior among the masses and create an explosive situation.

Reaction uses terror as the main 'supplement' to psychological pressure. Although the policy of intimidation is neither omnipotent nor reliable, imperialism and its allies contrived to exploit it, causing fear and arousing hatred among certain sections of the population and directing these sentiments against the popular movement and the government formed by it. In an atmosphere of violence, which is only natural during a revolution, many are understandably gripped by fear. This sentiment also motivates the one-time ruling classes removed from power. Imperialism cunningly uses this situation by exploiting

primarily anti-communist prejudices instilled from generation to generation. In other words, it begins to implement a policy of intimidation primarily toward its own allies, seeing it as a means of intensifying class sentiments, causing unrest among the bourgeoisie and helping it to consolidate. This means that the purpose of the policy of intimidation at its early stage is to evolve definite forms of defending class interests so as to go over to outright anti-communist aggression later on, when fear turns into hatred.

The policy of intimidation is also used against the working class and its most trustworthy allies. Imperialism, well knowing that this policy cannot make the politically mature section of the people change its ideological position (as numerous experiments have revealed), concentrates on measures to dampen the working people's militancy and undermine their confidence in leaders. Psychological pressure was meant to breed discord and disunity among the workers, divide them and reduce them to passivity. The mistakes and weaknesses of the popular movement itself were skillfully used as an objective factor. The ultra-leftists' action against the small and middle proprietors and the popular government, their vain appeals to the armed forces and their 'leftist' talk were used in the psychological war (irrespective of the intentions of the 'leftist' groups' leaders).

However, the main target of the policy of intimidation from the class point of view was the middle strata, in particular groups of the petty proprietor-minded bourgeoisie. Imperialism used psychological terror as a means of creating an uneasy social situation and exploiting people's innate, most atavistic sentiments.

Psychological pressure was also exerted on such social institutions as the family, whose image had not yet been 'tarnished' by traditional bourgeois policy. To be sure, this applied to vacillating population groups, to those who had refused to support the Popular Unity program and were likely to side with the opposition. They were made to understand that each family should become a center of anti-popular agitation and organization and that they all should unite on the platform of an aggressive anti-communist class policy. Women with a bourgeois background were expected not to dissuade men from engaging in politics, as they usually did, but to join in such activity and become zealous advocates of bourgeois policies.

The result was a volteface in the attitude of certain sections of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata to the family, to women and children. An organization called Women's Power was formed as a proponent of allegedly feminist policy. The experience of Cuban women belonging to the bourgeoisie, who had demonstrated in mourning dress in protest against the Revolutionary Government under Fidel Castro, as well as the experience of the 'pots and pans marches' of

bourgeois women against Joao Goulart in Brazil was exported to Chile and became a major manifestation of 'civil disobedience' to the Allende government. Reactionary propaganda and rumor made out women to be more courageous and determined than men, thereby goading men into militant anti-communist activity.

The shortest path to any mother's heart was linked with her desire to give her children an education and take care of their health and safety. Reaction gambled on this in the most shameless manner. Popular Unity spokesmen and Marxists were portrayed as people opposing children to parents. A *Mercurio*[3] ad displayed a photograph of a student and beside it that of an armed man in a colorful 'guerrilla' uniform. The caption read: 'Your son — or your enemy?' and to drive the idea home, the ad said: 'in socialist countries, children are made to spy on their parents.' Another ad reproduced an execution. 'This is communism,' the caption read told the reader. Printed below it in capital letters were the words 'Do you want that for Chile? Save Chile from communism!' Radio broadcasts harped on the same tune — you heard the rattle of a tommygun, the voice of a woman shrieking: 'The communists have killed my son!' and the announcer's voice saying: 'This could happen in Chile if Chile were communist.' Parents were urged to protect their children: 'Don't let them play outdoors.' 'Take them to school and back.'

At the same time, reaction frankly combined psychological terror with effective class organization. The call 'Chileans, unite in anger' became the main catchword of the time, repeated with inane persistence. A sizable section of the middle strata and the big bourgeoisie was instigated to form organizations that would foment economic chaos, terror and social anarchy.

To this end, use was made of methods that had 'proved their worth.' The population was egged on through endless telephone calls, written notices and rumors passed on from family to family to buy large quantities of food and use the black market because goods would soon 'disappear' or 'cost more.' People were provoked into forming queues. Necessities and other consumer goods were hoarded. Things went so far as dumping large quantities of baby foods, milk, medicines, and so on into dustbins or rivers. All this aroused popular discontent, of course. But the blame was put on the government and the revolution. *Psychological Operations* says: 'Put the blame on those in power . . . Propaganda is more likely to succeed in an atmosphere of social unrest.'

Questionnaires said to come from Popular Unity were distributed among the middle strata of town and countryside. They included questions on how many bedrooms and beds you had and what house-

hold utensils, and whether you were willing to share your homes and property with fellow-Chileans.

And when people gave in to fear they were instigated to form 'self-defense' units at the level of street, neighborhood or district. This work was often carried on by retired servicemen, which guaranteed the paramilitary organizations concerned a high standard and, on the other hand, gave the 'self-defense' measures a military and 'patriotic' semblance. Headlines like 'Santiago Encircled' or 'MIRists Besiege Wealthy Districts' were carried along with maps of civilian communities or military areas allegedly 'freed' or 'saved' from MIR[4] 'seizures.' Children were made to set up liaison systems, telephone codes were invented and whistles made that gave a definite signal. Full-scale operational maneuvers were held to build up fear and hostility and stimulate conspiratorial activities among other social sectors, such as the trade unions, the liberal professions, student federations and fascist-like military men. Specialists were used to set up communications and build trenches and field hospitals. The overall purpose was to create a climate of mass hysteria. The campaign was backed up with acts intended to raise panic, such as interruptions in water supply, protracted light 'failures' in wealthy neighborhoods and at military posts or broadcasts calling on audiences 'to stay calm and not to give in to extremist provocation.'

'Self-defense' measures were accompanied by more and more acts of open aggression: terroristic attempts on people's lives (there were 105 dangerous attempts between June 1972 and February 1973, with 17 Popular Unity activists killed); strikes by transport employees, shopkeepers and members of the professions; strikes by the management of copper mines appointed by imperialists and still in charge, and bourgeois movements of 'solidarity' with the strikers; the seizure of an occasional educational institution under reactionary influence; 'pots and pans concerts,' demonstrations, rallies and reactionary marches; broadcasts by bourgeois-controlled stations assailing the government; the building of barricades and the organization of riots in wealthy neighborhoods, downtown districts of the capital and other cities, and so on.

It must be noted, however, that for all the efforts of imperialism, class-conscious workers kept out of anti-government actions.

The slanderous propaganda campaign of reaction combined fear, hatred and illusions about a 'democratic way out' allegedly making it possible to 'rebuild Chile,' and urged the overthrow of President Allende. Specifically, ads said: 'Women of Chile, we cannot wait till 1976 because in the next four years communism will fully establish a dictatorship of hunger. We must replace the Marxist government without delay.'

Reactionary propaganda, misrepresenting those in power, spread rumors about discord within Popular Unity and the government and described the Allende government as an 'oppressor' of the people. With this aim in view, it exploited every ultra-leftist, in particular MIR, outbreak. *El Mercurio* did not carry a single interview with a government spokesman but repeatedly made whole pages available to MIR leaders, who did not attack reaction but government measures and vented their fury above all on the Communist Party.

To oppose the people to the government, reaction played up the ultra-leftists' untenable economic demands and their calls for a 'revolutionary pole' opposed to the government. When arguing that the country was headed for 'anarchy' owing to government activity, reaction alleged that President Allende took his cue from the ultra-leftists. But when accusing the government of 'totalitarianism,' it imputed to Popular Unity all the negative characteristics of the MIR.

The U.S. war department's recommendations give a clear idea of how imperialism plans disruption of the unity of popular forces. 'When you cannot attack directly,' its manual says, 'use insinuations. Increase frictions and try to provoke disunity ... stimulate dissent and internal conflicts, foment distrust and suspicion.'

Besides, reactionary propaganda always tried to discredit those in power and interpreted their personal qualities in its own way. It never hesitated to fling gross insults at President Allende, resort to outright blackmail, use fake photographs, and so on. This method of psychological warfare, too, was exported by U.S. imperialism.

The psychological war and its results had a direct impact on the armed forces and the civilian 'cordon sanitaire' surrounding them. Interruptions in food supply, economic chaos, the terror campaign going on in bourgeois neighborhoods and at troop and carabinero stations, the formation of 'self-defense' units, the atmosphere of uncertainty and the psychological manipulation of families increased the ferment among the military and its civilian surrounding. Such factors as the institutional war in parliament and in judicial and supervisory agencies, massive attacks by reactionary propaganda, 'evidence' of the 'unlawfulness' of the government, which was alternately charged with 'anarchy' and 'totalitarianism,' had a strong impact on the armed forces. There were also the actions of reactionary politicians and the wives of fascist-minded army officers, who made 'psychological attacks' on patriotic officers by accusing them of lack of courage, and so forth. In exerting psychological pressure on the armed forces, recourse was also had to the provocative activity of the ultra-leftists, in particular of the MIR, with its unrestrained bragging.

Imperialism saw the main purpose of these activities, as has been

said, in alienating the armed forces from the popular government and isolating patriotic commanders devoted to the Constitution from their units and the officer corps while at the same time inciting the military to carry out a coup.

The struggle against imperialism, and the world revolutionary process as a whole, is making steady progress. The development of the socialist countries, their growing power and the increasing influence of their foreign policy attract the attention of ever larger sections of the population of capitalist and developing countries. The impact of socialist ideas and the effect of the revolutionizing example of existing socialism are growing especially in the context of the deep crisis besetting the whole capitalist system. In a desperate and fruitless attempt to find a way out of this crisis, imperialism and the forces upholding the interests of multinational monopolies use their last trump card — fascism. We do not intend to look into the intricacies of fascist ideology but in view of the problems we are analyzing, we would like to call attention to certain circumstances brought out by the Chilean experience.

A *sine qua non* of reaction's every psychological manipulation was to distort reality in the people's eyes. This resulted in certain population groups coming to believe imperialist falsehoods. To quote *Psychological Operations,* it was necessary 'to create and maintain credibility' without regarding 'credibility' as a 'synonym of the truth.' The full truth was neither necessary, nor advisable; certain facts must be modified 'according to the public object.' However, psychological war and terror were by no means reduced to a more refined manipulation of 'public objects' whose consciousness had already been prepared by decades of anti-communism. Chile's social system and the very evolution of the process in the 1970-73 period led to a situation in which the policy of terror, like the entire previous policy of anti-communism, gradually turned among large sections of the bourgeoisie, including part of the petty bourgeoisie, into a sufficiently coherent and systematized *form of ideology*.

The caste that had ruled earlier could not for class reasons have a progressive ideology. On the other hand, it was no longer in a position to use outdated, crisis-ridden democracy of the liberal bourgeois type as a means of mobilizing the masses. As a result, this ideological vacuum was filled by a 'policy of the irrational,' which became a factor in organizing and mobilizing the masses and led to the appearance of the abominable outlines of Chilean fascism. It is its irrationality that enables fascist ideology to shape stereotypes of social consciousness as it pleases. The fascist state begins to operate as an expression of the nation's 'will'; class conflicts are replaced by conflicts between nations, which, in turn, are regarded as living beings

with their psychology and temperament and with a definite predestination inherited from their ancestors; society is not organized on the basis of the decisive role of people's objective position in the system of social production but on the basis of such 'vital organic structures' as trade union, corporations, family or state.

While racial concepts do not stand out in the ideology of Chilean fascism (due possibly to its dependent character), all the above points are present, nevertheless, in the theoretical and political utterances of Chile's reactionary ideologists. Chilean conditions gave rise to these concepts, and imperialism adapted them to its objectives through its experts in terror and psychological manipulation. Thus imperialism made a decisive contribution to the framing of the strategy and tactics of reactionary forces and to the theoretical seasoning of the social psychology of fascism.

The events in Chile revealed, in our view, that in periods of social upheaval, a subjective factor such as the 'morale' of aroused masses — a factor to which reaction attached strategic importance — becomes one of the most important. In seeking 'destabilization,' imperialism did not lean on the ideological and scientific notions of the social consciousness of the masses, but directly influenced their emotions. It may be said to have prevented the masses in this way from realizing their interests, which would undoubtedly have prompted a substantial part of them to side with the popular government.

Experience has shown that the revolutionary working class must rely on ideological elements of social consciousness adequate to a scientific knowledge of social laws. Hence the social psychology of the masses acquires a rational basis. Revolutionary fervor, in turn, strengthens the ideological convictions of the radicalized masses. In this case, all that imperialism has to do is to influence irrational emotions and then the ideology based on them will inevitably become thoroughly irrational, destructive and unhistorical.

However, all this is a lesson to the popular movement, for we failed to give battle to the class enemy in the field of social psychology, nor did we use it to muster our own revolutionary forces. We are more aware now of the vast importance of taking account of the elements of the social psychology of the masses when analyzing concrete situations. The founders of Marxism-Leninism always pointed out these factors as a permanent component of a scientifically grounded policy. Their every analysis gives a precise definition of the mood of the masses as a decisive factor in the balance of forces at a given moment. 'We could not have retained power either physically or politically (in the event of a rising — *R.R.*).' Lenin wrote. 'We could not have retained it physically even though Petrograd was at times in our hands, because at that time our workers and soldiers would not have

fought and died for Petrograd. There was not at the time that "savageness," or fierce hatred *both of* the Kerenskys *and of* the Tseretelis and Chernovs. Our people had still not been tempered by the experience of the persecution of the Bolsheviks in which the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks participated' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 26, p. 24).

What happened in our case was that we failed to make an adequate assessment of the energy of the masses, of the workers' sacred class hatred for imperialism and fascism.

The difficult school of anti-fascist struggle adds to the communist training of our party, directly influences our people's social psychology and fosters their revolutionary awareness. However, we do not wish anyone to go through such a school. The Chilean people would prefer a different path but they are seething with hatred of people ready to give their lives for freedom.

Theoreticians of terror and psychological warfare do not overlook the fact that the people have lost neither their political common sense, nor their indomitable critical spirit, and that the fear that has gripped some is slowly but inexorably turning into irresistable class hatred. Hence the fascist regime's dread of the people, hence also its brutal round-ups of revolutionaries and its policy of genocide and prison camps.

The people are not vindictive. They will be able, in particular, to distinguish their true enemies from those who were misled or failed to stay the murderer's hand out of cowardice — their own conscience will be their sternest judge. But, to quote Luis Corvalan, 'the DINA murderers and executioners, Pinochet and his clique, whose hands are stained with the people's blood, must be punished according to their deserts.' Our strength lies in the organization, intelligence and militancy of a people who will live up to their historical role and display proper resolve. They will use every form of struggle against their enemies to end the night of fascism and open up new vistas, such as President Allende spoke of.

1. *El Siglo,* August 31, 1972, p. 6.
2. Here and elsewhere, quotations from *Psychological Operations* are retranslated from the Spanish original of this article. — *Ed.*
3. Daily newspaper owned by the Edwards clan, a major Chilean finance group that joined and financially contributed to the U.S. monopoly campaign against the Popular Unity government.
4. Left-wing Revolutionary Movement, an ultra-leftist organization that carried out numerous actions against the Popular Unity program and tried to set up an 'authority' parallel to the lawful government.

exchange of views

Economics and politics under developed socialism

THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

As reported in our January issue, an international theoretical conference on Interaction of the Economic and Political Systems of the Socialist Countries at the Present Stage was held in Berlin, organized by *World Marxist Review* in cooperation with the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The conference was attended by scholars from the following countries: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union and by members of the *WMR* Editorial Board and Editorial Council.

The conference was opened by *Hannes Hörnig,* head of the Science Department of the SUPG Central Committee. He welcomed the participants on behalf of the party's Central Committee and its General Secretary, Comrade Honecker.

We regard this meeting, Hörnig said, as one more step toward joint elaboration by the fraternal parties of the theoretical problems involved in the further development of socialist society and its gradual transition to communism.

The latest party congresses in the socialist countries reaffirmed their main aim of bringing to reality the humane essence of socialism, raise the people's cultural and material standards through a high growth rate in the socialist economy, increase the effectiveness of production, accelerate scientific and technological progress and achieve a higher level of labor productivity. Economics represent a key area of social life and are in the center of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The congresses also emphasized the substantially closer identity of our parties' long-term policies and of their main goals in various spheres of social life. This underscores, Hörnig said, the growing ideological and practical importance of joint theoretical work and comradely discussion, by scholars and party functionaries in the fraternal countries, of the essential problems involved in socialist and communist construction.

Of special theoretical and practical interest are such problems as indivisible unity of economic and social policy and the ways and means of accelerating scientific and technological progress, improving the pattern of socio-economic relations, and extending socialist democracy. The strength of socialist democracy resides in its progressively deeper penetration of all areas of social life. Its characteristic feature is continuous stimulation of the working masses' creativity, initiative and social activity. Extension of socialist democracy brings an ever wider segment of the people into the planning and management of social development. It strengthens socialism's political system and creates the material and ideological conditions for the all-round development of the socialist personality. Accelerated economic development, inseparable from perfection of the political system, makes for closer community of the fraternal countries in socialist and communist construction and leads to the flourishing and convergence of the socialist nations. Active struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, the speaker stressed, also calls for joint effort to further develop Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the Communist and Workers' parties' revolutionary experience.

In his contribution, the Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review, Konstantin Zarodov,* Dr.Sc. (Hist.), noted that the problems of developed socialist society have in the past few years been the subject of discussion at a number of international theoretical conferences and symposia organized by the journal in conjunction with the central committee of fraternal parties. In particular, we discussed such questions as socialism's place in history, the stages and criteria of its development, the characteristics and specifics of developed socialism, the working class and its party in socialist society, the present-day problems of socialist democracy and the prospects of its development, the scientific and technological revolution as a key factor in the competition of the two systems, and other problems.*

The subject of this conference, Zarodov continued, is of vast importance both for the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction. Marxist-Leninists have always shown a keen interest in the relation between economics and politics. That is so because one cannot understand political process without knowing their economic basis; because the emancipation of labor, i.e., the fundamental refashioning of economic relations, is the foundation and a necessary condition for the emancipation of the individual; because after the triumph of the socialist revolution economics become 'our most interesting policy,' for they represent the groundwork of the new society; because the economic competition of socialism and

*See *WMR* for December 1970, August and December 1972, September 1973, January, February and March 1975 and February 1976.

capitalism is a crucial sphere of the class struggle on the international scene and a condition for achieving the political aims of the proletariat.

In building developed socialism, questions relating to the interaction of socialism's economic and political systems present themselves, in a certain sense, in a new light. And to single out this new presentation, i.e., the premise of our analysis of a given problem in the mid-70s, we have to consider it, as Lenin taught us, historically, in the context of other phenomena and the concrete experience of history. Theoretical analysis and practical solution of concrete problems in the economic, political, ideological and other areas of socialist society directly depend on this.

Dialectical interconnection

Lenin's thoughts on the relation of economics and politics, his idea that 'politics cannot but have primacy over economics,' have been confirmed at every stage of socialism: in the transition period and in coping with the problems of strengthening the foundations of socialism. In present-day sonditions too, politics retain their primacy over economics. Why?

Socialist society, said Professor *Z. Haba,* of the CC CP Czechoslovakia Institute of Marxism-Leninism, is not the result of some spontaneous socio-economic development, but of the purposeful revolutionary activity of the working class and all working people led by the Communist Party and based on cognition and utilization of the laws of social development.

Socialism is a society in which class distinctions have not yet been obliterated and still make themselves felt. It is a society in which national relations are an important component of social life, in which there still exist differences between the aims, aspirations and actions of individuals, between the interests of the individual, the collective and society. That is why it is so important to work out common strategic aims, harmonize the interests of various classes and social groups within the framework of a scientifically-grounded concept of social development. Solution of these problems requires political leadership. That is why Lenin's statement that 'without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its *production problems* either' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 32, p. 84).

Another speaker, *O. T. Bogomolov,* corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of its Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, said that the Marxist proposition on the primacy of production, production relations, and the totality of social relations, retains all its validity in developed socialist

society. But because developed socialism is subject to conscious, purposeful development, politics run ahead of economics, though the state of the economy places definite limits and presents definite demands on politics.

In the opinion of Bogomolov, the conversion of the Soviet Union from the state of proletarian dictatorship into the state of all the people, should not be understood as depolitization of public life. Politics as a conscious activity directed at subjecting one class to another gradually lose their importance with the maturing of socialist social relations. But, at the same time, the role of politics increases as a means of assuring the interests of the state of all the people in directing economic and cultural development, in international relations, and also as a factor which takes into account and integrates the interests of all the social groups and assures the moral and political unity of the people.

The primacy of politics over economics, discussion speakers noted, requires solution of a number of methodological problems that arise in the course of building developed socialism and communism. One of the most essential of these, Zarodov remarked, is how to delineate the spheres of political and economic decision-making. Political decisions define the aims and direction of economic development and in this we have a manifestation of their primacy over economics. But concrete technico-economic decisions must, in our view, enjoy a certain degree of autonomy.

However, this raises a whole complex of questions relating to the correct practical application of the principles of democratic centralism, combining competence and responsibility, subordination and independence. There is also a high probability of errors of a dual nature (and we know that such errors have occurred): voluntarism, overestimation of the role of political institutions, which disregard economic reality, and automaticism, which disregards the importance of effective political influence on the economy. How can we create a barrier of such errors? To what extent and by which means can we limit spontaneity and more powerfully influence spontaneous processes? How can we assure consistent implementation of the tried and tested principle that the party directs and leads socialist society, while the state administrates?

One of the most effective instruments in this respect is systems approach to phenomena of social life. It rests on the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialist society as an integrated social organism. The fundamental principle of systems approach is overall management of systems as the basis for concrete solutions of management problems in the various elements of the socialist economy, the state, society,

but it cannot, of course, replace not only the general philosophical, but also the political approach.

Our ideological opponents, Zarodov continued, are at pains to produce a distorted picture of the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist society. As the leading force of that society, the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries do not act merely as passive recorders of objective phenomena. They actively interfere in these phenomena. But their political activity is based not on absolute will or on authoritarian power, but on a deep knowledge of the objective laws of social development, on ability to apply these laws in their interaction.

Referring to the socialist economic management mechanism, Prof. *N. Popov,* head of the Economics Department of Sofia University, emphasized that planning enables the socialist state to achieve fuller accordance between its policy and the objective requirements of economic laws. True, the economic management mechanism does not always meet objective requirements and in this sense we should not rule out the possibility of spontaneity in economic processes. However, socialism is in a position to overcome such spontaneity, in particular by assuring a closer interconnection between the plan and other economic levers and the principles of democratic centralism.

The experience of all socialist countries, Popov continued, has shown that without centralized planning the immense potentialities of the socialist mode of production cannot be fully used to accelerate economic development. From this point of view, centralized planning is one of the most essential, determinative elements of scientific management of the socialist national economy. However, fuller satisfaction of national interests is impossible if the economy is not allowed a wider scope for decentralized planning. Consequently, in conformity with the requirements of democratic centralism, planning, as an instrument of the economic mechanism, must on the one hand be centralized (the national economic plan) and on the other decentralized (the plan of each economic unit).

In Popov's opinion, finding the most optimal balance between the centralized and the decentralized, which would minimize subjectivism in planning and the proper use of economic laws, is today — and possibly in the future — the most complex question of socialist economic management. It is true, of course, that centralism as a principle of socialist economic management is at the same time an expression of democracy, for every government decision on economic development is in the interests of the people. However, the development of socialist democracy is inconceivable without the active and day-to-day participation of the working people in manage-

ment, and this is facilitated by our system of economic direction, which encourages and stimulates local initiative.

The vast scope of economic, political and social transformations in our country at the present historical stage of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, *Ilie Radulescu,* member of the Rumanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences, said, calls for more stress on the political factor in organizing and directing social activity and on the scientific principles of our leadership of society. More than ever before it is necessary to limit the sphere of action of spontaneous forces and create a socio-political climate and institutional framework for the successful use of the creativity of the masses. The party's growing leading role does not imply wider use of administrative methods, but primarily its assertion as a political factor, the initiator of social-development policies and programs, and the organizer of the people's creative forces.

In all its activities, the Rumanian Communist Party is guided by the common regularities of socialist construction, which it applies creatively in keeping with Rumanian reality. Ignoring these regularities would be tantamount to subjectivism and voluntarism, both of which have a negative effect on the development of society. By the same token, disregard of the organizational and leading role of the political factor, the assumption that socialism itself determines the course of social development without intervention by the political factor, can only produce spontaneity and lead to the loss of the historical perspective.

Referring to the leading role of the Rumanian Communist Party, the speaker said that the party does not stand above society, does not stand outside the activity of the working people but acts together with the people and together with them works out and implements its policy. Such close intertwining of party, state and social activity, by delegating state functions to party officials, and also by establishing leading bodies of a dual character, that is, both party and state, is an important aspect of bringing the party into the social life of the nation.

Other speakers emphasized that if politics are to effectively assist economic development they must be based on the scientific principles. A wrong or inadequately accurate estimation of economic and political conditions and the advancement of unrealistic aims can only complicate or hold back the progressive development of society.

That was emphasized by several speakers, and one of them, *Aladar Sipos,* head of the Economics Department at the Hungarian Higher Political School and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, cited an example of such discordance between economic reality and policy. There have unfortunately been cases in Hungary, he said, of premature, formal concentration of production without due

regard to the level of technical development or the conditions in the amalgamated enterprises. This has led to a situation in which today we do not have an optimal number of small enterprises though there is need for them in our industrial structure. One of the most serious problems in Hungarian industry is inadequate development of cooperation between enterprises, and also between industries. Overcoming this situation is an important task of our economic policy.

The need to strengthen the scientific foundations of political direction of the economy was stressed also by Professor *Kvotoslav Roubal*, Deputy Director of the Czechoslovak Institute of Marxism-Leninism. In operating our policy, he said, it is especially important to see the new features in the interaction of basis and superstructure resulting from the scientific and technological revolution. The theoretical generalization of this is of first-rate importance for the continuous development of socialism. And we in Czechoslovakia are carefully studying these new features in order to frame and implement a more effective policy in building developed socialist society. In this context, one of the most important conclusions we have drawn is the need to enhance the role of the party and of economic and organizational work by the state, that is, of the entire superstructure vis-à-vis the material and technical basis and economic structure of socialist society.

In socialist society there is deep interaction, even interpenetration, of economics and politics. But can we visualize a situation in which economics run ahead of politics?

The question was put by *Alberto Kohen* (Argentina), member of the *WMR* Editorial Board. And in answering it, Sipos remarked that objective contradictions between the two were not to be precluded. Of course, they are not antagonistic contradictions, but just the same they have to be studied and resolved in order to promote socialist development. If we do not detect them in good time, this can lead to social conflicts. We had proof of that in Hungary, and I think, not only in Hungary. However, the domination of socialist public property and socialist production relations make it possible to use objective economic laws in the interests of the working people, in the interests of the whole of society, and thus prevent social conflicts.

A similar view was expressed by Zarodov. Discordance between economics and politics might arise in the concrete conditions of one or another socialist country. In certain circumstances this could lead (and has led) to tense and even conflict situations. Our parties, the speaker emphasized, have never shut their eyes to these contradictions and have taken timely steps to resolve them, for the political system of socialism is sufficiently mature for that. Contradictions between politics and economics under capitalism is quite another

matter, for there we have the antagonism between labor and capital. And in capitalist conditions these contradictions are insoluble. It is therefore wrong to transplant elements of economics and politics characteristic of capitalism to socialist society.

Close interconnection between the economic and political systems does not, however, mean that they are being dissolved in each other. Experience has shown, for example, that at the stage of developed socialism, the economic and organizational functions of the state increase substantially. Moreover, its activity is directed to an ever greater degree at making fuller use of the objective laws that determine the development of the economic basis. The state makes wide use of objective economic categories (prices, profit, wages, cost accounting, etc.) to improve production relations, thereby stimulating the growth of the productive forces. However, close interconnection of economics and politics in socialist society does not mean that the socialist state ceases to be a political superstructure and is 'immersed' or 'diluted' in economics.

D.A. Kerimov, Head of the Constitutional Law Department of the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasized the need to take the following important considerations into account. First, the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the basis and superstructure does not preclude their interaction. Though it emphasizes that the superstructure is produced and determined by the basis, it does not merge with it, nor is it diluted in it. Second, the activity of superstructure institutions, the activity of the socialist state, including its economic and organizational activity, represents a conscious and purposeful implementation of the economic policy of the Marxist-Leninist party, a policy which in turn, does not coincide with objective economic processes, but is a more or less accurate reflection of them. Third and last, if we are to regard the state as part of the basis, then we shall have to transfer to the basis many other superstructure phenomena that are even more closely linked with the economic life of society. For instance our laws, which directly regulate production relations.

Politics, the speaker continued, are not a mechanical reflection of economics, but their transformation in people's minds. They are the subjective image of the objective. And precisely because politics reproduce economics in a generalized and concentrated form, they can influence economic processes in one way or another.

John Nkosi (South African Communist Party) asked: 'Does this mean that you regard politics mainly as a subjective and not an objective phenomenon and that the state is, in the main, an ideological factor of development.

Kerimov: When I spoke of politics as a reflection of economics, I

presented the question gnosiologically. Perhaps that is why the impression was created that I regard the state only as an ideological factor. But it should be perfectly clear that the state is also a material force.

Question by *Adel Haba,* representative of the Iraqi Communist Party on the Editorial Board: 'Can we today, too, consider the socialist state as organized violence, coercion?'

Kerimov: I think we must distinguish between the concepts of violence and coercion. At every stage of its development the socialist state has recourse to coercion in cases when its laws are violated. As for violence, I think it is a class concept and as a function of the socialist state it disappears when it is no longer necessary to use violence against the exploiting classes.

Many speakers suggested that the more active role of politics vis-à-vis economics raised specific problems which indicate that the old economic methods and the purely managerial administrative approach are no longer adequate or even totally ineffectual. This is due, above all, to the deeper and more complex interconnection between the development of the material and technical basis, on the one hand, and the political tasks and aims of social development, the ideological and moral factors, on the other. That is why the 25th CPSU Congress and the congresses of other fraternal parties in the socialist countries lay so much stress on improving the interaction of the economic and political systems, especially the management of society and of production.

Referring to the basic directions in improving the interaction of economics and politics, Zarodov noted that in the USSR there have been several measures in recent years to perfect economic and social management. They include industry-wide and republican institutes for advanced training of leading cadres, and dissemination of economic and sociological knowledge. Another important means of improving the interaction of economics and politics is through better planning, and planning now extends not only to the economy but also to the social sphere. Centralized decisions are more closely combined with local independence.

Politics, the speaker noted, rely on science, but at the same time they are an art. Naturally, we would like to see political and social management becoming more and more a science within the reach of the broad masses. And this is becoming a reality as we extend our knowledge of the laws governing social life and enrich the political and managerial experience not only of our leading cadres, but also of the rank-and-file workers of town and country, and as the very system of management becomes more rational and efficient.

Another characteristic feature of developed socialism is the new

methods of economic regulation of production. Administrative management by state bodies is more and more being based on economically substantiated decisions. Among other things, this leaves less room for bureaucratic distortions which, as experience has shown, are one of the most tenacious survivals of the past. Favorable conditions are thus being created for broader initiative at factory level and for more worker participation in management at all levels. Economic democracy is inseparable from democracy in all other areas of political and social life. Under capitalism, where the workers are denied a share in economic decision-making, there is only restrictive political democracy.

Gyorgy Borsanyi, of the Hungarian Institute of Party History, pointed out that public ownership of the means of production greatly expands the political framework and gives it an entirely new content. This 'politicalization' has awakened in the masses an understanding of, and faith in, the vast political significance of their participation in management. Every citizen now has the opportunity to play a substantial part in decision-making at all levels.

Speaking on the same subject, Professor *Helmut Koziolek,* Director of the SUPG Central Institute of Socialist Economics, said that to further encourage mass initiative we should apply various forms of democratic participation and bring much wider strata of the working people into the work of management and planning. This, of course, requires careful study of all the different forms of initiative, broader exchange of experience, effective use of the knowledge and energy of the working people. We must give much more thought to the conditions which economic executives must provide for all-round development of initiative. These include fostering an appropriate socio-pscychological climate in the factories, giving the workers more information, and better organization of work.

Professor *Henryk Cholaj,* corresponding member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, asked: 'Could you describe the basic forms of worker participation in the management of industry in the GDR?'

The most important of these forms, Professor Koziolek said, is regular worker conferences at all factories, combines, in all districts and regions, to discuss intensification of production. They examine the main development problems of the given factory or industry and map out goals for the coming year and for the five-year period. The Technical Chambers, organized in the factories and composed of blue-collar and white-collar workers, are making an increasing contribution, too. I would also mention the much more important role of factory party branches, and, since the Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) of factory trade union branches, in particular shop stewards' meetings. And so, we have established at factory level an effective system of

democracy: the party, the trade unions, the Technical Chambers, all of which work in close cooperation on questions of management. At the same time, the speaker continued, I would emphasize that this collective participation in management does not replace the principle of one-man management for only an optimal combination of these two principles can produce the desired results.

Replying to a question put by *Dashdondov*, Deputy Director of the Mongolian Institute of Economics, *Vladimir Shundeyev*, Executive Editor of *World Marxist Review*, emphasized that contrasting centralized direction by the state to the self-activity of the working people and of local government bodies can lead — and there have been instances of this kind in the history of socialist construction — to the most undesirable consequences. For instance, to the growth of parochial tendencies, imbalances in the economic structure and so on. The growing economic role of the state is dictated by a number of objective factors. It should be clear, for instance, that balanced development of the economy and rational distribution of the productive forces cannot be solved at local level. These questions require a centralized approach by the state. And that is all the more necessary in the socialist state's pursuance of its, so to say, international economic functions, that is, in deciding on participation in the international division of labor, in integration processes. We should also bear in mind that with the existence of classes the principle applied is remuneration according to work performed, and this means that there is a certain degree of inequality in the satisfaction of consumption requirements. That being the situation, defining the measure of labor and the measure of consumption can be done only by the state. For it alone can uphold the interests of the entire nation, pursue an economic and social policy that accords with the interests of society as a whole. By the same token, counterposing the state to production collectives is, I think, unjustifiable also because it does not take into account the class character of the socialist state, which expresses the interests of the popular masses, including the production collectives. Lastly, when we say that strategic decisions are made at the central, state level, this should not be taken to mean that the working people have no share in formulating such decisions. Quite the contrary, we have been working to perfect the mechanism of such participation and enhance the role of production collectives, public organizations and so on. And so both principles of management, democracy and centralism, can prove fruitful only if they are applied in their dialectical unity.

Our party, Radulescu said, is implementing socialist democracy in its three main aspects: economic democracy to assure all the conditions for direct worker participation in industrial management from

factory to national level; political democracy to create the social climate and institutional structures the people need to exercise political power and democratic freedoms; social democracy to assure their direct participation in managing social affairs. The principles of collective leadership and collective work are inseparable from the concept of socialist democracy.

Perfection of socialist democracy was the subject of the contribution by Professor *Wolfgang Weichelt,* Director of the Constitutional Law Institute of the GDR Academy of Sciences. The Ninth SUPG Congress, he said, emphasized that the party's policy aims at the further all-round strengthening of the workers' and peasants' state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The main direction in the development of the socialist state is through strengthening and perfecting socialist democracy. Obviously, there is a close interconnection between strengthening the socialist state and perfecting socialist democracy, for both represent component elements of a broad social process, namely, the growing activity of the entire political organization of socialist society. This understanding of the question coincides with the conclusions drawn by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and by the congresses of other fraternal parties.

Like any other form of democracy, Weichelt further emphasized, socialist democracy has its class substance. It should be seen as a creative collective effort that makes for a full, spiritually rich life in which there is no place for exploitation and oppression. But that is possible only if no loopholes are left for the anti-socialist forces. The basis of such democracy is socialist ownership of the means of production and political power in the hands of the working class.

A unitary economic and social policy, the speaker continued, presupposes closer interconnection between various forms of organization of the political superstructure of socialist society, and precisely this interconnection requires our special attention and a new approach. This does not imply that we have discovered some new political organization of socialist society, but that there is clearer and closer interaction in the development of the state and the deepening of socialist democracy. There is a closer interconnection of all the processes of political, economic, scientific and technical, social and cultural development of socialist society, and growing activity of the working people both through state forms of management and through their public organizations. This means that the organization and consciousness toward which developed socialism is striving, find their manifestation, above all, in the coordinated actions of all the component parts of the political superstructure. And, incidentally, this is an expression of the social content of socialist democracy, its historically

superior quality compared with its opposite, formal bourgeois democracy.

Experience has shown that the growing activity of the mass public organizations makes for better functioning of the state, and, conversely, more efficient work by the various state agencies, a clear and precise formulation of tasks, consistent observance of our laws, of the rights and obligations of state agencies and citizens, activize the work of the mass public organizations. In this we have an expression of the internal interconnection between the two, of the dialectics of the political organization of socialist society. Its core is the Marxist-Leninist working-class party. Its objectively growing leading role is evidence of genuine democracy, an element that imparts a socialist quality to the new, higher type of democracy.

The growing role of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties in directing socialist society, the content and principles of their activity, were discussed in some detail by other speakers including A. Haba, K. Roubal, O. T. Bogomolov, and I. Radulescu.

New strategy of socio-economic development

What are the aims of economic progress under socialism? What tendencies in the social life of society accompany the growth of the economy and living standards? What is the strategy of the communist parties in boosting the social and economic development of the fraternal countries? — these were among the questions that evoked a lively debate at the conference.

In discussing them, speakers took as their premise the fact that the economy, the material and technical basis of society and the very foundation of its development, will continue to be the focus of attention of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist states. The basis for resolving the momentous social problems, said *Barbu Zaharescu* member of the journal's Editorial Board and corresponding member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences, is primarily material production. Without it we cannot achieve our supreme humanistic aim of socialism, namely, fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the whole of society and of each of its members. In the socialist countries economic development, the growth of material production, has never been an end in itself, nor a means of extracting profit from one or another group. And in this we have the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism.

In a socialist country, Zaharescu stressed, economic progress is always closely linked with social progress. This is not a matter of cause and effect, but rather of close interaction between the economic factor and the totality of social relations.

Many speakers devoted their contributions to an analysis of how

the communist parties are working to develop their countries' national economies. Thus, Dashdondov spoke in detail of how the Mongolian People's Republic is solving such important problems as raising the degree of maturity of socialist production relations, bringing Mongolia's economic development level up to that of other CMEA countries. In the realm of economic policy, he pointed out, our main task is to complete the building of an optimal material and technical basis of socialism. This is being accomplished through further industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, and a higher level of technical equipment in all branches of the economy. In 1961-75, Mongolia made long forward steps in assuring stable growth rates and a steady rise in prosperity standards. The productive forces have been extended and production relations perfected. The economic strategy mapped out by the 17th Party Congress (June 1976) is based on a thorough scientific examination of our main economic problems and defines the basic direction of development, thus revealing to the masses the social implications of our new tasks in economic upbuilding.

Professor *Jon Totu,* Director of the Central Economic Research Institute of the Supreme Council of Social and Economic Development of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, discussed various aspects of the process of industrialization in Rumania. Our Communist Party Program, he emphasized, sets out the aims, ways and basic processes of building comprehensively developed socialism. It envisages substantial quantitative and qualitative transformations in the country's industrial structure.

Many speakers pointed to a characteristic feature of the present stage in building socialism: the close unity and interaction of economic and social progress and of the economic and social policies of the communist parties. This unity, Professor *Karl-Heinz Stiemerling,* Deputy Director of the CC SUPG Institute of Social Sciences, said, is an expression of the humane character of the socialist system. It stems from the aims of socialist production, from the fact that effective management of the economy is the basis of social progress. The results obtained in the period between the Eighth (1971) and Ninth (1976) SUPG congresses confirm the correctness of our policy, based on the interconnection of economic and social advancement. This is now understood by every citizen of the republic. For it was in this period that the party concentrated on social problems which the vast majority of the workers and the people generally regarded as urgent. And this applies to practically every aspect of life in our republic. The SUPG socio-political program envisages such measures as extensive housing construction, systematic wage and pension rises, better health services, more assistance to working mothers and

large families, steady reduction of work time, improvement of recreation and cultural amenities.

The interconnection of economic and social policy, Cholaj emphasized, reflects the objective conditions of the period of building and protecting developed socialist society. A correct socio-economic development strategy is of crucial importance for optimal results in our economic effort. The integration of the social and economic aspects of the development process, priority attention to social matters as a factor of economic development — all this makes for more rapid economic growth and brings to bear new factors. Hence, such integration enriches the very concept of the development process. This finds its most concentrated expression in the formula of the main aim of socialism, namely, increasing the prosperity standards of the people and all-round development of the personality.

In building a developed socialist society, Koziolek said, we are bringing to life the very meaning of socialism — everything for the good of the people, everything in the interests of the working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and other working people. Accordingly, the supreme aim of our party's policy is accomplishment of the main task in building developed socialist society as formulated in the SUPG Program. And this task is to continue raising the material and cultural level of the people through a high rate of development of socialist production, through higher effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and the growth of labor productivity.

Some speakers criticized the view that only at this stage has party policy turned its 'face to the people,' and that in earlier years it concentrated allegedly on industrialization, defense, etc. The young revolutionary state, Haba remarked in this connection, concentrated all its efforts on satisfying the vital requirements of the people. And our working people immediately felt the beneficial results of social change. However, the implementation of this policy was complicated in those years by a number of negative circumstances. Among them the low starting economic level in several socialist countries, the immaturity of socialist production relations, the need to change the structure of industry, the discriminatory measures taken by the capitalist countries in foreign trade, etc.

At its present development state, the speaker continued, socialism is much nearer to solving the problem of full satisfaction of the essential requirements of the people. This apples not only to areas in which socialism long ago demonstrated its immeasurable superiority over capitalism (public health, education, social maintenance), but also to living standards.

Due to a number of factors, Borsanyi said, social and economic policy in Hungary were not harmonized in the early stages of building

the new life. Besides the above-mentioned objective historical conditions there was this additional impediment: some sections of society understood industrialization to mean the building of the foundations of socialism.

This mechanical copy of Soviet experience, Borsanyi continued, led to excessive accent on heavy industry to the detriment of all other spheres of socialist construction. We lost sight of the fact that industrialization is not the ultimate aim, but a means — though a very necessary one in Hungary — of building the basis of socialism and its further development. The party made the necessary corrections in economic policy in the mid-50s and this, alongside collectivization of agriculture, assured the dominance of socialist production relations.

The growth of material well-being, speakers pointed out, remains an exceedingly important task of economic and social policy. What are the criteria of this growth and how does it relate to the main aims of socio-economic development of socialist society, to the ideals of communism?

The socialist state, Roubal remarked, has no intention of introducing the consumerism of capitalist society, in which the level of consumption determines one's social status and is considered the highest aim of life. We know that in capitalist society some sections of the population, and even whole countries, indulge in wasteful consumption, while other sections of the population and many countries of the non-socialist world suffer from hunger and poverty. Socialism is guided by its own ideals, by a policy that assures harmonious distribution of material values and the all-round progress of society and its members.

This poses a new problem before socialist society, the speaker said. We must now choose one of many variants of continued development. Having satisfied the basic requirements of the population, socialist society must decide which requirements, material or spiritual, must get priority at the present stage. That the decision is being made is evidenced by the fact, for instance, that formulation of the basic economic law of socialism is no longer limited to the traditional proposition about maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the population as the aim of socialist society, but has been complemented by the need to promote the all-round development of the individual.

That view was supported by other speakers. Polish social scientists, Cholaj said, have in recent years been working on the problem of how to raise the role of man as the most important factor of progress. Objective requirements have given rise to a new orientation based on the premise that social progress is the synthesis of economic and social development. Accordingly, all our policy serves the in-

terests of man, satisfaction of his various requirements and needs, with the accent now on the qualitative development of the personality. And this applies not only to Poland. It is expressive of the substantial changes in the social and economic picture in all the socialist community countries and accords with the regularities of the present stage of development.

Man, Cholaj emphasized, is the main productive force of society and economic progress depends upon him to a decisive degree. At the same time, the development of man is and should be a value in itself. That is why the new strategic policy does not boil down to increasing plan assignments in various branches of the economy, but aims at fuller achievement of the supreme goals of social policy, which in Poland has found embodiment in the formula 'development achieved by the people and for the people.' This implies, first a new approach to the problem of consumption in the mechanism of socio-economic development, and, second, shifting the accent from raising prosperity standards to qualitative, all-round development of the man of socialist society. Today we must not only satisfy more of the people's material requirements, but also create conditions that stimulate the socialist way of life, the harmonious development of the human personality.

The mechanism of shaping a socialist-type personality was discussed in some detail by Haba. He said, in particular, that economic relations and the material requirements connected with them are much more effective stimulators in this respect. Thus for instance, the new, socialist attitude to work should be based on one's inherent need to work, on the need to develop, in the process of work, one's spiritual and physical abilities and use them for the good of society. But this inherent need cannot arise simply as a result of education. It is connected with a change in the very character of labor, its transformation from something exhausting, monotonous and unattractive, from something that is done out of economic necessity, into creative activity capable of bringing satisfaction. And if a person's work does not bring him satisfaction, it is hardly likely that the situation can change only with the help of educational measures.

But, Haba remarked, if the economic and material factors are to stimulate this new attitude to work, they must be consciously understood and accepted. Every concrete decision made by the individual largely depends on the level of his consciousness, the sum-total of the knowledge needed to take that decision, his ability to use that knowledge at the given moment. From this follows that the development of man is influenced not only by economic stimulators. More, in some cases they do not come into the picture at all. For instance, when a man prefers satisfaction of some other, say, spiritual needs. And such

cases demonstrate the importance of ideological and cultural activity in shaping a comprehensively developed personality.

Professor *Günter Hoppe,* Head of the Scientific Communism Institute of the CC SUPG Academy of Social Sciences, and Docent *Zbigniew Sufin,* Head of the CC PUWP Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, discussed various aspects of the work of Marxist-Leninist parties in perfecting the socialist way of life. The socialist way of life, Professor Hoppe emphasized, implies a concrete process of forming collective and individual behavior patterns at work, in political organizations, at home, in the family, etc. And this process is closely linked with modern productive forces, with socialist production relations and social consciousness.

The development and strengthening of the socialist way of life, Hoppe remarked, is inseparable from the steady heightening of labor productivity and industrial effectiveness. The working class, and the working people generally, know that they are working for themselves, for their socialist society, that they are creating the decisive material conditions for the steady development of the socialist way of life. The day-to-day effort of work collectives in fulfilling plan assignments promotes and develops relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, which are features of the socialist mode of production. It instills such high moral qualities as a socialist attitude to one's work and to socialist property, mutual assistance, an understanding of one's responsibility to society. Within the work collective there is formed respect for the personality, for the achievements of fellow workers and other collectives and a keen interest in one's job. That is why the work collectives are of such vast importance in cultivating the socialist way of life.

Another major factor is more worker participation in the management of state and public affairs and a higher level of consciousness, activity and responsibility.

An essential element of the socialist way of life, Sufin said, is a correct pattern of consumption. In Poland, quantitative improvement of the consumption of basic items is a stage we passed already in the 50s. Since then there has been also a qualitative change, with the demand for less valuable and cheaper goods being replaced by a demand for more valuable and higher priced. At present many families can choose from a very wide variety of goods. The task, therefore, is to shape consumer behavior, create a social model of consumption.

That aspect was emphasized also by Borsanyi. Today all of us agree that the puritan asceticism of the early period of socialism was not our ideal, but was forced upon us by objective historical factors. It has lived out its day. However, there is evidence that the ideals of the

so-called consumer society are beginning to penetrate our countries. This finds expression in the drive for material benefits, for status symbols. So far this affects only a small part of socialist society. But the growth of material well-being raises the problem of working out a model, an optimal model of consumption that accords with the principles of socialism. And unless we find an answer to that question through socio-economic planning, unless we direct this drive into correct channels, there is the danger that we would be involved in a spontaneous process.

All these problems, it was emphasized at the conference, are not solved automatically, but as a result of the party's scientifically based activity in carrying out its social policy. In this context, there was considerable interest in Cholaj's views of the aims of social policy in socialist society. Sometimes social policy is seen as pertaining only to such things as social maintenance, etc. But as distinct from this narrow interpretation in the capitalist countries, under socialism social policy extends to all spheres of the life of society, including all aspects of the condition of the people. In developed socialist society, social policy includes also higher prosperity standards, formation of the socialist way of life, and refashioning of the social structure. A key aim of social policy, Cholaj said, is conscious restructuring of socialist society to achieve fuller social homogeneity.

It was from these positions that *Badamyn Lhamsuren,* Dr.Sc. (Hist.), member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, described in detail the social policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party at the stage of completing the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Our policy, he said, finds expression above all in perfecting the social structure of society, in fostering closer relations and unity of the various socio-class forces. And in this respect, a very significant development is the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, the leading force of Mongolian society. It is the policy of our party to increase the size of the working class by drawing in young workers who received a good general and occupational training. There have been important changes also in the composition of our rural population, notably the larger number of trained farm-machinery operators.

The transformation of social relations, Zaharescu said, is influenced by the scientific and technological revolution. Rumania's current five-year plan has come to be known as the 'technical-revolution plan.' Wider use of precision techniques, electronics and automation contributes to the emergence of a new working class, distinguished for its high skill, culture and knowledge. Mechanization and automation also help to form new production relations, based on

the evening out of the education levels of machine operators and those who manage the production process as a whole.

Agricultural work, Zaharescu continued, is gradually assuming an industrial character. And this is not only an economic, but also a social process. For peasants who use scientific farming methods are becoming a class which, in basic indicators, differs less and less from the working class. Modern technology is changing the very image of our villages. In the rural areas children attend ten-year schools, and by the end of the present five-year period 12-year schooling will be made obligatory. Besides, the villages now have medical and cultural facilities which before existed only in the towns. The process of obliterating the sharp distinctions between agricultural and industrial labor, between the basic classes of socialist society, has, of course, not yet been completed. But we are moving toward that goal and nothing can prevent us from reaching it. In this we have an indication of how the Rumanian Communist Party applies the general laws of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions of our country, which is building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

In Hungary, Sipos said, agriculture is now in a period of production concentration and specialization. The cooperative farms are being converted into large modern enterprises working in contact with industry. The high level of industrial and agricultural integration can be seen in the organization of agro-industrial amalgamations, a further step toward a better pattern of socialist property relations. These agro-industrial amalgamations, Sipos said, help to equalize conditions of life, social and political understanding, and the mentality of the cooperative peasantry and the working class.

The conference discussed also other aspects of socio-economic policy: harmonizing the interests of the individual, the classes, basic social groups, and the interests of the whole of society (Roubal), perfecting the forms of socialist distribution (Zarodov, Stiemerling), the changing content and character of work. Referring to this last question, Koziolik remarked that the intensification of socialist production involves using the results of the technological revolution to change the very content of work, reduce the share of heavy manual labor and also of monotonous and health-hazard work.

In narrowing down the class and social differences in society, Stiemerling said, it is important consistently to implement the socialist principle of payment according to work performed. The central principle of economic and social life under socialism, it is based on the identity of the fundamental interests of the people and social requirements, bringing the two closer together and thus adding to the strength of socialism. It helps to increase production, make it more effective, heighten the quality of goods and give the workers a

share in the distribution of material benefits in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work.

Another speaker, Kerimov, devoted much of his contribution to the problem of social planning. Begun in the mid-60s on the initiative of Leningrad enterprises, social planning has won wide recognition and application in the Soviet Union. At present more than 50,000 industrial collectives, building sites, transport organizations and other enterprises, collective farms and state farms have social development plans. Social planning, now being extended to whole regions is at this stage characterized by the following basic features. First, a sharp turn of the economy toward solving problems involved in raising prosperity and cultural standards of the people, the increasing feed-back effect of the social factor set production enterprises definite social goals. At the present stage planning social changes is becoming an objective necessity for the development of socialist society. Second, developed socialist society represents a qualitatively new level of social integration, and this calls for comprehensive planning not only of technical and economic development but also of social processes to assure harmonious growth of all the elements of the social organism. The latest achievements of the social sciences provide more opportunities for managing social processes.

Question by *Stoyanov,* Consultant of the International Department of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee: 'What is the relation in the Soviet Union between social and economic planning?'

Kerimov: I will begin by saying that with the development and improvement of social planning it becomes objectively necessary to introduce it in all the branches of the national economy. For it is precisely at that level that such important social and economic problems are resolved as changing the character of work, designing new lines of production, raising skill standards, etc. And it is also becoming increasingly necessary to introduce social planning in large industrial combines, territorial divisions, and so on.

As for the connection between social and economic planning, it should be perfectly clear that the basis remains the basis, and there can be no social planning that is not connected with economic planning. And if I lay such emphasis on social planning, it is because economic planning has been more fully mastered in our country. Our ideal is integrated social economic planning at all levels, not only at national levels.

International aspects of the problem

The discussion led to the conclusion that the categories of economics and politics in socialist society also have a number of international aspects. Research on these lines, K.I. Zarodov said, is

important because it helps to ascertain the meaning of the creative, transforming role of the communist parties of socialist countries in their foreign policy.

With the rise of the world socialist system, the speaker pointed out, the diversity of the roads to socialism and their distinctive national aspects ceased to be merely a theoretical assumption and became a reality. This diversity and these distinctions have now been confirmed by countries differing in tradition, economic level and political system, including those that were among the industrial countries of Europe and had mature bourgeois democratic systems. Furthermore, it is precisely now that the concept of socialism has become a genuine theoretical generalization, for, to quote Marx, 'the most general abstractions normally emerge only in the conditions of the richest concrete development, in which one and the same thing is common to many or to all. That is when it ceases to be thinkable in only a specific form.'

From the methodological point of view, Zardov said, the concept of society as an entity complete in itself shows a new dimension within the world socialist system. It now encompasses the socialist community, which, even in the presence of national frontiers, is an inherently integral commonwealth of socialist countries based on a common economic organization, political system and ideology. By speaking of production relations in the socialist community, we recognize the existence of a common economic system — common in a certain sense (which, needless to say, does not imply that national autonomous, independent economic bodies enjoying equal rights have disappeared). Now the rise and development of a common economic system lead necessarily to the rise and perfection of an appropriate political system. Of course, I am speaking of a trend confirmed, in particular, by the formation and activity of the CMEA, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and, within its framework, the Political Consultative Committee and other consultative, advisory and control bodies and organizations of the socialist community.

Communist parties regard the formation of such superstructural components as an objective requirement of the development of relations within the socialist community. The member-countries of the community take a stand against making an absolute of national distinctions, on the one hand, and against rushing events as far as the development of international political and economic forms is concerned, on the other.

These views were backed by O. T. Bogomolov. The internationalization process in the production sphere, he noted, promotes and enriches political and all other social relations between socialist countries. Advancing political cooperation, which helps to harmonize the

socialist countries' vital interests and objectives, provides a solid basis for extending and intensifying mutual economic relations. Execution of the common economic, scientific and technological tasks set by the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration acquires political significance from the outset. This is understandable, for the more effectively integration tasks are accomplished, the more this stimulates the objective process of convergence of these countries in both the economic and the social sphere.

The mechanism of socialist economic integration and its interaction with the economic management mechanisms of the various countries of the socialist community was dealt with by G. Stoyanov. These countries, he said, are faced with essentially similar economic tasks, which leads to the formation of identical or kindred features in national managing mechanisms as well. The operation of the objective laws of socialism at national and international levels results in the link-up and interlocking of national mechanisms and mechanisms common to the CMEA countries. In many respects, the latter begin to function as a common system through which integration processes and the participation of various countries in them are programmed and effected. In this system, national mechanisms operate as part of a common system or as subsystems. True, it would be premature to affirm that this system has fully taken shape. However, there is no doubt that an international managing system is in the making that has a number of features which both individual national management mechanisms and their sum-total lack.

Jon Totu pointed out the decisive role of internal factors, of the efforts of each particular people toward industrialization and economic progress. Great importance attaches in this respect to an optimal ratio between the accumulation and consumption funds and as effective a utilization of natural resources as possible. However, he stressed that the achievements of each socialist country are of special importance for vindicating the superiority of socialism on an international scale and for the growth of its world influence. In this connection, Totu touched on the role of the socialist countries' accelerated economic development. He pointed out that industrialization on a large scale and the formation of up-to-date economic structures in each socialist country make it possible to extend scientific and technological cooperation and production coordination between socialist countries and constantly to harmonize national and internationalist interests. Achievement of the strategic objectives of industrialization in every socialist country and worldwide vindication of the effectiveness of the new type of economic relations existing between socialist

countries must lead to growth of the economic power of the world socialist system and help to restrict the activity of major capitalist powers on the world market.

One of the key goals set by Rumania's economic development plan is to extend cooperation with CMEA countries by using diverse forms of production cooperation and technologies and by developing relations on the basis of long-term agreements making for the rapid progress of each socialist country.

O.T. Bogomolov, answering a question by J. Nkosi on how politics and economy interact in relations between socialist and capitalist countries, said that political détente is unquestionably an essential prerequisite of expanding business relations between countries belonging to different social systems. Besides, growing economic relations between socialist countries and developed capitalist and developing countries strengthen the economic foundations of peaceful coexistence and hence contribute to political détente. The task now is, evidently, to ensure that the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference materialize, specifically in the economic field.

Bogomolov next pointed out another sphere of international relations where politics and economy interact very markedly — the struggle of socialist and developing countries for a reshaping of international economic relations.

Several speakers focussed attention on the international significance of the socialist countries' experience of the problem being discussed by the conference. Many countries following the path of socialist construction, Lhamsuren said, are now carrying out tasks similar to those faced by the Mongolian People's Republic in the past. Mongolia, Haba noted in this connection, is, indeed, no longer the only country to be advancing to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development. But it is a pioneer country in this respect and that is what makes its experience so valuable, in particular to Iraq. This raises a number of questions of interest to the communists of numerous developing countries. We all know, for instance, that the material prerequisites of socialism develop in economically backward countries after the working people have won political power. Evidently, a contradiction arises between an advanced political system and a backward economic basis. Could you, Haba asked Lhamsuren, tell us on the basis of your party's experience about the difficulties that revolutionary power in Mongolia encountered and about the role that aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played in overcoming them?

B. Lhamsuren: We had both objective and subjective difficulties. The main internal factor that held back Mongolia's development was its political, economic and cultural lag. That lag was ended in the

main at the democratic stage, which lasted about 20 years. The people and the party had to abolish feudal relations and eliminate the class of feudal lords. We had to fight for a long time against the clergy's domination of economic and spiritual life. Modern industries, transport, communications, a financial and economic system and cultural institutions were built almost from scratch. The process of forming a state sector showed distinctive features in this respect. Whereas developing socialist-orientated countries today set up a state sector chiefly by nationalizing existing enterprises, Mongolia had to build them. And that is where Soviet aid played an invaluable part. Much credit is due to the first socialist country for the development of our national culture and the training of competent personnel of our own. The Soviet Union and other fraternal countries continue to render us disinterested assistance on a large scale under bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Along with this, our country had to go through certain adverse experiences. In the late 20s, rightists in the party leadership began to abandon the party's general line geared to non-capitalist development, and in the early 30s, 'leftists' tried to decree certain socialist changes in the absence of appropriate conditions. The party overcame those difficulties thanks to its close bonds with the international communist movement, especially with the CPSU.

Kohen spoke of two aspects of the international significance of the socialist countries' experience in solving the problem of interaction between economy and politics. First of all, he stressed that the economic struggle of the working class and gains in this struggle must not be dissociated from the main goal, which is to take political power and establish a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. While reformists and bourgeois nationalists make an absolute of reforms in the working-class movement of Argentina, the communists insist that no reforms within the framework of 'social democracy,' however far-reaching, can lead to real worker participation in the production process, let alone in the distribution of profits. This can be achieved, as the socialist countries' experience has shown, only when the working class has taken power. Economic democracy does not lead to socialism; it is the socialist revolution that is a condition for genuine people's rule and the masses' decisive participation in the management of both economic and political affairs.

Secondly, Kohen said, it is wrong to imagine that elements of the basis and superstructure of socialism are developing spontaneously in highly developed capitalist countries. To be sure, he added, a high degree of concentration and centralization of the means of production, which together constitute a suitable material, technical and economic basis for socialism, the existence of a numerous working

class personifying the social character of production and of competent managerial and other leading personnel, a large network of working-class, trade union, cooperative and other mass organizations, and above all, the activity of influential and experienced Communist and Workers' parties are aspects of public life in capitalist countries that are now more pronounced than, say 60 or 30 years ago. Nevertheless, these factors do not in themselves give rise to elements of either the economic basis, or the political and ideological superstructure of socialism. Both the basis and the superstructure of socialist society are brought into being in severe class struggles in which the working class takes state power and thus sets out thoroughly to transform the economy.

In his closing remarks, Professor *Otto Reinhold,* Director of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC SUPG, stressed that the discussion had revealed complete unity on fundamental problems of the continued construction and perfection of developed socialist society. The countries of the socialist community have entered a new stage of development in recent years. This stage consists, as the conference showed very clearly, in the fact that the humanist nature and conditions for the free development of the individual manifest themselves ever more effectively and distinctly.

Participants in the discussion, Reinhold said, raised numerous questions bearing on every sphere of public life. Many of these questions were answered but many more were only just raised and require further study. I would like to point out only some aspects of the discussion which I believe are important from the point of view of summing it up.

The discussion showed that ever since the late 60s and early 70s, our countries have been following social development strategies that coincide in every respect. In spite of certain distinctions, our strategic goal is essentially the same, namely, building a developed socialist society. As for the Soviet Union, which has already accomplished this task, its strategic objective is to continue perfecting society, primarily by providing the material and technical basis for communism. But it is not only the common goal that we are unanimous on. This also applies, as the discussion re-emphasized, to the fundamental tasks to be fulfilled as the process goes on. We are at one on the growing leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party and agree that classes and strata are converging as the construction of a developed socialist society continues. Our positions regarding the inherent unity of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of socialism coincide too. We can say that we also take a common view of the fundamental problems of shaping the socialist way of life. This is a highly important aspect of

socialist countries' drawing closer together along with economic integration and otherprocesses.

Of course, we do not lose sight of the distinctions still there, both those arising from the application of general principles in concrete conditions and those due to other causes. But in spite of all these distinctions, the decisive thing is that the fraternal socialist countries are drawing closer and closer together and that distinctions are disappearing step by step as a developed socialist society is being built and perfected. This drawing together is only made possible by the fact that we proceed from general laws and that these laws are due to objective conditions.

Reinhold said that we cannot fight for socialism without steadfastly improving the standard of living. Also, we cannot speak of a socialist way of life and yet confine ourselves to meeting people's requirements only. The point is to link these requirements with fast-growing satisfaction of people's spiritual and cultural needs, with lowering the incomes pyramid, shaping a new, socialist and communist attitude to work and heightening people's socialist consciousness.

Speakers in the discussion, Reinhold went on, pointed out that the present stage of our development is characterized by an interlocking and increasingly close dialectical interaction of diverse spheres of public life, by qualitatively new aspects of this interaction. In speaking of the unity of economic and social policy, we proceed from the fact that we have a new economic potential enabling us to carry out an ambitious social and political program. It is just as correct to say that carrying out this socio-political program today is a condition for releasing the forces needed to accelerate scientific and technological progress and solve economic problems.

It is a matter of international importance, Reinhold said, to see the ways and means of forming and perfecting a developed socialist society. The social essence, humanist character and qualitative advantages of socialism manifest themselves more and more while the general crisis of capitalism goes from bad to worse and the crisis of reformist, first of all social-democratic and social reformist, policies become more and more evident. This means that by building or perfecting a developed socialist society in socialist countries, we have gradually evolved a modern conception of socialism in recent years. It has long been something more than a theory put to paper and is becoming a palpable reality, whereas reformist theories of 'democratic socialism' and other 'models' of socialism like it have fallen through. I consider, therefore, that the theory and practice of the brother countries' communist parties are of tremendous significance also from this point of view.

The international factor in Lenin's theory of revolution

Adam Wirth
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The struggle for the revolutionary refashioning of society has always depended not only on internal but also on international conditions. Lenin's methodology of studying the revolution is based on a dialectical combination of a global approach that takes into account the laws governing the development of the imperialist system as a whole, the alignment of class forces in the world, with examination of the concrete conditions in each country.

This methodology rests on the ideas enunciated by the founders of scientific socialism, who saw in socialist revolution a worldwide process everywhere growing out of the contradictions of the capitalist formation. At the same time, the methodology rests on analysis of the fundamental changes in the conditions of the class struggle wrought by capitalism's entry into the imperialist stage and the subsequent division of the world into two systems after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which we shall be celebrating this year.

In the age of imperialism, Lenin pointed out, 'the antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working-class movement is brought into the forefront' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 20, p. 401). In these conditions, too, of course, revolution matures primarily on national soil, but international conditions play a much more important role.

What do we understand by the international factor in Lenin's theory of revolution? In Marxist literature the accent is usually on the objective international conditions that influence the course and outlook of the revolution in an individual country, such as its place in the world, determined by qualitative features of the epoch, the relation of class forces on a world scale, the chief element of which, after the October Revolution, is the relation between capitalism and socialism. And it should be emphasized in this context that in examining the

international factor in the revolution, Lenin had in mind, besides the above-mentioned, the utilization in national conditions of the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, generalized by scientific theory, and also the international solidarity of the proletarian and other progressive forces ranged against imperialism. He emphasized that communist policy must be based on an 'appraisal of *all* the class forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 63).

And so, the international factor has both objective and subjective aspects. In this article we shall try to show the topical validity of drawing on Lenin's ideas for a deeper understanding of the place and role of the international factor in the class confrontation of our day.

The significance of the international factor in Lenin's theory of revolution resides above all in the fact that it largely determines the concrete historical path of socialist revolution in the world.

Lenin's conception was formed in sharp struggle against the social-reformism and opportunism of the Second International leaders. Pleading the immaturity of the material-technical requisites for transition to socialism in countries with a middle or low level of capitalist development, including pre-revolutionary Russia, they tried to impose a taboo on working-class attempts to seize power in such countries. The fundamental methodological flaw of the Second International opportunists' position was their narrow, national view of the revolution, with the socialist perspective in each country entirely dependent on its internal economic, technical and cultural conditions and potentialities.

'From the point of view of Marxism,' Lenin wrote, 'it is absurd to restrict oneself to conditions in one country alone' (Vol. 24, p. 238). It is important to bear in mind the development level of capitalism as a system. Inadequate development or even the absence in one or another country of the material prerequisites for socialism apply on an international scale too. For that reason alone it is inadmissible to take a passive contemplative view of the possibilities of transition to socialism. 'To wait until the working classes carry out a revolution on an international scale means that everyone will remain suspended in mid air. This is senseless' (Vol. 27, p. 372).

This approach, introduced by Lenin into the theory of socialist revolution, released the revolutionary initiative of the working class and opened wide vistas for the search of paths to socialism. Of special importance was the conclusion Lenin drew from the law of uneven economic and political development in the imperialist era, namely, that socialism could triumph 'first in several or even in one capitalist

country alone' (Vol. 21, p. 342). The operation of that law created also the international conditions for piercing the imperialist system at its weaker links. Lenin's conclusion played an enormous part in preparing the October Revolution. One cannot overestimate its value for the strategy of the international communist movement.

The time-differential in the transition of various countries to socialism today, too, remains one of the most debated questions of ideological struggle. There have been repeated attempts to infuse new life into the old conceptions and dogmas of the Second International, so effectively refuted by Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, and by revolutionary practice. And in these attempts one can distinguish two ideological and political objectives.

One is to palm off reformist conceptions as the genuine views of Marx and Engels and in this way not only weaken the attraction of Lenin's theory of revolution, but also discredit the October Revolution and the socialist revolutions that came after it. One example is provided by a recent item in *Le Monde*. One Bobrieux, according to the paper, claims that the USSR cannot be regarded as a socialist state, even if we accept that it has broken with capitalism,' inasmuch as 'Marx and Engels always regarded the establishment of socialism in one country alone as a sheer illusion.'*

Another line of 'argumentation' attempts to 'prove' that the growing internationalization of public life, imperialist alliances and blocs (with NATO at the head), collective neo-colonialism and other forms of monopoly association place in question the very possibility of new breaches of the imperialist system in individual countries. The fact, however, is that Lenin's conclusion still holds good. For in present-day conditions there are a number of new factors that intensify the uneven development of capitalism: the scientific and technological revolution, state-monopoly regulation, the wider gap in development levels between industrial and developing countries, contradictions between integration groupings. It should also be noted that the law of uneven development now operates at a time of confrontation of the two opposed systems, and with socialism now being the decisive factor in the development of mankind.

The transition to the socialist path by an individual country does not, of course, signify that in every case the international factor

**Le Monde*, November 26, 1976. Similar views have been actively disseminated by renegades of Marxism and anti-Marxists. I. Deutscher, one of the theoreticians of Trotskyism, says in his *The Unfinished Revolution. Russia 1917-1967* (London 1968) that the concept of different countries coming to socialism at different times is a product of national narrow-mindedness and a betrayal of proletarian internationalism. The 'dramatic break' of Communist parties loyal to Leninism 'with the classical Marxian model of revolution' will be found in the writings of F. Marek (cf. his *Philosophie der Weltrevolution*. Wien-Frankfurt-Zürich, 1966).

favors socialist revolution and consolidation of its gains. It can have the very opposite effect, acting as a brake on revolution.

This complex impact of the international factor on the conditions of class struggle in individual countries was cleary revealed by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The First World War weakened world imperialism and prevented it from organizing a united front against the socialist revolution in Russia. The international proletariat had an active part in defending the young socialist state. And, of course, we all know the gigantic difficulties caused by foreign intervention, economic blockade and, subsequently, by development in conditions of capitalist encirclement. But Soviet Russia withstood this titanic battle with international reaction.

Things developed differently in the Hungarian socialist revolution. Due mainly to unfavorable international conditions, i.e., intervention by capitalist countries in support of internal reaction, Soviet power in Hungary, proclaimed in March 1919, was brought to an end later in that year despite the political and moral support of Soviet Russia, which at that time was locked in a life and death struggle against international imperialist intervention. A quarter of a century later, the much greater strength of the world's first socialist state, the defeat of fascism and the upsurge of the workers' and democratic movement, prevented a repetition of the united front of internal counter-revolution and imperialism which had brought on the defeat of the Hungarian revolution. In the new historical setting the socialist revolution won final victory in Hungary.

The contradictory influence of the international factor on the national class struggle has to be reckoned with today, too. But the growth of the socialist forces, the upsurge of the class struggle and national-liberation movement have brought to the fore its more positive and constructive aspects.

The joint struggle of the peoples of the socialist community, the international working-class and the national-liberation movement finds its concentrated expression in the immense positive changes in international relations and in the progress toward détente. With the change of the balance of forces in favor of socialism it has become possible to restructure international relations on the principles of peace coexistence and détente.

Positive changes on the international scene also favor the class struggle in the non-socialist part of the world. In the 60s — as has been demonstrated by the events in Cuba — imperialism's ability to export counter-revolution was greatly weakened. And in the 70s, with détente, the continued strengthening of socialism's international positions and the growth of the revolutionary forces, the peoples of

Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola and Mozambique scored epochal victories.

Of course, international imperialism remains a serious adversary. It not only holds back the advances of the forces of socialism, peace and progress, but, as the Chilean events and escalation of the rightist and fascist danger in other Latin-American countries have shown, mounts counter-offensives. But by and large, the international alignment of forces is developing in a way more favorable for the struggle for socialism.

All this is evidence of the growing importance of the international factor in the revolutionary struggle and in social progress. And to that should be added that today it plays a much bigger role than before. For in our time its operation can in many cases 'compensate' for certain 'shortcomings' in the internal development of countries (underdeveloped material and technical base, small working class, etc.), and lessen the difficulties in building socialism. The inadequate maturity of the internal material prerequisites for socialism can be compensated by consistent orientation on alliance with the countries of the socialist community. As Leonid Brezhnev has noted: 'If we examine all these difficulties in isolation from the international situation, they might appear insurmountable. But the fact of the matter is that today the birth and victory of socialist revolution proceeds in conditions when socialism has become the dominant direction in the development of mankind.'

But even in these new, more favorable conditions for socialism, Lenin's conclusion that revolution is not brought in from without retains all its validity. The earnest of success in the fight for the socialist transformation of society is a correct policy of the Communist Party, its ability creatively to apply the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in adaptation to the specific conditions in its own country, and unite the majority of the people around the working class. The victory of revolution and consolidation of its gains are possible only given unity of internal and international conditions and prerequisites.

Lenin regarded revolutionary experience as the common property of all communists, a necessary condition for the development of the world communist movement and each of its detachments. Revolutionary policy, he pointed out, 'demands, first, that the experience of other countries be taken into account, especially if these other countries, which are also capitalist, are undergoing or have recently undergone, a very similar experience' (Vol. 31, pp. 80-81). That is why attention and care must be shown for every morsel of the revolutionary experience of Marxist-Leninist parties. It is well known that Marx, Engels and Lenin constantly referred to the experience of the

revolutionary movement as an inexhaustible source of revolutionary theory. The question arises, however, in what sense can historical experience be considered as a component of the international factor?

In connection with this Lenin's appraisal of the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is important in principle. Lenin saw two aspects of its importance. First of all, from the viewpoint of its revolutionary impact on mankind's development. And, secondly, from the viewpoint of a repetition of the main aspects of the October Revolution in subsequent socialist revolutions. Summing up the experience of the October Revolution and the first years of socialist construction in Russia, Lenin pointed out that 'certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national or Russian alone, but international' (Vol. 31, p.21).

To profit from experience means seeing in every historical event not only its individual, inimitable pecularities, but mainly its traits of common significance. Besides mastering universal experience, Lenin pointed out, it is important to study the history of the class struggle in one's own country.

Therefore, the experience of this or that contingent of the workers' movement acquires worldwide significance thanks to its internationalization, the creative mastering by each party of all of value that has been accumulated in the practice of the class struggle in other countries and the world over. Comprehending the most important laws which are but a summation of social practice and leaning on them in practical activities is an important factor accelerating society's revolutionary transformation. And, conversely, whenever the most important natural laws are underestimated or ignored, the revolutionary process is slowed down and may even face a crisis.

It is important to stress that in disclosing the international significance of the essential traits of the first victorious proletarian revolution, Lenin took into account accumulated international experience. In particular, he showed that the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic proclaimed in 1919, helps to more clearly see the laws of the proletarian revolution and to separate them from its concrete manifestations in one or another country. A comparative analysis of the pecularities of the proletarian revolution in Russia and in Hungary promotes a better understanding of the essence of proletarian power. Referring to the experience of Soviet Hungary, Lenin stressed the impermissibility of identifying aspects of 'Russian Soviet government, of the history of its development in Russia, with Soviet government as an international phenomenon' (Vol. 29, pp. 388). The sharpness of the Russian class struggle during the first years of the revolution made it difficult to understand the essence of the turn

effected in the country from a bourgeois to a proletarian democracy, to understand the essence of dictatorship of the proletariat, including its Soviet form, which consisted not of force alone, or even mainly of force, but in organizing the masses in creative endeavor to transform society, in the organization and discipline of the working class as the vanguard detachment of working people.

Such an approach, founded on the unity of the general laws of the revolution and the different ways of carrying it out, differs in principle from the approach attributed to Marxist-Leninists by their opponents claiming that they supposedly proceed from a prejudiced 'model' of socialism restraining a free choice of roads to socialism. Lenin's theory of revolution is incompatible with a mechanical transfer from one country to another of the tactics and methods of struggle. It is impossible to work out one's own, effective policy by copying the experience of others. It is equally obvious that this cannot be done by ignoring world experience, not using its positive aspects and not heeding its mistakes in order not to repeat them.

The richer and more varied the experience upon which strategy and tactics of struggle are built in one or another country, the more opportunities there are for a conscious selection of paths and forms of struggle. Underestimating experience cannot but lead to belittling the role of theory to the method of trial and error. Fidel Castro said in his report to the First Congress of the CP of Cuba that one of the lessons of the Cuban revolution was that it showed once again how important it was for revolutionaries to 'subordinate their actions to the laws of historical and social development, to draw the knowledge necessary to guide the revolutionary process from the inexhaustible well of political science and world experience.'

Every epoch has its own inimitable pecularities, every country its own distinctions influencing its path to socialism. But, a scientific approach always extends beyond a simple statement of the individuality of historical events, and helps the researcher in the multitude of events to see the unity of their socio-class essence. At the base of the similarity of historical processes in different countries, even those separated by a more or less prolonged interval of time, is the repetitiveness of history, the reproductivity in various concrete historical conditions of the more essential bonds and relations. This common sociological law affects the processes of the revolutionary restructuring of capitalist society. Applied to the socialist revolution it means that the experience of the first large, independent class actions by the proletariat, the more so of socialist revolutions, could not but disclose such traits and characteristics whose significance extends beyond their time.

The history of all socialist revolutions carried out after October

showed that, despite the peculiarities of each, certain basic traits of the first victorious proletarian revolution are repeated. And there are no grounds to believe that they will not be confirmed by future socialist revolutions.

In stressing the fundamental importance of internationalizing the experience gained by the international working-class and communist movement, we mean both past experience and the experience of the present-day struggle of the international working class for democracy and socialism. A notable characteristic of the contemporary stage of social development is the growing role of the example of the socialist community, the revolutionizing impact of its economic, political and cultural achievements. This is what makes dissemination of the truth about socialism so important now. The objective panorama of today's life in socialist countries, on reaching the masses, becomes an effective means of promoting the world revolutionary process, an essential factor in providing favorable ideological conditions for social progress in the non-socialist part of the world.

Proletarian internationalism is more expressive than anything else of the positive content of the international factor in the Leninist theory of the revolution. The revolutionary forces' mutual solidarity and support make it possible to use for the advancement of the revolution on national soil the new opportunities afforded by the new balance of world forces. At the same time, they create new international conditions and relations meeting the peoples' aspirations. In this sense, proletarian internationalism is not merely a component but the core and substance of the Leninist conception of the international factor.

All major events in the history of the revolutionary working-class movement have taken place under the tremendous and constant impact of proletarian internationalism and have at the same time stimulated and contributed to its development. This is only logical, for proletarian internationalism is at once a prerequisite and a result of the development of the international revolutionary movement of the working class. Proletarian solidarity is inseparable from the social essence, fundamental interests and historic goals of the communist and working-class movement.

This is why each time the working-class movement entered a new stage of development, problems of internationalism became highly relevant and pressing in view of the exigencies of revolutionary practice. In today's conditions, the need to strengthen the international unity of revolutionary forces is due to the new and higher level of internationalization of the class struggle, the process of reshaping the whole system of international relations now going on and the inner logic of development of the world communist movement. This need is

all the more imperative because imperialism actively coordinates, at international level, its actions against socialism and the international working-class and national-liberation movement.

Speaking at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, said that 'today, when the world communist movement has no center or leading party and when the brother parties shape their own tactics and strategy, it is particularly important to preserve the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, assess the experience of practice in theoretical terms and apply the principle of proletarian internationalism.' All this shows the importance of studying problems of internationalism and of searching for new ways and means of carrying it into practice with due regard to the overall situation in the world and in each particular country. In accomplishing these tasks, Lenin's time-tested methodological principles of analyzing the place and role of international solidarity in the class struggle play an important part.

What are the main characteristics of the Leninist approach to the problem of proletarian internationalism? We will try to outline some of them.

First, *historical necessity*. Lenin deduced the content, objectives and forms of international solidarity from the characteristics of the given epoch, the nature of the revolutionary process, and the place and role of the working class in it. He showed that to be an internationalist means, above all, fighting for the common interests and ideals of the working class, the central force of the epoch. Nowadays the decisive role of the chief creation of the international working class — the states of the socialist community — is becoming ever more tangible. This objectively brings to the fore the tasks of fostering cooperation between the working class, the forces of peace, social progress and national liberation and the socialist community. History has repeatedly demonstrated that to dissociate internationalism from revolutionary practice, from the tasks and goals prompted by the nature of the revolutionary process in this or that epoch, and underestimate the role of the working class as the chief revolutionary force of today is to turn internationalism into something abstract and noncommittal, into what Lenin called 'internationalism in word' (Vol. 24, p. 74).

Second, *mutual connection* with the activity of all progressive forces opposed to imperialism. The slogan 'Workers of all lands, unite' is expressive of the very substance of proletarian internationalism but by no means covers its entire content. The social revolution as seen by Lenin is a whole epoch of class battles in every sphere of public life, an epoch made up of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the peoples oppressed by imperialism,

all the social classes and groups exploited by capitalism, and general democratic movements. Those who look forward to a 'pure' social revolution, Lenin said, will not live to see it. Credit is due to Lenin for fully revealing the revolutionary potentialities of non-proletarian strata and democratic movements.

This Leninist postulate, which takes account of the fact that the social basis of internationalism is expanding in step with the social content and motive forces of the revolution in the 20th century, has been and remains a dependable guide to a correct solution of the problem of the relationship between proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of other anti-imperialist forces. Proletarian internationalism today is inseparable from democratic and anti-imperialist solidarity, from solidarity in the struggle for peace and détente. It is important to realize, however, that the growing significance of international solidarity in support of the solution of general democratic problems is not a result of minimizing the role of proletarian internationalism.

Third, Lenin approached the content and forms of international solidarity *dialectically,* with due regard to their renewal and enrichment by practice. He was emphatically against making an absolute of this or that concrete historical form or method of applying proletarian internationalism, against reducing it to these forms or methods. Posing 'old' and new forms of solidarity against each other is incompatible with Lenin's approach to internationalism, which combines the unity of the class essence of internationalism with creative quests, with constant renewal and enrichment of the forms of international solidarity according to national and international conditions. When this methodological principle is abandoned the rise of new forms of solidarity may be mistaken for a kind of 'rejection' of the very essence of proletarian internationalism.

Fourth, *concreteness,* taking account of the situation in the world and the country concerned in defining the content and form of international solidarity. The international cohesion of the socialist countries, fraternal mutual assistance, and multilateral constructive cooperation are all a most important international condition for building socialism in our country. Accordingly, internationalism to the HSWP means primarily strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community. Our party attaches special importance to continuous consolidation of the deep-going and firm friendship with the Soviet Union.

A contingent of the international communist movement, the HSWP works for strengthening it on Marxist-Leninist principles. Its relations with the national democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are expanding. Its policy of fostering international solidarity with all progressive forces the world over helps to build socialism in

our country. In turn, gains in building socialism in Hungary serve the interests of both the Hungarian people and all socialist countries, the cause of peace and social progress.

Fifth and last, the *actively transforming* role of proletarian internationalism. The communists are not passive onlookers but active builders of a new international situation and new forms of international solidarity in the struggle for peace and social progress. This was the case at the beginning of this century, when the victory of the Great October opened a new chapter in man's history, and during World War II, when the communist movement and the world's first socialist country made the greatest sacrifices to ensure the victory of the peoples and achieve peace. It is also the case today, when the Communist and Workers' parties declare for firmly establishing the practice of peaceful coexistence and champion national liberation and social progress. The more they operate as a solidly united force, the more important is their contribution to the effort to attain these great and noble aims.

The international factor is acquiring a new quality in today's revolutionary process. Never before has the class struggle on national soil been so closely linked with the evolution of international relations, the worldwide contest between socialism and capitalism and the struggle for peace and international security. Lenin foresaw the gigantic growth today of the international tasks of the working class. It is only natural, therefore, that scholars are concerned with investigating the international factor in Lenin's theory of the revolution.

The validity of proletarian internationalism

Ib Nørlund
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The validity and topicality of proletarian internationalism, how it accords with the content, forms and tasks of party activity, is being discussed in our party. The attitude to proletarian internationalism has played a decisive role in the development of our party. Our firm fidelity to its principles assured its continued existence and a new upsurge after the most difficult periods of its history. In the present situation, too, this attitude is of crucial importance in resolving our

problems. This follows from the specifics at the present stage of the class struggle in Denmark and from its peculiar political situation in Europe, as a small country whose ruling classes have dragooned it into NATO and the Common Market.

Our Party Chairman, Comrade Jespersen, said at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties: 'Marx defined the basis of the communist movement in the words "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" This working-class internationalism became an increasingly decisive factor in uniting the popular forces, irrespective of national frontiers, when their vital interests were at stake and when new social solutions had to be found. Its importance is still greater today, when economic and political development have internationalized a large number of problems.'[1] In this and other areas, Marxist-Leninist policy must, naturally, undergo constant renewal, in line with the requirements and tasks of the international communist and the entire anti-imperialist movement. And of prime importance here is the need to take account of the objective demands the new situation makes on proletarian internationalism not only in our continent, but throughout the world.

Today, the problems of proletarian internationalism are especially closely interconnected. Drawing on our experiences, we can single out some of the most essential directions along which we are endeavoring to concretize our party's internationalism. We have in mind the following: attitude to existing socialism, the Soviet Union, the first land of socialism, and other socialist countries, which in our country implies actively combating anti-Sovietism and anti-communism; support of the struggle of oppressed peoples and of the progressive strivings of the young independent states; defense of the socialist, national and general democratic gains of the people of every country; solidarity in the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly struggle, in the movement for international security, for a durable and just peace, for a world without the thermonuclear menace, a world of equal relations and cooperation between all states. We believe that this attitude will strengthen the international ties that unite our party with the international communist movement, and it is on this basis that we are developing comradely cooperation with all fraternal parties.

In discussing how our party understands its internationalist duty, our attention was drawn, in particular, to the article by Antonio Rubbi, Central Committee member of the Italian Communist Party, 'The New Internationalism,' published for discussion in the January issue of this journal. The author emphasizes the need to bring the communists' internationalist policy into line with the new realities of the modern world.

Of course, there are many points in the article with which we agree.

But I regret to say that I cannot accept its main proposition: contrasting the 'new internationalism' to proletarian internationalism. But it is one thing to signify one's disagreement with the author and quite another to show why, in our opinion, he is wrong. Since views differing from those of Comrade Rubbi have already appeared on the pages of this journal,[2] I would like to confine these notes to certain fundamental questions the author dwells upon in substantiating his idea of a 'new internationalism.'

We agree with him that in any discussion one should concentrate on correctly presenting the subject. Let us see how it is presented by Comrade Rubbi.

'Internationalism,' he writes, 'must be linked with the cardinal problems facing the world, with due account of the requirements of national realities. Otherwise, it would have but one fate: it would degenerate into ineffectual propaganda unrelated even to concrete manifestations of solidarity, and would be distant and alien to the working class and the broad masses of working people.'

We, too, believe that the communists' internationalism cannot be divorced from the class interests of the working people and the national interests of each people, from solution of world and national problems in accordance with these interests. And, as we all know, there is concord and agreement on this in the international communist movement. More, the communist movement has worked out common platforms of struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism that accord with the peoples' interests. This was done, for example, at the 1969 Moscow International Meeting and also at regional conferences and bilateral meetings between many fraternal parties.

In Rubbi's view, internationalism, if it is to accord with the social realities of the present-day world, must acquire a new content. Internationalism today, in his opinion, is necessary, first, to preserve peace, extend détente, repel the forces of war, aggression and imperialism. Second, it is necessary for solving the vast and intricate complex of questions involved in asserting the self-determination of peoples who have won political independence and their equitable relations and cooperation with the developed countries. Third, it is necessary for resolving problems concerning the whole of mankind (demography, hunger, environmental protection, the consequences of elemental calamities).

'Such, very largely is the new content, we believe, of action on an international scale,' Comrade Rubbi concludes.

The cardinal importance of these international problems for the destinies of mankind is beyond doubt. The effort to resolve them in the interests of the people is an important part of the communists'

internationalist duty. And in this respect, too, we can note that our views are identical with those of the author.

But this raises the question: is it right to contrast this substance of internationalism, as something 'new,' to proletarian internationalism? In our view, there are no grounds for that. If we were to assume that Rubbi believes that the 'old content' of internationalism was confined merely to the struggle for socialism and that past international actions ignored the tasks and aims he lists, then we could understand his attitude. But the fact of the matter is that this is not so.

Proletarian internationalism organically combines socialist and general democratic aims. For proletarian internationalism includes general democratic solutions of the world's problems. Beginning with the Communist League and the First International, the workers' and communist movement, while working toward the socialist transformation of society, has always fought for the fullest and most consistent implementation of democracy in international relations, striving for the 'simple laws of morality and justice . . . to become the supreme laws also in relations between nations.' And the movement has followed that line in all the subsequent years, right up to our days. More, it is generally conceded (and this Rubbi does not deny) that today, too, proletarian internationalism has acquired greater scope and scale and is tackling greater problems of a general democratic character. It presupposes disinterested support of all progressive forces in their anti-imperialist struggle in all its forms (national-liberation and democratic movements, anti-fascist resistance, the movements for peace and security).

The Rubbi article further stresses that 'the biggest contribution a Party can make to internationalism is determined by what it does, independently and concretely in its own field of battle, to promote détente, new international relations and the independence and progress of the peoples. Independent elaboration of problems and of political activity is also a necessary condition for the continuing world struggle for socialism in the new international situation.'

We believe that this presentation of the question of the main contribution each party makes to internationalism is, in general, correct. But here, too, there is nothing novel, nothing that is not contained in proletarian internationalism. Marxists have always believed that each party makes its main contribution to the international cause of the working class primarily 'in its own field of battle.' More than half a century ago Lenin wrote that being an internationalist means doing 'the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries* . . .,' it means doing 'everything possible to promote the international socialist movement, to secure and shorten the road leading mankind to deliverance from

the yoke of capital and from wage slavery, to the creation of a socialist society and to an enduring just peace between the peoples' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 28, p. 292 and Vol. 27, p. 201).

Proletarian internationalism includes also definite norms of relations between the parties, and they change with the development of the communist movement. The article lays special stress on this problem. In defining the 'new internationalism' the author writes that it 'essentially implies the need for new relations based on recognition of the autonomy and equality of each party as set out in the final document of the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.'

We know, however, that the norms now accepted by the Communist and Workers' parties in relations with each other, including independence (autonomy) and equality of each party, were worked out and proclaimed long before the Berlin Conference.[3]

They have become part and parcel of the communist movement. Would it not be more correct, therefore, to say that the Berlin Conference reaffirmed the norms of inter-party relations accepted by all, and not only by the European communist parties?

It would therefore be hard to detect in the 'new internationalism' something really 'new' that is not part of proletarian internationalism. Instead of counterposing to proletarian internationalism its own principles, disguised as a 'new content,' it would have been more correct to say that the 'new internationalism' has 'borrowed' such and such from proletarian internationalism, and single out controversial points. For our aim is mutual understanding, not more disagreement.

And so, we have no differences over what the 'new internationalism' 'borrows' from proletarian internationalism. We differ with Rubbi on other points.

As we understand him, he is concerned not with proletarian internationalism, but with internationalism in general, with no definite class facets. Rubbi believes that internationalism has acquired a new quality not so much because of its aims, but because of its participants. In assessing the social forces prepared to fight for positive solution of the international problems he writes: 'The working class remains the main force, but now within an unprecedentedly varied and broad range of other social forces' and further, 'with the new scope of the movement developing in the world, we believe that the definition of internationalism as "proletarian" has become restrictive and does not accord with the new social reality.'

In short, though the working class is the *main force,* i.e., the main motive power of international solidarity, nonetheless the author believes that the '*scope of the movement*' is the main thing in internationalism.

In our view, using the composition of participants or the 'scope of the movement' to define the essence of internationalism is of dubious value. The character of internationalism is determined not by the narrowness or the breadth of the movement, but by the orientation of solidarity actions and their ultimate results. For instance, the proletarian substance of the communists' internationalism is determined by the fact that it expresses the philosophy and policy of the revolutionary working class and pursues a definite aim, namely, of replacing capitalist by socialist social relations.

Why, then, does this internationalism not accord with the 'new social reality'?

In arguing his case, Rubbi writes that capitalist society 'can no longer, of course, be characterized by the schematic division into "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat".' Everywhere, we are told, there is 'pluralism.'

In other words, the division of society into bourgeoisie and proletariat is being replaced by 'pluralism.' It that really so? Does the 'new social reality' differ from the one in which the slogan of proletarian internationalism was proclaimed?

We know that in the past, too, the movement for national liberation, democracy and peace covered a wide spectrum of social forces, political positions and philosophical orientations. The policy of alliances is not new to the communist movement in its national and international fight for the workers' cause and for democratic aims. But the communists' alliance policy has never meant renouncing, or minimizing, their fundamental aims or concepts. That precisely is why the communist movement has come to play such a decisive part in the struggle of the working class and people for democracy and socialism.

Reference to history does not therefore confirm the author's thought. 'Pluralism' existed always in capitalist society, along with its division into bourgeoisie and proletariat, along with the antagonism between these two classes.

The growing public activity of non-proletarian strata does not lead today, any more than it did in the past, to this antagonism ceasing to be decisive under capitalism or becoming a matter of secondary importance in comparison with 'pluralism.' On the contrary, we believe the role of this antagonism has grown in the context of our epoch, whose central factor is the international working class and its main achievement, the world socialist system. This is why the significance of precisely the proletarian class tendency of internationalism has grown too. Indeed, formerly, in the epoch of the upward trend of capitalism, the concrete historical content of general democratic tasks consisted, at least in Europe, in struggle against feudalism and its

heritage, and their fulfillment contributed in one way or another to the progress of bourgeois society. In the proletarian internationalism of that epoch, the anti-capitalist aspirations of the working class were combined with a similar content of the general democratic tasks. In our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the movement for democracy, national liberation and peace has acquired a new, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly content. This has necessarily impinged on proletarian internationalism and strengthened its class tendency.

In speaking of the content of internationalism, anyone who discounts the fact that the working class is now the central factor of the epoch is undoubtedly calling the proletarian character of internationalism into question. But in that case no common basis is left for discussion of internationalism. However, the author of the article does not dispute this fundamental fact.

Antonio Rubbi interprets proletarian internationalism as something 'objectively restricting the unitarian appeal.' But in what way does proletarian internationalism restrict the communists' call for unity?

The Italian author writes that 'not all the forces working for world peace, international cooperation and social progress are prepared immediately to join the battle for socialist transformations.'

It is true that not all supporters of democracy and social progress are prepared to fight for socialism, and experience shows that not all of them adopt this position. It is also true that the communist appeal for unity must take this circumstance into account. But how does it do that? This appeal, which is expressive of the communists' class position, is not conditional on the demand that those to whom it is directed should renounce their ideological positions. Why, then, condition it by reducing the communists' internationalism to the level of the aspirations of those who are not prepared to fight for socialism?

A. Rubbi writes that among the 'forces capable of renewing society and transforming it along socialist lines' there are also political trends 'that are beyond the framework of the communist parties, some even beyond the framework of Marxist-oriented parties.' He adds that 'the demand for socialism is also growing within other political trends.' This leads him to the conclusion that one cannot 'prescribe for the movement common and universal laws for developing the socialist revolution and building socialist society.'

But does the communists' appeal for unity directed to other, non-communist forces really imply that these forces must by all means recognize the general development laws of the revolution and of socialism? To affirm such a thing would, in our view, be at variance with the actual state of affairs. To be sure, solidarity in the case of the communists is based on their having one and the same ideology, a

common ideology — Marxism-Leninism — which connotes understanding the laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. But even among the workers, not everyone fully understands these laws or has attained to scientific socialism. Nevertheless, they take an active part in extending solidarity to peoples fighting for socialism.

It has been said that today the slogans of international solidarity include many general democratic demands. Unquestionably, they can be (and are) supported by forces very far removed from the communists. Nor does this imply at all that they recognize or understand the general laws of the revolution and of socialism. This is a common fact now, a reality of today. However, A. Rubbi apparently presumes that the fact that non-communist forces refuse to recognize this or that important thesis of scientific socialism should prompt the communists to renounce these theses. Should it? Does it really follow that a correct understanding of the laws of transition to socialism is a hindrance to unity while their denial is a unifying factor?

A. Rubbi advocates a strategy for the advance to socialism meeting 'the conditions and requirements of the given society.' There is no disagreement between us on this point. But the experience of the communist movement suggests that such a strategy can only be evolved in accordance with general laws and with due regard to the distinctive character of the situation.

To back his renunciation of proletarian internationalism, A. Rubbi even refers to authorities.

'At the Berlin Conference,' he writes, 'we rose above this formula.'

As a participant in the Conference, I would like to say here that one cannot correctly explain in this way the Conference discussion of the issue of proletarian internationalism. This also follows from the Conference speeches by the parties' spokesmen, and as for our party, its position is made clear by what has already been said here.

A most important result of the Conference was that it evolved a common platform for the communists of Europe on the issues of the struggle for peace and social progress, and specified the aims whose attainment 'would constitute an important advance along the road leading to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace, security, cooperation and social progress.'[4] In line with these aims and with all participants concurring, the Conference decided on forms of solidarity corresponding to the present state of the European communist movement.

Concerning international comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity, the Conference states that the parties attending it would develop them 'on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs, and

respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism. The struggle of each party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility toward the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace.'[5]

This entitles us to make the following points in respect of the problem under discussion. First, the statement underlines the ideological basis of communist solidarity — the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin — and defines the standards of relations between parties. Second, it stresses the main and decisive thing in the activity of each communist party and in its class position, namely, the struggle for socialism. Third, it stresses the responsibility of each party for the socialist cause in the country concerned, its initiative and independent choice of the path to socialism. Fourth, it links this struggle to achieving both socialist and general democratic goals all over the world. These points are in harmony with our party's conception of proletarian internationalism even though its present-day content is not, of course, restricted to them. Hence to say that the Conference 'rose above' or 'overcame' the formula of proletarian internationalism means at the very least interpreting very loosely both the document adopted by the Conference and the positions of the participants, including the position of our party.

I do not consider the controversial issues I have discussed here as a hindrance to mutual understanding. What is controversial is the study of what A. Rubbi describes as 'still far from completed.' Changes in the world situation will continue to give rise to debates before they find reflection in theory. But we think it important in any debate not to lose common ground. And I want to stress that we see this common ground in the document approved by the Conference of European communists, in the realization of the need of the brother parties' solidarity and voluntary comradely cooperation in the struggle for peace, détente, democracy, national independence and socialism, of the need closely to link this struggle in our country with a similar struggle in other countries and regions. This is the main thing.

1. *Land og Folk,* June 30, 1976.
2. In the January and February issues of *WMR*.
3. cf. Statement of the 1960 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties; International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969.
4. 'For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe,' in: *WMR*, August 1976.
5. *Ibid*.

Social reality and the socialist ideal

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The clash of social ideals that has accompanied the entire history of class society continues today with mounting force. More, the battle between two social ideals — socialist and bourgeois — is becoming truly global in character, spreading to all spheres of human endeavor.

For all its dynamism and complexity, the general trend of this battle is leaning toward the socialist ideal which is gaining new ground, particularly among the younger generation in the capitalist and developing countries. This is due in many respects to the achievements of existing socialism, the direction and character of the home and foreign policies of the socialist countries and the many-faceted creative activities of Communist and Workers' parties. Socialism, built in a number of countries, has become, in a way, the *material base for the socialist social ideal.* At the same time, the growing influence of the socialist ideal throughout the world is objectively helping develop and consolidate existing socialism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is well aware of this when planning the strategy and tactics of its struggle against socialism. It is no secret that bourgeois ideologues have always and inevitably tried to discredit socialism with the most varied methods and approaches. Attempts are made to belittle and downgrade the achievements of socialist construction, to vulgarize and falsify the socialist ideal and to present the difficulties and shortcomings encountered in building socialism as well-nigh the law governing socialism. The bourgeois press has always tried to depict socialism as either a nightmare (in the spirit of Aldous Huxley's and George Orwell's anti-utopia),[1] or as an unattainable utopia. Today, this seems to point to our critics' intention of *'divorcing' the socialist ideal from existing socialism* and attempting to prove that supposedly the 'genuine' socialist ideal has nothing in common with existing socialism. This is due to both the growing appeal of the socialist ideal and the unpopularity of direct criticism of socialism from traditional private-ownership positions — bourgeois

mentality today seems to favor 'liberal' reformist ideas. Essentially this criticism does not change, and continues its efforts to force the masses away from the clear road of revolutionary struggle for socialism, obscure its goals, portraying the means of attaining these goals as indefinite and hazy.

Certain 'neo-Marxist' and 'left' critics of capitalism, motivated by other considerations, adhere to a position that is objectively close to this. Though they do not reject the socialist ideal, they campaign for a 'new society,' for 'genuine' socialism ('humane,' 'democratic,' 'with a human face,' etc.), placing the abstract ideal of their own construction *in opposition* to existing socialism. They dispute not only the idea of continuity in the development of the socialist ideal, but the very possibility of relying, in its embodiment, on the experience accumulated in the building of socialism. In 'An Essay on Liberation' Herbert Marcuse writes: '... The possibilities of the new society are sufficiently "abstract," i.e., removed from and incongruous with the established universe to defy any attempt to identify them in terms of this universe.'[2] 'To restore its full meaning to the concept of socialist ethics,' writes the French philosopher Maximilien Rubel, 'let us add that socialism is either consciousness of Utopia, or it is nothing.'[3]

So, from many sides and differing positions, it is suggested that the adherents of the socialist (communist) ideal start from the beginning. Let us not believe anyone or anything, they are admonished, let us start from scratch and create everything.

This prompts us to turn directly to the question of the nature of the socialist social ideal, its ties with social reality, first of all with existing socialism.

In the early years of their cooperation the founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, wrote in *The German Ideology:* 'Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality (will) have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things.'

Is this a sign of a nihilistic approach by the founders of Marxism to the socialist and communist social ideal? Certainly not. An attentive reader of Marxist classics will find in this and their other works the thought that from the viewpoint of materialistic conception of history, human activity, because it has a definite purpose, is precisely *activity in the name of an ideal and in accordance with an ideal.* Hence the recognition of the essential role played in the history of social development by the social, primarily socialist, ideal, best developed in the pre-Marxian period by utopian socialism. It is not accidental that the latter served as one of the theoretical sources of Marxism. What the founders of scientific communism did reject were attempts to

picture socialism (communism) not as an existing historical necessity emerging from the contradictions of capitalist society (from the 'real movement'), but as an abstract ideal growing out of the equally abstract 'human nature' and its 'absolute freedom.' In other words, Marx and Engels rejected the interpretation of a social ideal in terms of idealistic philosophy, and its treatment of the nature of the ties between the ideal and social reality.[4]

Marx and Engels broke radically with the preceding tradition of speculative construction of the ideal as an abstract, out-of-time *perfection,* a desired social *limit* and, consequently, a moral and political imperative. Possibly, such a 'heavenly' ideal is good, but it is more important for it to be 'earthly,' their deliberations on this subject suggest. For this, however, the social ideal must not only express the real requirements that have matured within society and are understood by a part of society, it must also correspond to the objective, natural tendency of social development. In other words, the social ideal is 'earthly' and effective when it is 'deduced' not from the philosopher's mind, even though it may be an excellent mind, but from the real historical movement of society itself. This is the image of the *necessary* future, emerging as a result of resolving the contradictions of the given society.

The Marxist socialist ideal is the result of an analysis of the practice of social struggle, of the contradictions inherent in capitalist society. Lenin stressed: 'There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a "new" society. No, he studied the *birth* of the new society *out of* the old . . . as a natural-historical process' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 425). Such is the first fundamental distinction of the Marxist interpretation of the social ideal from all preceding ones, following logically from the materialistic interpretation of history.

The second distinction is connected with a dialectical understanding of the ideal or, to be more exact, of its 'life,' its functioning in society. Socialism is not something immutable, something given once and for all; 'it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change' wrote Engels (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works,* Vol. 3, p. 485). The socialist ideal *develops* with the social reality which gives birth to it and 'nourishes' it, with the revolutionary forces which impart to it a deeper and richer meaning as it is being materialized. The rate and extent to which the socialist ideal is developed and directly dependent on both the level attained by society as it starts its progress toward socialism (communism), and the circumstances in which the ideal is being materialized.

These features, we believe, distinguish the scientifically grounded and practically verified ideal from any utopian or speculative scheme.

But, supposing for a minute that we agree with those who, for one reason or another, insist that existing scientific theory and experience be disregarded, that we start from the beginning.

What can be achieved by starting from zero, so to say? One of two things. If, starting from scratch, we nevertheless decide to construct the ideal we are seeking, on the basis of the objective tendencies of social development, on a scientific basis, we shall inevitably arrive at that very same Marxist socialist ideal which we first attempted to discard. If we wished, however, to construct an arbitrary ideal of an 'omni-blessed' society, while ignoring these objective tendencies and the experience of existing socialism, we would return to utopia, to utopian socialism.

That apparently is exactly what many of those who insist that we 'start from zero' want to achieve.

For this reason we believe it important to determine what the philosophers and sociologists who laud utopia are aiming at. Do they merely wish to demonstrate the significance of creative imagination, supposing that utopia is the most fertile ground for this? Do they intend making the utopian approach the basic principle of social cognizance and action, replacing science with utopia? Or, lastly, do they want, without replacing scientific socialism with utopian socialism, to stress the importance of social utopia as an element of socialist culture? There are substantial differences between these three approaches.

It is one thing when the role is stressed of the 'utopian moment,' of 'utopia' in socio-political creativity as a reminder that it is the duty of a Marxist revolutionary, at every new stage of historical development, to critically examine anew the boundaries separating the 'utopian' from the 'real.' Such critical re-examination is really necessary because the boundaries between the 'possible' and the 'impossible' are historically preconditioned and, therefore, mobile. In conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, when the rate of social change increases sharply, the mobility of these boundaries also increases. However, this does not receive immediate, adequate response in the social consciousness and, therefore, it is the task of Marxist revolutionaries to discern the outlines of the future in the present and to see how, in the course of the historical process, the real possibilities, maturing in the depths of existing society, could be fulfilled. Such is the course for a communist who constructs his ideal and strives to have it materialized, correlating the existing situation with the perspective of socio-historical development and the Marxist social ideal.

Of course, this ideal may prove impossible in certain conditions and be a utopia *in relation to them*. For example, *immediate* socialist

transformations in a country where conditions are not ripe and where there is no revolutionary situation, is utopia. However, if it means that this country's revolutionary forces should proceed in their socio-critical activities not only from a socio-political status quo and the need to fight merely for the working people's immediate demands but also from the prospects of historical development, from the socialist ideal as the *strategic* goal of their struggle, then, in this case, there seem to be no serious grounds for theoretical controversy.

It is quite a different matter when we are asked to make utopianism the underlying principle in determining our revolutionary aims and, abstracting ourselves from social reality, take for our starting point the aim we wish to attain and then backtrack to work out the ways and means of its attainment. But history is not mathematics; 'calculating' the path to our goal without consideration of concrete political and social conditions is just as dangerous as disregarding the lessons of experience.

Philosophers who sincerely expect great results from the 're-utopianization' of socialism are unwitting captives to the old delusion that breaking out of the 'tight' framework of science and choosing instead arbitrary, 'free' designing and practical implementation of social ideals will, in the end, produce a more perfect, freer and happier society. Such utopian ideals might, of course, look attractive, especially in the eyes of the oppressed masses. But centuries of history have shown that they are attainable only to the extent that they coincide with the real direction and results of the dialectical synthesis of social contradictions. And conversely, the nearer they come to the 'absolute' ideal, and the more arbitrary the imagination that produced them, the less chance do they stand of being translated into practice. Incidentally, both Fichte and Kant were fully aware of that and considered the utopian ideal as such *unattainable on principle*. But this was of no great importance for Kant who valued the utopian ideal primarily as a moral imperative. 'Though this perfect system will never come to be,' he reasoned in the *Critique of Pure Reason,* 'we must nevertheless accept the idea that takes this maximum as a prototype and, guided by it, works toward all possible perfection of the rational social system.'

But what is permissible for the speculative philosopher holding aloof from practice is not, in our view, permissible for the materialist philosopher who wants to devise a practical, socialist-oriented ideal, nor for the revolutionary politician who wants to bring that ideal to reality. All the more so, if they represent a political — let alone ruling — party responsible to its class, its people and working people in other countries.

True, history knows of instances when utopia became an active

material-practical force capable of mobilizing the masses by some slogan or program that appealed to them and determined, for some period, the policy of the class, or even the direction of the country's development. But sooner or later attempts immediately to put into practice ideals that are at odds with the objective trends of social development ended in failure and the ideals themselves were distorted.

That is why the Communist and Workers' parties have always combated utopianism within their ranks, irrespective of the forms it assumed.

As for utopian socialism as an independent ideological and political trend, its role in present-day conditions, too, is determined by the proposition enunciated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto:* 'The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification.'

From this it follows that, in the present historical setting, utopian socialist doctrines can play a certain positive political role only to the extent that they gain currency among a part of the non-proletarian mass, with its immature class consciousness and because of its position (at this stage), not having risen yet to the level of scientific socialism. This applies in particular, as several Marxist researchers have pointed out, to some of less developed countries.[5] But even in these cases the role of socialist utopia can be positive only to the extent that it proves capable of subsequently leading the masses to scientific socialism.

The Marxists' critical attitude to re-utopianization of the socialist ideal, the substitution of an abstract, speculative scheme for the scientifically tested ideal, does not, however, mean that social utopia has no right of existence as an integrating element of socialist culture. In the spiritual life of society utopia performs a specific cognitive function.[6] It expresses man's notion of what he and the world he lives in could be like under circumstances which cannot now be the subject of scientific investigation. Utopia performs the function of 'exploring the limits of the possible' (as applied to society as a whole and its various institutions) and formulating judgment criteria. This form of cognition could be of appreciable assistance in scientific investigation of the picture of the world and in the scientific elaboration of the social ideal. However, deliberately rejecting delineation of the scientific from the utopian elements, let alone attempts to 'inject' utopia into the political practice of the working class by 'violating' history — can negatively affect the course of social development.

Regrettably, there have been such cases. That is why appeals to re-utopianize socialism, substitute utopia for science, ignore the differences between utopia and our ideals cannot, in our opinion, prove fruitful.

Scientific socialism proceeds from reality and always presupposes creative endeavor in theory and practice. Disclosing prerequisites of the new within the old, discovering possible paths of transition to the new and, lastly, visualizing (on the basis of analysis of phenomena and processes) the outlines of the future society, synthesized in the social ideal — without this social revolution, let alone socialist revolution, is inconceivable. And this, in turn, is inconceivable without creative social imagination. We should dream, Lenin urged the Russian revolutionaries, but we should also know how to dream. To explain his thoughts, Lenin turned to the renowned 19th century Russian literary crisis D.I. Pisarev, emphasizing his idea of the benefit of a dream that runs ahead of events, but is closely linked with life.[7] 'Of this kind of dreaming there is unfortunately too little in our movement. And the people most responsible for this are those who boast of their sober view, their "closeness" to the "concrete," the representatives of legal criticism and of illegal "tail-ism"' (Vol. 5, p. 510).

Lenin's appeal to dream, to creative imagination, is just as pertinent today as when it was first made in the early 1900s. For socialist revolution, taken in the totality of its political and socio-economic changes, makes special demands on the subject of revolutionary action, his consciousness and culture. Lenin's appeal has a topical relevance also in capitalist society, where the ruling class sees one of its key social aims in 'taming' the imagination of the working people, depriving it of its revolutionary-critical character and making it purely 'reproductive,' i.e., oriented on the achievement of social values and the search for ideals that would not carry the individual beyond the framework of bourgeois civilization. We should not, of course, exaggerate the achievements of bourgeois ideology in patterning a 'one-dimensional' consciousness, nor its ability to 'integrate' the working class in the capitalist system. But neither should we underestimate its persistent efforts toward that goal.[8] Marxist-Leninists are well aware that creative imagination can be an effective instrument of social-revolutionary activity only if it is inculcated in the *broadest masses of the working people*. And in application to socialist revolution, this is a law.

And so, each new generation of revolutionary Marxists is called upon, in our opinion, to accomplish two interconnected tasks: first, to analyze, using Marxist methodology, the tendencies and perspectives of the development of the existing society, revealing the new social

requirements and thus taking a step forward in elaborating and concretizing the socialist ideal. Second, actively to facilitate the formation of revolutionary mass consciousness capable of assimilating this ideal and using it as a guide in all social and political activity.

But what social reality should we now take as our starting point in charting the outlines of the scientifically envisioned future? For the utopian, who builds with scant thought to the roots of the edifice, this question is of no essential importance. For the Marxist-Leninist, however — and this follows from all that has been said — it is, in the final analysis, the main question, for it concerns the content and historical substantiation of the ideal.

As formulated in its main features, by Marx and Engels, the socialist (communist) social ideal was crystallized as the result of the dialectical synthesis of the contradictions of the capitalist society of their time, the most advanced society of the 19th century. In the present historical era, however, the social reality that determines the content of the maturing socialist ideal is much more complex.

Of course, today, too, capitalism is part of social reality, which is the very basis for elaborating the socialist ideal. In what sense? First, contemporary capitalist society retains the 'old' and produces new contradictions and problems. Socialism cannot be achieved without their revolutionary resolution. Critical analysis of these contradictions remains the sine qua non of further elaboration of the socialist ideal. Second, revolutionary forces are at work within contemporary capitalist society, and their practical experience and theoretical activity contribute to a more profound vision of the future socialist and communist society.

But in our age we cannot afford — unless we ignore the comprehensive approach, which alone can assure the further elaboration of the socialist ideal in its entirety — to disregard analysis of historical experience, the achievements of existing socialism and its problems and contradictions, and the theoretical research of Marxist-Leninists in the socialist countries. For it is precisely in these countries that the socialist ideal has acquired visible features in the form of public property of the means of production and working people's power. It is precisely in these countries that the socialist ideal was the basis for the formation of the existing socialist working class, the socialist collective-farm peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, i.e., the forces capable of, and prepared to, develop and enrich that ideal.

Living socialism does not assert itself through spontaneous processes, but is consciously built by the popular masses under the leadership of the communist parties and on the basis of cognition and utilization of socialism's objective development laws. Concrete struggle for our ideal removes the social barriers to scientific, technical,

economic and social progress, eliminates economic crises and unemployment, national discord, opens broad vistas to the advance of science and culture, brings them within the reach of the popular masses, and provides the conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

When we speak of existing socialism as the embodiment of the social ideal we do not equate it with the socialist ideal. First, because the socialist society of today is but the first phase of communism, a stage on the road to our goal. Besides, so that social undertaking should reach its aim, it must draw on understanding of the objective dialectics of social processes, and here a substantial role is played by the process of rational (indirect) cognition. Communists are aware that the realization of each of the aims they set necessarily presupposes developing definite rationally cognized links. Their utilization causes a natural chain of consequences and, simultaneously, complex problems, but the decisive question is whether this chain can help (and how) in attaining the socialist goals and consolidating the forces which are the bearers of the socialist ideal. The firmer the foundation the communist movement acquires in the struggle for its aims, the more frequently the bourgeoisie has recourse to attacks on the means of attaining the socialist ideal. This has now become part and parcel of the strategy employed by the ideologues of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against socialist ideology. Indeed, as Hegel put it in the *Phenomenology of Mind,* their 'impatience requires the impossible, namely, the attainment of the aim without turning of the means.'

Lastly, as indicated above, the communist ideal itself changes and is enriched in the development process of contemporary society. In other words, its realization (as the course of human history itself) proceeds through an ascendant process. The experience of socialist construction in one country cannot be fully elevated to the 'rank of ideal,' or equated with the ideal, but it is just as fallacious to contrast the socialist ideal to existing socialism, or to fail to see in the life of the socialist community the basic traits and regularities of the society whose emergence was scientifically prognosticated by the Marxist-Leninist classics.

Only an 'absolutist,' ivory-tower philosopher is likely to contrast the socialist ideal to what has already been achieved in translating it into practice. For such a philosopher has not the vaguest notion of how great social ideals are brought to reality here, on our earth. That contrast might be made also by the ideologist who deliberately exploits the concept of 'ideal' to combat existing socialism. And this, in our view, raises still another important question.

We all know Marx's thought that even the most abstract universal

categories can have real significance, but only in concrete historical conditions. That is doubly true of the socialist ideal. The concept of socialism undergoes change in the conditions of the given country, acquires a definite content, determined by the reality of that country's culture, traditions and socio-economic development. But that should not be taken to mean that such changes do away with the great richness of this concept, which reflects the essential features of the given social formation, features that distinguish it from all other social formations.

The concrete experience, life and practice of the socialist countries are, so far, our only criteria of the correctness of the theory of scientific socialism; history has not given us any other opportunity to test our ideal against reality. Tested by revolutionary practice, scientific socialism has become a powerful weapon of the working class, of all working people, in the struggle to build the new socialist and communist society.

1. See Aldous Huxley *Brave New World*. New York-London 1932; George Orwell, *Animal Farm*. London 1945, and *1984*. London 1949.

2. Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation*. London 1969, p. 86.

3. *Socialist Humanism*. Ed. by Erich Fromm. New York 1965, p. 199.

4. In pre-Marxist bourgeois philosophy the problem of the ideal was best elaborated by German classical philosophy, starting with Kant and Fichte and then by Hegel. In the Kant-Fichtean tradition the ideal was interpreted as being a certain static condition of perfection based on the complete abolition of social contradictions. By this approach, the ideal, a product of speculation, was attainable only in the imagination, becoming a moral imperative and, therefore, identical with utopia. Hegel understood this and proved that a social ideal formulated in this manner is but an expression of the objective helplessness of the subject. For Hegel the basis for the formation and establishment of the ideal was not in negation, not in a mythical overcoming of social contradictions, but in their dialectical synthesis. However, Hegel's speculative identification of the rational and the empirical, his faith in self-development of the spirit made it possible to comprehend the social ideal as an expression and, at the same time, an instrument of society's revolutionary transformation. Hegel was unable to form a clear picture of the real social nature of the ideal, for this required a materialistic understanding of history, something that was made possible only with the emergence of Marxism.

5. See R.A. Ulyanovsky, *Socialism and the Liberated Countries*. Moscow, 1972, pp. 535-36.

6. This is discussed, for instance, by the British Marxist historian A.L. Morton in his *The Matter of Britain*. Morton first put his views at an international symposium arranged by this journal. See 'What future awaits mankind?.' Prague, 1964.

7. 'My dream,' Lenin quotes Pisarev, 'may run ahead of the natural march of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction in which no natural march of events will ever proceed. In the first case my dream will not cause any harm; it may even support and augment the energy of the working men ... If man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are only just beginning to lend shape, then I cannot at all imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science, and practical endeavor ... If there is some connection between dreams and life then all is well.' (Vol. 5, pp. 509-10).

8. For instance, in our days, too, the ideologues of capitalism try to represent the revolutionary demands of the working class merely as unjustified, senseless radicalism because, as Daniel Bell, quite a notorious author puts it in his latest work, 'the real problems arise the "day after the revolution," when the mundane world again intrudes upon consciousness' (D. Bell. *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. London, 1976, p. 29). In this case bourgeois ideologues deliberately speculate on replacing problems of one level, whose solution is sought by the masses immediately at the time of the revolution when the question of power is being decided, with problems of a different level and content, which are, of course, no less complex and difficult and which arise in the process of *building* the foundations of the new society.

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viewpoints

The struggle is only beginning

Maria Alda Nogeira
CC member, Portuguese CP

International Women's Day, March 8th, symbolizes the unity and solidarity of working women throughout the world in the fight for the ideals of peace, democracy and social progress.

This article is about one contingent of the international women's movement. Many Portuguese women have given the best years of their lives to the battle against fascism and are today in the front ranks of the new Portugal's democratic forces. Some deserve to be described as heroines. That fully applies to the author of this article. When she was nominated to the Central Committee at the party's Eighth Congress in November 1976, all that had to be said of her was: 'Secondary school teacher, age 52, member of the party for 35 years, alternate member of its Central Committee for 19 years, spent nine years in prison.'

In 1934, 3,000 women of Barreiru, a working-class area, demonstrated for the release of political prisoners. Unprecedented for scale and militancy, the demonstration became a landmark in the women's revolutionary movement, which continues to play an outstanding part in the struggle of our party, the working class and the people against fascism, for democracy and Portugal's advance to socialism.

Portuguese women did not lack stamina and courage in the harsh years of fascist oppression. In the Salazar and Caetano years, membership in the Communist Party, even interest in the life of the socialist countries, or protests against the colonial war, or participation in strike actions, were punishable by years behind bars.

Side by side with the men, our women prepared the revolutionary events of April 25, 1974. On the eve of the revolution, thousands of women from the textile mills, garment shops, electronic and other factories were joined by peasant women and farm laborers in a series of political demonstrations, rallies, strikes and other mass actions. The Eighth Communist Party Congress paid homage to their activity in its resolution: 'The women's struggle strengthened the forces

ranged against the dictatorship, regardless of whether they were fighting for better conditions, higher wages, or to mobilize public opinion against the colonial war, soaring living costs, for peace, disarmament and against fascist repression.'

And now, looking back on the events after April 25, we have every right to say that without the women's active and mass participation, the revolutionary process in Portugal would have developed at a slower pace. It would have been impossible to transform, in so short a time, the country's political, economic and social life, achieve truly historic gains and uphold them against reactionary attacks, notably in September 1974 and March 1975. The political impact of the women's revolutionary-democratic movement found cogent expression in the election of most of the left-wing deputies to the Constituent Assembly and the Assembly of the Republic. As our party General Secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, has emphasized, the active and mass participation of women has been a major factor in carrying forward the revolutionary process after April 25.

The revolution awakened our women to political activity, gave them a bigger share in the democratic movements and mass actions to build the new Portugal. It also considerably improved their social position, particularly in industry. In the past, 82.5 per cent of all employed women were earning less than the present minimum, now their wages have been raised and they also enjoy a number of privileges.

However, these partial improvements are no substitute for solution of the overall question of woman's place in society. The revolution put that question squarely before the country and it was the subject of a spirited discussion in framing the new constitution.

The communists have always followed a clear policy on this question, worked out by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and enriched by the experience of existing socialism. The communists have consistently opposed discrimination and inequality and have just as consistently worked for women's social emancipation and their active part in the life of society. These views have won wide support among our people and have become the basis for joint action with other socialist-oriented parties and trends.

The efforts of communist deputies of the Constitution Assembly, their voting together with the socialist deputies, brought into the constitution articles that put an end to discrimination against women and granted them equality with men. For one thing, they are entitled to equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunities and skill training. There is also full equality in the family and society.

All these anti-discrimination principles and rights set out in the republic's constitution are one of the biggest gains of our revolution.

Moreover, the constitution is itself an important means of intensifying the struggle of our working women, professionals and housewives to put these constitutional provisions and principles into practice. The reactionary forces and capitalist employers are, naturally, against that: now as in the past, women workers are the first to be fired when a recession sets in.

But it also has to be acknowledged that some of the old prejudices and inadequate appreciation of factual full equality for the continued development of the revolutionary process still have to be overcome among the democratic forces too.

The Eighth Communist Party Congress was an event of historical importance. Among the many problems it discussed was the women's question and ways of resolving it.

The party's policy is clearly set out in the Congress resolutions. One of them says that as things stand today, women are still discriminated against. This restricts the people's revolutionary potential and militates against bringing additional forces into the building of the new Portugal. One of the Communist Party's basic aims is to end this unequal and unjust attitude to women, their inferior position in society and the social conditions that prevent them from applying all their abilities in industry and public life.

The Congress decisions also emphasize the need to provide conditions that would ease the lot of working women and housewives, enabling them more systematically to share in the work of organizations upholding their rights and interests and promoting the more general aims of the Portuguese revolution.

In pursuance of these aims, the Congress drew up a number of measures (we call them 'high-time measures') designed fundamentally to change the conditions of women, especially of working women, so that they could enjoy factual equality at work and in the home, have more free time, and take a more active part in political, social and economic life. This is what the congress resolved on this question: 'The interests of women must be upheld in practice through continued abolition of the still existing numerous economic and social discriminatory measures. The most pressing demand today is mother and child care, day nurseries, kindergartens, canteens, laundries, legally guaranteed maternity leave, etc. This requires joint measures by the state and public organizations.'

But women's social emancipation does not end at that. We know only too well from the history of the women's movement and from the experience of the socialist countries that full emancipation is achievable only if women are given a share in social production. That alone can help overcome the difficulties, conventionalities and barriers

preventing women from applying their abilities as equal members of society.

In this respect, the present socio-economic situation in Portugal is far from satisfactory. We have the lowest percentage of working women in capitalist Europe — 25 per cent of the economically active population and only 18.5 per cent of the female population. It is very hard to increase these figures because of the economic crisis.

Portugal's catastrophic economic condition during the fascist dictatorship was further aggravated after April 25 by the sabotage of the big national bourgeoisie and the imperialist monopolies. There was an acute financial crisis. Production was declining, with mass layoffs in industry and the services. And though women make up less than a quarter of the economically active population, they account for about half of all the layoffs.

Our party attaches special importance to organizing the women's movement and its political activization. Thousands of women are displaying a keen interest in politics and a keen desire to be involved in developing the democratic aims of the revolution and in directing the country along the socialist road. But organizing them is no simple matter. About 830,000 women work outside the home, and more than two million are housewives, who, as a rule, are not associated with the trade union movement or mass organizations. Naturally, this complicates political work among them. That is why the Eighth Congress urged party collectives and party members to 'devote more attention to organizing and mobilizing women, the aim being to overcome still existing difficulties, prejudices and discrimination, which are holding back participation of working women and housewives in the social transformations at the present stage of the revolution.'

Attention was drawn to another aspect of the women's question. It is no secret, of course, that discrimination and unjust attitudes in relation to women find expression in the gaping disproportion between their revolutionary activity before and after April 25 and their appointment to responsible positions. This disproportion is being gradually eliminated, but not as fast as we would like. The task is to put more women into leading positions in industry, the trade unions, various political and public organizations.

This applies to our own party as well. There are thousands of women activists in its ranks. Many of them have been elected to local and national government bodies. Nevertheless the congress found that the number of women appointed to responsible party functions is not in proportion to their membership in the party. For instance, though they make up 17 per cent of party membership, less than 11 per cent of nominees to the party Central Committee were women. This is evidence, as many congress delegates emphasized, 'of serious

shortcomings in our work with women cadres, especially with women engaged in industry.'

We are especially anxious to bring more working women, peasants and housewives into the party. In fact, this is now our biggest source of recruitment and the number of women members is growing faster than general party membership. And yet the proportion of women in the party is still small. In various parts of the country the percentage is much higher. For instance in Cascaite near Lisbon it is 21.6 per cent. In other words, we have not tapped all our reserves and local party organizations must display more energy in bringing women into the work of building the new society.

The women's question in Portugal, we believe, is a national issue, a component part of the battle for democracy and for new social and political gains of the revolution. Accordingly, it concerns the whole of our party and should be discussed by its members along with other national issues. Given that approach, we can take new steps toward full emancipation of women, which will assure their greater participation in the revolutionary process. The forces of revolution will grow in strength and scope if more women work shoulder to shoulder with the men in defending, developing and strengthening our young democratic republic, which has chosen the road that opens up to it socialist perspectives.

The agricultural policy of the EEC

Emanuele Macaluso
Member of the ICP Leadership

The Statement adopted by the Conference of Communist Parties of capitalist Europe (May 1975) stressed that the policy of the Common Market, instead of promoting agriculture, making it more profitable, improving the farmers' standard of life and serving as a guarantee for consumers and hence for all working people, has engendered and aggravated all the negative phenomena underlying the current crisis. First of all, it spurred inflation, especially in some European countries.

The Statement also said that although the communist parties were operating in dissimilar conditions, 'a common answer to the policy of monopoly economic integration can and must be found especially through joint action for solutions corresponding to the interests of all

the peoples of capitalist Europe and for genuinely democratic European cooperation.'

The past year has seen important changes in almost all EEC countries. A new political situation is shaping under the impact of some of these changes. The most revealing fact is, of course, the decisive swing to the left in Italy, as the June 1976 elections showed. Indeed, their outcome at parliamentary and government level marked the beginning of a new political stage and this is bound to have its effect on the struggle for new paths in EEC policy. In France, the political crisis is worsening in the wake of the left gains in cantonal elections, and as for Giscard d'Estaing's home policy strategy, it has failed. The result is discord among the majority and the formation of the Barre cabinet. In Britain the Labor government is faced with serious difficulties. In West Germany it was all the coalition could do to survive the last elections.

The economic situation is still less certain. In spite of signs of an upturn, which, incidentally, varies from country to country, the basic problems — unemployment and inflation — are as acute as ever, though they manifest themselves differently in different conditions. The West German economy is inching up, at least now, whereas Britain remains, in spite of minor improvements, the 'great sick man' of the capitalist economy, along with Italy. In France the rate of economic growth slowed down considerably after the sharp upswing in the autumn and winter of 1975.

In this climate of general economic instability, increasing dependence on the United States is a heavy burden on Western Europe. EEC foreign policy has lately become more contradictory than before. The cumulative effects of the economic crisis and the lack in the Nine of means to eliminate them, as well as disunity over aims have objectively made for still heavier dependence on the USA. Re-emerging U.S. hegemony shows only too plainly that the Europe of the Common Market has no political future. This has seriously undermined EEC efforts to protect itself on monetary and financial issues by seeking direct agreement with the developing countries.

But what has yielded even more meager results is, undoubtedly, the agrarian policy efforts of the Community's leading groups. They have rejected all plans aimed at genuine reform and emphasize the need to meet traditional corporate interests. The monopoly groups producing for export are the only ones to have emerged unscathed from the 1973-74 crisis.

A new crisis is in evidence in the dairy industry: a million cows have been slaughtered, there is a stockpile of 1.3 million tons of powdered milk, soybeans are imported from the U.S. without any plan whatever and in growing quantities. The EEC's ill-advised ag-

ricultural policy has disastrous social and economic consequences. They may be described as wasting and destroying farm produce, affording absurd privileges and advantages to big producers and big trading companies and making most producers uncertain of being able to sell their output at a profit. It is a policy leading to unemployment in the countryside, a crisis in peasant farming, and a high cost of living that hits consumers and taxpayers. Today it is a most serious cause of imbalances in the EEC, of increasing inflation, disruption of international markets and subservience of the European economy to U.S. interests.

In fact, Western Europe has in recent years become more dependent on the world food market, primarily the U.S. market. In 1975, trade with the U.S. left the EEC with a deficit exceeding $6,000m., of which $4,500m. was accounted for by agricultural imports. And whereas U.S. penetration into the West European market is intensifying (soybean exports, for instance, have increased tenfold and stand at 2.6 million tons now), a rigid system of import quotas makes it harder and harder for European products to reach overseas markets. The U.S. does not hesitate to use its dominant position as a means of imposing its terms on the world economy.

Agricultural and food problems have acquired decisive importance. They involve both the satisfaction of food requirements and international relations generally. This is why agriculture must become the main lever in the common social and economic development strategy of Western Europe and the basis on which the Nine could play a different political role toward the developing countries, the U.S. and the socialist world. It also explains why Western Europe cannot build its agricultural policy on the principles of a geographically restricted group.

To solve the problems of agriculture is also most important economically. The evolution and difficulties of agricultural production due to the transition from the stage of 'surpluses' to food shortages throughout the world have lately told on the prices of farm products. This shows that the lack of adequate supplies and the profiteering encouraged by it have become a decisive factor for inflation. After all, unrestrained increases in the prices of agricultural staples began a year before the oil crisis.

The foregoing implies, in our view, that a thorough revision of EEC agrarian policy affecting the principles of agricultural production and the very model of its development, shaped in the 60s, brooks no delay. When the EEC conference in Stresa, Italy, was laying the groundwork for its agrarian policy, the world economic situation was entirely different from today's. An ample reserve of cheap labor, a power industry based largely on the countries' own resources (in the

late 50s this basis was still mainly coal), a very limited home market and the availability of free, investable capital, first of all U.S. capital, dictated a development strategy giving an unqualified priority to the manufacturing industry, so that its output might be exported to developing countries in exchange for raw materials and food products. Such a strategy pushes the agricultural sector into the background, of course. At best, support is given to the strongest and most viable part of it, whose development meets the European partners' common aspirations and means bigger profits.

The present task of bringing about a change of policy arises from something more than the need to make up speedily for the damage caused by the anarchic development of the agricultural sector. It is also necessitated by an entirely different economic situation, for the deepening general crisis of capitalism, inflation and unemployment have altered the conditions and possibilities of obtaining raw materials, energy and low-interest capital. What is needed today is a different type of development changing the role of agriculture.

Agriculture is gaining in importance all over the world as demand for wheat, maize, soya beans, meat and other products grows. Its relationship with other economic fields is changing in the sense that growing agricultural production is becoming an essential condition for overall economic progress, specifically in industry. As a matter of fact, it is very important to build up stocks of farm produce so as both to meet the food requirements of millions in Europe and elsewhere and bring into being a new system of political and economic relations (provided the needs of the developing countries are met), which would ultimately foster industrial progress as well.

But the nature of the economic revival in evidence in some West European and other countries suggests that under the pressure of big capital, both international and domestic, emphasis is again laid on a type of development aimed primarily at restructuring certain industries. In short, agriculture is assigned a secondary and subordinate role once again.

In the context of the Common Market's agricultural policy, this means, in effect, renouncing all reform and keeping a system which makes for increasing protectionism, still more uneven development of the EEC countries and class inequality. The desire for talks to revise the Community's agricultural policy — a desire expressed by some countries (before the autumn of 1975, anyway) — is apparently giving way to discussion of minor changes that cannot remove today's serious shortcomings, not even for a short time. The situation has deteriorated so greatly that there is no more point in speaking of a common agricultural policy. Compensational prices and monetary fluctuations have destroyed the foundations of this policy to such an

extent that the leading EEC bodies hardly resist any longer measures adopted at national level, without coordination with other countries, and hence worsening the overall situation.

We consider that it is now possible to step up the campaign for a revision of the common agricultural policy pursued so far and that this should be done within the framework of more extensive measures designed to change the character of West European integration. This change should help to solve problems of developing agriculture on a comprehensive and balanced basis, remunerating the labor of farmers and agricultural workers and guaranteeing fair prices for consumer goods with due regard to quality and quantity. What makes it easier for the EEC to reshape its agricultural policy is that this is an objective requirement of the general economic situation, which is unstable in spite of signs of an upward trend in this or that country. This is also necessary because the consumer is unhappy about the mounting cost of living, the increased stockpile of 'surpluses,' frequent instances of their destruction and the growing expenditures of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund, and because the farmers and agricultural workers are dissatisfied, having no guarantees of earning a stable income or selling their output.

We believe joint action to force a radical revision of the Community's agricultural policy should be directed primarily against current methods of leadership. These methods, chosen under pressure from the big manufacturers and, above all, in the interest of big multinational capital, result in contradictory and absurd solutions. Therefore it is very important, in our view, to campaign for the Community adopting a principle of programming measures based on constant and public confrontation of opinions between the EEC authorities and member countries, as well as between these authorities, the European Parliament and diverse social forces. This would make it possible to coordinate at European level the major tasks which the member states would subsequently have to accomplish, specifying or amending them in line with their national conditions. It is the only way really to take account of available natural and manpower resources and use them according to local possibilities and with due regard to the evolution of the world food market. What we mean is, in effect, the necessity for an agrarian and food program that would lay down objectives and lines combining national regulation with EEC interests. In other words, goals in keeping with the interests of the working people and agricultural producers of the whole of Western Europe and not with the interests of the multinationals.

Hence, we think there is a need for deep-going organizational changes in the Community, or rather new relations between the EEC and its individual members, between the Community and various

social forces. It is highly important, as we see it, to set about democratizing EEC institutions and legislative bodies. This would help to eliminate today's bureaucratic centralization and evolve new methods of control and participation by parliaments and national social forces in framing and implementing EEC policy. New legislative bodies would be established in the process to allow the member states to pursue common goals through measures meeting national economic needs and taking account of national conditions. After all, economic distinctions today are greater than ever. This is a result of uneven development due, in turn, to the lopsided process of West European integration.

It is only in this way, by substantially democratizing Western Europe (which would mean full control by national parliaments, producers, consumers and the working people generally), that resistance can be put up to the multinational companies and the corporate interests of the more powerful agricultural groups, which still impose various unilateral solutions on the EEC and are exempt from all national control.

A common, democratically drafted program and a global strategy taking into account national interests are the basis on which the main development lines of the agriculture of the Nine can be determined, meaning also the specification of price and structural policy objectives and the distribution of regional funds. In the absence of a common program, market regulation increases production anarchy to the detriment of consumers and producers alike. The policy pursued so far has meant encouraging grain and dairy farms (70 per cent of EEC funds are earmarked for this purpose). But this adds to the production potential of the most-favored regions and most competitive farms. At the same time, farms producing Mediterranean crops (and denied all protection), as well as the less profitable grain and livestock farms are declining. This is the case in both Italy and more developed countries. Production concentration on the most viable farms has made them more efficient, but the quantity of output per capita has not been growing at an adequate rate in spite of huge appropriations. Such is the logic of stimulating productivity only on some of the farms; it has weakened the whole system of agricultural production. Besides, the Community's price mechanism has always and everywhere profited the owners of output and not those who produce it. Consequently, the task is to alter this mechanism in a way making it possible to fix prices according to the lowest cost price and meeting at the same time the requirements of farms where production entails greater outlays, through additional forms of income and differentiated stimulation of production. The aim should be to enable the weakest farms, which are capable of modernization none the less, to effect requisite changes

guaranteeing appropriate income levels. On the other hand, it should consist, in addition to price policy, in encouraging the development of unprofitable branches according to plan or the re-establishment of the balance in branches showing structural contradictions.

The need is for a policy promoting technological renewal of the agricultural, trade and industrial structures of West European countries and the removal of major obstacles of a parasitical nature, such as exist in Italy. Furthermore, by organizing cooperation among the Mediterranean countries, a proper counterweight can be set up against the domination of the multinationals and the stronger groups of agricultural producers of Northern Europe, which have resorted to protectionism to safeguard their own production of certain items.

Going back to the more general problem of a new EEC agricultural policy, we must stress that the Community needs, in effect, a policy not injuring the less developed regions or weaker social strata, but establishing an equilibrium and maintaining the level achieved in the regions where production is more developed, while fostering production and consumption at a higher social level in regions now regarded as secondary.

No tangible results can be expected from a structural policy, either, unless the price-fixing mechanism is thoroughly changed. With the present trend of market policy, very few farms could make up — due to changes and improvements within their own framework — for what they lose through this policy. This does not eliminate the necessity for a new structural policy aimed at using the entire agricultural work force, developing virgin and inadequately cultivated lands, improving the infrastructure and protecting the environment, that is, a policy intended to provide in rural areas living and working conditions that would help to remove existing distinctions between urban and rural areas in incomes and in cultural and social conditions. This would make it possible, among other things, to bring young people, on whom the future of West European farming depends, to the countryside, or to induce young people to stay on the farms.

On the other hand, changes in market policy and extension of the range of structural policy will bear no fruit unless the central political issue, which links the very model of development to struggle against the big multinational companies, is settled. We mean the issue of relations between agriculture and the industries manufacturing machinery and those putting out food products.

Many of those who critically analyze EEC activity insist on counterposing price policy to structural policy. They point out that farm reconstruction, including its financial aspect, is regarded as a secondary matter and that this is one of the main causes of uneven development. While this is true, such an approach fails to put adequate

emphasis on the fact that the price policy has not produced the expected results, that is, structural changes. For measures in support of the market were devised not to protect the interests of agricultural producers and promote farming but to suit the requirements of large-scale manufacturing.

Consumers and producers today pay for a system using rigid and intricate regulation measures in agriculture and leaving relations between agriculture and industry to be shaped by contractual deals. Where there is neither control, nor intervention to prevent profiteering by multinationals, all proposals for the harmonious and planned development of the Community are likely to be useless, due in particular to the virtually unlimited opportunities for monetary stratagems widely used by these companies. It is perfectly obvious that this kind of control can only be exercised at supranational level. And this calls, first of all, for a thorough reshaping of EEC agencies in the sense of really democratizing them by extending the powers of the European Parliament, elected by universal suffrage. But we believe there is also an imperative need to step up the coordinated action of the working people and all democratic forces so as to stop the veritable plunder carried on by multinationals in common with big domestic capital in the countries where they are operating. This action is needed, furthermore, to establish new forms of production and social organization superior to those offered by capitalist development, and, on the other hand, to confirm the working people's ability to impose a development plan not expressing the interests of this or that group or category but genuine national needs and the demand for new relations between countries.

Accordingly, we consider it very important to achieve unity of diverse contingents of the left-wing and democratic forces, and united action by labor unions and peasant organizations willing to ascertain common points of view and search for effective means of achieving united action by the workers, peasants and all democrats of the country concerned on such issues as defining the national goals of a common economic policy.

It is also essential, we think, to establish the exact meaning of such a phenomenon as the penetration of multinational and domestic big capital into the agricultural and food sector. We must gain a clearer idea of the present structure of the West European food industry and the objectives and criteria it meets.

But, of course, a better understanding of the situation is not enough. The important thing is to fight for a new economic development policy encompassing all democrats and all the working people of town and countryside, for an agrarian and food policy that would be an alternative to monopoly expansion.

The old forms of parasitical mediation, like the fact that multinationals are allowed vast scope for action, are both a consequence and a cause of the weak and sometimes ineffective role of cooperative forms both in agriculture and among the consumers, as well as among independent workers who perform this or that operation in storing, processing or selling farm produce.

To bring about a policy of restructuring and developing agriculture, protecting the consumers' interests and finding an alternative to the growing domination of multinationals, it is necessary to encourage at EEC level a democratic cooperative movement in both trade and processing. This movement should be aimed at radically changing the present system, whose purpose is to facilitate penetration by multinationals and reduce the agricultural producer to the condition of a home-worker.

We consider that this new agrarian policy would fit into our struggle for the progress of détente and for peace in Europe and the world, into the struggle to impart a new content to West European integration. We are still faced with an integration process that began during the cold war and is subordinated to U.S. policy and prompted by the big monopolies. It cannot lead to constructive relations with the developing countries. We are against this type of integration, and not integration as such.

We have now joined in a struggle against the policy of the forces controlling the EEC. We seek a new policy and the promotion of new leading forces in every shpere.

We consider it necessary to establish constructive relations with the USA that are based on equality and independence. The need for special relations between the EEC and the USA, which arises from the system of alliances linking them and which we accept, should be no obstacle to resolutely defending West European interests against action by multinational companies or the U.S. rulers' policy of pressure and interference. Nor should these relations hinder the development of constructive relations with the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and the American continent itself. Our struggle should be based on refusing to revert to national autarky in any form and on programmed measures to further production and exchanges in and outside the EEC, measures safeguarding the interests of the peasants and consumers within the framework of West European and broader international cooperation. It is our view, therefore, that the central role of agriculture, the need for a European production program and a revision of price and structural policy on new, democratic and flexible institutional principles are all key aspects of our struggle to change the current process of integrating agrarian markets as an essential component of the broader process of economic integration.

The true face of Zionism

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Recent actions of international organizations and movements demonstrate the peoples' concern over the activities of world Zionism, which are now aggravating tensions on our planet and are more than ever furthering imperialist aims. Zionist leaders abet and largely determine the aggressive, expansionist policy of the government of Israel, and try to block détente. They carry on subversive activities against the world revolutionary movement and try to interfere in the affairs of various countries, both capitalist and socialist.

Zionism is a dangerous and complex phenomenon. This article deals with some aspects of the Zionist doctrine and attempts a political estimation of it. We also outline the history of the movement and its contemporary structure, try to show how Zionism translates itself into the policies of Israel's rulers, and point to certain manifestations of its crisis.

A bourgeois nationalist doctrine

Politically and ideologically, Zionism is the extreme right wing of Jewish bourgeois nationalism, closely linked with the monopoly capital of the imperialist powers. The main postulate of political Zionism is separatism, a trend counterposing Jews in any country to non-Jews. In line with it, the Zionists propound the idea that all Jews in the world form a separate nation — an idea described by Lenin as 'absolutely false and essentially reactionary.'[1]

Zionist leaders and theoreticians formulate their ideology as pan-Jewish, transcending class structure, and preach class peace in capitalist society. In competing with their non-Jewish counterparts in various countries, the Jewish bourgeoisie stressed at one time the idea of Jewish separation in order to monopolize the exploitation of Jewish wage labor. Although the integration of the Jewish bourgeoisie has advanced greatly in capitalist countries, they still use this method.

Zionist ideologues attempt to identify political Zionism with Judaism, with the various Jewish communities and with Israel and the

Israeli people. But as Israeli communists point out, 'Zionism must not be mixed up with the people of Israel or with the Jewish people,'[2] since most Jews are not Zionists. The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel emphasized that '. . . the Zionist movement was and remains one current only, and not even the dominant one, among the Jews of the world. This current expresses the class interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, which constitutes an inseparable part of the monopolist capital of the imperialist powers, and the interests of big Israeli capital connected with foreign capital — interests which contradict those of the great majority of Jews in the world,'[3] including those living in Israel.

The leaders of the Zionist movement affirm that the rationale for its existence is to defend Jews against anti-Semitism. Ignoring its capitalist class roots, they claim that anti-Semitism is universal, eternal and incorrigible.

It is true that anti-Semitism, imbued with the racist content which imperialism superimposed on its religious form, inherited from the Middle Ages, aided the Jewish bourgeoisie in developing Zionism as a political trend and an ideology. As far as their class and political nature is concerned, however, they are kindred phenomena, born out of and sustained by bourgeois nationalism in its — though different — extremist forms. In fact, the objectives of Zionism are identical with those of anti-Semitism: both aim at isolating Jews from non-Jews, maintaining among them a 'ghetto mentality.' Moreover, the Zionists pin their hopes on anti-Semitism as a means of extending their 'recruiting' opportunities. In fact, Zionism rose to resist the objectively progressive tendency of Jews to assimilate in the countries where they lived and struggled.

Another objective process which Zionism sought in vain to reverse was the development, at the start of the 20th century, of the revolutionary movement of the European countries' working class — in order to arrest the involvement of large numbers of Jewish workers in it. Zionism urges the working people to renounce struggle in unity with non-Jewish workers for democratic social changes, calls for the unification of Jews — exploiters and exploited alike — in 'national' political parties and other organizations.

Take, for example, Zionist activity in the U.S. labor movement. Their divisive and class collaborationist policies facilitate the exploitation of all U.S. working people by U.S. monopolies. This runs counter to the democratic and anti-capitalist militancy of U.S. Jewish workers and undermines their living standards (as the majority of U.S. Jews are wage earners). The Zionists objectively aid the ultra-right forces in isolating the Jewish people from their natural allies in the struggle against anti-Semitism and discrimination.

Certain Zionist factions attempt to disguise the real class nature of Zionist policy and ideology by means of 'socialist' slogans. Israeli communists have rebutted them by stating that 'there has never been, and never can be, a socialist Zionism or a Zionist socialism.'[4] History testifies that in all ideological and political battles between classes, the so-called 'socialist Zionist' organizations have sided with imperialism and opposed both socialism and national-liberation movements. Present-day Zionism as a whole is characterized by outspoken anti-communism and anti-Soviet hysteria.

Intransigent hostility to existing and developing socialism as a reality, and recurrent campaigns against socialist countries, especially against the Soviet Union, have become a pillar of world Zionism. The Jewish big bourgeoisie stints no resources in waging a psychological war against the socialist community and the world communist and workers' movement. The Zionists would like to plant their agents in the movement, substitute nationalism for proletarian internationalism, encourage revisionism inside the movement and rob it of its revolutionary class content on the plea of 'regenerating' Marxism. Zionist organizations render imperialism the most important service in its struggle against communism through smear campaigns and other subversive actions against the Soviet Union under the false pretext of defending the rights of Soviet Jews. These actions are coordinated with the propaganda centers of Washington.

CPI documents stress that Zionism is being manipulated as a weapon of imperialism in its global struggle, in its ideological and political subversion against the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as a whole.[5] Undermining the unity of the forces of socialism and progress, and splitting the world revolutionary movement are the objectives that unite the imperialists and Zionists. Therefore the working class, led by communist parties, has always rejected Zionism and rejects it today.

The origin of the Zionist organization

Zionism emerged as an organized movement at the turn of the century, when capitalism entered its monopoly stage. It was the advancing capitalist era that brought conditions favorable to Zionism. The advent of imperialism was precipitated by the rapid concentration of monopolies, and by the monopolies' rush to form cartels and grab colonies overseas, by the intensification of national and racial oppression, and by reaction everywhere. Imperialism, using national chauvinism and racism as an instrument of division and oppression of the working people, was the progenitor of both anti-Semitism and political Zionism in their present-day form.

Zionism as a political trend organized itself at its First World

Congress (Basel, August 1897).[6] The congress announced the formation of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), defining its main purpose as the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, 'ingathering' all Jews dispersed all over the world. Some big Jewish capitalists financed Zionist schemes. They also had the active support of non-Jewish monopoly capital and imperialism. From the movement's inception, the Zionists sought assistance from the leading circles of counter-revolution and imperialism. For instance, Herzl himself visited and tried to make deals with the German Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898, with the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1901, and with Pleve, the tsarist minister and organizer of pogroms, in 1903. Later, Zionist leaders established contacts with Pilsudski in Poland, Mussolini in Italy, Antonescu in Rumania. In exchange for permission for Zionist officials and rich pro-Zionists to go to Palestine, during the Second World War certain Zionist leaders cooperated with the Nazis at the time when they were annihilating Jews throughout Europe.[7]

Up to the 40s, the ruling circles of Britain were the Zionists' mainstay.[8] The collaboration of British imperialism and world Zionism from 1917 up to 1948, which began with the Balfour Declaration,[9] was a long succession of crimes against the Arab population of Palestine. The colonizers skillfully fomented antagonisms and provoked clashes between Arabs and Jews. Armed Zionist groups operated against the Arab population under British supervision and stepped up their terror from year to year to sabotage the Arab national-liberation movement.

In 1947, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution revoking the British mandate on Palestine and dividing the region into two independent states: Arab and Jewish. Zionist leaders nominally bowed to the UN decision but worked to carve a bigger Jewish state, while still hoping to turn the whole of Palestine into a purely Jewish state. They prevented the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State, seized the greater part of the territory assigned to it and helped drive the overwhelming majority of the Arabs inhabiting the area off their lands.[10] The State of Israel was founded on May 15, 1948, and its rulers made the Zionist doctrine their official ideology. They had already secured the support of U.S. imperialism which was challenging British and French imperialism and pushing its cold war program against socialism and the national-liberation movement. David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, assured U.S. Secretary of State John F. Dulles of his readiness to help U.S. imperialism defend the 'free world' against 'international communism.'[11] As a result, a 'special relationship' developed between the Zionist rulers of Israel and the ruling circles of the United States that continues to this day. This convergence of the aims of Zionism and international im-

perialism, especially U.S. imperialism, has been and still is the decisive factor in the development of the Zionist movement.

World Zionist network

The leading Zionist bodies today comprise the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency which directs WZO activities and the World Jewish Congress[12]

The Jewish Agency holds a pre-eminent position among the World Zionist organizations. It has become an instrument of the State of Israel since its establishment. Its organs, now integrated with the state, control three-quarters of all the farmland leased out in Israel, dozens of enterprises, including land development, water supply, shipping and construction firms, as well as the El Al Airlines. It controls Radio Voice of Zion, and its functionaries hold posts in Israeli embassies and other missions abroad.

World Zionism's important bases of financial support are located in a number of capitalist countries with sizeable Jewish populations — the USA (5,800,000), France (550,000), Argentina (475,000), Britain (450,000), Canada (308,000), Brazil (155,000), South Africa (120,000). Of course, Zionism considers present-day Israel as its material base. Unquestionably, the Zionist base in the USA, which provides two-thirds of the Jewish Agency's budget, is the mainstay of both world Zionism and the Zionist ruling circles of the State of Israel.

Besides the avowedly Zionist organizations, which claim a membership of about one million, i.e., a minority among the Jewish committees, there are professedly non-Zionist Jewish organizations in the USA with a considerably large membership, whose leaders have a Zionist orientation and who are as active in support of Israel's Zionist policies as the explicitly Zionist affiliates. Hundreds of millions of dollars are annually contributed to Zionist causes by organizations such as the Women's Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah), the Jewish National Fund, the National Committee for Labor Israel, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith and the Religious Zionists of America. The movement has infiltrated the mass media, trade union and labor groups, youth organizations, inter-religious associations, including Catholics and Protestants. It has formed a semi-fascist assault force (the so-called 'Jewish Defense League'). But all this has been possible because the U.S. ruling circles subordinate Zionism to their imperialist strategy, both global and regional. Obviously, the influence of the Zionist political lobby is reflected in the pro-Zionist positions formulated in the platforms of both parties of monopoly capital, the Republicans and Democrats. But at the same time, Zionist influence is ultimately conditional on the interests of U.S. monopoly capital.

Zionism's global network is the main source of regular financing of Israel from the Jewish communities in the world among whom big Jewish capitalists contribute the bulk. It is estimated that from 1948 up to 1974 various Jewish 'philanthropic' organizations, mainly those in the USA, contributed more than $5,000 million (although an estimated 800,000 U.S. Jews live below the poverty line). The network serves moreover, through the Israel Economic Corporation and similar agencies, as a conduit for channelling investment funds from both Jewish and non-Jewish capitalist monopolies to Israel. The State of Israel Bonds, set up in 1951, is another source of funds, said to have brought the Israeli Zionists more than $2,500 million from the USA alone.[13]

The 'special relationship' between the ruling circles of the United States and Israel expresses itself in continuous and lavish economic and especially military assistance to Israel from the U.S. government. Grants and credits in the form of aid from the U.S. government between 1948 and the early 70s exceeded $1,000 million. Military assistance in the 1970-75 period alone amounted to almost $3,700 million. For the period between July 1, 1975, and October 1, 1977, the U.S. government has allocated Israel as much as $4,400 million, including about $3,000 million for military purposes. The allocation for the 1976 fiscal year alone amounts to $2,300 million (40 per cent of the U.S. foreign aid budget). Out of this amount, $1,500 million (half of which is a grant) would be spent on arms. Besides, the Ford administration in October 1976 decided to supply Israel with weapons that even the U.S. armed forces are not fully equipped with as yet.

Class reality of Israel

The godchildren of imperialism, Zionism and the State of Israel (because of its Zionist leadership) have from the outset played an ultra-reactionary role in each particular country and in international relations. Israeli reality itself is the strongest accusation against the racist, nationalist doctrine of Zionism. The Israeli rulers' attempts to represent Israel as a state brought into existence by the Jewish national-liberation movement have been exposed.

What has asserted itself in Israel is a bourgeois, pseudo-theocratic and racist regime. Zionism, pressuring Judaism into its service, sanctifies the rule of the Jewish big bourgeoisie over all the other classes of Israeli society. Life in this society is pervaded by religious intolerance, and civil freedoms are curbed. Communal and national discrimination has assumed extreme forms and in its first form (communal) is directed against Jews whom the ruling circles of European and American origins consider lower (Jews of Asian or African origin).

The plight of the Arabs living in Israel[14] is particularly sad. They are regarded by the Zionist ruling circles as a group of religious communities. The government refuses them the status of a national minority with national rights. Discrimination, national oppression and incredibly harsh social and material conditions are intended to drive the Israeli Arabs from their homeland.[15] Taking these conditions into account, the 30th General Assembly of the United Nations on November 10, 1975, characterized Zionist ideology and practice as racism and racist discrimination.

The outspokenly racist policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel is a class policy. Zionist propaganda in Israel, as everywhere in the capitalist countries, repeats time and again that all Jews — workers and capitalists alike — are 'brothers.' It tries to talk the Jewish working people into recognizing the interests of the bourgeoisie as their interests.

Yet the state invariably sides with the employers against the workers. Strikes are banned by law in many industries. The police are used against strikers and demonstrators. Zionist leaders do their utmost to prevent a militant unity of Jewish and Arab workers in the country. The chauvinistic and reactionary ideology of Zionism provides fertile ground for the rise of fascist groups in Israel.

Therefore, the CPI stresses that the struggle against Zionism, too, is a class struggle. At the same time, as Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CC CPI, wrote, the party rebuffs all who try 'to describe the struggle against Zionism as a fight against the Israeli people or Jews generally and therefore stigmatize it as ''anti-Semitic''.'[16] The CPI is convinced that the Zionist policy is detrimental to the Israeli nation developing in Israel.

The colonizing activity of Israel's ruling circles in the Arab territories seized by them in the war of June 1967,[17] and their effort to implement Zionist plans for the establishment of a 'bigger Israel' are proof of Zionism's expansionist character. War, occupation and a militarized economy have strengthened the positions of the Israeli big bourgeoisie to an unprecedented extent.

The Israeli ruling circles have faithfully helped imperialism and continue to help it against the national-liberation movement. This is seen particularly in the Middle East, where they have committed acts of aggression more than once in an attempt to reverse the revolutionary achievements of the Arab national-liberation movement so as to preserve imperialism's positions in the area. The continuing Israeli occupation is a serious means of imperialist pressure on the Arab countries.

The unity of action of imperialism and the Zionist rulers of Israel is not confined to the Middle East, of course. Israel has been assigned a

significant role in implementing imperialism's neo-colonialist schemes in certain other areas. An example of this was imperialist propaganda's advertising Israel's 'disinterested aid' to certain African countries, financed expressly by international monopolies. New states were urged in the 60s to draw on the Israeli experience of 'building socialism.'

However, few people in the new independent states still believe that Israel is building socialism: Histadrut, [18] with its economic arms comprising factories and building industries, has become in part a capitalist enterprise harshly exploiting wage labor. The kibbutzim, originally agricultural cooperatives, are being transformed into centers where a substantial section of their economy is capitalist-oriented.

The world is also aware that the government of Israel, which advocates Zionist doctrines, is one of the few governments of the world whose official policy is frankly geared to territorial expansion. The Israeli government's support of virtually every imperialist or neo-colonialist venture, especially as embodied by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and other countries of Indochina, has earned it an unenviable reputation. Not long ago, the Zionist rulers of Israel established a disgraceful alliance with the racist regime of South Africa, which they now supply with arms and military experts to help it in its fight against the national-liberation movement of South Africa's peoples.

Lastly, the attitude of Israel's UN representatives — their opposition to any proposal aimed at easing tensions and furthering détente, curbing the arms race and implementing resolutions on national independence and human rights — gives a clear idea of the true nature of Zionism. The manifestly pro-imperialist character of this Zionist practice prompts the majority of mankind to condemn Zionism and induces people to combat it. Governed by Zionists, Israel finds itself in growing international isolation.

The deepening crisis

Zionist ideology and practice, which run counter to the interests of the peoples of the world, particularly the people of Israel and the majority of Jews, were bound to create difficulties and bring on a crisis of the movement in the USA and other capitalist countries, as well as in Israel itself.

The leaders of world Zionism are deeply concerned about the fact that their claim to speak for all Jews is growing very thin. Campaigns launched in capitalist countries to bring Jews into Zionist organizations on an individual basis produce increasingly disappointing results.

The Jewish communities' declining interest in Israel is an obvious sign of the crisis of Zionism. This decline is particularly marked among the Jewish youth. The majority of Jews realize that the aggressive policy of the Zionist leaders of Israel is making that state the most insecure place for the Jewish people. This policy has already caused four wars with thousands of victims. It may bring on a fifth war; more devastating and with more victims. There is no doubt that this circumstance, in addition to rejection of the Zionist doctrine, is one of the important reasons for the visible decline in Jewish immigration to Israel registered of late, as well as the growing number of those who emigrate from the 'promised land.'[19]

Attempts to identify anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism miscarry too. Even in imperialist countries, fewer and fewer people are misled nowadays by false charges of anti-Semitism when it is a question of making a critical assessment of Zionist activities, condemning the aggressive nature of Israeli policy and backing the just struggle of the Arab peoples, primarily the Arab people of Palestine. Also, there is growing realization of the fact that the Zionists try to divert Jews from the struggle against the true source of anti-Semitism — reactionary monopoly capital — by falsely laying the blame for 'anti-Semitism' at the door of left-wing forces (as, for instance, in the USA). In this connection, the 21st National Convention of the CPUSA (1975) pointed out that Jews in this country 'are subjected to discrimination in employment, housing, education, access to recreational facilities and other aspects of life. Synagogues and other Jewish institutions are objects of vandalism and desecration. The Jewish people are among the chief targets of the mass of racist filth produced by the fascist ultra-right.' In pointing this out, the CPUSA calls for 'a major mass offensive against anti-Semitism, an offensive directed against its real roots.'[20]

Zionism as expressed by the Israeli ruling circles does not help the Jews in capitalist countries, as propounded by its ideologists. Moreover, Nathan Rotenstreich, professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, notes that the State of Israel has not only failed to solve the problem of anti-Semitism but 'deepened and reinforced the problem by arousing anger against what the Jews have done.'[21]

More and more people the world over want to take sober stock of the activities of world and Israeli Zionism. Many of them come to conclusions running counter to Zionist slogans, dogmas and theories. At the same time and as an objective historical process, the rate of assimilation of Jews in various countries is accelerating — a trend seen by Zionists as the 'evil of evils.'

A further sign of Zionism's crisis is that progressive and revolutio-

nary ideas are spreading among the Jewish youth in Western Europe and America and that many of them are taking an active part in democratic struggles in their countries and in actions against Zionist practice, especially in connection with the situation in the Middle East and the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

In Israel itself there is growing resistance among the working people to the ruling circles' home and foreign policy. Progressive opinion takes a stand against curbs on democratic freedoms, against legislation banning strikes and against the activity of reactionary and fascist groups. The Zionist idea of class peace and cooperation is miscarrying. The Zionist policy of expansion by occupying more Arab territories has also reached the point of deep crisis.

The Communist Party of Israel is in the forefront of the country's growing anti-Zionist movement. Its program of struggle for a peaceable settlement of the Middle East crisis, for Jewish-Arab friendship, and for measures to promote the material well-being and security of the Israeli people is steadily gaining adherents.

In line with the appeal of their 1969 Meeting,[22] the Communist and Workers' parties of the world fight without compromise against Zionism and anti-Semitism, against racial and national discrimination in any form. Their unity of action is a powerful barrier to the spread of the imperialist, man-hating doctrine of Zionism.

The real and manifold difficulties that Zionism is experiencing do not mean that it is surrendering to its fate. Indeed, its leaders try and will go on trying to step up their sinister activities. To neutralize Zionism as far as possible, it is indispensable to fight it unrelentingly on all fronts — ideological, political, economic and diplomatic. The fight against Zionism is inseparable from the fight for the vital interests of progressive mankind, for lasting world peace and international security. It is also a fight for the class interests of the international proletariat, for democracy and socialism.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 7, p.99.
2. Sixteenth CPI Congress. Haifa, Al Ittihad Publishers, 1970, p. 561 (in Arabic).
3. *Information Bulletin*. Communist Party of Israel, Special Issue. 1972, pp. 143-144.
4. From resolution of the 16th CPI Congress. Slightly more than a year ago, the CC CPI held a conference on 'Zionist socialism.' The conference revealed that the Zionists invoke socialism to dissemble their nationalist, racist ideology and their policy of subordinating the working class to its class enemies.
5. See resolutions of the 16th CPI Congress.
6. The spiritual father of Zionism was Theodor Herzl who worked out the fundamental tenets of Zionist ideology (they are set out in his book, *The Jewish State,* published in 1896).
7. See resolutions of the 16th CPI Congress. See also Hyman Lumer, *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics*. New York, International Publishers, 1973. The trial of the Hungarian Zionist leader R. Kastner in Israel proved that these leaders had cooperated with Eichmann, the Nazi hangman.

8. Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader and first president of Israel, obtained British imperialism's backing by promising to guard the Suez Canal for British interests.

9. The Declaration, issued by British Foreign Minister Balfour in November 1917 with the previous approval of U.S. President Wilson, committed Britain to establish a 'national home' for Jews in Palestine.

10. The number of Palestine refugees was close to 900,000 as early as 1948.

11. Michael Bar-Zohar, *Ben Gurion: The Armed Prophet*. Prentice Hall, New York, 1968, pp. 241-242; cited in Lumer, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

12. Every four years the WZO's highest authority, the World Zionist Congress, elects its General Council and Executive Committee. The Council represents the Zionist parties and organizations operating in capitalist countries where there are Jewish communities. The EC has headquarters in New York and Jerusalem. It is made up of 12 sections, each responsible for a specific kind of WZO activity; their functions range from 'religious cultural' education to the organization of subversion against world revolutionary forces.

The Jewish Agency's 40-member Board of Directors has an equal number of members of the WZO and Jewish fund-collecting organizations abroad, and is guided by a 14-member group usually hand-picked by leading Jewish capitalists.

The WZO encompasses over 20 international associations, with branches in countries having Jewish communities, a dozen regional organizations — in Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa — and territorial organizations in more than 40 countries. The Jewish Agency has branches of its own.

In 1936 the Zionists set up another world organization, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), to attract Jews opposed to or unwilling to subscribe to political Zionism. Originally the WJC 'criticized' Zionist concepts, which, incidentally, did not prevent its leader, Nahum Goldmann, from being president of both the WJC and the WZO for a long time. But the Zionist character of the WJC was gradually made evident by its initiation of rabid anti-Soviet campaigns of slander and vilification.

13. Eighty per cent of Israel's enormous foreign debt, estimated at nearly $9,000 million at the end of 1976, is owed to the U.S. government and U.S. organizations and institutions. (See Lumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-83, and *WMR*, July 1971, February 1974 and June 1975.)

14. They make up 13.2 per cent of the population.

15. In this connection, the Theses for the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel state: 'The official Zionist declarations that, because of the "Zionist character" of the state, the Arab population cannot enjoy equal rights and that it has to be evicted from its lands in favor of Zionist colonizing and the "Judaization of the country," are intolerable and only prove the racist character of these Zionist assumptions' (*Information Bulletin*, CPI, No. 9-10, 1976, p. 89).

For details on the condition of Israel's Arabs, see Salim El-Qassem, 'Discrimination, a bankrupt policy,' in: *WMR*, October 1976.

16. Meir Vilner,'The struggle against Zionism is a class struggle,' in: *WMR*, January 1976.

17. In December 1976, these activities were condemned in several resolutions adopted by the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly.

18. Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) was founded in 1920 and has over one million members. It is controlled by the ruling Labor Party of Israel.

19. In 1975 the proportion of new immigrants declined virtually to that of Jews who left Israel.

20. *Main Political Resolution, 21st National Convention*, CPUSA, 1975. New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1976, pp. 79-80.

21. *Dispersion and Unity*, No. 21/22, Jerusalem, 1973/74, pp. 45-46.

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

the press

On a pendulum swung by crisis

On the correspondence and discussion between Willy Brandt, Olaf Palme and Bruno Kreisky. *Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, Olaf Palme, Briefe und Gespräche 1972 bis 1975.* EVA. Frankfurt-Köln. 1975.

Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Olaf Palme exchanged ten letters between 1972 and 1975 and met for talks once in Schlangenbad and once in Vienna. What are the main social-democratic values today? How can the deepening of the capitalist crisis be stopped? How is it possible to 'salvage capitalism,' asks Olaf Palme. We believe these are the main topics dealt with by the authors of the letters included in the book.

Why an in-depth discussion?

Among thoughtful readers this book will inevitably evoke the question: why the need of holding a fresh, or, as Willy Brandt put it, 'an in-depth discussion of the basic values of democratic socialism?' (p. 11.) The answer is to be found in the book itself. The discussion among Brandt, Palme and Kreisky mirrors the mounting social-democratic spiritual and political crisis that is directly dependent upon the crisis of the entire capitalist system.

Many European countries, and the broad working masses that are under social-democratic influence, are worried by the worsening capitalist ailments.

In several European countries it is the social-democratic governments that are responsible for the existing situation, or have been responsible for years. Their wages policy, freezing of wages, failure to carry out promised reforms, on the one hand, and billions in subsidies and tax exemptions for the big concerns, on the other, have caused sharp criticism by workers of the social-democrat's policy and ideology and a search is in progress for an alternative. It is indicative that large segments of social-democratic workers in many countries are rejecting anti-communist ideology and, together with their class allies, the communists, are fighting against shifting the burden of the crisis onto the working people, and for political and social change.

There are many signs of this in the FRG: the criticism of rightist positions in the SDP, trade union actions against the wages policy of the government headed by social democrats, the heated discussion among young socialists of state-monopoly capitalism, control of investments and distribution, and social-democratic policy and ideology in general. Even more indicative are the joint actions by social-democratic workers and communists against the gradual wage reduction, factory shut-downs, growing rents and the job ban against progressives known as 'berufsverboten.' True, these are but the first steps toward joint action. But it is important that they were taken despite the anti-communist decision of the SDP Board outlawing any joint action by social-democratic workers and the communists.

And, finally, there has been sharp discord and a widening gap between positions in the Socialist International on such crucial issues as united action by the working class, the possibility of an alliance or government coalition with the communists, the stand in relation to the Berufsverboten in the FRG, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Italy and Portugal, for example, by the SDP leadership.

Faced with the capitalist crisis and the sharpening contradictions among social democrats, on the one hand, and the achievements of existing socialism, its guarantees of the right to work and to a dwelling, its equal opportunities in education and medicare, its concern for children and the youth and opportunities for the all-round development of the individual, on the other, Brandt, Palme and Kreisky have attempted in their correspondence to galvanize social-democratic ideas.

Unattainable 'basic values of democratic socialism'

Referring to the SDP's Godesberg program, Willy Brandt writes: '(In that program) we said that the social democrats ... are striving to create a society in which every individual would be free to develop his personality and, while serving this society as its member, would assume the responsibility of taking part in mankind's political, economic and cultural affairs' (p. 12).

It seems apparent that, as distinct from communists, social democrats have never created such a society. How can one accept Brandt's postulation of a free development of the individual while there are 15 million unemployed, millions of part-time workers and great numbers of young people denied a profession in capitalist countries?

'The plague has been overcome,' Brandt seems to be consoling his correspondents, 'hunger has been banished from many countries ... capitalism has been tamed...' (p. 39). No great consolation in the face of the facts. Brandt's claim that 'capitalism has been tamed ...' does

not tally with Kreisky's declaration that 'In Western Europe . . . there are approximately 25 large concerns that make up the select club of multinational societies' (p. 30), and that the murderous competitive struggle is accelerating the process of concentration turning millions of unemployed into capitalism's 'social outcasts.'

Equally unconvincing as the words 'the plague has been overcome,' is what Palme says further in the book: 'It is perfectly clear,' he laments, 'that today the capitalist system is experiencing a crisis, that the numerous basic values of capitalist society are being questioned. Many are rejecting capitalist morals and ideology alike. Many are apprehensive and fearful' (p. 118).

But the anti-Marxist prejudices of Brandt as an ideologue, seem to defeat his realism as a politician. 'If I understand correctly,' we read in his correspondence, 'we proceed . . . on the assumption that modern social-democratic thinking rejects illusions that with the aid of a general and schematic change in property relations, a decisive breakthrough is possible, while abolishing private ownership of the means of production would automatically bring people greater freedom' (p. 68).

The bankruptcy of the 'basic values of democratic socialism' conception lies precisely in negation by its ideologues of Marx's theory of the necessity of turning large private means of production into public property. This is its main flaw. By abandoning one of the basic Marxist tenets, the social-democratic leaders are largely responsible for the inhuman conditions suffered by millions of working people in capitalist countries and their constant fear of the morrow.

What has been happening in recent years in the economies of the developed capitalist countries proves the validity of the Marxist proposition that while private ownership of the means of production exists, together with the race for maximum profits, capitalist economy will develop only in cycles. It is equally true, that any serious considerations of 'economic order' (Brandt constantly refers to it) must not fail to take account of the might wielded by modern capitalist banks and the need to nationalize them. 'Because,' writes *Der Spiegel,* 'they are industry's greatest overseers and are in control of 70 per cent of the capital of German joint-stock companies. They manage almost all the key branches of industry between the Rhein and the Elbe . . . and all of them are financiers and owners of manufacturing firms and, at the same time, speculators.' Meanwhile, in its tentative general program, the SDP has this to say about the capitalist banking system: 'The problems there are resolvable without nationalization.'[1]

Brandt, Kreisky and Palme, in their correspondence are unable to break out of the vicious circle of the insoluble contradictions between

the 'basic values of democratic socialism,' which they advocate, acknowledgement of the numerous manifestations of capitalism's 'asocialness' and the futile search for the means of salvation.

Conceding these contradictions to a point, they lead their 'in-depth discussions of the basic values of democratic socialism' astray by presenting Marx and Engels as utopians, Lenin as a Jacobin and existing socialism, which regularly demonstrates its social vitality, as dogmatic and hardened bureaucracy (pp. 36, 37). In actual fact, however, it is the social-democratic leaders who have always been utopian, divorcing the ideas of freedom and justice from the material base and the real relationships of government and even disputing any ties between them.

From growing into socialism to healing capitalism

It will be recalled that classical reformism declared that its goal was to grow into socialism through reforms, and a careful reader is bound to notice that in their interpretation of reformism Brandt, Palme and Kreisky do not see eye to eye. Palme sees chances for reformism in reviving social-democratic policy, while Brandt shuns all mention of reformism. For him 'democratic socialism is not a "state" ... it is rather a contradictory process' (p. 67).

'I am speaking mainly of internal reforms,' says Brandt, explaining the process, 'which if they "improve the system" sufficiently, could lead to advantageous changes in the social and economic order' (p. 68). However, the social democrats' term in office has shown how remote their policy is from the goals proclaimed at one time by classical reformism. Even Brandt's all too modest plan for 'advantageous changes in the economic order' remained unfulfilled and as the 1973-76 crisis set in the plan gave way to attempts at regulating crises.

As for the views Kreisky brings forth in the correspondence, he believes that reformism is in a blind alley and that today the social democrats should follow Fritz Tarnow's advice and 'be doctors at the bedside of ailing capitalism' (p. 121). Kreisky, however, recommends that for capitalist society to 'get well' the state acquire an excessive financial debt.

And where is the money to come from to pay the debt? 'If we continue increasing our social policy today,' Kreisky replies, 'then, possibly, we will not be able to finance it at all. We must find the courage to declare that no new social policy exists ...' (p. 123). In plain language this means the working people will have to tighten their belts.

The policy of the FRG's social-democratic government shows what all this means in reality. Its backbone is to be a significant tax reform which, as the social democrats claim, should help to carry out the

'constitutional behest for creating a state of social law.' The result is, however, that as of January 1, 1977, the added-value tax increased from 11 to 13 per cent, the food tax went from 5.5 to 6.5 per cent. But the rich stay rich, for, as the share of income tax returns continues increasing (from 12.1 per cent in 1950 to 27.4 per cent in 1973), corporate taxes over the same period dropped from 23.3 to 16.7 per cent.

So, on the whole, social-democratic 'management of the crisis' means cutting down the working people's social gains thus exposing the truth behind social-democratic talk of 'quality of life' and such slogans as 'the goal of social-democratic policy is Man.' The real goal appears to be salvation of capitalism. The West Berlin paper *Extradienst* made the comment that the social democrats 'are afraid of losing the economic, social and socio-political competition with the other, socialist, social system.'[2]

Freedom — words and reality

In the course of their correspondence, so full of assurances of their staunch support of freedom and democracy, Brandt, Kreisky and Palme extol society's 'democratic structures,' particularly the 'guarantees of freedom of the individual.' Could it be that the frequent references to these themes are evoked by the deep social contradictions characteristic of those Western European countries where the social democrats are in office, especially in the FRG?

In a government statement in September 1969 Brandt exclaimed: 'We have not reached the end of our democracy, we are just really beginning.'[3]

However, today, just as yesterday, the capitalists hold unrestricted sway over their enterprises and enforce a wide variety of fines and penalties ranging from dismissals to black lists that are circulated through employers' associations. Working peoples' rights set down in the FRG Constitution are violated daily. The trade unions have been almost reduced to nil and they have surrendered to big capital and the CDU/CSU.

All attempts to win even the slightest improvement by parity management, in the name of Brandt's 'big' democracy, have failed. The 'Dare big democracy' slogan was, in fact, replaced with the 'Increase domestic security' slogan. The German Communist Party is banned contrary to the constitution and neither Brandt nor the Schmidt government have taken any steps to abolish this disgraceful act of the cold war days. Various subterfuges are used to hide the simple fact that this ban is aimed mainly against the workers' movement and, in the final analysis, against the sovereignty of the people.

The road to 'big democracy,' it seems, is paved with 800,000

official checks on individuals and 2,000 'Berufsverboten' cases. Even in the lands where the social democrats are in office there have been hundreds of cases of persons being refused government jobs on political grounds, and these are not necessarily persons active in the Communist Party. For example, in North Rhine-Westphalia, a social-democratic territory, it is enough to attend Marxist evening courses to feel the effects of 'Berufsverboten.'

What, then, remains of Brandt's claim in his letter to Kreisky and Palme that he takes account of the lessons of the Weimar Republic and that he believes that 'free discussion is the best way of finding just what is good for man' (p. 16)?

In the face of the worsening crisis of capitalism the social democrats are not capable of guaranteeing the working people even bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms.

So, summing up, it is apparent that all the talk by Brandt, Kreisky and Palme about the 'basic values of democratic socialism' does not measure up to the test, that the social-democratic leaders are trying, as before, to ignore the natural laws of historical development, that their conceptions resemble a political pendulum swung wide by the crisis development of capitalist society.

So, the social-democratic attempts to overcome the spiritual and political crisis as 'doctors at the bedside of ailing capitalism' are historically bankrupt.

Nevertheless, publication of the Brandt-Kreisky-Palme correspondence is highly instructive, particularly against the background of the recent elections in the FRG and the exit of the Palme government. It is a sure sign that the majority of social-democrat-influenced working people are starting to move away from its leaders.

It is obvious from past and present experience that there can be no general social progress unless the power of big capital is abolished, that working class unity is a guarantee of the success of the struggle for the working people's vital rights. It is equally true that the pressing problems facing the working people in crisis-shaken capitalist countries cannot be settled without the Communists or by opposing them.

The communists repeatedly appeal to the social-democratic leadership to shed their anti-communist prejudices and joint the common struggle. The Document of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties not only insists on the need for united action by all working class contingents, it is also a reflection of the experience of the joint struggle of communists and social democrats for the peoples' vital interests.

Richard Kumpf

1. *Der SPD OR 85*, VMB, Frankfurt am Main, p. 84.
2. *Stimme der DDR*, Jan. 8, 1976 Sendereihe 'Wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung.'
3. K. Schacht, Bilanz Sozialdemokratischer Reformpolitik, VMB 1976, 39 pp.

facts and figures

Women in differing societies

Austria and Czechoslovakia are neighbors with similar natural resources. Their social systems, however, are very different. The *WMR* requested two competent members of the women's movement in Czechoslovakia and Austria to describe the conditions of women in their countries. Below are their reports.

SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In socialist Czechoslovakia women are very active in social production: the level of their employment approaches that of men. Of every thousand of the able-bodied population 820 women and 840 men are involved in production. The number of women occupied in the national economy has increased since 1948 by almost 70 per cent and reached 3.5 million.

Almost half of those employed in industry are women. In the garment, textile, leather, footwear and fur industries they are the overwhelming majority. And in the glass, porcelain, ceramics, printing and food industries they account for just over 50 per cent. They make up nearly 48 per cent of all agricultural labor, and the number of women occupied in trade has shot up 300 per cent against the 1948 level.

Number and proportion of women in the national economy

Branch of economy	1948		1975		1975 in percentages of 1948
	thou.	per cent	thou.	per cent	
Total for production sphere	1,825	37.7	2,556	44.5	140.
Industry	450	27.5	1,282	44.7	284.9
Agriculture	1,166	52.1	474	47.2	40.6
Trade and Public Catering	135	36.5	501	75.7	371.1

Total, non-production sphere	273	38.8	1,009	59.6	370.0
Public Utilities	25	34.7	88	55.8	352.0
Health and Social Security	55	60.0	270	80.5	490.9
Education and Culture	69	49.8	331	68.2	479.7
Administration and Justiciary	44	31.8	78	54.3	177.3
Finance and Insurance	12	29.6	27	71.4	225.0
TOTAL	2,098	37.8	3,565	48.0	169.9

The employment of more women in our society is a steady process backed by various juridical, social and economic measures. Our labor legislation forbids employing women in heavy work or work that is detrimental to the health, and allows mothers a short week. One of the principles of a socialist state is equal pay for equal work. From 1961-1973 women's wages increased on the average by 64.6 per cent, i.e., by 702 crowns.

*Structures of women's wages in the socialist sector of economy**

Monthly wages in crowns	percentage of women receiving these rates	
	1960	1975
0- 600	1.4	0
601-1000	38.6	1.8
1001-1400	49.8	15.0
1401-2000	9.7	48.7
2001-3000	0.5	29.8
3001-4000	0	3.8
4001-and up	0	0.9

*This does not include women in agricultural cooperatives

The socialist state has been raising educational and professional levels. In 1961 and 1975 women accounted for, respectively, 45 and almost 60 per cent of skilled workers with a secondary education, and 21 per cent and 42 per cent with a higher education. In 1937 there

were 23 thousand students, 17 per cent of them women, attending the country's higher schools; in 1974 there were 108 thousand students. Of them, 41 per cent were women.

Women with a higher education in the national economy

Profession	Per cent
Biology	49.3
Pharmaceutics	63.3
Medicine	44.1
Garment and textile industries	37.0
Chemistry	33.8
Physics and mathematics	27.1
Food industry	43.1

Our society is creating ever more favorable conditions for greater participation of women in leadership and management of the state.

At the general elections in October 1976, about 30 per cent of the elected candidates to the National Committees at all levels were women, and 27.5 per cent were elected to legislative bodies; 34.2 per cent were elected to the provincial National Committees and 33.3 per cent to the district National Committees. Women account for approximately 41 per cent of the more than 6-million-strong trade union movement and almost 43 per cent of the activists of the Young Socialist League. The Czechoslovak Women's Union with a membership of more than 800 thousand plays and important role in the education of women for participation in the country's public affairs.

Socialist society shows great concern for the family, mother and child care. This is particularly apparent in the sharp drop in infant and child mortality; the rate per thousand babies up to one year of age has dropped from 117 in 1937 to less than 20 in 1974.

Mother and child care legislation provides for pregnant women to be transferred to lighter work with no loss of wages, 26 to 35 weeks maternity leave with pay and a 2,000-crown state grant when the child is born. In 1971 a monthly grant was introduced for two and more children till the age of two. Women not working also receive this grant (from 500 to 1,200 crowns).

The mother is guaranteed her former job after maternity leave and the opportunity of placing the child in a creche or kindergarten; 67.4 per cent 3 to 6 year olds attend kindergartens and approximately 12 per cent of 2-3 year old infants are in creches.

Families with children receive a grant up until the child is old enough to start working. In 1975 this grant amounted to 90 crowns for one child, 430 crowns for two children, 880 crowns for three children and 1,280 crowns for four children.

The socialist state pays grants to families with children, grants loans to newlyweds, stipends to students, etc. Furthermore, it subsidizes lunches in school canteens, extended day groups in schools, pediatrics institutes and provides rest and recreation facilities. It also provides for discounts on children's clothing, transport, rent and income tax. Confidence in the future apparent in socialist society has also led to an increase in the birth rate in 1971-1975 from 15.9 to 19.5 per thousand of the population.

All Czechoslovak citizens have the right to an old age pension. Men may retire at 60, women with 5 or more children at 53, 3-4 children — 54, 2 children — 55, one child — 56, no children — 57.

Life has changed greatly for women in socialist society. Today there are not only caring mothers, they are also skilled workers and active citizens of our socialist state.

Maria Kabrhelova,
Chairperson,
CC Czechoslovak Women's Union

CAPITALIST AUSTRIA

In 1975 — International Women's Year — the Austrian government published a 'Report on the Position of Women in Austria.' The sober figures in this and other publications upset all claims by the ruling Socialist Party of Austria that its years in office were all 'women's years.'

Women employed in the economy, make up nearly 40 per cent of the active population employed in the economy, placing Austria at the top of the list among the capitalist countries. But women make up two-thirds of low-skill workers. In the last 15 years the number of educated women doing low-skill work increased substantially. The number of skilled women working in their professions in 1971 was half the 1961 figure. Characteristically for Austria, women are concentrated in the 'traditionally women's,' usually low paid, categories. More than half of the personnel in hotels, restaurants, storage premises, trade, social and service facilities are women. Nearly half of all working women in Austria are in agriculture and forestry, either working on their own or helping as a member of the family.

Austrian women stand less chance of promotion than men. Education differentials are only partly responsible — equal education does not mean equal opportunities.

Forty-two per cent of women with a secondary education are

employed as workers with rudimentary training. Only ten per cent of women with a secondary education are employed as skilled workers or specialists. Of those who have completed a training course in school, over 60 per cent are in the middle bracket as employees. Only 17 per cent of women with a higher education occupy executive posts.

There is a big gap in pay, despite the fact that 20 years ago Austria ratified the International Labor Organization's agreement on equal pay for equal work. Such discrimination against women also contradicts the Socialist Party slogan: 'equal pay for equal work.' Women's pay is, on an average, one-third lower than that of men. This enables the capitalists to obtain additional profit from the exploitation of women's labor. The notion that a woman's wages just supplement men's wages is popularized even in school textbooks where women are portrayed only as housewives and mothers.

As new equipment and automation are introduced at factories, the first to lose their jobs are women. Furthermore, women are barred from many professions. Firing airline stewardesses who wish to bear children is yet another instance of discrimination.

Women fall far behind men in education. Seventy-five per cent of Austria's women have not gone beyond compulsory school. The number of college graduates among men is 200 per cent more than among women and the gap is just as great in vocational training. In journalism women account for only 17.5 per cent but even they are usually confined to writing 'home, education and fashion' columns.

According to the latest census, there are 113 women per 100 men, but this has in no way affected the life of Austrian society. Only 6 per cent of the parliamentary deputies are women (11 out of 183) while on the boards of Austrian trade unions women account for only 4.8 per cent. In other areas of social life the situation is no better.

The number of women in the leadership of the bourgeois political parties is all too small: a mere 6.3 per cent in the executive bodies of the Austrian Freedom Party and none among the party's parliamentary deputies.

In Austria, just as in other capitalist countries, the idea is continually upheld, particularly in the media, that women's interests should be confined to the daily rounds of family life and that they should not be active in the life of society. But in family life, too, they face many difficulties and problems.

Working mothers find themselves in a bad plight, as only 2 per cent of their children aged 1 to 3 years attend creches and approximately 40 per cent attend kindergartens, though the situation differs in various parts of the country.

In 1977 wedded mothers will receive 2,629 schillings in child aid (unwed mothers received 3,944 schillings) till the child is one year old.

Full wages are paid during the 16 weeks maternity leave. Starting this year a father or mother is allowed a week off to care for a sick child.

In 1975 work finally began on reforming family legislation, which dates back to 1811. The patriarchal rights declaring the man the head of the family have now been modified and speak of husband and wife as partners.

However, the emancipation of women can come only with a radical change in social relations.

Susanne Sohn

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Max Reimann

The working people and communists of the Federal Republic of Germany and the international communist movement have suffered a severe bereavement — Comrade Max Reimann, Honorary President of the German Communist Party and Presidium member of its Executive, died in Düsseldorf on January 18, 1977.

Max Reimann was born on October 31, 1898. A worker's son, he himself began his career as a worker and joined in the revolutionary struggle in his early youth. Late in 1918, the Communist Party of Germany was founded and Max Reimann joined it at once. From then on, his life was linked with the German communists' fight against reaction, fascism and war, for the working people's democratic and social interests, for the great ideals of socialism.

From 1920 onwards, Max Reimann was active in party work in the Ruhr region. After the Hitler takeover, Reimann went underground and continued his anti-fascist, revolutionary activity. In 1939 he was arrested by the Gestapo. But fascist prison and concentration camp could not break his will. In Sachsenhausen he was an active member of the underground Resistance committee.

After the defeat of fascism, Max Reimann returned to the Ruhr, where the communists elected him leader of the regional party organization. In 1948 he became Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany. From 1949 to 1953, he was a member of the Bundestag. In the postwar years, Max Reimann and West Germany's communists led by him fought against the restoration of monopoly power, FRG membership of NATO, remilitarization of the country and the revival of revanchism. With the GCP banned in 1956, he continued his activity in conditions of illegality. He took a determined stand against encroachments on the democratic and social rights of West Germany's working people.

In 1968 Max Reimann hailed the formation of the German Communist Party. The Düsseldorf Congress (1971) elected him Honorary President of the GCP and the Hamburg Congress (1973) elected him to the Presidium of the Party Executive. He made an active contribution to the consolidation of the GCP, helped to extend its infleunce among the working people and strove for working-class unity on a broad anti-monopoly basis.

True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, Max Reimann fought unremittingly for closer unity and cohesion of the

international communist movement in line with the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. He always favored good-neighborly relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. He was a dedicated champion of international détente, European security, disarmament and a change in West German policy toward the socialist countries.

Max Reimann was a gifted, forceful journalist. He contributed to *World Marxist Review* many articles on the class struggle in the FRG, as well as on Marxist-Leninist theory, the fight for peace and the international communist and working-class movement.

Comrade Max Reimann's memory will live for ever in the hearts of communists and progressives of all countries.

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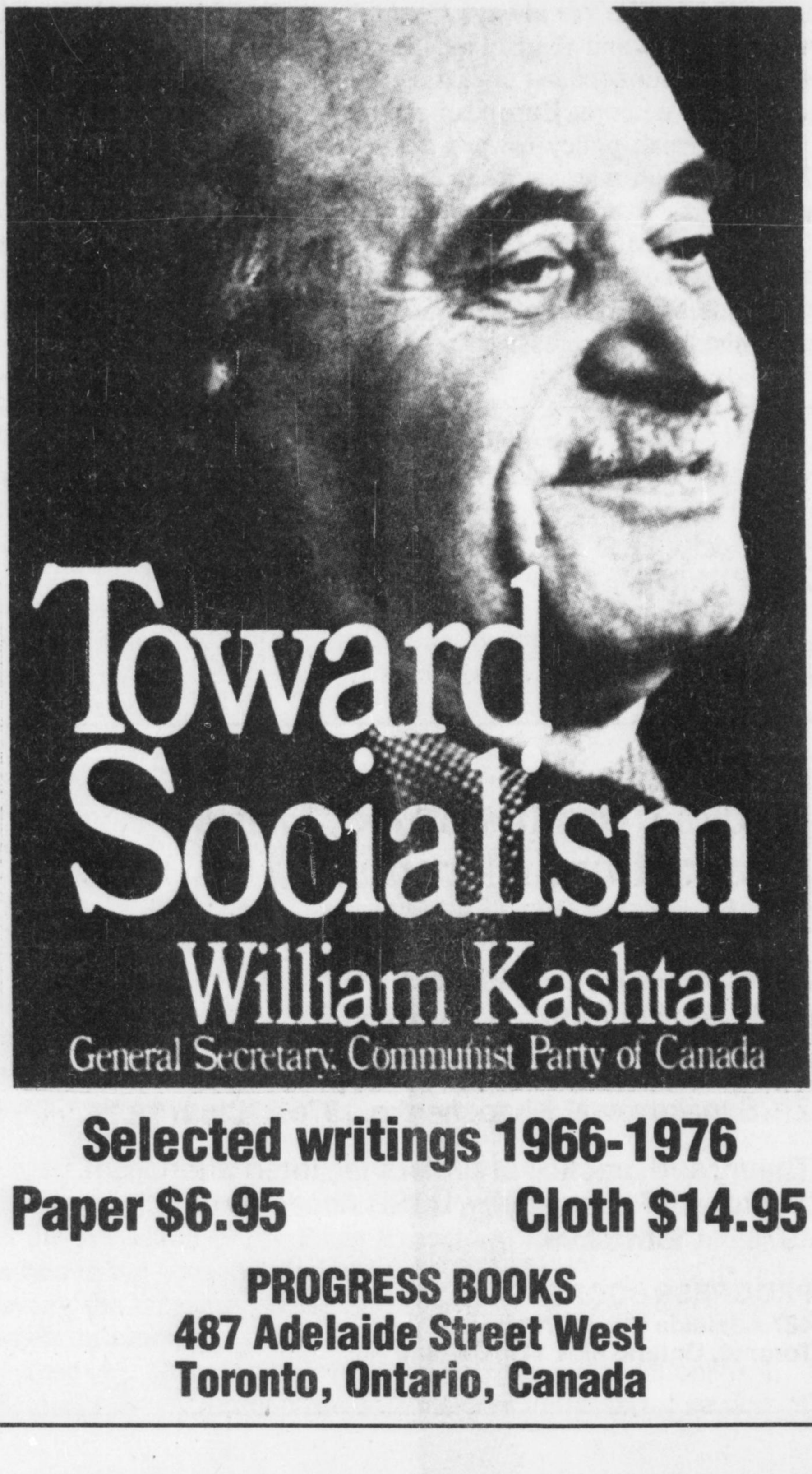

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