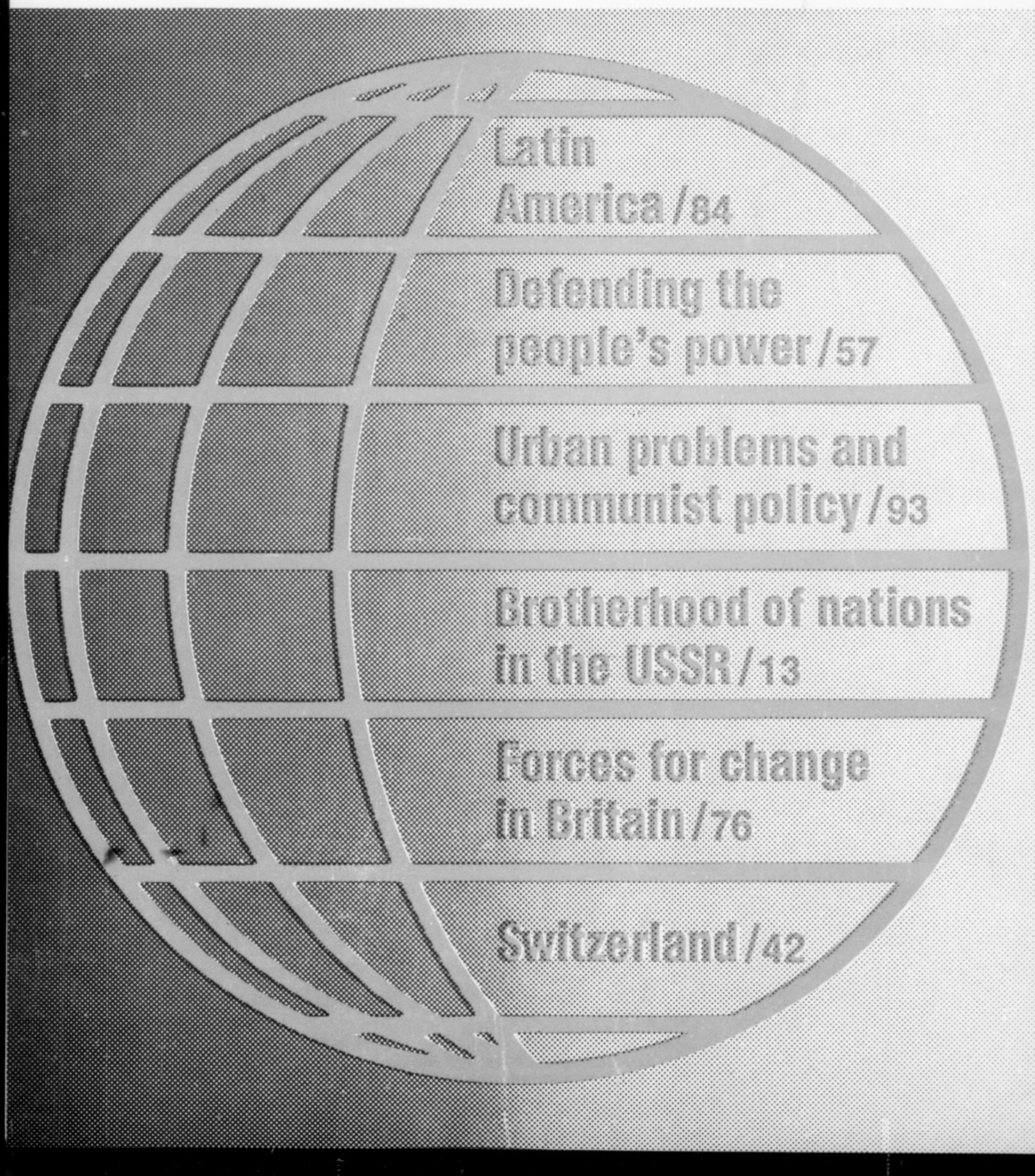
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REVIEW

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Communique

CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON THE WORK OF *PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM*

From April 27 to 29, 1977, representatives of 75 Communist and Worker's Parties held a Conference in Prague to discuss the work of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (World Marxist Review). The following parties took in the Conference: Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Argentinian Communists, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus AKEL, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Jordanian Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Malta, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Communist Party of Norway, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Réunion

Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, African Party of Independence of Senegal, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Sudanese Communist Party, Left Party — Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and one more party whose name is not mentioned at its request.

The Conference discussed the Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council describing in detail the work done by the editors in carrying out the tasks set before the journal by the previous Conference, in elucidating the successes of world socialism, the working-class and national-liberation movements, and the experience gained by the fraternal parties in various countries of the world.

The delegations represented at the Conference took an active part in the debates which proceeded in a frank, constructive and fraternal atmosphere. They formulated their assessments and recommendations with the aim of helping to improve the activity of the journal.

The representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties recommended the Editorial Board and Editorial Council to base their activity on the assessments and recommendations made at the Conference. They expressed a wish that the editorial staff of the international journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* work still better and better, in a spirit of equality, cooperation and respect for the sovereignty of each party and its policy. The journal will thus contribute to the study of problems and to the dissemination of the ideas of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, to the struggle against imperialism, to the consolidation of the internationalist solidarity of communists and all progressive forces.

PRESENTATION OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL AWARD

At a session of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, held to discuss the work of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (World Marxist Review), the journal was presented with the World Peace Council's Scroll of Honor, an award unanimously approved by the WPC Presidential Committee last February. Presenting the Scroll of Honor, Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Peace Council, said:

'This is the first award ever made by the World Peace Council to any journal anywhere. It is made because of the outstanding contribu-

tion to the cause of peace, to the promotion of détente, to the struggle for disarmament and national independence, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and exploitation, for social progress, for a new and better life for all peoples. This is an award not only to the Editorial Board and Editorial Council and the journal's international staff, but to all those who help to produce it in all its languages and to distribute it in different countries and continents.

'The World Peace Council has grown broader and broader. In its highest organs there are leaders of communist parties, revolutionary-democratic, socialist and social-democratic, christian-democratic, liberal and radical parties, national parliaments, national-liberation movements and fronts.

'The growth of the movement is due to the carrying forward of the methods of work, the outlook and the zeal and determination, the optimism and confidence laid down by the founders of the peace movement.

'We think today and always particularly of our founder President Frederick Joliot-Curie. It was he who gave us that belief in the power of the world peace movement, its internationalism, which animates us today.

'We present the Scroll of Honor with the hope that the cooperation between the journal and the World Peace Council will grow with every year, and particularly during this year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.'

In his reply Konstantin Zarodov, the *WMR* Editor-in-Chief, thanked the World Peace Council warmly for its high award and assured it that, in future too, the journal will carry on an active struggle for peace and international security, for social progress and socialism.

International politics and moral standards

René Urbany
Chairman, CP of Luxembourg

The present age is one of substantial positive changes in the system of international relations. They are a direct result of the revolutionizing effect that the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and the other democratic movements have had on world politics. These forces deserve the main credit for the fact that the principles of peaceful coexistence, despite the resistance of imperialist reaction, have become the key trend in international relations.

In a resolution passed by the 22nd Congress of our party we stressed that 'a further shift in the balance of forces, a shift in favor of peace, democracy and socialism, has occurred in world politics, in the international class struggle.' We noted that this was primarily due to the outstanding successes achieved in the economic and social development of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community, to socialism's active foreign policy. We also pointed out the important role played by the working class, by progressive public opinion in the capitalist countries and the forces of national liberation in normalizing international life.

In analyzing the changes on the international scene we have as usual begun by investigating their class basis. This has led us to the general conclusion that the turn toward détente reflects a definite shift in the development of class contradictions, particularly those that operate on an international scale. At the same time the class approach to such a complex process as the incipient peaceful restruturing of international relations does not imply straightforward conclusions, such as the allegation that in this global contest détente offers greater advantages to one side than to the other. On the contrary, in the thermonuclear age the preservation and strengthening of peace, the creation of international political conditions removing the danger of armed conflict is in the interests of all mankind, the very existence and development of civilization. The international efforts to relax world political tensions are therefore extremely humane. Détente is profoundly moral. It has a fundamentally ethical purpose.

The question of morality in foreign policy is a complex one. No one can claim to deal with it fully in a magazine article, so I shall confine myself to only some of the main aspects that have a special urgency today.

It is by no means a matter of indifference to communists what ethical principles are involved in a given act of foreign policy and how far the means used in international politics accord with these principles.

The founders of Marxism emphasized that it was definite ethical principles and moral values that could and should be the working class' most powerful means of influencing international affairs while the working people had no access to the levers of state power and were still unable to exert direct control over their countries' foreign policy. As only one instance I quote Karl Marx's famous appeal to the workers 'to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.'

The influence of the working masses on world politics, including their moral influence, has grown enormously since the proletariat

emerged on the international scene as a state-organized class. In view of the approaching 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution it may properly be stated that in the development of international relations this greatest event of the century opened up a new stage not only by fundamentally changing the distribution of class forces in world politics, but also by introducing to this sphere highly ethical, humanistic, moral principles that it had in practice never known before.

The first steps taken by Soviet power in foreign policy, including above all the world-famous Decree on Peace written by Lenin, were acts reflecting a breakthrough in the development of the world class struggle, a real victory for the proletariat in its historic battle for liberation, for the social and national emancipation of all the oppressed and exploited. But these were also acts of genuine morality, acts expressing a highly moral attitude to man and based on the moral principles of the working class, the people of toil.

The contribution of real socialism to the history of international relations may, in our view, be summed up as unprecedented political energy in the effort to prevent the second world war, heroism and self-sacrifice to rid the world of fascist barbarity, the creation and consolidation of the socialist community based on the principles of equality, mutual support, all-round solidarity and cooperation, the use of its influence and resources to free the peoples from the chains of colonial dependence, and a most enterprising and consistent compaign for global security. This contribution has tremendous political and also moral significance.

I shall probably not be mistaken if I say that Europeans, the people who live on our continent, which was the main theatre of two world wars and which experienced many of the nightmares of the cold war, are particularly aware of the benefits deriving from the active peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Everyone admits that Europe's political climate has become a lot healthier in the 70s. Some people realized this only after Helsinki. Others noted the change for the better even earlier, after the signing of treaties normalizing the situation in Central Europe. We communists, and along with us everyone who has not been blinded to the truth by capitalist propaganda, attribute the beginning of this positive development to the initiatives embodied in the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, to the international political actions that quickly became known among the general public as socialism's peace offensive.

The outstanding part played by the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole in achieving this swing from cold war to détente has boosted their prestige in the eyes of the great mass of the

people, of public opinion across the world. This is quite natural. But it is also natural that the enhanced prestige of socialist foreign policy should be noted unfavorably by the ruling class in the capitalist countries. As everybody living in any West European country is aware, the capitalist-controlled mass media have lately doubled and redoubled their attacks on the socialist countries, on the Soviet Union and their international activities. This sometimes looks like an absurd paradox. While the diplomats stubbornly push ahead on the difficult road of détente, the big monopoly-owned press does its best to plunge public opinion back into the world of cold war fantasies.

The propaganda clichés that the newspapers, radio and television pound into the heads of West Europeans are still the same old myths about the 'Soviet threat.' We hear and read daily that Moscow is using the policy of détente merely as a screen for its 'expansionist aims,' that the member states of the Warsaw Treaty are only concerned with building up a military superiority over the NATO countries.

The smear campaign against the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community is obviously angled to make people believe that socialism's unprecedented influence on international life is only due to its military might, to the fact that it is backed by armed force, and so on. No one will deny that the socialist countries' defense capacity carries a great deal of weight in world politics. But it is simply unrealistic to assert that socialism's international positions are determined solely by considerations of military power and its consolidation. An essential component of the socialist peace policy to which the peoples of Europe and other parts of the world already owe a growing sense of security is the consistent struggle for disarmament, which Lenin described as the ideal of socialism (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 95).

All the main practical steps toward backing up political détente with military détente are the result of agreements initiated by the Soviet Union. For example, there was the Moscow test-ban treaty, the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the agreement on banning bacteriological weapons. In the past three decades the USSR has put forward more than 70 proposals for halting the arms race, curbing military spending, reducing the burden they impose, and erecting treaty barriers to the use of force in international relations. The achievement of practical steps toward general disarmament is one of the programmatic foreign policy guidelines formulated by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

It will be understood that no state counting entirely on force of arms in its international policy-making would show such perseverance and consistency in working for disarmament or keep looking for

new opportunities of relieving its people and all humankind of ruinous spending on armaments and the dangerous stockpiling of deadly devices.

While remaining a realist and consequently acknowledging the full significance of socialism's armed might as a necessary factor in present-day foreign policy, one cannot fail to see that the international prestige and influence of this policy are not to be measured in terms of rockets and tanks. Its power of attraction lies in its peacefulness, in its dedication to the things that are of real value to the security, independence and equality of the peoples, its dedication to the ethical principles underlying the policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries.

We are living in an age when the thoughts, dreams, hopes, vital interests and expectations and also the moral standards of millions, perhaps even billions of ordinary people, are acquiring far more weight in international affairs than in times gone by, when the balance of world forces was different. The days have now passed when only the banks, the big arms manufacturers and the political oligarchies and groups subservient to them ruled the fate of the world. When we communists speak of the major, world-scale victories of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, we think above all of the greatly enhanced role of the peoples, of public opinion, in shaping foreign policy, their immeasurably increased influence on international life.

What politician can allow himself to close his eyes to this historically new situation? Only one who has lost all sense of world realities and is completely out of touch with his times. But in politics, heeding the voice of public opinion and the mood of the masses is still not the same as expressing them in one's own position, in practical actions. Demagogy is also a way of 'heeding' the people's demands. The political history of capitalism, from long ago to the present day, abounds in cases when the ruling class, the capitalists, adapted themselves to the social psychology of the masses, to their obviously democratic aspirations and wishes. At times this adaptation of imperialism to current conditions has taken the form of real concessions to the people; more often it has been purely verbal.

In recent months the foreign-policy statements of the new administration in the United States have attracted world attention. The new administration has declared its aim to be the 'moral regeneration' of Washington's diplomacy. It has proclaimed its belief in 'people's diplomacy' or 'politics without diplomacy.' All this has been presented with an eye to the dramatic effect, with the obvious intention of rallying wide support and approval both at home and abroad.

No one need have any doubts as to why America's new president and his aides are taking such pains to renovate their country's foreign-policy slogans and make them suitably attractive. The

shock-wave that started this spurt of activity was the deepening of the crisis of world capitalism, its economy, its system of social relations, its internal and international policies. The crisis has been exceptionally damaging to U.S. imperialism and its positions across the world. For its leading role in the cold war, for its open claims to world supremacy, for the criminal adventure in Vietnam, for its constant infringements on the sovereignty of independent countries and actions amounting to the export of counter-revolution, as in Chile, for example, and for the fact that in postwar years Washington, according to the Americans' own calculations, has on no fewer than 215 occasions seriously threatened to unleash some of its military might in order to gain diplomatic leverage* — for all this the United States has had to pay by loss of its moral reputation on the international scene. Even among its closest allies it has begun to arouse suspicion and distrust. The brief but accurate enough assessment that is most frequently and quite justifiably made of the state of U.S. foreign policy in the 70s is to call it a 'crisis of credibility.'

United States ruling circles are seriously worried about the situation. In an issue of the influential American journal *Foreign Affairs* that appeared a year before the change of incumbent in the White House, one could read that 'the moral political and economic power of the United States have deteriorated,' that since Vietnam and Watergate the country has been faced with the task of 'political and psychological regeneration,' and that this has stimulated Washington's foreign policy-makers to look for a 'broad humanitarian theme' that would 'make the conduct of American foreign policy easier,' although in present-day circumstances 'it is far from apparent what ideological bugle would call, would arouse a consensus among the U.S. public and spark a moral crusade.'**

Now that President Carter has announced his intention of making morality the guiding principle of U.S. foreign policy and there has been time for his doctrine to undergo its first practical tests, one is entitled to ask whether this 'ideological bugle' has been found, whether a way of extracting the United States from its 'crisis of credibility' has been devised.

Strictly speaking, what Washington's official statements about wanting to put its foreign policy on a moral basis amount to is a promise to close the yawning gap between word and deed that has featured in almost every international action of the United States in recent decades. The classical example is the all-out support that the U.S., while proclaiming its dedication to freedom, gives to dictatorships, to police, fascist and racist regimes. Surely, the significance of

*See *Time*, January 17, 1977, p. 25.
**See *Foreign Affairs*, January 1976, pp. 271, 272, 275, 277.

a political position should be judged by deeds rather than words and, if the two do not tally, the position is probably not worth much from the moral point of view.

Judged on these lines, what impression has been made by Washington's moves in the international field under the new administration?

When one person makes a proposal he knows to be unacceptable and, having got a dusty answer, accuses his negotiating partner of intractability, obstinacy and other mortal sins, such conduct is usually described as two-faced or, at any rate, far removed from generally accepted moral standards. Surely, then, there can be no objection to a similar assessment of international conduct — for example, that of the United States, particularly as this is what that country advocates in proposing morality as the guiding light of its foreign policy. What are we to say about Washington's stance, for example, in the Soviet-American dialogue on limitation of strategic weapons? These lines are being written only a few days after the March visit of the U.S. Secretary of State to Moscow. American officials and the press are doing their best to present the USSR as an opponent of arms reduction. But what does it all amount to? First, we have an unreasonable demand for unilateral advantages, which is then followed by thunderous accusations that the Soviet Union does not want a mutually acceptable agreement. Is this in accord with moral standards?

The new government of the United States has not hesitated to proclaim officially that with a policy allegedly oriented on moral criteria it intends to work for the changes it wants in the laws, statutes and way of life of other countries. In ordinary life, arbitrary assumption of the right to teach others has always been considered immoral. In international relations such pretensions, which inevitably involve encroachment on the sovereign rights of nations and blatant violation of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other countries, are even further removed from morality.

The whole series of recent statements and moves by Washington, taking the form of crude attacks on the social and political system of socialism and, of course, dictated by an alleged concern for the 'moral regeneration' of United States foreign policy, has been highly reminiscent of the worst examples of cold war diplomacy. Can the name of morality be given to anything that threatens to poison the atmosphere of détente and reverse the process of normalizing international life on which humanity pins its best hopes and to which so much energy and patience has been devoted? Does behavior that can only undermine the security of the peoples conform to the concept of 'people's diplomacy?'

As we see, avowing one's dedication to ethical ideals is not in itself

a guarantee of moral integrity. What is more, such avowals are particularly immoral and particularly dangerous when they are used to conceal political practices that run counter to the most democratic and humane demands of our time.

It is no accident that the U.S. conception of 'moral politics,' far from inspiring global enthusiasm, has, on the contrary, had a cool reception among broad sections of the public and has caused some concern even among Washington's allies. Many bourgeois statesmen in West European countries have considered the matter soberly and felt obliged to warn that, in view of the realities of international life, this American 'playing at morality' could turn out to be 'playing with fire.' Whether the new U.S. administration realizes this will be seen in the very near future.

As regards the progressive forces and particularly ourselves, the communists, we see it as our duty to remain extremely vigilant toward ideological and political maneuvers of imperialism, not only American but any kind, including West European. We expose the actual motivating forces behind these policies and try to prove to the mass of the people that we are right in our analysis and conclusions. In this we are helped by the fact that we define imperialist policies from the class and moral standpoint.

Earlier we quoted what Marx said about the great role of the concepts of morality and justice in the attitude of the working class to international politics. But his thinking did not stop there. He did not leave us to assume that a moral foreign policy is an aim in itself. Marx went on to stress that 'the fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for emancipation of the working class.' This remains our communist position today. We understand lasting peace on earth as the supreme value for all mankind and also as the best possible setting for further gains in the fight for social progress.

We saw the brotherhood of nations

Sarada Mitra
National Council member,
CP of India
Adel Haba
CC member, Iraqi CP

LAND OF SOVIETS — 60TH YEAR
SURVEY TWO

When preparing to visit the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC CPSU to see how relations between nations were developing in the 60th year of Soviet power, we recalled Lenin's ideas which have constituted a coherent theory for solving this intricate problem; we acquainted ourselves with the basic documents of Soviet state and the party congresses; and read once again the speech by General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Brezhnev, 'On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,' and the CC CPSU Report to the 24th and the 25th congresses of the Leninist party.

Both of us had visited the Soviet Union before, and on several occasions. We were aware that all the main aspects of the nationalities question have been solved in the world's first socialist country. We now had the opportunity of having a really close look 'from inside,' and of understanding what the solution of the nationalities question actually means for one Soviet republic — Azerbaijan, for the Azerbaijanians themselves and for the other nations and nationalities living on its territory. We now had the opportunity of seeing and comprehending through the prism of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the nationalities question, the problems facing our countries and our communist parties in this sphere, and with an awareness of the importance of exposing the slanders being heaped on the Soviet Union by the imperialists and others of that ilk, among whom national relations are a favorite topic.[1]

In this case, we were mostly concerned with Leninist principles and the CPSU's policy which translated them into life. After all, the nationalities question is also exceptionally acute in our countries — India and Iraq — and is a key problem for any of the countries which we have come to designate as the young national states, most of

which are multinational. Nor has the problem become less acute in the developed capitalist countries: one need merely recall the clashes in the United States, Canada, Belgium, Great Britain and Spain on the national issue.

This explains why our notes are strictly selective. For us the most important thing is that we have seen the new, socialist nations and nationalities, and the new relations between them, and have gained an even clearer awareness of the international importance of the Soviet experience in solving the nationalities problem.

Consistent political equality

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic has an involved history behind it. At the time of the October Revolution, the Baku Bolshevik organization was one of the strongest and most militant, and the Baku Council of People's Commissars was formed almost simultaneously with the formation of the first Soviet government in Petrograd under Lenin's chairmanship. But this was followed by the British intervention and the brutal murder of the 26 Baku commissars. Power was taken over by the Musavatists, a group of bourgeois nationalists. Soviet power was re-established only after the expulsion of the interventionists, on April 28, 1920. Soon Azerbaijan, together with Georgia and Armenia, became part of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic. Since 1936, Azerbaijan has been an independent Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union.

How is the equality of nations and citizens of various nationalities in the Soviet Union guaranteed in legal terms? That was our first question to *K.A. Khalilov,* President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic.

K. Khalilov. The Constitution of the USSR has so defined the country's federal structure as to ensure the equality of each nation at every level of the national-state structure.[2]

To begin with, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest state organ of power, consists of two equal chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. While the Soviet of the Union is elected on the basis of proportional representation — one deputy for every 300,000 of the population — in the Soviet of Nationalities each Union Republic, regardless of the size of its territory and population, has 32 deputies; each Autonomous Republic, 11 deputies, each Autonomous Region, 5 deputies; and each National Area, one deputy. Thus, in the Soviet of Nationalities, our Republic has 32 deputies, plus 11 deputies from the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, plus 5 deputies from the Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous Region, a total of 48 deputies, with a population of 5.7 million (and 15 deputies in the Soviet of the Union).[3]

All the Presidents of the Presidia of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ministers of the Union Republics are members of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Chairmen of the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are members of the USSR Supreme Court, and so on. This means, K. Khalilov emphasized, that all the Union Republics participate directly and on a par in the formation and election of the highest organs of our federal state.

I should also like to draw your attention to the important fact that the Constituion of the USSR does not merely proclaim the equality of nations, but also provides for responsibility before the law for any direct or indirect restriction of rights, or, conversely, for the establishment of provileges for citizens depending on their racial or national origin, and for the preaching of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred.

Such is the constitutional solution of the problem. But what has mainly ensured genuine equality for all the Republics and peoples of the USSR is, of course, the Soviet socialist system: the abolition of private and establishment of social property in the means of production, the elimination of social oppression, the takeover of power by the people with the working class at its head, and the working people's involvement in administration at every level, that is, the construction of a socialist society, the only true basis for solving the nationalities problem.

A. Haba. We are aware that the Republics are now very closely integrated with each other, especially in the economic sphere. They have become, as Leonid Brezhnev said, an integrated economic organism. That being so, could you explain what the sovereignty of the Union Republics means in this context?

K. Khalilov. First of all, each Union Republic has its own Constitution. These Constitutions are inspired by the Constitution of the USSR, a mother with 15 daughters, who are alike but have their own specific features. Furthermore, we ourselves lay down our administrative-territorial structure, and this is written into the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Republic. No changes can be made in our territory without our consent. The Republic has broad rights in the economic field: for instance, we have the right to allocate the republican plan among the enterprises, as we see fit; we take part, through the system of Union Republican ministries, in administering virtually every sector of the national economy and sphere of social life on the territory of our Republic.

Our Republic 'shall have the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements and to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them' (Article 16a, Constitution of

the AzSSR), and also 'shall have its own Republican military formations' (Article 16b, Constitution of the AzSSR).

Finally, all the domestic matters in the Republic are within the competence of its own organs (Art. 19, Constitution of the AzSSR).

The right of the Union Republics to secede is written into the Constitution of the USSR, and also into the Constitution of Azerbaijan SSR, whose Article 15 says: 'The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic shall retain the right of free withdrawal from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.'

What would happen, we asked, if any of the Republics should wish to use this right?

We have to admit that everyone present looked at us in some bewilderment. But we did get a serious and clear-cut answer. The Soviet Republics, K. Khalilov said, are not only linked by defense, economic and other material interests but also have bonds of spiritual kinship and affinity. A new historical entity, the Soviet people, has taken shape. This is not some supranational formation, nor an amorphous alloy in which the various ethnic groups have been dissolved without trace. This entity is based on the unbreakable alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the leading role of the working class, and the friendship of all the Soviet peoples. We find the very idea of seceding from the Soviet Union a very odd one indeed. Still, retention of this clause in the Constitution is meaningful because, while confirming one of the inalienable rights of any people, of any nation, to self-determination, it contributes to still closer unity of the Soviet republics.

When recalling this conversation, we pondered the following question: the Soviet Republics have immensely more independence than, say, the states constituting the Indian Union. Yet the degree of unity and cohesion among the Soviet Republics is very much higher than it is in India.

Of course, as Khalilov correctly emphasized, it is the socialist social system, the abolition of man's exploitation by man that makes all the difference. That is the basis for the genuine equality and friendship of nations and their coming closer together. But Lenin also attached much importance to the question of legal equality, which he saw as the only possibility for what might be called the peaceful coexistence of nations in a democratically constituted bourgeois society. The relevant passage from the Resolution on the Nationalities Question, written by Lenin, and adopted by the Poronin Conference of the CC RSDLP in 1913, says:

'Insofar as national peace is in any way possible in a capitalist society based on exploitation, profit-making and strife, it is attainable only under a consistently and thoroughly democratic republican sys-

tem of government which guarantees full equality of all the nations and languages, which recognizes no *compulsory* official language (italics are ours — *Authors)*, provides the people with schools where instruction is given in all the native languages, and the constitution of which contains a fundamental law that prohibits any privileges whatsoever to any one nation and any encroachment whatsoever upon the rights of a national minority. This particularly calls for wide regional autonomy and fully democratic local self-government, with the boundaries of the self-governing and autonomous regions determined by the local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc.' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 19, pp. 427-428.)

It seems that that is a minimum program which should be advocated by the communists in the newly-free countries which have yet to take the socialist path. That is what the experience of, say, India indicates.

The point is that for a long time India was under colonial oppression, and this produced in that country — which like the Soviet Union is inhabited by hundreds of nationalities and small peoples — an urge for national unity, for a national identity. However, the national distinctions, mainly in the form of language, persisted. That is why, the delay in setting up states on the linguistic principles upon independence largely helped to develop linguistic and regional chauvinism.

The Communist Party of India has always supported the establishment of new states on the linguistic principles and of autonomous districts for national minorities (tribes). The party is sure that political equality is a necessary step in solving the nationalities problem.

Upon arriving in Azerbaijan, we did not simply find ourselves in one of the 15 Union Republics. We realized that we were in a multinational state, for the number of nationalities and small peoples living in Azerbaijan is not very much smaller than it is in the whole of the Soviet Union. Members of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (the Azerbaijan organization of the CPSU) belong to 78 nationalities, as we were told by *R.G. Mamed-zade,* Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. We were naturally interested to know how the nationalities question has been settled in Azerbaijan itself.

The latest — 1970 — census showed that the largest national groups in the population of the Republic were Azerbaijanians (73.8 per cent), Russians (10 per cent) and Armenians (9.0 per cent).

We find, therefore, that Azerbaijanians are the majority determining the national face of the Republic. Within the Republic's system of government this is reflected above all in the composition of its Sup-

reme Soviet, where the number of deputies is roughly proportional to the share of each nationality within the population.[4]

Upon hearing this, we at once wanted to know whether there were any quotas for each nationality. We asked this question again and again, and the answer was always the same.

R.G. Mamed-zade. There are no quotas at all, and everything depends on personal qualities and merits. It is not at all exceptional for an Armenian or a Russian to be elected as a deputy to the representative organs of the Republic or of the whole Union from an area where the majority are Azerbaijanians, and vice versa. But the party sees to it that all nationalities are represented on the elective organs in accordance with their share of the population, to prevent anyone from having a sense of wounded pride because of the impression that his nationality is being discriminated against.

That was the start of a serious conversation about the party's role in solving the nationalities problem and, most importantly, in consolidating and deepening the friendship that has taken shape among the various nations. But that is a question with which we intend to deal specially later.

Another question is that of the rights enjoyed within the framework of the AzSSR by the relatively large and well-knit national groups.

In Azerbaijan, as in other Union Republics, this problem is also solved through national autonomy, as Lenin had suggested. We found that there were two such compact groups. The first, also an Azerbaijanian one, lives in an area separated from the main territory of the Republic but closely linked with it economically, historically and culturally. To cater for the needs of this group, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was set up within the Azerbaijan SSR. The others are the Armenians, who live on the territory of Azerbaijan in the Nagorny Karabakh Region, an autonomous region which we visited.

The first question we asked there was: Why is the region not a part of the Armenian SSR, from which it is separated only by a narrow strip of land?

We got our answer from *B.S. Kevorkov,* First Secretary of the Nagorny Karabakh Regional Committee of the Party, and a member of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan's CC Bureau. He said: The history of Nagorny Karabakh is closely interwoven with Azerbaijan's. The region has economic bonds with Azerbaijan and is especially closely linked with Nizmenny Karabakh, a neighboring district inhabited by Azerbaijanians. By contrast, the region is close to Armenia geographically but is separated from it by high mountains, which were an insuperable barrier in the past for any extensive

contacts. However, in Nagorny Karabakh we have preserved the national Armenian traditions and language.

The existence of a compactly settled national group, together with considerations of economic advisability going to create the best conditions for socio-economic development, provided the basis for the establishment of the Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous Region in 1923.

A. Haba. Was this understood as a justifiable solution and immediately accepted by everyone?

B. Kevorkov. Of course, it took much educational effort. Some said: 'I may not live a rich life, but I will be linked with Armenia.' But this was not an expression of bourgeois nationalistic considerations, the basis for which had been eliminated together with the exploitative system, but merely an expression of backwardness and ignorance. The point was well driven home by life itself, by rapid economic and cultural development of the region and rising living standards, with complete equality, respect for national traditions and customs, and concern and attention on the part of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan's Central Committee.

'As a part of Azerbaijan, the Armenian people of Nagorny Karabakh have gained their own statehood, and have made their choice of their own free will,' we were later told by *V.M. Gabrielyan,* First Secretary of the Martuni District Party Committee.

Nagorny Karabakh has great rights. With a population of only 160,000, the region has 7 deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1 in the Soviet of the Union, 1 in the Soviet of Nationalities from Azerbaijan, and 5 from the Autonomous Region) plus 12 deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR. The broad powers of the Region's Soviet of Working People's Deputies and its Executive Committee are written into the Constitution of the AzSSR.

When travelling across the Republic and talking with men and women of different nationalities, we saw for ourselves that complete democracy, strict equality and special concern for the interests of small nationalities, which are all precepts of Lenin's, have become everyday practices with Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and are a great force which helps to cement the various nations constituting the Soviet people.

Breaches of these principles and refusal of autonomy to national minorities inevitably produce conflicts among the nationalities, for which the young states have to pay a high price. Thus, Iraq, where one of us comes from, has had this experience with the problem of Iraqi Kurdistan, whose population — the second largest nation in the country — was stubbornly refused autonomy (which only the communists invariably advocated) by the successive reactionary governments, and this led to a protracted national-liberation struggle which

frequently developed into war. Only the Law on Autonomy, whose adoption was brought about by the progressive National Patriotic Front, with the participation of the Iraqi Communist Party, and which was endorsed in 1974 by the government headed by the Baath Party, helped to put an end to the bloodshed and opened up fresh vistas for the working people of Iraqi Kurdistan. The Iraqi communists believe that the Kurdish people's national problem in Iraq cannot be solved outside the context of the whole problem of revolutionary democratic transformations in the country. The party regards this as one of the chief lessons of the Soviet experience in settling the nationalities question.

We were also interested in another problem bearing on political and actual equality, namely, that of the official language.

The language question is in general the key component of the legal and cultural aspects of the nationalities question. There can be no equality of nations without the right of all the big and small peoples, without exception, to receive instruction in their native tongue, to use it in their state bodies, and so on.

The Constitution of the USSR does not contain any provisions on an official language. But there is such a clause in the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR. Article 151 says: 'The Azerbaijanian language shall be the official language of the Azerbaijan SSR.'

We feel that the law-makers of the Azerbaijan SSR had good reason to write this article into the Constituion. After all, Azerbaijan has a clear-cut national majority, which had never been an oppressor in the country's history. The Azerbaijanian language is not the language of an oppressor nation. But the Azerbaijan Constitution goes even farther and, in accordance with the Leninist principles, secures the right of the national minorities. Article 151 goes on: 'The national minorities inhabiting the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR shall be assured of the right of free development and use of their native language both in their cultural and in their government institutions.' All the laws, decrees, resolutions and instructions issued by the bodies of power in the Republic are published in Azerbaijanian, Russian and Armenian, and this puts the Azerbaijanian language and the languages of the two main national minorities, the Russians and the Armenians, on an equal footing. Incidentally, all three languages are used in the publication of periodicals, radio and television broadcasts and instruction at school.

We asked Comrade Khalilov this question: 'What is being done to develop the languages of the small peoples?'

K. Khalilov. Let us recall that Soviet state has developed alphabets for more than 50 small peoples of the Soviet Union, thereby preserving their national uniqueness and ensuring their development. Con-

cerning the small languages in Azerbaijan, the problem is being tackled concretely in each case and, most importantly, on a purely voluntary basis. Thus, we have a village which is inhabited by mountaineer nationalities (known as the Daghestan nationalities), where 15 languages are spoken. So they had schools where instruction was given in all these languages. Now the inhabitants have decided that they don't need this arrangement. By contrast, in three districts of the Republic, where the Georgian (mainly rural) population is concentrated, instruction at school is being provided in the Georgian language at the request of the inhabitants.

S. Mitra. In a multinational state or in any country comprising different peoples, the problem of a one-language link is clearly a most important one. Otherwise peoples living in the same state would find it very hard to communicate and come closer together. In India, the English language of the colonialists had such a role to play for a long time. But time has shown that an alien tongue, imposed from outside, cannot become a native one. Hindi, which is spoken by a sizable part of India's population, is another matter. Our party supports Hindi becoming the common, link language for the whole of India. But after independence the government of the Indian National Congress attempted to decree Hindi as the official language, so violating the free-will principle, and this generated a tide of linguistic chauvinism among the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. The spread of Hindi was slowed down.

Here, in Azerbaijan, everyone we met used Russian right away, and this seems to be perfectly natural. Could this be an expression of the Russification about which so much has been written by our common opponents in the capitalist countries?

K. Khalilov. Not at all. Everything hinges on Lenin's principle of free will and trust. He wrote: 'And we (meaning the Bolsheviks. — *Authors),* of course, are in favor of every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity to learn the great Russian language. What we do not want is the element of *coercion.' (Coll. Works,* Vol. 20, p. 72.)

In the Soviet period, the Russian proletariat, the Russian people have won the trust of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, and this is reflected in their attitude to the Russian language. With the development of socialist society, it has naturally become, as Leonid Brezhnev put it, 'a language in which all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union communicate with each other.'

By deeds, and not by slogans

We spent most of our time in Azerbaijan surveying its economy, its industrial and agricultural enterprises. Our hosts made no secret of their pride: Azerbaijan was among the winners of the All-Union

emulation campaign every year throughout the ninth five-year plan period. Nor was the first year of the new, tenth five-year period an exception.

All of this has a direct bearing on our subject. The economic evening out of the various national territories is a key element of the Leninist policy of providing actual equality for the nations. In the Soviet Union, this has meant much faster development for the lagging national fringe areas of what was once tsarist Russia. Anyone who has kept track of developments in the Soviet Union will be aware of the tremendous growth of industrial production in the outlying Republics, which has multiplied hundreds of times, and of the rapid growth of their agriculture.

Azerbaijan differed from nearly all the other non-Russian outskirts of tsarist Russia in that before the revolution its only developed industries were oil extraction and oil refining. That is why Azerbaijan's statistics do not contain the spectacular figures for industrial growth we find in the Central Asian republics, where the growth is measured in hundreds of times. But these statistics are also impressive: by 1976, Azerbaijan's industry had grown 50-fold over the 1913 level. But the important thing is that Azerbaijan has overcome its one-commodity structure, a symbol of backwardness. A modern industry with a diversified structure has been built up through accelerated growth in other sectors. We feel that we must give, if only in a footnote, data helping to comppare the present condition of the Republic, not even with 1913, but with 1940, the last year before the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union.[5]

In this context we recalled the claim in the above-mentioned *Economist* article that the Russians, allegedly worried about the industrial growth of the outlying Republics — and so of independence — intended to impose on them a one-commodity economic structure, so as to rule out an urge for independence. The article also claimed that, feeling the pressure of the population, which in the Central Asian Republics and Azerbaijan was growing faster than in Russia, the Soviet government intended to transfer the surplus manpower to — where else? — Siberia! Here is one remark made by *E.G. Sarkisyan,* Secretary of the Nagorny Karabakh Party Regional Committee. The great population growth, he said, is a national feature of Azerbaijan. That is why the CPAz's Central Committee has asked the CPSU Central Committee to consider the question of increasing industrial production in the 10th five-year period. Accordingly, 16 additional large-scale enterprises have been planned for the Republic, and these will help to diversify production.

Sumgait, a city with a population of 190,000, which was founded 28 years ago in open country, ranks first in the Soviet Union in industrial

potential per inhabitant, and has an industry that could well be the envy of some countries that are far from backward.

Another important feature of Azerbaijan's industrial development which, along with diversification, has helped to change its face, is the balanced geographical location of industry, and the elimination of lagging areas within the Republic itself through their accelerated development. Here one example will suffice. Whereas in the past 10 years Azerbaijan's industrial output as a whole has doubled, Nagorny Karabakh's has quadrupled.

While admiring Azerbaijan's achievements, we recalled bourgeois propaganda claims that all countries went through industrial growth, especially those that, like Azerbaijan, had raw material resources, and that the socialist friendship of the nations had nothing to do with all this, and so asked this question: What are the advantages for Azerbaijan in being within an integrated state like the Soviet Union?

We received an answer from *A.G. Kerimov,* First Secretary of the Party's Baku City Committee and a member of the CPAz's CC Bureau:

I am not going to tell you the whole story of the assistance which Azerbaijan has received above all from the Russian people and the peoples of the other Union Republics. I will confine myself to the latest example, which is the construction of an air-conditioner plant. This large-scale industrial project was started and completed in Azerbaijan in 1974 and 1975 by decision of the CPSU Central Committee. The enterprise and the building operations it required were on a tremendous scale. The Republic could never have coped with that kind of construction project on its own. The equipment, which was bought in Japan, alone cost $50 million. The construction itself cost 200 million rubles. Still, this plant, with the most modern technology, which makes it one of the biggest of its kind in the world, was started virtually 18 months after the beginning of construction. This called for assistance from all the Republics which provided equipment, blueprints, etc. I think that this example shows quite well the kind of advantages Azerbaijan derives by being a member of the family of the fraternal Union Republics.

Apart from being an important element in effecting the actual equality of the various peoples, and the result of their mutual assistance, the growth of large-scale industry also helps to shape the friendship of the peoples in yet another way, that is, directly, for the working class in this multinational country is the main vehicle of internationalist consciousness and mentality.

We inspected many industrial enterprises, the kind which determine Azerbaijan's new face, among them the Azerbaijan Tube-

Rolling Mill named after Lenin in Sumgait, the Serebrovsky Oil and Gas Extracting Administration near Baku, the Air-Conditioner Plant in Baku and the Karabakh Silk Mill named after the 26 Baku Commissars. They all have a multinational labor force, consisting of men and women of 20, 30 and 40 nationalities, with 8 nationalities working together even in small outlying Karabakh. But the important thing that attracted our attention, or amazed us to be more precise, was that the industrial and office workers themselves found the multinationality no problem at all.

Indeed, large-scale industrial production is the most efficient and natural means of uniting the various peoples, and is the basis of the internationalist friendship of the Azerbaijan working people. But *K.M. Bagirov,* First Secretary of the party's Sumgait City Committee, explained, this does not mean that we have been letting things ride. The leadership of the party organization has never lost sight of the need to work to strengthen the friendship among the working people of different nationalities, and there are more than 70 of these in Sumgait. The party's City Committee takes account of this fact when nominating men and women for awards or election to the presidia of meetings. 'We believe all of this is highly important.' 'Have there been any incidents?' 'Of course, the city's population is young and fluid, and things have not been smooth all the time.' But the cases have been few and far between, involving individuals only.

Another aspect of the working people's internationalist education carried on by the party's City Committee is the effort to strengthen the friendship with the other peoples of the Soviet Union. Sumgait maintains friendly contacts with the Urals (Russia), with the cities of Rustavi (Georgia), Odessa (Ukraine) and Kirovakan (Armenia). This fraternal friendship, Bagirov went on, extends beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union. We support internationalist ties with the peoples of the other socialist countries. Not very long ago, a group of Cuban steel workers came to Sumgait to take part in a 'friendship smelting.'

We wondered about the state of the nationalities question in the rural areas. In India and Iraq, for instance, the peasants make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Because they are downtrodden and backward, and are constantly subjected to fierce oppression by the landowners and feudal lords, the peasants are especially receptive to nationalistic calls.

That was also the condition of Azerbaijan's peasants before the revolution, we were told by our hosts. That is why in a letter to the communists of the Caucasus in April 1921, Lenin urged them to 'make immediate efforts to improve the condition of the peasants' (*Coll Works,* Vol. 32, p. 318). This behest of Lenin's has been completely fulfilled, and the trust of the peasants won, chiefly by switch-

ing the countryside to socialist lines and boosting agriculture at a faster pace.

We saw the truth of this on every hand. We carried away some striking impressions, for instance, from a visit to the Kommunist collective farm in the Chartar village of Martuni District in the Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous Region. It has a mechanized dairy farm, a club built of pink tufa seating 500, a library with 15,000 volumes, schools, a hospital and a polyclinic. The collective farmers live in two-story stone houses with all modern amenities.

In the countryside, the nationalities are not mixed as they are in the cities, and the villages are mainly inhabited by people of one nationality. But as E.G. Sarkisyan told us, in the old days Armenians and Azerbaijanians used to be friends on a personal basis, but today such friendships are the rule and are reinforced with the friendship of whole villages and districts, where these men and women know and, most importantly, help each other. We were told of many cases of mutual assistance, cooperation and just friendly human bonds between Azerbaijan and Armenian villages.

Of course, a crucial factor here has been the abolition of exploitation, which generates all kinds of divisions, including national divisions, but the party's sustained, day-to-day ideological and educational work also plays a tremendous role.

It was in the Martuni district that we were told by V.M. Gabrielyan:

'The greatest accomplishment in the solution of the nationalities problem is that over here we no longer think about it. This means that we have no acute and painful nationalities problem requiring special attention, and the party sees to it that no such problems arise. National proportions are maintained in the Soviets and the leadership of public bodies. The district committee also sees to it that all the villages, Armenian and Azerbaijan alike, are equally provided with telephones, roads, water-mains and other facilities. And the main thing, of course, is well-equipped schools with instruction in the native language — Armenian or Azerbaijanian.'

We left Nagorny Karabakh, feeling that close attention in a Leninist spirit to the interests of every nationality, however small, has become ingrained in the Soviet people, above all in its Communist Party.

We also drew the following conclusion, which is highly important for our own countries. The nationalities problem cannot be solved without the solution of the agrarian problem, without radical socio-economic transformations in the countryside. This will be seen in the national experience of Iraq, where reactionary feudal elements had taken over the leadership of the Kurdish national-liberation movement and, fearful of the agrarian reform announced by the Iraqi

government, mounted an armed uprising against the autonomy of Iraqi Kurdistan. They refused to have autonomy under a progressive regime, even though they tried to cover up their unwillingness with nationalistic and anti-communist slogans. This doomed the counter-revolutionary rising to failure. The Iraqi Communist Party is certain that the national problem of Iraq's Kurdish people can be properly solved through radical changes in agrarian relations and a revolutionary and democratic transformation of the whole country.

New living conditions

Much of what we have described shows how the question of actual equality in the social conditions of life and culture in Azerbaijan has been settled.

We could overwhelm the reader with the figures we were given about the number of doctors, hospitals, schools and pupils, higher schools and students, artists and research institutes, cultural and educational institutions, such as theatres, cinemas, museums, clubs, libraries, and so on. This was described to us in great detail by Azerbaijan's Minister of Culture Z.K. Bagirov. We can assure the reader that in all these areas Azerbaijan, one of the most backward parts of tsarist Russia, has now outstripped nearly all the most developed capitalist countries and even exceeds somewhat the average for the Soviet Union.

We should merely like to draw attention to a few matters which bears directly on our own countries.

First, in Azerbaijan the problem of national personnel has been solved. This we saw everywhere — at the industrial enterprises, on the collective farms, and in the government and party institutions. No one made any secret of the fact that it has been solved with the Russian people's help. Indeed, this is a source of pride, and everyone we spoke to brushed aside with disdain the charges by hostile propaganda about 'Russification.' At the Azerbaijan State University, Professor *Aslanov,* Ph.D., told us: 'We are grateful to the Russian people. They have set us on our feet, and then we learned to walk on our own.'[6] The university (with over 6,000 students) has two sectors with lectures offered in Azerbaijanian and in Russian. They have common chairs, lecturers and curricula, and it is up to the students to choose the sector.

Second, the problems of education and personnel have been solved for all the nationalities, even the smallest. At the university we also asked about national quotas. We were told that there were no quotas now, that young men and women of the main nationalities were enrolled on an equal basis. However, there were very small

nationalities — the Tsakhurs, Udins and Ingilois — and they had priority in enrollment.

This is so important for countries like ours, where many small nationalities have no access to higher education at all. In our countries, where the social system is different, national quotas would probably be necessary, and this not only in education.

Third, the question of women's equality, an important part of the nationalities question, has also been settled in Azerbaijan. We saw women everywhere: in executive posts, in government and party institutions, in schools and polyclinics. The relevant figures, which are highly convincing, will be found in any statistical book. We shall confine ourselves to two figures, which we were given by R.G. Mamed-zade. He told us that women made up 32-33 per cent of the membership of the republic's party organization, and 30-35 per cent of the CPAz Central Committee.[7] One-third of all party district committee secretaries are women. And this we find in a country which for centuries was dominated by Islam, with its traditional seclusion of women in the home.

However, the nation's progressive traditions and features are naturally preserved, and are evidently most marked in the sphere of culture. Minister Z. Bagirov ended his colorful account, abounding in facts and figures (which we mentioned) on the flourishing of the national culture of Azerbaijan on a socialist basis, with these words: 'We have created an Azerbaijan socialist national culture, which is capable of solving its own internal national problems.'

Just one more example. The Azerbaijan Opera House has a mugan sector. The mugan is a specific Azerbaijan form of opera which is centuries old, and which used to exist only as folk art. Azerbaijan composers have invested it with a classical character. Many mugam operas, like Uzeir Gadjibekov's famous Leilah and Mejnoun, are part of the repertoire of the Azerbaijan Opera House and are also performed with success in other Soviet cities, including Moscow. Incidentally, amateur art groups are a form of folk art and are very popular all over the Republic.

This is a far cry from the notorious charge of 'Russification.' Both of us, who come from the East, had good reason to feel at home in Azerbaijan, because it is an Eastern country, even if it does differ substantially from our own.

At the same time, it is here, in the sphere of culture, that the process of the interpenetration and integration of nations is most pronounced for it is promoted by the constant cultural exchanges among the Republics. This is of exceptional importance. After all, the interpenetration and mutual enrichment of cultures is an expression of the spiritual kinship of the peoples, and an important premise for the

future integration of nations, which the CPSU has always pursued as a goal in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Religion, an important element in society's spiritual life, is also connected with the question of national features and traditions. It is of special importance for our two countries. It was therefore most appropriate that we went to a country with Moslem traditions. After all, Islam is the official religion in Iraq, and in India there are over 65 million Moslems (almost 12 per cent of the population) a greater number of whom speak a separate language, Urdu. There is also a reason why the communalist (religious and chauvinistic) circles preached the theory of two nations in India. Here again, reactionary circles in capitalist and developing countries have poured much slander on the communists' policy in the sphere of religion.

In Baku we visited the city's largest mosque, the Tazapir, where we met members of the Transcaucasian Moslem Religious Board, including Mufti Hadji Ismail Ahmedov.

We learned that the Soviet Union's general principle of separation of church from state also applies to Islam and that there is no harassment of believers. Let us note one important point: the financial agencies do not control the banking accounts and operations of the Religious Board. We learned that the continuation of religious traditions and practices is a purely voluntary matter, and that the believers are not hampered in any way.

We were impressed by the active participation of practising Moslems in the country's public life and by their Soviet patriotism. The Mufti took part in the battle of Stalingrad, was awarded the medals 'For Bravery' and 'For the Defense of Stalingrad' and is very proud of his awards.

'Miracle' is perhaps the best word we could use to describe, without any exaggeration, our overall and chief impression of everything we saw in Azerbaijan. However, the heralds of imperialist propaganda and the reactionaries in our own countries frequently declare: 'Why do you keep comparing the present situation in the Soviet Union with that of pre-revolutionary Russia, or — worst of all — with the period of economic dislocation after the Civil War? Nowadays, all countries have gone forward as compared with that period, especially with the period after the Second World War.'

Accordingly, we decided to compare the situation in Soviet Azerbaijan with that in one of the countries which bourgeois propaganda has presented as a model of the 'economic miracle' in the Third World, namely, Iran. We asked our colleague on the Editorial Council of the journal, Hamid Safari, who is a member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran, to tell us about the present state of Iranian Azerbaijan, his homeland. Com-

rade Safari kindly supplied us with information based on the official statistics issued by Iran's Central Bank.

The population of Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan is roughly the same — over five million. They also had roughly the same starting level at the beginning of the 20th century. What about now?

	Soviet Azerbaijan	Iranian Azerbaijan
Number of industrial and office workers in the economy (wage-workers for Iranian Azerbaijan)	1,506,000 (1975)	1,050,000 (1973/74)
In agriculture	524,000	634,000
In industry	645,000	140,000
Literacy	100%	In Rural areas: 20-25% in Cities 40%
Number of doctors per 10,000 inhabitants	28.9	3.6
Number of hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants	100	4

Note 1. The 140,000 wage workers in Iranian Azerbaijan's industry are employed mainly at small enterprises, with under 10 employees. There are only 5 large enterprises employing up to 500 persons, and all are located in Tabris, the only industrial city in the area.

Note 2. There are no polyclinics, hospitals, cultural or educational institutions in the rural areas of Iranian Azerbaijan at all.

Note 3. Iranian Azerbaijanians have no right to education in the native language. The existence of national cultural institutions, theatres, museums, and so on is ruled out. When a census is taken, the answer to the question of nationality is 'Iranian.' The Azerbaijanian language is regarded as a 'dialect of Persian.'

What more can one add to these facts?

The problem is solved, the work goes on

Consequently, the main idea emphasized by our hosts at every level was that the national question, in the form in which it was inherited from the past, has been completely settled, and settled once and for all. We saw for ourselves that this is quite true.

But this conviction and the formulation of the answer itself made us ask two questions, likewise at every level:

1. Does this mean that nothing remains to be done in the way of wiping out the legacy of the past?

2. In what sense or in what form has the national question still to be settled? What are the perspectives in this respect?

The answers we got emphasized the Communist Party's role in this key social process. This we have already described, but it is well worth returning to the subject.

The CPSU, the Bolshevik Party, has always been an international and internationalist party. Lenin always fought relentlessly against any attempts (which have been many in the party's history) to separate the communists of Russia in their 'national quarters' (let us recall, for instance, his fight against the stand taken by the Bund), and took an uncompromising attitude to any expressions, however slight, of great-power chauvinism or nationalism. This is a key principle, and one of the main conditions for taking a correct approach to the solution of the nationalities problem in a multinational country, and it is still upheld by the CPSU.

We were highly impressed by the party's cadres. In Azerbaijan we had an opportunity of meeting the first secretaries of party organizations at virtually every level. They are very efficient, indeed, and merely laughed at the bourgeois propaganda claim that every 'second secretary' is a Russian who makes all the decision. Of course, there are Azerbaijanians, Armenians and Russians among the secretaries of the regional, city and district committees, but this is merely a reflection of the national composition of the population and the party. Our main impression is that they work in a truly friendly, internationalist atmosphere.

They were not apprehensive of any of our questions, some of which sounded odd to them. They did not evade any of these questions.

One question which we frequently repeated had to do with something we had also frequently heard of, namely, the plenary meetings of party organizations on internationalist education. We have been told that such plenary meetings are held regularly at every level, from the Central Committee of the Republic's Communist Party to the district committee, which were called to map out measures to correct mistakes and shortcomings in this area.

'What are these shortcomings if the national question has been settled?' we asked. 'Why hold such meetings?'

The similar answers we were given in various regions and districts, cities and villages were best formulated by A.G. Kerimov, who said:

'First there is the objective need for correctly harmonizing the interests of each nation with those of all Soviet people in our plans and in our day-to-day work. Relations between nations are a living

and developing fabric, and the problems that they tend to produce need to be constantly and consistently tackled. But the main thing here, of course, is the practical and daily effort to continue bringing the nations closer together.

'Then there is the tenacity of the survivals of the past in the minds of men, in their mentality.

'Finally, the hostile propaganda which our class adversaries seek to inject from outside is designed to fan nationalistic prejudices in an effort to erode the unity of our country's peoples in some way.'

We left Azerbaijan feeling tremendous respect for the Soviet communists' many-sided and dedicated activity. Application of Lenin's principles has enabled the CPSU to perform a miracle which is not only political, economic and social, but spiritual as well. A revolution has taken place in the minds of men. One of the most complicated problems in society's life, the problem of relations between nations, has actually been solved.

And another thing. We saw and sensed the role played by the Russian people in this spiritual integration, with its readiness to share all it has in order to render genuine assistance to the other peoples of the USSR. As a result, it has won their confidence. This was well put by G.A. Aliev, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau and First Secretary of the CPAz Central Committee, in his speech at the 25th Congress of the CPSU: 'Today, on behalf of the Azerbaijan people, we voice our cordial gratitude to all the peoples of our country, and to our elder brother, the great Russian people, for their disinterested assistance, for their friendship and brotherhood.'

Final questions answered

Upon our return to Moscow, we were received by V.P. Ruben, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He told us he was proud of the solution of the nationalities problem, but added that it had yet to be fully solved.

We naturally asked him to explain what he meant, and how he saw the further evolution of relations between Soviet nations. He said:

'The 20th Congress of the CPSU marked the start of a new stage in the elaboration of the theory and practice of relations between the nations in the Soviet Union. This has run along two lines: first, an effort to put the facts and past experience into a system; and second, an effort theoretically to comprehend contemporary processes and the prospects for the development of relations between the nations, especially in connection with the complete construction of socialism and the start of the construction of communism.

'The point is that the nationalities question cannot be separated

from the life of society, the specific features of the economic formation and the special conditions in which it has to live. As they change and the formation develops, there is also a change in the content of the nationalities question.

Now that we have built full-scale socialism, we have a different working class, a different class of collective farmers and a different intelligentsia. These are the chief components of any nation. They have been developing and we intend to record their progress in the Constitution which is now being framed. Furthermore, nations also change with the interpenetration and mutual enrichment of their cultures. Finally, the pace of life has been increasing, the volume of information growing, and man himself changing, and that, too, has an effect on the character of the nations.

'Consequently, as social conditions change, the nations will go on developing and changing, and the friendship among them will grow stronger. Of course, nations will not disappear overnight or even at the first stage of communist society. This means that the need for a nationalities policy and for the party's work in this area will also remain, although their content will change together with the changing content of the nationalities question.'

We have said that the nationalities problems of the Soviet Union and of the rest of the socialist community are a favorite target for subversive activity by the imperialist circles. The above-mentioned article in *The Economist* quoted Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is now National Security Adviser to the U.S. President, as saying that 'within the rules of peaceful coexistence' the West should in a certain measure resort to 'realistic encouragement of pluralism via nationalism and separatism' in the Soviet Union.[8] Ignoring for the moment the fact that such advocacy of interference in the domestic affairs of another country, to say nothing of the pretext of abiding by the principle of peaceful coexistence, is altogether intolerable, we asked ourselves: What does Brzezinski expect in the final count? What kind of 'real' separatism does he hope for?

It was this question of the actual purpose of such propaganda campaigns that we asked of Ruben. He replied briefly: 'This is simply a malicious distortion of the facts. Bourgeois propaganda has been quick to speculate on the so-called Jewish question. But in the USSR the Jews fully enjoy all the national rights, and their national culture, in particular, has flourished. As for political equality, one need merely say that over 35,000 Jews (of a total population of 2.3 million) are now deputies to Soviets at various levels. Over the whole Soviet period, upwards of 120,000 citizens of Jewish nationality have emigrated from the Soviet Union. Let us note that over the past few years, the number of exit applications has dropped sharply. The same applies to

the Volga Germans (about whose 'unhappy' lot, which is allegedly similar to that of the Jews, the bourgeois press has displayed so much concern): only 30,000 of a total of roughly 1.5 million persons have chosen to leave the USSR. So whenever any problems arise, they are solved.'

Some reflections

1. We have satisfied ourselves that the nationalities question in the Soviet Union has been completely solved through consistent implementation of the Leninist policy. The 60 years that have passed since the October Revolution are a short time yet such a great deal has been done in the most complicated area of human relations.

The solution has been achieved above all through the establishment of socialism, the new and advanced social system, but does that mean that we can do nothing in our own countries until socialism is built there, too? We feel that that would be the wrong approach.

First, as we have already said, when quoting Lenin, even under capitalism headway can be made in solving the nationalities problem through consistent democracy.

Second, the nationalities question has been and remains a part of the question of social revolution. For our countries, it has become a part of the question of the national democratic revolution. That is our parties' starting point in working out their stand on the concrete problems, like progressive transformations, autonomy, equality of the national languages, and so on.

Third, with neo-colonialism banking on fanning national conflicts, chauvinims and separatism in our countries, making use of these attitudes against progressive forces, and the communists in the first place, the nationalities question in our countries has become inseparable from the anti-imperialist struggle. Consequently, here again the communists can and must successfully apply the strategy of united anti-imperialist front.

2. We have seen for ourselves that despite all the distinctions in the content and form of the solution of the nationalities question in the Soviet Union and in our countries, the Soviet experience has clearly brought out some general laws. We believe they include unqualified political equality of the nations; consistent democracy of the system of government; actual equality — economic, social and cultural; democratic solution of language problems; decisive role of the working class and its party; concern for the peasantry; special concern for the small nationalities; observance of the principle of free will, tolerance and tact everywhere; and international unity of the communists.

But, of course, these laws should not be applied mechanically but creatively, with due account of local conditions.

3. We left Azerbaijan, convinced that these Leninist principles are correct and feasible, for we had seen for ourselves that consistent implementation of the Leninist requirements of free will and equality, respect for national dignity and interests, and mutual assistance have developed into a rule of behavior among Soviet people, which precludes any outbreaks of hostility between nations. We have seen that the Leninist policy has provided a basis on which numerous nations and nationalities have developed into a new historical entity, the Soviet people, an integrated people of a multinational country united in building socialism and communism. We have witnessed the Soviet citizens' great common national pride.

4. We left Azerbaijan, enriched with an understanding of the importance of proletarian internationalism and its close connection with genuine patriotism. We realized how closely Soviet patriotism, socialist, proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with the working people and all the peoples of the world are interlinked in the minds of Soviet citizens. We realized their great determination to go on helping and supporting all fighters for social progress.

Anyone who has seen the Soviet Union's achievements gains tremendous optimism and inspiration in fighting for a new and better life for mankind.

1. Not long ago we read an article in *The Economist*, 19-25 March, 1977, which dealt with many things, including the nationalities question in the USSR. This reputedly solid British weekly voiced the futile hopes of the opponents of socialism for possible national strife in the Soviet Union. Later on in this survey we shall deal with some of the claims made by *The Economist*.

2. The USSR comprises 15 Union Republics, 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions, and 10 National Areas.

3. Let us note by way of comparison that the Ukrainian Republic, with a population of 49.1 million, has only 32 deputies in the Soviet of Nationalities, because it has no autonomous national territories within it, but has 150 deputies in the Soviet of the Union.

4. Thus, of the 400 deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet in the Azerbaijan Republic in 1975, 315 are Azerbaijanians, 46 Russians, 28 Armenians, and so on. The more than 48,000 deputies to the local Soviets belong to over 35 nationalities.

5. Azerbaijan's industrial growth rate (1975 up on 1940): all industry, 8.3-fold, including the fuel industry, 2-fold; chemistry and petrochemistry, 207-fold; power engineering, 9-fold; ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, 1,810-fold; engineering and metal-working, 34-fold; the light industry, 5.7-fold; and the food industry, 5.7-fold.

6. Before the revolution, 91 per cent of the population of Azerbaijan was illiterate; only 62 Azerbaijanians had a higher education. In the five years from 1971 to 1975, 80,000 specialists with a higher education were graduated in the Republic.

7. Women make up 37.7 per cent of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, and 45.74 per cent of the local Soviets.

8. *The Economist*, 19-25 March, 1977, p. 63.

Helsinki and the developing countries

Naim Ashhab
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One of the by no means unimportant results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation is that it touched upon general aspects of the development of international relations not only in the European area, but also between Europe and the rest of the world. The provisions of the Final Act expressing the participants' desire to help the developing countries were greeted with interest on all continents. This interest will be even deeper now, on the eve of the Belgrade conference, which is to review fulfillment of the Helsinki accords.

What makes this matter so topical in the eyes of the peoples of the developing countries? The answer to that question probably lies in analysis of the progress made in fulfilling the provisions of the Final Act reflecting the explicit aspirations of hundreds of millions of people across Asia, Africa and Latin America. These provisions come under three headings. First, the provisions on the economic problems of the less developed countries; second, the agreements on promoting security outside Europe; and, third, what is said in the Final Act about guaranteeing the sovereign rights of the peoples.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America regard fulfillment of the Helsinki accords not only as a way of strengthening peace, facilitating political détente and moving on to military détente, but also as an extremely important factor that could help to reshape the economic relations formed in the days of colonialism between capitalist Europe (as well as the United States and Canada, the non-European parties to the agreement) and the former colonies and semi-colonies. However, the imperialist powers have shown no more desire since Helsinki than they did before the conference to change this unequal and obsolete system.

Take, for example, the prices of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods exported to the capitalist world market from the developing countries. Monopoly dictation on the world market has in recent years led to sharp declines (for instance, in 1975-76), while the prices of industrial exports from capitalist countries have been grow-

ing. This, and not the rise of oil prices, which even today are still less than they should be, is one of the main reasons for the grave financial position of many of the young countries. As for oil prices; whereas in 1973 they were set at a fairer level as against those of the main industrial goods on the capitalist market,[1] inflation has been virtually wiping out all the increases since 1973. Western Europe and the U.S. are trying to block any attempt by the developing countries to close the gap between the prices of their raw materials and those of manufactured goods from the capitalist states.

While supporting in every way the reactionary regimes that govern some of the developing countries, the ruling circles of the major capitalist powers use them to mount an obstructionist posture whenever there is any real discussion about changing the unequal economic relations with the developing countries as a whole. In a year and a half of negotiation at the Paris conference on international economic cooperation not one of the proposals from the group of 19 developing countries was accepted because of the various roadblocks erected by the capitalist countries.

So the question naturally arises: How is all this to be squared with the obligation to fulfill the provisions of the Helsinki document calling for removal of barriers to the development of international trade, for efforts to establish stable international economic relations?

In our view, it is quite obvious that dictation of prices and the policy of perpetuating the backwardness of the developing countries pursued by the major capitalist powers are in deep contradiction with the understanding reached at Helsinki that the participating countries 'will take into account the interest of all in the narrowing of differences in the levels of economic development, and in particular the *interest of developing countries* throughout the world' (My italics, *N.A.*). This line has been severely criticized in the developing countries themselves and at many prestigious international gatherings. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said at the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (August 1976), that the vagaries of the world market and the manipulations of the international financiers are causing a constant fall in the real value of the products of the developing countries.[2] At the same time, the gap is widening in relations between the imperialist powers and most of the developing countries. There is also a huge gulf in per capita incomes. Such is the unhappy outcome of the policies pursued by capitalist Europe, by the imperialist countries as a whole toward the developing countries.

The Helsinki agreements binding the signatories of the Final Act to conduct a policy of peace and détente in Europe and other parts of the world deserve special attention. I would note one of the most impor-

tant propositions of this document, which reads that 'security in Europe is to be considered in the broader context of world security and is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole, and that accordingly the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, and in particular to the Mediterranean area.'

These impressive words of the Final Act express the participating countries' belief in the need for peace efforts in other areas besides Europe. Unfortunately, however, the United States and capitalist Europe are inclined to regard this as mere words carrying no specific commitment. They whip up the arms race there and steer a course not toward détente but a build-up of tension.

The United States and other imperialist powers are encouraging Israel's agressive inclincations by enabling her to maintain a high level of armaments. What is more, France and Federal Germany are themselves buying arms from Israel and in the autumn of 1976 the purchase of Israeli fighter aircraft by Austria was announced. Thus the Israeli arms industry is receiving additional growth stimuli.[3]

The United States (also a signatory of the Final Act) is delivering huge consignments of arms to the reactionary regimes of the Persian Gulf. This further increases the threat of new military clashes and general instability in Western Asia.

The imperialist powers are taking a similar line in regard to the Republic of South Africa. Because of the constant violations of the UN General Assembly resolutions banning arms deliveries to the racist regime, the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries called for an embargo on oil deliveries to France and Israel. Ending the arms race in the Middle East and in other parts of Asia and Africa and the international armaments trading in general have become an urgent problem demanding serious attention.

The imperialist powers bear the responsibility for the real danger that proliferation of nuclear weapons presents to the world today. Their support has given the reactionary regimes in South Africa and Israel, which pursue policies of expansion and aggression against their peaceful neighbors, the opportunity of building up their own nuclear weapon industries. Through collaboration with France and Federal Germany in the nuclear field Israel has made substantial advances toward creating its own nuclear weapon and its leaders declare again and again either that it already possesses such a weapon or is capable of producing it when needed. There is a danger that Brazil may gain access to the atomic bomb.

So, in glaring contrast to the noble aims proclaimed at Helsinki, a perilous course is being steered toward creation of new military-political bastions of imperialism. All this increases tension and the

danger of armed conflict, and undermines the peace efforts of both the socialist and non-aligned countries, which are striving to spread détente to all continents.

The United States and the leading powers of capitalist Europe have treated as no more than good intentions those provisions of the Helsinki conference that express the intention of the participating states to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination, the right of all peoples to determine their internal and external political status in full freedom, without external interference. Time and again the imperialists of the USA and Europe resort to policies of interference in the affairs of other countries, as illustrated, for example, by the history of the crisis in Lebanon. The actions of the ultra-right forces that brought Lebanon to the verge of disruption and collapse were to a considerable extent made possible by the lavish arms deliveries that they constantly received from the USA, France and the FRG. The French ruling circles provoked the secession of Mayotte (Comoro Islands) in order to keep this legitimate territory of the young Comoro state permanently tied to France. The latest example of a policy alien to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords is interference by a number of imperialist powers in the internal conflict in Zaire, with the resultant real threat of foreign invasion in neighboring Angola. The USA and France bear special responsibility for the emergence of this dangerous center of tension. The U.S. immediately sent in a million dollars' worth of equipment. France has organized the transportation to Zaire not only of military equipment, but also of Moroccan troops for punitive operations against the insurgent population of Shaba province, and (like Belgium) has also dispatched military instructors. Certain West European governments and NATO have been urging some other African countries to interfere in the affairs of Zaire — those that have given military and other aid to the Zaire regime and shown their willingness to be led by imperialism.

The imperialists more and more frequently resort to the use of mercenaries, most of them citizens of West European countries and the USA, for interference in the affairs of the young states, especially the African ones. This happened in Angola, and it is happening in Zaire and Zimbabwe. In capitalist Europe plans for resettling 150,000 whites from Namibia, Zimbabwe and the RSA to Bolivia are being drawn up at state level. One of the aims is to bolster the reactionary regime there with racist help.

The plot against Benin, when imperialist mercenaries, Europeans and Africans, invaded the territory of that country, was hatched in Western Europe. The security service of the Comoro Islands recently uncovered a similar conspiracy. If preparations for armed invasion

and other similar acts of interference in the affairs of sovereign states proceed unhindered in certain West European states, responsibility for this lies with their governments.

To sum up, the policies of the United States and a number of major capitalist states of Europe increasingly contradict the noble aims vis-à-vis the developing countries written into the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The socialist countries of Europe have throughout these years pursued a fundamentally different policy. And as regards their attitude to the developing countries, there is no contradiction or discrepancy between the aims proclaimed at Helsinki and the foreign policies of the socialist countries.

This is made quite clear, for example, by the socialist countries' cooperation with the developing countries. The progressive orientation and mutually beneficial character of this cooperation are an important reason for the growing interest of the less developed countries in building up varied connections with socialist Europe. Three decades ago, for example, they started from almost nothing, but in the period from 1960 to 1974 the external trade of the CMEA member countries with the developing countries increased more than sixfold — from 1,700 million rubles to 10,500 million rubles. In 1970-75 it increased 2.3-fold, including a 13.4 per cent increase in 1975.

The facts show that, as in the past, the socialist states lay the main stress in their cooperation with the emergent countries on industries whose development is decisive for achieving economic emancipation.[4] This policy effectively helps to eliminate their economic lag and fully accords with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have shown understanding and appreciation of the emergent countries' program for a 'new international economic order.' It is expressive of their legitimate desire to extend the process of decolonization to the economic sphere, lay the foundations for freedom from exploitation by the industrialized capitalist powers and provide favorable conditions for overcoming their economic backwardness.[5] With this aim in view, the developing countries are working for integrated measures to change the existing structure of international economic relations, under which they remain an object of discrimination and oppression by the capitalist countries. The Soviet government's statement on restructuring international economic relations supports the underlying principles of a broad program of measures expressive of the developing countries' vital and long-term interests.

The international policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries fully accords with the principles of self-determination and

equality of nations reaffirmed in the Final Act. This has been clearly demonstrated by the recent visit to Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Somalia of Nikolai Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the visit to a number of African countries of Fidel Castro, Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Cuba. Both visits were a powerful demonstration of the socialist world's solidarity with the peoples of Africa and made it perfectly clear that, in striving for the complete and final elimination of colonialism and racism, the socialist countries are resolved to help these peoples uphold their cherished ideals of national and social liberation and will do everything for the triumph of freedom.

In the Middle East, too, the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of strengthening and protecting the national sovereignty of the countries of this region and the sovereign rights of their peoples. The Soviet demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territory occupied in 1967 is vivid evidence of that. The Soviet Union and the European socialist countries are exerting much effort to help the Arab people of Palestine exercise their legitimate rights to self-determination and the establishment of their own state, whereas the United States and other capitalist countries have denied them that right, as evidenced, primarily, by non-recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only lawful representative of the Palestine people. In addressing the 16th USSR Trade Union Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, proposed a detailed and all-embracing plan for a Middle East settlement, defining its main principles and directions, which accord with the interests of all the peoples and states of the region. The importance of that speech was emphasized by Yassir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive. His meeting with Leonid Brezhnev during the visit to Moscow of a PLO delegation (April 1977) was of truly historic significance.

Since Helsinki, the European socialist countries have continued to hold the initiative in promoting a climate of peace and détente in various parts of the world. But the success of these peace initiatives depends also on the reaction of the leading capitalist states, primarily the USA. So far, however, the approach of this biggest capitalist power to the problems of peace and disarmament reveals little that is positive. Indeed, one can discern persistent attempts to gain unilateral strategic advantages at the expense of the security of the USSR and its allies. Naturally, the Soviet Union categorically rejects such an approach.

While imperialist policy breeds conflicts in various parts of Asia and Africa, socialist Europe is doing everything it can to make its contacts with the developing countries a reliable factor for world peace. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have shown a

deep understanding of the peace initiatives taken by these countries — for instance their proposals to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace — speak out against the setting up of new military bases there and the policy of international imperialism. And though the imperialists accuse the Soviet Union of maintaining military bases in some Afro-Asian countries, their accusations are unfounded. We have only to recall the fabrications about 'a Soviet military presence,' even 'bases,' in Somalia and Mozambique. The leaders of these sovereign states have repeatedly, on the basis of incontestable facts, exposed this ill-intentioned imperialist slander.

The socialist countries' policy on nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world has likewise met with a favorable response in Asia and Africa. The socialist representatives at the 31st UN General Assembly supported resolutions calling for such zones in Africa and the Middle East. The Soviet Union has proposed to the USA withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all Soviet and American vessels and submarines carrying nuclear weapons in order to reduce the tension in this area.

All these facts are proof of the socialist countries' commitment to peace, their sincere desire to make détente a continuous, all-embracing porcess. And that, as we know, is one of the key provisions of the Helsinki accords.

The Final Act of the European Conference is a long-term program that cannot be carried out in a year or two. But agreements are agreements. And as far as the developing countries are concerned (regardless of their differing structures), failure to implement these agreements would have a most adverse effect upon them, for it would aggravate their economic difficulties and jeopardize peace and security in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why materialization of the Final Act provisions is of such importance for them. And its guarantee lies in concerted action on the international scene by the forces of world socialism and national liberation, by all the forces committed to peace and democracy.

1. As a result of measures taken by the oil-producing countries in connection with the fourth Arab-Israeli war (October 1973).

2. See *International Herald Tribune*, August 17, 1976.

3. Israeli ruling circles are also seeking U.S. permission to supply Ecuador with Kfir fighter bombers produced by Israel and equipped with American engines.

4. For instance, 38 production units in iron and steel, 74 in energy, 53 in engineering and metal working, 33 in oil extraction and refining, over 30 in building, about 150 in the light, food and other industries, have been built, or are being built, with Soviet assistance. They will annually produce about 16 million tons of iron, nearly 18 million tons of steel, more than 15 million tons of rolled metal, about 350,000 tons and aluminum, more than three million tons of cement, more than 500,000 tons of mineral fertilizer, more than 53 million tons of oil and about 20 million tons of oil products. Power generating capacity will amount to nearly 11 million kw.

5. For more details see K. Olszewski's article, 'Socialist economic integration and international relations,' in *WMR*, May 1977.



Economic analysis and political decisions

Jean Vincent
Chairman, Swiss Party of Labor

Only a few years ago people high up in government and business were under the illusion that the crisis which had gripped the main centers of the capitalist world would somehow bypass Switzerland. And only our Party of Labor warned that crisis developments in our economy and in our society were inevitable.

The problem of the world capitalist crisis and how it affects Switzerland has many aspects. One of them is closely linked with the dialectic of the general and the particular in modern history. For we know that the idea is widely current that Switzerland is 'not like' other capitalist countries. For years the conviction has been instilled in the public mind that Switzerland is not an actor on the world stage, but merely a spectator, a disinterested observer who counts the blows and either condemns or approves.

Ruling-class ideologists seek solace in the hope that Switzerland will be able to withdraw into self-isolation and avoid the calamities besetting world capitalism and imperialism, that Switzerland can 're-main in the 19th century,' or at any rate return to it.

It is therefore especially important to make people realize that capitalist Switzerland, for all the peculiarities of its economic and political structure and history, is subject to the basic laws of capitalist development. Without disregarding national specifics, our party has repeatedly emphasized in its policy statements that Switzerland is part of the world capitalist system, is closely tied in with international imperialism, that its economic and political development is governed by the laws of capitalist economy and imperialist policy.

It was from this standpoint that we analyzed the crisis of the 70s. At the Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of capitalist Europe early in 1974, we described this crisis as exceptionally profound and all-embracing. And we stressed that the crisis had not only economic, but also political and moral aspects. In June 1974 we repeated this assessment at our Tenth Party Congress in Basel. At

Transcript of an interview Comrade Vincent gave a *WMR* correspondent in Geneva in January.

that time spokesmen of international big business and of our own ruling class maintained that Marxist-Leninist criticism of capitalism was obsolete. We, however, had every reason to state that the march of events had fully corroborated our theory. I repeat, we were the first to warn of the impending crisis, and subsequent events were to show that we were right and the believers in Swiss 'exclusiveness' wrong. In 1975 output declined by 13 per cent and investment by 7,800 million francs. The number of jobs declined by 200,000 between April 1973 and the close of 1976. Imports were down by 20 per cent.

Of course, our prediction of a drastic deterioration of the economic and social situation was based not on some oracular prescience, but on a scientific analysis of the state of affairs in the capitalist world and particularly in our own country. This led us to conclude that, in many respects, the crisis in Switzerland would manifest itself differently than in other capitalist countries.

That is precisely what happened. Take the problem of employment. According to official statistics, there are 14,000 fully unemployed though, as noted above, the number of jobs has decreased by 200,000. This paradoxical disparity is due, first, to the wide spread of partial unemployment, i.e. large numbers of workers being put on short time. Second, many women and pensioners found themselves compelled to give up their jobs. Yet neither of these two categories is included in the unemployment statistics.

Third, and most important, about 100,000 foreign workers have quit the country, or, to be more exact, since most of them were seasonal workers, did not return for the new season and swelled the unemployed army in their own countries, particularly Italy and Spain. Swiss capitalism has been able to ease the employment situation by exporting unemployment.

The relatively low level of unemployment does not, therefore, mean that Swiss capitalism has avoided excessive unemployment by astute management of the economy. On the one hand, the employment situation, in this time of crisis, is less tense than, say, in the EEC countries, and this is due to some specific features of our national economy. On the other hand, it reveals Switzerland's organic link with the entire capitalist economic mechanism.

Or another example, inflation. It is generally known that in this respect Switzerland has fared better than other countries. Last year prices rose by 1.2-1.3 per cent, compared with 16 per cent in Britain and Italy, 15 in France and 11 for the Common Market. The exchange rate of the Swiss franc is up 60 per cent on 1971. Switzerland therefore has to exert less effort and use fewer resources to assure an adequate supply of imported raw materials, food, and so on. Clearly, this is evidence of Swiss capitalism's 'durability.' It is also evidence

of a specific position in a crisis-ridden capitalist world. But the homogeneous social essence of capitalism, whether in our own country or neighboring West-European countries, makes itself felt whenever the workers press their demands for higher wages to counter higher prices. In other countries they are told: higher wages will only mean still higher prices. In Switzerland they are told: don't grumble, you are better off than in any other country.

A number of things have to be taken into account in analyzing the crisis in Switzerland. For instance, the role of banks in the national economy. In 1975, notwithstanding the output decline mentioned above, bank deposits rose by 47,000 million francs to reach a figure twice as large as our gross national product. Investments at home have decreased, but investments abroad have risen by 34,400 million francs, or by 40 per cent. The 1975 balance of payments showed a surplus of 6,700 million francs, and exports rose by 5.4 per cent. These figures show that, despite the crisis, Swiss capitalism has made a handsome profit out of its special position in the world capitalist economy.

Crisis phenomena in the production sphere have had the most adverse effect on the export industries, primarily the manufacture of watches. In the Neuchatel canton, the center of the watch industry, the number of jobs is down by 7,000 and the outlook is for a further decline of 10,000. At the close of 1976 the engineering industry registered a decline in production, orders and profit margins. Serious complications have arisen also in printing; there has been a sharp (40 per cent) drop in building, but a visible rise in textiles.

These and other developments squarely pose the problem of restructuring the Swiss economy. Big business wants to solve it in a way that would further its interests. The watch industry bulletin recently declared that new bankruptcies were quite normal, for, it argued, they remove the 'incompetents' that merely came up on the wave of the recent boom. The real purpose, of course, is to shoulder out the small and middle companies and thereby deliberately and actively stimulate the process — quite natural under capitalism — of production concentration and centralization of capital. That policy is being pursued also by employers' associations in other industries.

Indeed, the government is following the same course, clearly demonstrating that it serves the interests of big business. This has to be stressed because the men who speak for the bourgeoisie have gone to great pains to depict the state as a neutral institution vis-à-vis the various social forces.

The employers' associations — the *patronat* — has set out the aims of its economic strategy as follows: free play of market forces, safeguarding the economic order based on private initiative and re-

sponsibility, preference for individual over collective enterprise, independence of the cantons from the central authority. This is a thinly veiled appeal to demobilize the state and restrict its economic role. In other words, in this age of state-monopoly capitalism, the ruling class reaffirms its allegiance to *laissez faire,* to the free play of market forces. Interesting? Yes, for in this we have another feature of the social and economic climate in Switzerland and how it differs from that of neighboring countries.

But it does not follow that the Swiss state stands above classes. On the contrary, it is a political organism closely associated with big business, a servant of the big bourgeoisie. Our party has drawn special attention to that in the theses it approved in Lausanne in 1971.

The economic demobilization which big business is so anxious to bring about is class-oriented. For instance, the man who until recently was the head of the *patronat* is quoted for this statement: social-service expenditure should be borne by those who benefit from it, not the state. And that is how things stand today: the share of the state, the central government, the Swiss Confederation in social-service expenditure has been steadily declining while contributions by the population have been steadily increasing. Or take taxes: the accent has always been on indirect taxation, with the result that the tax on high incomes and big fortunes remains stable while taxes on consumer goods are constantly rising.

The special feature of Switzerland, therefore, is not that its bourgeoisie is resisting state intervention in the economy out of self-interest, but that state-monopoly capitalism in our country started developing rather late and is asserting itself more slowly than in other countries.

Finally, in assessing the peculiarities of the crisis situation in our country it should be remembered that Switzerland has not been at war for more than one and a half centuries and has known none of its destruction, death and tribulation. On the contrary, the military conflicts beyond its borders, particularly the two world wars, made Switzerland richer. It was able to improve its production capacity while that of other countries was being blasted. After the First and Second World Wars it was stronger economically than it had been before them.

Add to this the fact that for 30 years Switzerland has lived in favorable market conditions, without recessions, unemployment or strikes. Incidentally, the absence of strikes does not mean that there are no conflicting relations between workers and employers. This is the result of a special contract between the reformist trade unions and the *patronat,* known as the peaceful labor contract, which has a special clause prohibiting strikes.

To sum up, Switzerland occupies a special place in the capitalist world. Its economic structure, political system, history and traditions often give rise to situations that are difficult to compare with the situation in other lands, even our closest neighbors. But this concerns mainly the specific forms of life in our society and not the basic laws of capitalism, to which Switzerland is subject not less than any other capitalist country. The present crisis does not follow what might be called the classical pattern. It does not mirror the crisis of the 30s. Its manifestations are not so obvious as in other countries. It is largely hidden, disguised by local peculiarities. But, in the final analysis, it is biting deep into the most fundamental sides of our social life and can quite adequately be defined on the basis of the theories propounded by the founders of Marxism, who assessed such situations as the rebellion of the forces of production against production and property relations, against a doomed social system.

This is bound to play a major part in determining the prospects of our social development. On the other hand, even today it is piling up difficulties and creating urgent problems, social and political as well as economic. The ruling class is constantly trying to shift the burden of the crisis on to the workers' shoulders. It is attacking their political gains, the democratic rights won by the people.

Ours is a country of democratic traditions that took shape in the conditions of capitalist society. But these traditions are often broken or forgotten. The provisions of the constitution are often far removed from what happens in reality. Nevertheless, since 1848 the Swiss people have had a democratic — bourgeois-democratic, of course — constitution. Specifically, our political system provides for the right of popular legislative initiative. With 30,000 signatures under it, any new law that is proposed must be put up for public discussion. A proposal to change the constitution becomes the subject of a national referendum if it has the support of 50,000 citizens. Today, however, the ruling circles are trying to double the number of signatures required in such cases. They also want to reduce the period allowed for collection of signatures. This is being done to hamper the activities of the opposition forces and minimize their chances of success in any struggle with the ruling class and its parties.

Or take, for example, the campaign launched against civil servants and teachers who hold left-wing views. It is highly reminiscent of the *Berufsverbot* in the FRG. This is part of a general pattern. The bourgeois ruling class always resorts to restrictions on democracy when it finds this possible and profitable from the political or economic point of view, particularly in the present crisis situation.

What is the policy of our party in this situation? What aims do we set ourselves?

At our Tenth Congress we stressed that it is our aim, as the name of our party requires, to be genuine representatives of the working people, of their interests and aspirations, and tomorrow of their will at state level. Working in an era that was launched 60 years ago by the October Revolution, we are constantly aware of the acceleration in the march of history. Moreover, we consider it our duty not merely to observe events but to play a direct part in them, to build a new world, at least on a scale consonant with that of our country and our own potential.

As we have often emphasized in our party documents and at international gatherings, we cannot envisage the building of socialism in Switzerland in any other way than with the consent of the mass of the people, as a result of their own actions, and without any interference 'from above,' 'from outside,' from any 'active minorities,' and so on.

On the road to socialism the Swiss Party of Labor intends to rely on the country's democratic institutions. We shall give them real substance, we shall protect and develop them to the maximum. Protecting them, as I have said, is a problem that faces us already.

Our primary aim, then, is to win over to our side the broadest sections of the people. Within this general aim our first concern, of course, is to achieve unity of action among the working class. Secondly, we want an alliance of left forces and, thirdly, we must unite the broad masses.

The difficulties we encounter are formidable. Many of them derive from the peculiar features of the economic and political structure of our country. I will give two examples, Switzerland is very little centralized as a state. Each of the 22 cantons has its own constitution, its own laws. This means that the Party of Labor must be constantly alive to local conditions and careful in drafting policy at canton as well as national level. In addition, all work has to be conducted in the three national languages. While the high cost of living and the crisis-ridden state of the printing industry have lately led to the closing of several capitalist newspapers, we are still managing to put out a daily newspaper in French, and weeklies in German and Italian. This is something to be proud of, but in present circumstances this by no means easy task puts a tremendous strain on our party's resources.

Another thing that hinders our work is Switzerland's specific social and economic features. According to the latest statistics (1970), its working population is made up of 230,000 farmers, 1,129,000 industrial workers and 1,313,000 people employed in other spheres. Geneva, for instance, is a politically developed city, a city where our party's positions are particularly strong, where it has even beaten other parties at the polls. But out of the 180,000 people working in

Geneva only 36,000 are employed in industry, while 127,000 work in commerce, banks, insurance companies, transport, hotels, restaurants, administrative institutions, health and education services, and international organizations. In other words, the proportion of actual proletarians, industrial workers that directly create surplus value, is very small, far less than in other developed capitalist countries. It will be appreciated how this influences the social profile of the masses, what difficulties it creates for us in getting through to the population.

Nevertheless we are entitled to claim a measure of success. Admittedly the picture is not the same all over the country. In French-speaking Switzerland we have maintained firm positions, and in the Italian-speaking part they have even slightly improved. Unfortunately this cannot be said of the cantons where German is spoken.

A fruitful result of our unity policy is that in French-speaking Switzerland we have been able to build up a relationship with the socialists. We hold joint discussions and sometimes our positions come closer together. We have even got as far as making electoral agreements. We had such agreements in the Vaud and Geneva cantons and they were observed by both sides. A similar agreement is being worked out in the canton of Neuchatel. This is important because it is an industrial, working-class canton. It should be stressed that the unity we are achieving in French-speaking Switzerland is not just unity of action on some specific subject. Here something like a permanent alliance of left-wing forces is emerging.

We are not losing hope of getting cooperation with the socialists in the German part of the country as well, first through joint action on the shop floor, and then indirectly at inter-party level.

As for wider mass unity, I will give one example. A movement is under way in Geneva for a genuinely democratic housing policy, for the building of flats whose cost would come within the means of families with modest incomes. This movement is supported by our party, the Socialists, the Christian Democrats, trade unions of various colorings, and the tenants' associations. We regard the participation of the Party of Labor in such movements as an important way of realizing our principle of uniting the masses in the struggle for the future socialist transformation of Swiss society.

For the same purpose we are trying to use the mechanism of popular initiatives, which, as I have indicated, is a special feature of the Swiss political system. This year or next there is to be a national vote on proposals initiated by our party and providing for:

— control of prices and profits;

— introduction of control over trusts and cartels, including their possible nationalization;

— democratic tax increases on high incomes and large estates.

We are thus actively and consistently standing up for the interests of the workers, the working people, all sections and groups of the population that are in any way oppressed or exploited by big capital. We make use of various spheres and forms of political activity — parliamentary, at confederation and canton level, the mechanism of popular initiatives and referendums, mass movements for achieving specific social aims, and so on.

In carrying out our unity policy we are guided by definite principles formulated in our program document — the 1971 theses. This document stressed that in the campaign to bring the masses together in a broad popular movement the Party of Labor should retain its own face and work to improve the political consciousness of its members. On the one hand, there is to be no isolationism, veiled by a misconceived notion of 'ideological purity.' On the other, we must not allow ourselves to be tempted by the road of futile reformism. The Party of Labor wants everything it does to raise the general level of the struggle and contribute to the overall task of advancing toward socialism.

In conclusion, I should like to repeat something that was said at our Tenth Congress. Namely, that the Party of Labor is the only organized force in our country that is waging a consistent struggle against capitalism, and for the fundamental remoulding of our society, for a new, socialist Switzerland. This role makes the Party of Labor an essential and indispensable factor in the national political life.

Reliable compass for the communist future

Horst Dohlus
Alternate PB member,
CC Secretary, SUPG

The continued building of developed socialist society — the program approved by the Ninth Party Congress — creates the basic requisites for the gradual transition to communism. This program, which will cover several five-year periods, gives our people a clear perspective. Continuous, uninterrupted development has always been a characteristic feature of SUPG policy. The Central Committee report to the Ninth Congress, delivered by the party's General Secretary, Erich Honecker, and other congress documents are expressive of our party's supreme and invariable goal, namely, the well-being of the work-

ing class and the people, their happiness in conditions of socialism and peace. In future, too, this will be the objective of all our efforts.

The results achieved to date show that the party decisions are correct and that they are being systematically put into practice. Economic development continues at a steady and dynamic rate. We are successfully carrying out the most ambitious social program in the history of our people. The socialist worker-peasant state has become stronger still. The party has formed even closer ties with the people. All these are essential conditions for the further advance of our socialist society. As an inseparable part of the socialist community united around the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic is contributing to world socialism and to durable world peace.

Our constructive effort since the Ninth Congress has reaffirmed that accomplishment of the tasks set out in the program is possible only through the conscious and active work of all party members in accordance with the provisions of the party rules which, with the program, form an indivisible dialectical unity. Lenin emphasized: 'Unity on questions of program and tactics is an essential but by no means a sufficient condition for party unity, for the centralization of party work . . . The latter requires, in addition, unity of organization which . . . is inconceivable without formal rules' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 7, p. 387). Lenin's principle retains all its validity today.

The party Rules approved by the Ninth Congress accord with the higher demands stemming from the new stage of the GDR's social development and from its growing international responsibilities. The Rules should be seen as guidelines for the conscious and organized activity of all party members and candidate members.

The party's policy and practice fully conform with the laws of social development and with the social trends of this age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. The Program and the Rules reaffirm that our party is a reliable and inseparable part of the international communist and workers' movement, a party of proletarian internationalism.

Fraternal ties with the CPSU, that tested and most experienced communist party which, with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution 60 years ago, was the first to bring the working class and laboring peasantry to power, are for us a fundamental question, a question of our class positions. The attitude to the Soviet Union is the criterion of a revolutionary and internationalist. And in conformity with the party Rules, members and candidate members of the SUPG are promoting friendship, cooperation and fraternal alliance with the USSR. They uphold the unity of all the countries of the socialist community, assist the process of socialist economic integration, express their solidarity with the working class of

capitalist countries in its fight against imperialism, and with all the peoples battling for national and social emancipation.

Reflected in the Program and the Rules are the fundamental conclusions we have drawn from the experience of our party and working class, namely: socialism in the GDR advances the more successfully, the closer national and international interests are intertwined, the more profound our understanding and application of the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the more we draw on the experience of Lenin's party and of other fraternal parties.

Every passing day furnishes added proof that the changing international balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace is a thorn in the flesh for the imperialists. The ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism is becoming increasingly complicated, more intense and wider in scope. Hence our party effort to raise the level of our ideological and political work. And this, too, finds expression in the party Rules, which bind members to wage an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of anti-communism and racism, expose the man-hating nature of imperialism, and resolutely rebuff all its attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist and other countries.

The Rules emphasize the need to improve the quality of ideological work to meet the new, higher demands, improve Marxist-Leninist training and raise the qualifications of party members and candidate members. This follows from the requirements both of our society and of the worldwide class struggle. Ideological work, now as always, is at the very heart of party activity.

SUPG members have the right and duty constantly to heighten their socialist consciousness, master Marxist-Leninist theory and raise their political and professional qualifications so as always to be prepared to cope with the increasingly complex problems. Our party has always devoted much attention to these matters. It has provided all the conditions necessary for study and has established appropriate institutes. Last year, for instance, 54,000 more party members were involved in our study programs. And in the period between the Eighth and Ninth Party congresses more than 340,000 party members were able to improve their political training. Today about 94 per cent of party branch secretaries at big factories and economic amalgamations have a higher or specialized secondary education. All this is in line with the party Rules, which make it obligatory for all party members to spread the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, constantly strengthen their ties with the masses, explain the meaning of party policy and decisions, convince people of the correctness of that policy, mobilize them to put it into practice, and learn from the masses.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism form an in-

separable unity in all our ideological work. This and the promotion of Marxism-Leninism have given all party members and candidate members, our working class and the entire people a keen sense of proletarian internationalism. Party members make it their duty to cultivate in our people socialist consciousness, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our own experience, as generalized in the party Program and Rules, has prompted SUPG members fully to support the fundamental proposition contained in the CC CPSU resolution of January 31, 1977, on the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, namely, that proletarian internationalism is the crucial, tested principle of communist activity. 'The solidarity of the working class, of communists in all countries in the struggle for common goals, their support for the struggle for national liberation and social progress, the voluntary cooperation among equal and independent fraternal parties, the organic combination in their policy of the national and international interests of the working people — all this is proletarian internationalism in action. It has always been and remains a powerful and tested weapon of the communist and working-class movement.'

And employing that well-tried weapon against anti-communist ideology and propaganda, preventing the imperialists from using anti-communism and nationalism to dull that weapon, is a duty of all SUPG members set out in the party Rules. It is a class duty which GDR communists discharge with a feeling of great responsibility. This implies firm solidarity with peoples fighting imperialism, fascism and racism, and active support of progressive and revolutionary forces in every part of the world.

All the provisions of the Rules, all the obligations it imposes on party members, organizations and leading party organs, fully accord with the supreme law of our party, namely, to work for the interests of the working class, for the benefit of the entire people.

These interests are served by the peace policy formulated at the Ninth Party Congress. The party Program explicitly says that the SUPG will consistently work to preserve peace and promote international security, for world peace is the cardinal condition for the successful building of socialist and communist society; the preservation of peace concerns the whole of mankind. These principles have found concrete expression in the party Rules, the preamble to which says that the party leads the people on the road to socialism and communism, to peace and democracy.

From this follows the duty of every party member tirelessly to work for peace and friendship among the peoples. The rules call for energetic efforts by party members for international peace and security. This in turn calls for constant strengthening of the GDR and the socialist

community, exposing and repelling very imperialist attack on détente, strengthening the defense capacity of our republic, maintaining political vigilance and instilling in our people a keen sense of responsibility.

The party and the people are proud of the meaningful contribution they have made to the preservation of peace, and in future, too, as the Ninth Congress declared, every effort will be made to assure European and world peace. 'This implies,' Comrade Honecker has emphasized, 'a resolute rebuff to all attacks on our achievements, to all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the sovereign German Democratic Republic.'

Further improvement of material and cultural standards is a component, of our party's policy of promoting the interests of the working people. That is the purpose, *the main goal,* in building developed socialist society, and it is facilitated by unity of our economic and social policy. That course was mapped out by the Eighth Party Congress and further elaborated in the decisions of the Ninth Congress. To stress the political importance of this main goal and the great demands it makes on Party work, this goal has been formulated in the rules as follows: 'A further rise in the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high growth rates in socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and growing labor productivity.'

The ways and means of attaining that main goal are spelled out in the 1976-80 five-year plan. It envisages a steady, dynamic growth of the economy as the basis for accomplishing our major social and political tasks.

Activity by party members, the example they set, their initiative, are decisive factors in attaining our main goal. And we can safely say that heightened activity by party branches and production teams is yielding good results. This is added proof that the expansion of innter-party democracy provided for by the Rules plays a big part in mobilizing party members and candidate members both in political affairs and in production. Party members now make wider use of the rights granted them by the rules. They have a bigger share in working out concrete measures that help the attainment of our main goal and fulfillment of development plans. There is a frank and fruitful exchange of views at branch meetings. More use, and with a bigger sense of responsibility, is being made of the right of party branches to control the work of factory managements and the staffs of government agencies. The development of inner-party democracy encourages party members to make full use of their rights and, by their conscious and voluntary discipline, set an example of a socialist attitude to one's work, propose innovations, popularize new work

methods, show concern for fellow-workers and carry out their public functions in an exemplary manner.

The annual and five-year economic development plans are more and more becoming a program for all party branches and for the working people generally. Socialist competition is providing more scope for initiative, efficient production methods and accelerated scientific and technological progress. The results can be seen in the fulfillment of the economic plan for 1976, the opening year of the current five-year program. Industrial output rose by 5.9 per cent and labor productivity by 6 per cent. The commissioning of 150,617 new or modernized flats (of which 103,091 are in new buildings) has meant better housing conditions for 450,000 people.

Our citizens know and appreciate that we are making this progress against a background of crisis and a bleak outlook for the future in capitalist countries. Party members are fully conscious of the fact that our uninterrupted progress rests, as the party Program emphasizes, on our socialist system, on the political power of the working class, which, led by the Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other working strata, upholds the interests of the entire people. The firm economic foundation of this system is socialist ownership of the means of production. Government by the workers and peasants in alliance with other sections of the working people has, for the first time in the history of our nation, guaranteed all human rights. Socialism and freedom are inseparable — without socialism there can be no freedom, without freedom there can be no socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist classics considered the restructuring of production relations through establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production to be the central question of the transition from capitalism to socialism. And to make this transition possible, they emphasized, the working class must establish its political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

This main question has been resolved in the socialist countries, and they are making steady progress. The apologists for imperialism, despite all their hatred of socialist freedoms and democracy, are powerless to halt this progress.

Fullfillment of the Program and other decisions of the Ninth Party Congress makes greater demands on our Marxist-Leninist party. the party rules take full account of that, but at the same time they are a reflection of the growing maturity of our party, of its continuous development, especially since the Eighth Party Congress. The Rules provide the party with the organizational instrument for attaining its main goals.

*Cf. F. Engels' *Anti-Duhring*, Part III, Chapter II.

The Rules take into account the greater role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the conscious and organized vanguard of the working class and other working people of our republic. The SUPG is the supreme form of social and political organization of the working class, its tested vanguard, and it operates as the leading force of socialist society, of all the organizations, both state and public, of the working class and the working people generally. It unites in its ranks the most advanced part of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other working people.

The SUPG now has 2,074,799 members and candidate members. Party membership entails many obligations party members must live up to the proud name of communist. That too is laid down in the Rules, which define who can be a party member, and his rights and duties.

Membership in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is open to all working people who accept its Program and Rules, take an active part in building developed socialist society in the GDR, participate in the work of a party organization, fulfill the decisions of the party and regularly pay membership dues.

We attach great importance to admitting new members and strengthening the party's class basis, for only a party rooted in its class can impart to the revolutionary working class the ability and determination needed to discharge its historic mission of building the new society.

Our party does have its roots in the working class — 74.5 per cent of its members and candidate members come from the working class, and about 56 per cent are industrial workers, 5 per cent cooperative farmers, 20.6 per cent intellectuals, 11.3 per cent white-collar workers, and 7.1 per cent come from other categories. Last year, 57.830 front-rank workers, among them a large number of young skilled workers, were admitted to the party. The figures are evidence of the party's prestige in the working class, of its close links with the masses and the magnetism of the Ninth Congress decisions.

The party Rules accord with the principles of democratic centralism and with the Leninist standards of party life. The Rules emphasize: 'The party sees to the strict observance of democratic centralism and the Leninist standards of party life, its collective leadership and inner-party democracy.' All party organs from top to bottom are democratically elected and regularly report back to the membership. Strict party discipline, unfailing fulfillment of party decisions and broad inner-party democracy are all part of democratic centralism.

Inner-party democracy, based on democratic centralism, assures every party member the right openly to state his views on the party's

policy and the way its decisions are carried out. And the party sees to it that the activity and creative initiative of all its members are given full scope and that criticism and self-criticism are encouraged.

The Ninth Party Congress substantially amended the section of the Rules on obligations and rights of party members. This was done because, with the growing role of the party, greater demands are made on all of its members. Attainment of the party's goals now depends in decisive measure on the moral and political qualities of its members, their principled stand, their militancy, their ability to serve as an example for others. The Rules bind every party member actively and consciously, in an organized and disciplined manner, to share in all the work of the party, in framing and carrying out its decisions, and in controlling their fulfillment.

Developments since the Ninth Congress have made it clear that the party is now stronger, enjoys higher prestige, is more closely linked with the masses. The party Rules have visibly activized this process.

Leading party bodies and party branches are doing much more to develop inner-party life, to assure wider discussion of problems, provide party members and candidate members with more detailed and comprehensive information, giving them more effective arguments for their propaganda, setting more specific party assignments and organizing verification of their fulfillment. More and more party branches are arranging their work so that every party member can fulfill his assignment from class positions, in a disciplined manner, with a sense of responsibility and with the knowledge that he has the full backing of the party collective.

Meetings of our party branches and sub-branches, of which there are more than 74,000, play a big part here. The meetings are held regularly, as prescribed by the party Rules, and are well attended. For instance, the meetings that were held during the campaign for fulfilling the Congress decisions became more down-to-earth. The Central Committee has urged party branches to hold their meetings in a more creative atmosphere, make the reports more interesting, more attuned to reality, promote a frank exchange of views and encourage constructive criticism and self-criticism.

The party Program and Rules call for further development of the activity of party branches and leading party organs in order to meet growing requirements and demands. The Ninth Party Congress emphasized that we must always bear in mind the growing importance of ideological and political work, that communists must always and everywhere be in the front ranks in carrying out party policy, and that the party must achieve a higher standard of comprehensive leadership of the social processes taking place in our republic. This means we must always reckon with the complexity and interdependence of

social problems and combine our day-to-day work with our long-range goals. This, in turn, requires a higher standard of collective leadership, which does not, however, preclude full personal responsibility.

Unswerving observance of the party Rules, the activity of every party functionary and every party member in conformity with this basic law of the party is the key to successful fulfillment of all the tasks now confronting the communists.

Defending the people's power

Pedro Rodriguez
Member of the National Leadership, CP of Chile

The events that took place in Chile and all that befell the Salvador Allende government impel one to seek a deeper understanding of that key question of all revolutions, the question of power, and more particularly, how to defend and maintain power. The character of the historical and political conditions under which our experience of revolutionary governing (with all its achievements and mistakes) was shaped, must be discerned and correctly interpreted because such knowledge is the key to learning how to deal with this problem. With us this was a question of the emergence at government level of the sector of revolutionary people's power as a result of the winning of a corresponding *part of the government apparatus*. It was a question of this sector's ability to *combine* its own work with the revolutionary drive of the masses, to guide them toward accomplishing revolutionary-democratic tasks, toward socialism.

In one or another degree the Chilean events reflect practically all the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, of capturing and retaining power: the dialectics of using the material power of government and democracy, of people's democratic tasks and socialist goals, of the objective and subjective revolutionary factors, of national features and general laws, of the national and the international, and so on. In short, all those questions that require the unflagging attention of communists and revolutionaries.

This is the fifth in a series of articles on the lessons of Chile. See *WMR* January, February, March and May, 1977.

Our revolutionary experience shows that the laws governing the transition from an old society to a new one, function irrespective of the path this transition takes. Transformation of the old state, while not an automatic process, is inevitable even though at a given stage there may be evolutionary continuity of the form of rule, i.e., preservation for a time of the old form but with new content.

When the working class and its allies have control of a certain sector of power, particularly if executive power has been attained, as was the case in Chile, it is something of a paradox. In Chile the popular movement was able to concentrate its class forces *with the aid* (!) of the old government machinery. Obviously, however, for this new centralizing force to become effective and capable of channelling events *in a desired direction* new methods and a new government machine were required.

Because the proletariat is in the lead it cannot stop half-way and postpone accomplishment of this task. it must extend its class influence, the influence of the popular movement to the entire government apparatus, whose natural function is to execute and defend its power, and to control it. Otherwise, the popular forces will not be free to carry out effective revolutionary transformations. In Chile, with only the government to support it, the popular movement was bound by bourgeois power extending through all the remaining organs of state. The majority of these were in bourgeois hands (legislative and judiciary power, administrative and juridical organs and their strongest levers — the armed forces and the media). Events were to show our underestimation of the fact that from the very outset the monopolies and imperialism were at a disadvantage, even in danger, because they could no longer rely on the outdated bourgeois-democratic institutions and classical political methods to restrain the growing popular movement, which had a revolutionary program and was determined to carry it out. It was the local big bourgeoisie and imperialism who were forced to discard the *old form* of rule because it no longer served their class strategy.

Creation of the Popular Unity government was the popular movement's foremost achievement. Mass activity was bound up with this government, its functioning and its protection, and the urgent revolutionary transformations that it planned. The government was the deciding factor in developing the revolutionary situation and creating the socio-political conditions for clarifying the question of people's rule. The popular government was the force behind the cardinal economic reforms, effective development of democracy, broadening the popular alliance and fostering the organization and revolutionary consciousness of the people.

The dynamic struggle of the proletariat and the popular government for revolutionary transformations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the bourgeois and imperialist resistance to the revolution and determination to restore the regime at all costs made it imperative for the sector of state power that had been won to be extended and transformed into a new type of democratic popular state. Under these conditions retention of power and defense of revolutionary gains required not just a status quo, but continuation of the revolutionary process, consolidation of people's power and presupposed specific steps in that direction.

Progress is possible only from one phase to another. In our revolution these are, first, the phase where the working class and its allies, after winning a part of state power, begin to function in the state apparatus and set up a government. Second, the phase where the popular government is in power, does not break with those institutions of the state apparatus that are still in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, and functions within the framework of the bourgeois-democratic constitution. This is the phase of initial democratic transformations when, against the background of a general upsurge of the mass struggle and the temporary shock of the reactionary forces, the socio-political situation permits the use of the constitutional methods that brought such a situation into being. The third phase, which was particularly acute and explosive in Chile, is the phase of mounting clashes and conflicts between the organs of state power in reactionary hands, and those organs of state power belonging to the people. In this phase the clash between these two opposing poles, actually two dictatorships (with dictatorship of the popular movement still in its embryonic stage) reveals a growing tendency to 'break out' of the sphere of state institutions. At a certain point the popular movement, for the sake of self-preservation and to complete its transformations, itself started becoming a kind of center of the state activities of the revolutionary masses, i.e., 'a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and *not on a law* enacted by a centralized state power' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 38).

Now it is apparent that this should be followed by a phase where people's power aims at building a new democratic state by combining its own state activity with the activities of the broad masses of working people, the majority of the population. The last two phases could be separated by months, or by hours, in which case the goals of both phases would have to be attained almost simultaneously. The experience of Popular Unity shows that it failed to cope with this set of problems. '*Speaking concretely,*' said our comrades through the *Information Bulletin* of the Chilean Solidarity Committee in Havana

(August 1974, No. 97), *'in this case the enemy did his work while we did not do ours.'*

Our analysis showed that all these phases, each of which is characterized by its political content, specific balance of forces and an equally specific development level of a ripening revolutionary situation, could have happened in Chile already in the first half of 1971. This was the time of an unprecedented increase in the mass struggle, a time when objective conditions made it difficult for imperialism and the big national bourgeoisie to unite and openly oppose the revolution, when the greater part of the middle strata leaned toward the popular government and the balance of forces in latin America was very favorable to developing democracy and social progress in Chile.

There were many more similarly appropriate situations — the strike in October 1972, the 'tankazo' (uprising in the tank units) in June 1973, and so on. However, each situation was progressively more explosive and in a sense this was endangering the revolutionary cause. From all this we have concluded that a vanguard party must be able to foresee those crucial minutes when the success of the revolution, as our Vietnamese comrades say, resembles a ton hanging by a hair. The party should see these minutes before the popular movement takes possession of a part of state power; it must be able to use the opportunity when the enemy is weakest and needs time to gather its forces that have been temporarily paralyzed as a result of the people's victories, and when internal dissension prevents it from uniting in a counter-revolutionary front and planning its actions. In other words, the party must be able to determine the ' . . . *turning point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 26, pp. 22-23). Only such continuity will make it possible to retain captured positions, ensure power for the alliance of progressive forces and to enter the phase clearly defined by Lenin as the period of transition to socialism.

We have learned that the strategy of power must be built on consideration of the tasks of the revolutionary movement as a whole, the need to deal with them simultaneously and to direct the masses' main blow against the old society's basis and superstructure. This is the only approach to the exercise of power that can ensure success in settling the problems of the economy and democracy.

The program of the Communist Party of Chile gives a scientific definition of the concept of the revolution: 'We view the Chilean revolution as a movement of the working class and organized population which, by means of the mass struggle, removes the present ruling

classes from power, liquidates the old state apparatus and production relations obstructing development of the productive forces, and carries out profound transformations in the country's economic, social and political structure, opening the way to socialism.'

"Reefs' of a revolutionary situation

From the viewpoint of revolutionary dynamics, the necessity of smooth transition from one phase to another and the complete triumph of Popular Unity policy, it was important for the popular struggle to steadily progress and, at the proper time, become nationwide. It was just as important that the people's power, as embodied in the Popular Unity government, should combine its work with the political movement of the social majority, which was fully aware of the need for revolutionary transformation, and that it should be supported by this majority. This is made possible only by a national revolutionary crisis emerging on the basis of a maturing revolutionary situation.

In examining the problem of holding power and preparing conditions for taking over complete power we were convinced of the depth and timeliness of lenin's concept of the revolution that it is the Communist Party which must show itself to be the main creative force, a force capable of guiding the masses in the developing revolutionary situation. Of course, the revolutionary situation is in a sense, the sum total primarily of the objective changes in society. But not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution, wrote Lenin. It only becomes such a situation when subjective activity is added to objective factors. The revolutionary forces must use the revolutionary situation. 'What we are discussing, Lenin wrote, 'is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists — that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for the purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 21, pp. 216-217). At its 10th Congress in 1956 the Communist Party of Chile pointed out that there was a real possibility of gaining power and it is to the credit of General Secretary Luis Corvalan that he guided the party and the revolutionary movement in that direction. Although the party was relatively small in numbers in the early 1960s, this enabled it to win the support of the majority of working people and all the left forces for the program, strategy and tactics that laid the foundations for the popular victory in 1970. This is an incontestable achievement and contribution by our party to the Chilean revolution. The intrinsic logic and purpose of the propositions of the Popular Unity program em-

bodying our political line and its conscious application in those conditions helped the popular government acquire its own distinctive features and bring into sharp focus its first and most important revolutionary measures. However, because we failed to see the significance of the ensuing processes, their relation to the revolutionary situation and its becoming a national crisis, and because certain forms of struggle were absolutized and we were poorly prepared for possible alternatives, our line was narrowed down, the popular forces' chances of retaining and consolidating their sector of government reduced, and conditions were not created for the people to gain full power.

Retaining power and the problem of the use of force

From the viewpoint of social content all revolutions involve the use of force. The theory on the state evolved by Marx and Engels and elaborated by Lenin is confirmation of this. Lenin called Engels' theory of the state 'a veritable panegyric on violent revolution' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 399), and stressed that Marxism's goal was to educate the broad masses in the spirit of such a revolution.

An obsolete class will never relinquish its power voluntarily without sooner or later putting up the fiercest resistance all along the line. But neither can the revolutionary proletariat be stopped once it has started the revolution. Such is the effect of this inexorable law of history, and it has been confirmed by the events in Chile.

Essentially, social coercion is nothing but a struggle between opposing, antagonistic forces, and is expressed in various forms of class struggle. So any of them, even the most peaceful, is always *essentially* coercive. These truths are also confirmed by the events in Chile, and were stressed in the preceding articles in this series.

On the basis of such a broad approach, the efforts by communists and all revolutionaries to create conditions for a favorable balance in the armed forces, acquire prime importance. This is a question of strategy. Whether or not this balance will emerge at a definite time in the *form* of an armed conflict between classes depends on conditions and tactics. Consequently, retaining the part of state power that has been won, developing it and advancing toward socialism without a civil war presupposes a good deal of flexibility. This is not only because of the natural instability in the situation. A balance that will prevent reaction from launching an armed struggle against the popular government must be achieved in all sectors.

Chile's experience confirms the possibility of gaining partial state power and establishing and retaining a government before a balance in the armed forces favorable to the revolution is achieved. However, in the final analysis the experience of the Popular Unity government has shown that it is possible to *retain* and broaden this partially gained

power only if the mass struggle and the general revolutionary crisis will create the requisite balance, and this depends not only on the objective disunity of bourgeois forces. To a very great extent it depends on the effective work of revolutionaries.

Economic policy

An interesting phenomenon was observed in Chile — at a certain stage in the struggle during the period of Popular Unity government, the opposing classes, well aware that their historical interests were at stake (no matter whether they were of an objective nature or were ideological illusions*) rose above their immediate economic interests.

Retaining power required energetic explanatory and ideological work to make the population fully conscious of the historical significance of the revolution and its economic achievements. As we realized, efforts should have been kept up until the people themselves became convinced that the revolutionary economic achievements were well established and that Popular Unity had taken over the levers of government from reaction. At the same time attention should have been concentrated on economic changes in the people's interests. These are an important factor in stimulating consistent effort. They testify to the government's readiness to carry out its promises. They likewise consolidate and further the popular alliance and help isolate the opponents of social progress.

The economic situation in which the Popular Unity government was forced to deal with these problems was unusually complicated. The financial and landed oligarchy was still a great influence in the economy and controlled massive financial resources, a considerable part of which was intended for speculation. Many economic levers were still in its hands and it retained influence in the government bureaucracy. The parliamentary opposition majority made it difficult, at times impossible, to pass laws that could rectify the situation. For this reason crimes of an economic nature were not legally punishable. It was also imperative to restructure the whole relationship of foreign economic dependence. This meant not only returning to Chile control of its basic resources, which were in the hands of the U.S. monopolies, but also liquidating these monopolies' domination of the economy, particularly its most dynamic branches, changing the historically shaped geographic structure of foreign trade, establishing new international financial relations, and effecting other measures. And it was in these difficult conditions that the profound transformations envisaged in the government program had to be carried

*The latter were characteristic of certain in-between social strata that were won over by reaction although they enjoyed economic advantages from the Popular Unity government.

out, the public economic sector developed, production increased, labor productivity raised, the basic principles of planning and centralized management formulated, and the masses, particularly the working people, involved in genuine economic management.

In Chile imperialism did its utmost to destabilize the popular government. Economically it resorted to a financial and technological blockade. With the help of Chile's financial clans it mounted desperate opposition inside the country, boycotting production, leaking currency abroad and speculating in capital. To this the imperialists and reactionaries added psychological warfare* to intimidate the population, particularly the middle strata, create a black market, cause a shortage of consumer goods and food, and general economic chaos and anarchy. The imperialists and reactionaries were bent on preventing any balance of forces being established that would in any way be favorable to the popular government, and on isolating the latter. Imperialist strategists were fully aware of the economic and political importance of that part of the population connected with retail trade and transport and were counting on their being able to paralyze the economy and, as a result of economic manipulations by the monopolies, turn a large part of the population against the government.

The Chilean events have taught the communists the need to foresee inevitable economic problems and find ways of settling them, the need for sustained ideological work on these problems and explaining to the masses that at such times they must put duty before rights and be prepared to make certain material sacrifices for the revolution, so that together with the revolution they can finally overcome backwardness and exploitation. Ideological work must be correctly proportioned with practical activities for the revolutionary goals, the activities of the masses and government action must be organized so as to prevent disruption of the economy. Communists must demonstrate their ability to deal with economic problems with the help of their allies, the popular masses, the socialist countries and international solidarity, and of course, above all, by their own handling of the economy.

Yet another lesson we have learned is that the ability of the communists and their allies to defend and consolidate people's power, to find a correct solution for economic problems depends in large measure on how realistic and viable the economic program itself is, how clearly the communists visualize the stages of the revolution, the scope and depth of the socio-economic problems at every stage and the general rate at which transformations should be made. Revolu-

*See Rodrigo Rojas 'Psychological warfare: a political weapon of imperialism.' *WMR*, March 1977.

tions cannot be tied down to any particular date. The rate at which changes take place cannot be determined by revolutionaries at will. It is determined by the actual conditions, internal and external, and these the revolutionaries must foresee.

Democracy and its class character

The Salvador Allende government was the most democratic in Chile history. It was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, was closely bound up with their difficult struggle and was a reflection of the Chilean people's fervent desire for change. This government developed the people's democratic gains, improving their content; it gave the people a larger role in running the country and was deeply patriotic.

The popular government granted full freedom of self-expression to all sections of society. This fact is particularly important in connection with the current in-depth discussions of democracy, its class character and content. The ideological and practical activities of the popular government were centered mainly on the problem of democracy and developing the positive values and institutions that the working people had won. At the same time, it became apparent that imperialism's attitude toward freedom and democracy, and its initial 'acceptance' of the people's decisions and intentions, were pure hypocricy. For example, when the popular government was formed after the general election, the classes that were hostile to the revolutionary process, showing that they were following the 'rules of the game,' did not openly sabotage its work. It is an undeniable fact, however, that imperialism was preparing its conspiracy before the Popular Unity government came to power.

During the initial stage of the revolution the nature of democracy and freedom, their *class essence* were hidden in the shell of the prevailing legal forms, which obscured the level and content of the class struggle. At the beginning these forms restricted its development to such an extent that the popular movement was compelled to partially accept the bourgeois rules of playing democracy under which it was developing. It had to do this to demonstrate the legality of its government in the eyes of a part of society and the army. This government, however, did immediately take advantage of the existing institutions to carry out several basic transformations in the people's interests.

At the beginning this situation forced the big bourgeoisie and imperialism to express formal recognition of the popular government but did not stop them from using the institutions of state power to set up obstacles and interfere with its work.

Nevertheless, this relatively favorable balance during the first

stages helped the popular government because it made way for its initiative when the time came for the more important transformations. But this balance shifted when the bourgeoisie started opposing the revolutionary changes and to come to an open confrontation of hostile forces. This confrontation, at first legally regulated by the ruling classes, turned into a clash that was not regulated by any of the existing laws. It has been shown that this struggle continues until either the new democratic development determined by the popular forces establishes a new social order or, as was the case in Chile, fascism seizes power, abolishes all democracy and launches outright terror on behalf of the big national and imperialist financial capital against *all* other classes, and all 'plays' by the class forces come to an end. Fascism, said Georgi Dimitrov, means settling accounts with the working class by terror when its state and economic regime can no longer compete with the working class even by playing with marked cards at the bourgeois game of democracy.

The experience of our revolution has made it quite plain to us that from the point of view of retaining power and defending the revolution, the problems connected with the new scope and new essence of democracy and also the weight and strength of the new power and its state organs are of decisive importance. 'As for the development of society,' said Luis Corvalan, addressing a meeting in Moscow in 1977, 'our position is clear. In a society that consists of antagonistic classes all forms of rule represent an aspect of dictatorship of the ruling class, and dictatorship of the proletariat is more democratic than any form of bourgeois rule. International experience attests to this. In the light of what took place in Chile, it is imperative today to bring a popular government to power that is capable of countering all the conspiracies and coups planned by imperialism, internal reaction and fascism. The question of a dictatorship of the proletariat is not on the agenda in Chile today, but at the appropriate time it will inevitably arise, making the democratic gains more effective.'

Progress toward socialism without an armed class struggle presupposes wide and vigorous polarization of social forces. Naturally, those forces opposed to the revolution place themselves objectively outside the values of real democracy; other forces are not part of the revolutionary camp although they remain within the framework of this democracy. The popular movement carries on a political and ideological struggle to win over new forces, to defend revolutionary goals, and to launch political and philosophical discussions within the concepts of the new society. Relations with these forces and their parties, like the political and ideological struggle, may be expressed in various ways that include cooperation based on unity and a comparison of differences. But one thing, the main thing, is clear: *democ-*

racy must serve the people and not allow freedom of action for the counter-revolutionary forces. This is, life has taught us, one of the absolute conditions for defending revolutionary gains.

The experience of the popular government is further confirmation of the fact that the struggle can take a correct revolutionary course and assume a mass scale only if the working class maintains its leading role and class independence. We have learned that the need for a broad front cannot be replaced by a 'pluralistic' approach that forfeits or weakens the leading role of the working class. The working class and its party must wage an ideological struggle against anarchism, adventurism and right-wing opportunism, which seeks a way out of the situation through agreement with reaction. All this places a big responsibility on the Communist Party and its allies and shows the need to make a theoretical summing up of the experience of other revolutions, but above all the lessons of our own people's struggle. The party must identify their creative potentials and learn from the experience of our allies in struggle.

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viewpoints

The main factor for favorable changes in the world

Bohuslav Chnoupek
Member of CC CPCz, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the CSSR

International politics are becoming a focal sphere of the interests of mankind. The foreign policy of the socialist community today is justly recognized to be the driving force behind the dynamic favorable changes in the world. Equipped with the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence, it shows the way to reshaping international relations to eliminate the danger of war.

The vindication of peaceful coexistence is a result of the evolution of objective social laws as well as of the operation of a subjective factor, sustained struggle by the socialist community and all anti-imperialist forces, over a long period of time. The effert to achieve durable relations with countries belonging to a different social system — relations unaffected by passing considerations — is expressive of both an objective necessity and our subjective interest, an interest shared by all peace-loving men.

The Leninist policy of peace and social progress followed by the Marxist-Leninist parties and by the peace-loving, progressive, democratic forces making common cause with them is establishing itself as the only correct and effective policy. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress that 'the world is changing before our eyes, and it is changing for the better.'

The 25th Congress of the CPSU, which carried forward the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress with due regard to contemporary conditions, became a new powerful incentive for the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community to advance meaningful foreign policy initiatives. The 15th Congress of Czechoslovakia's communists expressed their resolve to carry out this program consistently and creatively. 'We can now be much more active in foreign policy,' said Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPCz and President of the Republic, 'because we have been operating in close

Continuing our discussion of the role of diverse factors influencing the state and evolution of international relations. The discussion began with the article 'The Helsinki Agreements and the struggle for peace' by Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Peace Council. See *WMR*, May 1977.

coordination with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries of the socialist community. We have benefited from the favorable conditions created by the implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We have contributed our share to the materialization of this program . . . The further elaboration of the Peace Program by the 25th CPSU Congress provides new opportunities for us as well to engage in meaningful foreign policy activity according to the requirements, interests and objectives of our state. We fully support the program and will contribute to its implementation.'

At the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union, backed by the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, put forward new proposals intended to bring about a decisive breakthrough toward curbing and ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. A comprehensive and specific memorandum which has become an official UN document proposes a complete program for this. These Soviet proposals had a strong impact on the deliberations of the 31st General Assembly.

Another highly important indication of the socialist community's constant effort to remove all remnants of the cold war, carry détente further, eliminate the war danger and ensure a lasting peace in Europe and the world is the new specific proposals of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which met in Bucharest on November 25 and 26, 1976. The title of the declaration adopted — 'For New Gains in International Détente, for Greater Security and Growing Cooperation in Europe' — is a precise expression of the Warsaw Treaty countries' unrelenting effort to materialize the Helsinki accords and extend détente to the military sphere.

In preparing for further advances in connection with the Belgrade meeting, the first post-Helsinki meeting of the countries that took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we fully support the position stated by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech to the 16th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions. '. . . The main content of the Belgrade meeting,' he said, 'should be concern for peace and security in Europe, for growing cooperation among European nations. The main tasks of the meeting in the Yugoslav capital should be, in our view, not merely to sum up what has been done but to come to terms on certain specific recommendations and proposals regarding further cooperation.'

The socialist countries' foreign policy takes into account the contradictory nature of international development, the fact that while relations between capitalist and socialist countries are becoming normalized and the process of détente is continuing, which has also found expression in the signing of a number of international legal

documents since Helsinki, the opponents of détente in some capitalist countries have become more active. We have to combat a deliberate misinterpretation of the policy of détente, the tendency to assess it not from the point of view of lessening the danger of war and promoting peace but in terms of solving global problems in accordance with the imperialists' designs, particularly their desire to handicap socialism and the national-liberation movement. These attempts are bound to miscarry but it is absurd to describe their failure as a 'crisis' of the policy of détente, which is exactly what the capitalist propaganda does. What we are witnessing is a crisis of the out-dated tenets of imperialist policy.

By striving to ensure that political détente is complemented with military détente, the socialist countries tie the hands of reaction, which seeks salvation in making an absolute of armed force. In so doing, it poses as an advocate of a détente that would combine 'logically' with continuous growth of the imperialist powers' military potential.

The dualism of the official NATO doctrine — the bloc's professed allegiance to political détente and intensifying war preparations — suits the most aggressive forces of the capitalist world. It is, in effect, imposed by the military-industrial complex and is evidence of its might and leverage. To safeguard its privileged position in capitalist economy and politics, the military-industrial complex tries to convince public opinion that the 'free world' is threatend internally and externally by 'international communism.'

Reaction invents various stories about the so-called 'Soviet threat.' It misrepresents the foreign policy of the socialist countries by attributing to them a bid for 'world supremacy,' which is alleged to be a result of the communists' 'lust for power.' It paints life in the socialist countries black and demagogically questions the legitimacy and stability of their social system.

Certain NATO countries try to assume the functions of self-appointed inspectors of the socialist countries' adherence to the Helsinki accords. Yet they themselves have still to begin carrying out these accords on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis. They probably imagine that the documents approved at Helsinki are not fully binding on all signatories. This is seen in their obvious reluctance to achieve a breakthrough at the Vienna talks with reductions of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, and in their attempts to secure unilaterial advantages.

Nor has the capitalist West abandoned the malpractice of using trade with countries of the socialist commonwealth as a means of pressure and extortion aimed at obtaining political concessions. Rightists and reactionaries claim that proper political conditions for

economic cooperation in Europe are still lacking, and raise hurdles to trade between countries with different social systems. The allegation that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are unreliable partners beset by difficulties serves anti-communist purposes. Certain quarters provoke public debates on whether or not it pays to grant credits to socialist countries. Distorting numerous facts, they raise the issue of what they call the socialist countries' 'excessive indebtedness' to the West. They say nothing about the fact that the socialist countries have always met their commitments by paying off credits punctually, that the socialist countries grant credits to other countries and that credits are an elementary aspect of foreign trade today. Incidentally, apologists for imperialism would do well, if they are really concerned about the problem of 'indebtedness,' to ponder on the growing foreign trade deficit of the capitalist countries and the policy of government loans which a number of Common Market countries pursue not so much in the national interest as with the aim of saving the monopolies.

The purpose of ali the various fabrications is to dispute the advisability and the very possibility of long-term and mutual beneficial trade and economic cooperation between countries with different social systems.

The tendency to restrict or fetter economic commercial relations with the socialist countries is rejected by realistic-minded capitalist businessmen, although even they are often inconsistent in regard to relations with countries of the socialist community, especially when it comes to materializing the Helsinki accords. However, they admit the importance of economic relations and trade with the socialist community from the point of view of ensuring economic growth, preserving jobs and acquiring raw materials and finished products. Yet it is essential not only to admit this but to proceed accordingly.

The socialist countries' foreign policy takes into account both favorable and unfavorable international trends and phenomena. It recognizes the possibility of cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries although the class interests they uphold are opposed. The forms of this cooperation and the compromises that are reached do not affect the socialist countries' fundamental positions. They are based on the ideas of peace, security, equality and mutual benefit. It will take a good deal of further effort to introduce these principles into international relations more widely. The socialist community is resolved to do all in its power to this end. Much will depend on the other side, the capitalist camp, where realism does not always win the upper hand over survivals of the cold war.

We cannot look impassively on the contradictory approach of the ruling quarters and various alignments of imperialist countries to

world processes. Attempts by opponents of détente to coordinate their actions are particularly dangerous. They poison the very climate of international cooperation through rhetoric and declarations of intent verging on impermissible interference in the affairs of the socialist countries. This impairs relations between states and complicates their development. Those who try for various opportunist reasons to blackmail the socialist community — an attempt doomed to fail — ought to bear this in mind.

The differences existing between diverse groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie over foreign policy issues are due to the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The prospect of ending the crisis by means of military ventures has little appeal for the ruling classes. Even so, certain groups of the bourgeoisie are still hopeful of regaining for imperialism its one-time influence on social development.* They want to have a decisive say in the capitalist countries' approach to world politics, an approach comprising both realistic and outmoded methods. Differentiation among the ruling circles of the imperialist countries arises invariably from the desire to overcome differences and arrive at a common foreign policy, and this often results in concessions to extreme reactionaries who demand continued confrontation with the socialist countries. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the greatly increased activity of enemies of détente, attempts to hinder the development of normal relations between states through every manner of ideological subversion and delaying tactics in disarmament talks, and above all intensification of the arms race in capitalist countries are all calculated to poison the atmosphere in Europe, dampen the European countries' growing mutual confidence in regard to their security and arouse hostility toward the socialist countries.

The imperialist countries' special services, which are part of the military-industrial complex, concoct all sorts of false data. This activity is merely a continuation of the psychological warfare of the 50s. The spurious campaign over the alleged curtailment of human rights in the socialist countries is a gross calumny against our system, an attempt to dissemble the fact that it is capitalism that daily tramples basic human rights underfoot in millions of cases. Slanderers try to reduce the manifold aspects of the Helsinki Final Act and its various provisions to a bargain fit for the market-place — they would like the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to 'pay' for the recognition of postwar frontiers in Europe by making concessions, first of all by

*Their attitude is exemplified by the approach of Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, former U.S. delegate to the UN. He calls for a 'tough' policy toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, hoping that this can prevent a 'decline in America's ideological influence, conventional military strength and total power around the world' (see *International Herald Tribune*, March 14, 1977).

providing a comfortable life for the handful of 'dissidents' for whom the capitalist world has now mounted a massive campaign.

Speaking of the methods used by imperialist propaganda, Gustav Husak said: 'We don't want to underrate this campaign against the socialist countries. Historical experience shows, however, that every campaign based on lies and fraud, every campaign running counter to reality and to our people's awareness, can only end in failure. As for the contemptible puppets who have put themselves at the service of the organizers of such campaigns, they have always ended up on the rubbish-heap of history, and will do so again.'

The enemies of détente disguise their counter-attacks with 'moral' and other arguments but actually they are motivated by narrow class considerations. The worse the crisis situation in the capitalist countries, the more the bourgeoisie considers it imperative (though this varies from group to group) to resort to diverse forms of anti-communism. And while most countries have left the highest and worst stage of the current economic crisis behind, imperialism is still passing through a most testing period of its history. What makes the situation more difficult is that today there is an alternative to the reactionary policy of imperialism in the form of an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly approach to reality. It is not accidental that the likelihood of communist participation in the governments of some West European countries has become one of the main causes of today's reactionary campaigns. Conflicts in capitalist countries are developing in the context of growing working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements. The influence of the masses on the foreign policy of exploiting societies is increasing as the class struggle gains in scope. The peoples of the developing countries feel that they neither can, nor want to resign themselves to poverty, ignorance and oppression any longer. They refuse to tolerate neo-colonialism and exploitation in any form, no matter how refined. This increased awareness on the part of hundreds of millions has become a decisive factor.

We are realists and we see things as they are. The Helsinki Conference neither could, nor did eliminate the fundamental contradictions between socialism and capitalism but it did indicate how relations between countries belonging to opposed social systems can be developed peacefully. Implementation of the Helsinki accords should stimulate détente and make it more durable.

Reality itself will not let us slacken our 'peace offensive.' Making peace permanent is a pressing and vitally important task that cannot be accomplished unless NATO statesmen are prevailed on to realize their responsibility for the destinies of nations. It is indispensable that they should proceed without any further procrastination and in a constructive spirit to search in common with the socialist countries

for ways of achieving genuine disarmament, materializing détente and transforming it into a universal and irreversible process. As we see it, the peace initiatives advanced by the socialist countries provide a sound basis for this.

The significance of these initiatives is growing as the might of the socialist community increases. The progress of each socialist country and the growing power of the community as a whole tend to restrict the imperialist sphere of influence. The foreign policy of the community is a well-coordinated peace offensive and its approach to international problems is thoroughly humanistic.

Marxist-Leninist analysis of the innermost development trends of international relations and cognition of their main laws make it possible to evolve a policy intimately linking loyalty to principle and to the class goals of socialism with political realism and firm resistance to imperialist attempts at aggression. 'Because of their development, their continuous economic growth resulting from the nature of socialist society, which serves the interests of the mass of working people, and because of their foreign policy which is directed toward gaining acceptance for the principles of peaceful coexistence and is extending an ever greater influence on international relations,' says the final document of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (Berlin, 1976), 'the socialist countries are playing an outstanding role in preventing a new world war, in strengthening international security and continuing the process of détente.'

The socialist countries' foreign policy initiatives are invariably prompted by the socialist class nature of their system. As a result, their policy is conducive to rapid social progress and serves the revolutionary transformation of the world. The community of the interests of the socialist countries and of the fundamental interests of the working people of the world greatly extends the basis for socialist foreign policy, adds to its strength and considerably increases its potentialities.

Both by origin and by its implication, détente goes well beyond the sphere of relations between states. The logic of its evolution makes it part and parcel of social history in all its unity and contradictoriness. Détente has its effect on capitalism and its foreign policy, and even on the evolutionary processes taking place within it. In defining the scope and nature of its impact, we must bear in mind several factors:

— relations between states belonging to the two opposed systems are becoming an increasingly important sphere of manifestation of the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, an arena of their historical competiton;

— the transition from cold war to détente is a reflection of the deep

crisis of the imperialist policy of aggression; it makes imperialism try to adapt to changing realities;

— adaptation to new international conditions is accompanied by growing realistic trends in the foreign policy of the capitalist countries and, on the other hand, by increasing activity of the enemies of détente;

— the 'social parameters' of international relations extend as these relations are reshaped; new groups of people who awaken to the progressive role of socialism and the regressive role of capitalism join in the struggle for peace and détente.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, whose purpose is to curb aggressive imperialist forces, is entirely in keeping with the interests of the masses fighting for national liberation, democracy and social progress. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism, increasing solidarity of the working class and communist parties, and consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces are an important condition for winning the struggle for détente, international security and cooperation and for guaranteeing mankind a socially progressive future.

The role of the socialist countries' foreign policy in the international class struggle — and the link between international relations and the world revolutionary process have always been of fundamental importance. In the policy and ideology of the revolutionary working-class movement, the tasks involved in achieving durable peace and strengthening the working people's international unity are inseparable. Anti-communists try hard to sever this link, to counterpose the struggle for lasting peace to proletarian internationalism and in this way weaken both. This accounts for the close interlocking of the two goals of the current anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns in capitalist countries — dealing a blow at détente and undermining socialist and proletarian internationalism. The world bourgeoisie's persistent attempts to accomplish this twofold task are prompted by the desire to salvage the last exploiting social formation.

We are proud of the fact that the CSSR takes an active part in working out and coordinating the socialist countries' initiatives and in carrying them into practice. The progress in solving foreign-policy and economic problems made by our people under the leadership of the CPCz has provided favorable conditons for this.

Czechoslovak foreign policy has a vastly diversified program to fulfill this year. We will conduct meaningful negotiations, solve problems, establish new contacts, extend old ones and raise their level; there will be visits, meetings, consultations and new agreements. We will continue to implement the foreign policy decisions of the 15th CPCz Congress, whose purpose is to help create favorable external

conditions for building a developed socialist society in the CSSR and for promoting peace.

Closely cooperating with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the CSSR will do all in its power for the further consolidation of the positions of the socialist countries, of all democratic and progressive forces of the world, for peace and security on our planet. Attainment of these historic goals will meet our people's innermost needs, wishes and interests.

The forces for change in Britain

Dave Cook
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On December 15, 1976, Chancellor of the Exchequer Dennis Healey announced a 'mini-budget' which he claimed was designed to promote economic recovery and the fastest possible return to a high and substantial level of employment. In fact Healey's measures, agreed to by the International Monetary Fund as the price of its standby loan of £2,300 m.[1] represent the most draconian application yet of the policies with which the right-wing Labour government has argued that the economic crisis can be solved.

For nine successive budgets there have been cuts in public expenditure. Reductions in the main Rate Support grant, and the phasing out of food subsidies will provide new variants to the now traditional cuts in local authority capital programs, and cut-backs of new projects. In addition this time the government threw in a blatant measure of denationalization by its decision to sell £500 m. government shares in British Petroleum.

The government's strategy, and no doubt the terms of the IMF loan, rest upon their intention to continue the Social Contract with the TUC.[2] Just how effective this distinguished form of wage restraint has been from the employers' point of view was revealed by Department of Employment figures for the four months from the end of July to November 1976, which showed earnings increases of 3.5 per cent compared with a 5.1 per cent rise in the retail price index. Even the official report of the government's Price Commission foresees no prospect of the rate of inflation easing before the summer, so a

continuation of the Social Contract would see a further worsening of working-class living standards.

These deflationary pressures are compounded by the impact of the massive cuts in public expenditures. Adult unemployment in the UK stood at a postwar peak in January of this year, and the figure is widely predicted to keep on rising. A graphic illustration of the connection between government spending cuts and recession in major industries is provided by the 'Construction Forecasts' of the Building and Civil Engineering Manufacturers, who predict that construction output will continue to fall for the next two years, as it has done since 1974.

In a sense the capitulation to the International Monetary Fund, which these policies represent, symbolizes the final abandonment of the promises for social reform in Labour's 1974 Manifesto.

Yet on three of the central questions these policies are ostensibly designed to tackle — inflation, unemployment and the level of investment — all recent indices reveal that the crisis persists and indeed deepens. Even the projections of Callaghan and Healey themselves predict no short-term relief. In fact, the forecast of the London Business School reported in January predicts an unemployment level of 2 million by 1979.[3] A recent answer to the parliamentary question revealed 13 million, or roughly a quarter of the population, living on or slightly above the official 'poverty line.'

This worsening situation in Britain takes place against a background of persistent economic crisis in the capitalist world — and to this the expanding economies of the socialist countries stand in sharp contrast. The strait-jacket imposed by capitalist policies is not limited to our economy, however. In reaction to the crisis of imperialist dominance in southern Africa, and the consolidation of liberation and socialist advance in Angola and Mozambique, Ivor Richard, British Ambassador in the United Nation, ricocheted around the continent in frantic emulation of Kissinger's attempts to stem the tide of freedom. On a wider canvas, world pressure for détente and disarmament demands a break with reactionary policies just as urgently as does an economy racked by crisis.

The issue of policy to tackle the economic crisis dominates the political stage, and the battle around it could decide whether there is to be an early general election, and its outcome. Recent by-election results confirm trends which, if they continue, could further decimate Labour's vote in elections, greatly strengthen the Tories, as well as open the way for increased fascist votes.

There has been a marked shift to the right by Margaret Thatcher's majority grouping in the Conservative leadership. This has been expressed in a number of ways, firstly in policy terms, as their recent

program 'The Right Approach' revealed, and changes in their front bench personnel reinforce this trend. There has been a significantly more agressive stance toward the tiny Labour majority in the House of Commons.[4] Aided by their grotesquely undemocratic dominance of the House of Lords, and defections by right-wing Labour MPs, they have succeeded in degutting parts of Parliamentary bills to nationalize areas of the docks. Thatcher's cold-war style utterances have grown apace. The Tories become revealed more and more openly as bitter opponents of détente.

The Communist Party is categorical about the need to force decisive changes in policy to maintain a Labour government, and prevent the disaster of a Tory comeback, with all its consequences of harsher attacks on living standards, and setbacks for progressive policies nationally and internationally.

How can this be done?

The Tory parliamentary offensive and the evidence of Labour's worsening votes are undoubtedly mounting pressure in the labor movement to accept that what is needed is to close ranks behind the present policies of the government. One section of the left in the parliamentary Labour Party are falling victims to this pressure. However, others have become more outspoken in their demands for left policies as the crisis has deepened. The way to tackle the crisis and save Labour from electoral defeat is action for fighting alternatives, not acquiescence to IMF blackmail.

Over recent months elements of the left alternative economic policy for which the Communist Party has consistently campaigned have begun to surface as central issues for debate both in the movement and in the media, for example the demand for selective import controls; for cutbacks in the military expenditure; a questioning of the reserve currency role of sterling. Commentators who speak of the 'alternative' economic strategy do not mean that offered by the Tories, which differs from the government only in the degree to which the screw will be turned. They mean that offered by the left. There is considerable common ground on key elements of this policy among the Communist Party, the *Tribune* Group in the Labour Party, many trade unions, and the Labour Party National Executive Committee.

However a significant feature of the last months has not only been that the interest in left policies has been growing, but also that there have been glimpses of the potential that they possess for rallying support.

Firstly, on the question of the public expenditure cuts. There have been powerful demonstrations and lobbies of parliament and local councils. Although not a mobilization for a clear-cut left program,

these have none the less been intimately bound up with questions of the alternative.

Secondly, on devolution.[5] Elected assemblies with real powers for Wales and Scotland are a long overdue measure of democratic and national justice, and a central question for British politics. Despite the limitations of the present Bill, opposition to it by any Labour MPs would play into the hands of the nationalist parties and lessen support for Labour in Wales and Scotland.

Communists have been very clear that devolution in itself will not solve the problems of these two countries. Left politics and left government are needed there, just as they are for Britain as a whole. However, democratic assemblies with real powers, which can give the people greater opportunities to bring their weight to bear on these problems, can make a powerful contribution to the pressure for left policies.

As with all moves toward greater democracy, the Devolution Bill has opened up divisions in the Tory ranks. The issue has also divided some of the left. It is vital to win full understanding that unless the labor movement becomes the unequivocating vehicle of devolution, the rise of the nationalist movement will not be reversed, with all the dangers that this has for grave splits in the working-class movement.

The dangers to labor and the working class do not only come from the possibilities of a Tory comeback or the rise of nationalist votes. There are constitutional dangers in the present situation. The speculation about the need for a Bill of Rights, aimed at limiting the power of parliament, for some form of constitutional court, or a restraining power over the Commons by the judiciary; all these represent a response by some sections of the ruling class to the strains the crisis is beginning to place on traditional political institutions.

Suddenly, after accepting a largely unwritten constitution for centuries, there is now a sudden urge by our ruling class to put our rights down on paper, and hand over their defense, not to parliament, but to the courts. In other words, to submit to the erosion of that sovereignty of parliament which was won through bitter struggle against arbitrary rule. One of the unique features of the British political system is the potentially enormous power, in constitutional terms, of the elected House of Commons — unrestricted by written constitution, constitutional court, or 'division of powers.' It is this potential power being used by a Labour government forced to operate left alternative policies to tackle the crisis, that this ruling class speculation is designed to close.

And what of the British judiciary, to whom the right wing wish to entrust the job of 'controlling' parliament? Of 317 judges in 1974 no fewer than 89 per cent were educated at public schools, 70 per cent

went to Oxford or Cambridge. Judges in the House of Lords are paid £21.175 a year, and in the Court of Appeal £17,425. There are no women in either court.

Therefore on the central questions of policy to tackle the crisis, on devolution, and in answer to the constitutional dangers, the policies put forward by the Communist Party, the *Morning Star* and important sections of the left, provide the way of preventing a Tory return. Just as it was class struggle which created the conditions for the defeat of Edward Heath in 1974, so too can mass action to change Labour's policy now help create the conditions which can sustain it in a general election.

What are the forces that hold the key to generating mass struggle of a sufficient scale to achieve this?

The recent period has revealed something of their extent and potential. The great November 17 demonstration against the public expenditure cuts brought together members of 12 national trade unions, with the public sector and teaching unions achieving a magnificent turnout. There were 10,000 students on that demonstration. The participation of women and Black trade unionists was remarkable, exceeding anything on similar actions in recent years.

This action of the working class was supported by the Labour Party National Executive Committee, a historic decision which symbolized some of the left advances within the Labour Party. The following week there was an impressive array of Constituency Labour Parties and Black people's organizations on the TUC/Labour Party joint demonstration against racism.

Campaigning organizations against the cuts exist in some cities and the potential for uniting Coop societies, women's and Black people's organizations, student unions, neighborhood councils and trade unions, is great.

However, as well as revealing the potential, the November-December actions also spotlighted the major problem posed by the acceptance of the Social Contract by the trade union movement. This was illustrated by the inadequate participation in the cuts demonstration and lobby by members of industrial trade unions, notwithstanding the decisions of the AUEW executive to support the action late in the day and the presence on it of building workers, miners and engineers.

The curtailment of the wages struggle which the contract has achieved has exerted a demobilizing effect on the preparedness and ability of workers to take action on a whole range of issues. For example, statistics produced by the Department of Employment show that the number of strikes in 1976 was the lowest in ten years. All the discussion, involvement and solidarity which can accompany mass

collective struggle has been restricted. This is one of the main reasons why the rejection of the Social Contract is such an important objective if the united mobilization of the whole labor movement is to be achieved.

However, there are signs that its grip is loosening. In a number of important plants — particularly in the motor industries, there have been declarations of opposition to the Social Contract, and a groundswell of support for a return to free collective bargaining is building up. This is beginning to impact on the Labour Party leadership and the TUC General Council, sharpening the left-right struggles within them. These indicate the possibility of action that will challenge, and indeed is challenging, whatever form of new deal Healey and Callaghan are trying to concoct with the TUC leaders. The struggle for a left alternative in tackling the crisis by this Labour government is intimately connected to defeating the Social Contract. In supporting and developing this growing movement against wage restraint and the philosophy underlying it the *Morning Star* is playing a major role.

It is no accident that coinciding with those possibilities for greater unity and action in the labor movement, there has been a sharply escalated ideological offensive against the left. Part of this has been at the level of a crude witch-hunt. Although the right wing's finger is ostensibly pointed at alleged infiltration into the Labour Party, in reality it is at isolating and smearing all those who argue against government policy that the current campaign is aimed.

In the same way that Lord Hailsham now rushes to describe parliamentary government, long paraded as Britain's supreme contribution to the Western 'way of life,' as an 'elective dictatorship,' the Labour right wing attacks the assertion of democracy in the Labour Party, now that it threatens some of them. The left must stand firm in support of the democratic principles that Constituency Labour Parties should have the right to reselect their candidates, that the Labour government should operate the decisions of its own conference, and that trade unions should have the right to send delegates of their choice, including communists, to Labour Party bodies, and that Marxism is an integral and legitimate part of the labor movement.

Coinciding with these sharpening controversies around democracy, devolution and policy to tackle the crisis, was the publication in January of the long awaited Bullock Report on Industrial Democracy.[6] Over recent years there has been a growing demand in the labor movement for extending industrial democracy in the formulation and taking of major decisions. The crisis of British capitalism is at the same time marked by contraction, but also tremendous technical change. The threat, and the reality of redundancy, round the clock working, mobility, job evaluation, measured day work, impose relent-

less pressures for radical alteration in working conditions. These objective circumstances compel the organized workers to demand a say in questions which hitherto were regarded as management's responsibility. Similarly they add a new urgency to the long-standing strategic objective of the employers to incorporate trade union organization into the processes of management.

The Bullock Report reflects these contradictory pressures. It was greeted with concerted hostility by the Confederation of British Industry and editorial comment by the capitalist press. There are several reasons for this hostility. Firstly, it provides damning evidence that the rate of concentration of economic power in a relatively small number of companies has been faster than in most countries. Secondly, the Report exposes supervisory boards as an important facade to hide where in fact the real decision-making power lies, namely, the executive board on which there would be no workers. In line with the evidence submitted by the Communist Party, it comes out in favor of a single board, responsible for both making and executing policy.

However, the Bullock Report also contains some very dangerous proposals both of an ideological as well as practical nature, which are fundamentally harmful to the achievement of the objective of greater industrial democracy in the private sector. It resurrects the discredited capitalist concept that 'capital and labor are equal partners.' It attempts to limit the range of subjects which can be dealt with by free collective bargaining, proven in practice to be the only real way of extending the areas where workers can have a say in privately owned firms. Finally, and most dangerously, Bullock proposes that the 'worker directors' should be shop stewards. This would undermine the independent role of the trade unions, and lead to the alienation of the shop stewards from those they represent. In other words, the report is a recipe for class collaboration.

However, the publication of the report, at the time when the movement against the Social Contract, demanding a return to free collective bargaining, is beginning to build up, adds an important dimension to the political debate in the labor movement. This discussion raises in sharp form issues of ownership and democracy, and gives an opportunity for the Communist Party to help to win unity and clarity on these fundamental questions.

It is precisely at this moment, when the issue of Marxism is being debated in the movement and when the question of how to reverse Labour's slide to disaster confronts all socialists, that the new draft of the Communist Party Program, the *British Road to Socialism,* has been published. One of the roles of a Marxist party is to be the center of discussion in the left on the issues that face the movement. The new draft is not just a repetition of our Marxist position, but is a major

development of our ideas. The discussion that has exploded around it could not have come at a better time for the left in British politics.

But above all a revolutionary party must provide action guided by Marxism. The central question facing the left today is how, given the still present but weakening grip of social contract thinking on the trade union movement, a massive wave of struggle can be developed against the consequences of government policy. For this to happen there must be clarity about the left alternative, and the development of strength and unity that will compel a different approach to the crisis by the government.

In achieving that united struggle the contribution of the main organized Marxist force, the Communist Party, and the daily paper of the left, the *Morning Star,* can be of central importance. This is the challenge facing the party and the left in 1977.

London, March 1977.

1. This is the fourth large loan Britain has been granted of late. In exchange for the loan the IMF demanded heavy budget cuts. Public spending has been slashed, except on the armed forces and police. — *Ed.*

2. Seeking the trade unions' consent to a wage restraint despite the incessant price rises, the Labour government promised drastic measures for economic recovery. The resulting Social Contract signed in July 1975 for a term of two years, far from removing the causes of inflation and unemployment, as promised by the Labour leaders, led to a further decline in living standards. — *Ed.*

3. The unemployment level was 1.5 million at the end of last year. — *Ed.*

4. The Tories even asked for a vote of no confidence in the present government. Realizing they were in real danger of going into opposition if this was put to the vote, the Labour leadership decided to foil the Tory offensive by striking a deal with the parliamentary Liberal Party. Under the terms of the agreement the government actually renounced many of its projected 'socialist-oriented' measures. This aroused criticism from the Labour left, which has increased since Labour's defeat in the March by-elections in Stechford and elsewhere. The left attributes this setback to the Social Contract policy, Healey's anti-labor budget, and 'Callaghan's shabby Labour-Liberal deal.' — *Ed.*

5. Partial transference of power to regional assemblies in Scotland and Wales. — *Ed.*

6. Published on January 26, this year. — *Ed.*

New front of the struggle against imperialism

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Economic integration is becoming an increasingly important front in the fight for national liberation in Latin America, a fight in which imperialism and the domestic imperialist-backed economic groupings are confronted by those elements in the subcontinent that in varying degrees of consistency and depth are seeking economic independence and full national sovereignty. The present set-up is generating what Fidel Castro has called 'various forms of associations of every possible shade, from the obviously reactionary to those that are inspired by progressive aims and the need to protect themselves from the greed of the international monopolies.' *(Granma,* January 19, 1977).

So as matters stand at present, no one should try to give blanket assessments of the different integrating processes or projects in our countries. Nevertheless it is becoming increasingly obvious that these processes do not always operate in favor of the international monopolies. This is a new phenomenon. These processes show an increasing tendency to flow their own way, as can be seen, for example, from the situation in the Andes Pact.[1]

Using the Pinochet dictatorship as a Trojan horse, U.S. imperialism launched an attack on the pact in an attempt to nullify the progressive substance of the decisions passed by the member countries or, failing this, to get it abolished altogether. The upshot was that the Chilean fascist junta withdrew from the pact in October 1976. In January of this year it virtually stopped participating in the Andes development corporation[2] as well. Meanwhile the other countries belonging to the pact have affirmed their determination to go ahead with the integration process as previously envisaged. It is quite clear, however, that such setbacks for imperialism with regard to Latin American integration will not end its confrontation with the countries of the subcontinent. One can be pretty sure that the subversive operations of international capital will continue in new forms.

The trend toward integration has a thoroughly objective basis. As Lenin stressed, any capitalist enterprise must inevitably branch out

beyond the framework of the commune, the local market, the region and, ultimately, the state. Such a pattern was bound to emerge in the Latin American countries, where capitalist production relations have prevailed for a considerable time, although they are somewhat deformed owing to their dependence on imperialism. For many companies in Latin America (particularly the subsidiaries of international monopolies with capital invested in at least one of the countries in the area and trying to gain control over the markets of the others) the subcontinent as a whole presents a natural outlet on to the foreign market. The tendency increases as production structures develop.

The home markets of the Latin American countries have remained narrow. With the social and economic structures still unchanged the existing relations virtually exclude a substantial portion of the population from the sphere of commodity-money relations or cut their purchasing power to the minimum. According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), 100 million out of the 300 million Latin Americans live in dire poverty. Added to which, 65 of those 100 million live in rural areas where a natural economy is even more prevalent. The capacity of the home market in many Latin American countries is so small that it is sometimes unprofitable to develop certain industries merely for satisfying home demand. Hence the pressing need for outlets on to the foreign market for firms that want to expand. In many cases it is a matter of survival.

Under present conditions this problem can to some extent be solved only by trade within the region. The exceptions are the traditional Latin American exports, particularly raw materials, that play an important part in the international capitalist division of labor. But the Latin American countries' share in the world market is steadily diminishing. The seriousness of the problem is illustrated by the fact that in percentage terms their exports are constantly dwindling compared with those of other developing countries.

On the other hand, trade within the region is growing, thus enhancing the need for economic coordination. Naturally, coordination cannot be equally applied to all countries of the region because their economic levels are by no means equal. This means that the expansion of trade mainly benefits the more economically developed countries and above all the international monopolies that wield power in Latin America. The basic and steadily growing part of this trade is cornered by the more developed countries — Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. This trend is particularly noticeable in the export of manufactured goods. In 1973, according to ECLA, the three above-mentioned countries produced 79 per cent of the total output of manufactured goods in Latin America. At the same time these are the countries where international capital is concentrated in the manufac-

turing industries. So in the final analysis the successes of these countries tend to significantly increase domination by imperialist capital.

As a result a growing proportion of the trade between the Latin American countries themselves and with other countries takes place through the multinationals. Sufficient to note that in the early 70s 70.7 per cent of the goods imported by the North American subsidiaries in Latin America came from the United States.

The failure of the attempt at integration within the framework of the Latin American Free Trade Association (ALLC)[3] may be attributed mainly to the fact that its operating mechanism, besides aggravating the structural contradictions and intensifying the internal differences of development in the Latin American countries, placed them in a position of even greater dependence and promoted the expansion of foreign capital. When the decisions adopted by ALLC were put into practice, they inevitably led to increased domination by the most powerful capital and by the multinational companies, particularly in industries where they had a special interest, because all private companies, national or foreign, were granted equal rights. The outcome was that ALLC, which had been conceived as a regional association for protecting the interests of the countries of the subcontinent, failed to achieve its aims. The association's activities were particularly harmful to the less economically developed countries.

ALLC is a typical example of an attempt to achieve integration in the interests of foreign capital. And this was the reason for its collapse. 'Any integration measure carried out under imperialist protection,' Fidel Castro has observed, 'will always be unreliable politically and economically. For one thing it is incapable of eliminating internal inequality and discrimination between the stronger and weaker partners. What is more, ... as the imperialist policies of the United States have demonstrated, an alliance between them will always envisage perpetuation of unequal exchange with the less developed countries.' (*Granma*, January 19, 1977). The efforts of the most reactionary circles in Latin America to reanimate ALLC and preserve its methods and forms of activity are doomed to failure.

The setting up in 1969 of the Andes Pact was to a considerable extent a reaction to the failure of ALLC. The bourgeois circles in the countries that signed the Cartagena Agreement had realized that integration must be achieved by coordinating the economic development of these countries, limiting the scope of foreign capital and introducing protectionist measures. To accelerate development they decided to use the advantages offered by an enlarged market.

The Cartagena Agreement, which was designed to achieve these aims, did not result, like ALLC, in the usual measures for mutual

tariff cuts. Although its initiators differed as to the best ways of solving the problems of their own countries, they did try to find answers to the crucial questions of development confronting the member countries in general.

In the course of time their decisions began to have effects reaching beyond their original plans. They evolved a common policy for restricting the activities of foreign capital (Decision 24).[4] They embarked on joint industrial programming designed to develop industries that would otherwise not have been feasible in the subregion in view of the limited markets of the countries involved. Of great importance also was the introduction of a general external customs duty in respect of non-participating countries as a form of collective protection offering real advantages for trade in the goods produced in the subregion. Another essential factor is the system of automatic reduction of customs rates (never achieved by ALLC) and the granting of special advantages to less developed Bolivia and Ecuador.

Among these measures Decision 24 is crucial and no one will be surprised to hear that it is the focus of attacks by international capital, which has decided that its positions in Latin America and also the direction of this region's future development depend largely on the success or failure of the Andes Pact, its strength and cohesion.[5] The U.S. monopolies, in particular, are determined not to lose their unrestricted dominance in any region because they are making huge profits out of our countries.[6]

The favorable balance of forces in the subregion at the beginning of the present decade, when Salvador Allende became President of Chile and generals Velasco Alvarado and Juan Jose Torres headed the governments of Peru and Bolivia, gave a big boost to fulfillment of the Cartagena agreement. This was the period, at the end of 1970, when Decision 24 was passed. But this fact, though of great importance, should not overshadow the positive role played by other social and political forces of the subregion. In the case of Chile, one cannot deny the role played by Eduardo Frei's Christian Democratic government when the Andes Pact was negotiated.[7]

The Andes Pact and its further development bear out the conclusion reached by the Conference of Communist Parties of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, 1975) which stressed that the communists 'while not relaxing the struggle for democratic rights and for building a new internal structure for our countries ... are prepared to support and encourage the positions of Latin American governments that come out in defense of our natural resources or intend to halt the multinational companies' drive to preserve and strengthen their hold over the economy of our countries.'

The postures adopted within the Andes Pact have become clearer

with the passage of time. The progressive forces that originally gave too little attention to the process of integration, have become aware of its real significance and have taken up clear-cut positions on this question. Their assessment of the value of the pact starts from the main contradiction, namely, the contradiction between imperialism and the forces advocating economic independence and sovereign development for the region.

In recent years, various segments of the national bourgeoisie who have seen something to their advantage in many of the decisions passed, particularly those restricting the activity of foreign capital and protecting the economies of their countries, have also defined their positions on the basis of their own interests. In Colombia, for example, the Andi and Fedemetal businessmen's associations began by opposing implementation of Decision 24. But as the journal of the Colombian communists, *Documentos Politicos,* writes, 'with the development of the bigger market and control over foreign capital ... the force of reality turned them into supporters of the Decision and opponents of the Chilean position. Some of their members had decided that with an expanded market they would be able to sell more and therefore increase their returns. All this would have been threatened if there had been an unrestricted flow of foreign capital.'

The way things have turned out has led some circles in Chile to deduce similar conclusions. We shall cite only one example. While the fascist junta's attacks on the Cartagena agreement were growing, the Association of Metallurgical Industrialists (ASIMET) drew attention to the fact that 'the Andes market is highly important for the sale of Chilean industrial goods,' particularly those produced by ASIMET firms because they produce the country's most important industrial goods *(El Mercurio,* Sept. 21, 1976).

These positions were, of course, dictated by specific conditions that should not be forgotten today, when Latin America is beginning to see the necessity of defending its natural wealth, winning economic independence and fighting for a new pattern of world economic relations based on equality. This must be remembered if we are to correctly define the future tactics of the working class and popular forces.

The Andes Pact remains an area of conflict between the aspirations of the national forces of the member countries and the attempts of international capital to maintain its supremacy. So for the peoples of the member countries it is important to realize the negative consequences that Chile's withdrawal from the Andes Pact has had for the Chilean economy. These consequences provide a further argument for keeping and developing the accord on subregional integration.

One such consequence has been an intensification of the process,

encouraged by fascism, of abolishing whole industries. The junta's minister of the economy Pablo Baraona has declared that 'deep-going changes' are taking place in the country's 'traditional industrial structure.' This is the cover-up for the process of liquidating many spheres of national economic activity. Fascism is blotting out industries that cannot survive the shrinking of the internal market and the consequences of throwing open the doors to foreign goods that oust the home product. This has increased dependence to the maximum. As the profound economic crisis indicates, Chile's economy has become extremely vulnerable to the shockwaves rocking the economies of the imperialist powers. Her exit from the Andes Pact has accelerated the process of economic run-down. Numerous investment schemes designed to expand the market have been cancelled or suspended. Most of the 14 new schemes envisaged in the Program for Development of the Metallurgical and Engineering Industries evolved by the Development Corporation in 1975 'have been discarded, others paralyzed' (*El Mercurio,* Nov. 15, 1976). These schemes were worth a total of $76,342,000. Scrapping them adds fresh complications to the chronic shortage of investments characteristic of the whole period of fascist rule.

Enterprises set up previously with a view to exporting substantial quantities of goods to the Andes Pact countries have been compelled to close down some of their departments or drastically curtail production. In many cases this has meant sacking workers, who as usual have to bear the brunt of the crisis. Withdrawal from the Andes Development Corporation also deprived Chile of good opportunities for building up certain branches of the economy. Before the decision to withdraw was taken, this organization used to finance in Chile about 20 projects valued at approximately $30 million. Some of the projects involved use of the subregion's market. There were loans for others in the pipeline.

The policies of the fascist junta are all part of the general strategy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, particularly the south. In addition to attempts to disrupt or slow down processes with progressive significance for Latin America, the U.S. monopolies are also seeking ways of consolidating their positions and extending their sway. Hence the raptures with which international capital welcomed the economic policies adopted by some countries in the southern half of the subcontinent. Wrote *Business Week,* August 9, 1976: 'There is good news coming out of Latin America for the hundreds of U.S. and other foreign companies with a stake in this vast region: In a startling turnabout, major countries are opening their doors wider to private enterprise. Multinational executives who have been watching one Latin American country after another pull back from the radicalism of

the early 1970s today consider the region to be one of the world's major investment opportunities.' *Business Week* concluded emphatically that the 'new economic thinking' in Latin America is today concentrated on the 'Southern Cone,' and that this is happening just when 'this area is ... in a position to play a significant role in the world's industrial economy.' This 'startling turnabout' could have happened, of course, only through imperialism's disruptive activities and the setting up of fascist or pro-fascist regimes in a number of countries.

Imperialism's global strategy assigns a specific role to each country of this region. Chile, for example, is supposed to produce goods that have 'relative advantages.' This means basically raw materials, particularly minerals, and also goods whose manufacture does not require heavy investment and sophisticated technology but assumes an abundance of cheap manpower.

The economic 'model' for Chile executed by fascism is in clear contradiction to the country's actual level of development. Its imposition implies not only liquidation of the people's democratic gains, but also a cutting back of the country's production capacities for the benefit of foreign interests. Defense of the industries that fascism is sending to the wall has become an important watchword for the anti-fascist forces. They regard the democratic gains that the country won mainly through popular struggle under former governments as their birthright.

The consequences for Chile of its withdrawal from the Andes Pact underline the need to press ahead with integration processes that make for economic independence. The objective necessity for joint efforts on the part of the countries of Latin America has not disappeared and will continue to dictate the need for regional integration.

The experience of the Cartagena agreement and also the formation of the Latin American Economic System (SELA),[8] from which the United States is barred, the creation of multinational Latin American enterprises that do not admit imperialist firms, the activities of a number of associations for protecting prices on raw materials — all this indicates the new trend in the process of integration in Latin America.

SELA is the first such organization which besides setting up a permanent system of consultations and coordination for achieving common positions on various social and economic questions, and also in relation to international organizations, third countries and groups of countries, is making concrete efforts to accelerate the social and economic development of the member countries. SELA is setting up action committees for drafting projects and programs for specific branches of the economy, especially organizations pro-

viding information on surpluses and shortages of farm products. In addition the production and marketing of fertilizers and implements are being developed; a technological information network is being set up among the member countries; housing projects and social development schemes are under way.

Thus SELA activities are acquiring far wider scope than the Special Latin American Coordinating Commission (SECLA) had in the past decade. This organization undoubtedly played a positive part, but it confined itself to coordinating the participation of the countries in UN conferences on trade and development (UNCTAD) and the drafting of general platforms for promoting them at international conferences and defining positions in relation to third countries, particularly the United States.

In recent years more organizations have been set up in Latin America and the Caribbean that reflect the growing urge for joint action. Their formation involved certain difficulties. They were attacked by the international monopolies and the government circles of the United States. This could not have been otherwise in view of the aims adopted by these organizations. Cuba's participation gave these organizations an entirely new significance. At the same time their emergence is a blow to the reactionary conception of 'ideological frontiers.'[9] The urge of the Latin American countries and peoples for unity is steadily ousting the long since decayed notion of pan-Americanism.

It is quite clear that the basic factor determining the significance of the integration processes, and, hence, the activities of the various associations currently appearing in our countries, is the position they adopt in relation to the international monopolies, to imperialist capital. The end results of these processes will depend on the balance of forces that develops in these organizations and in the member countries, on the leverage that is achieved by the working-class movement and all the democratic forces with an interest in the economic independence of the Latin American countries.

1. The Cartagena agreement on economic integration was signed by Bolivia, Colòmbia, Peru, Chile and Ecuador in May 1969 and came into force at the end of that year. Venezuela joined later.

2. Financial corporation set up by six signatories of the Cartagena agreement, performs the function of an investment bank. Its aim is to promote various Andes integration projects.

3. ALLC (Asociacion Latinoamericana de Libre Comerico) was set up under the Treaty of Montevideo, signed February 18, 1960, by Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Chile. Later joined by Colombia and Ecuador (1961), Venezuela (1966) and Bolivia (1967).

4. The decision lays it down that any foreign enterprise set up after July 1, 1971, must become a mixed or national enterprise within 15 years of its inauguration. The

amount of profit that can be taken out of the country cannot exceed 14 per cent of the invested capital. Use of technology cannot be considered as capital investment and in a number of sectors (banks, insurance, communal services, transport, etc.) foreign investment is banned altogether.

5. See, *Latin America's New Internationalism. The End of Hemispheric Isolation*, New York, Washington, London, 1976, p. 312.

6. Lately, they have been taking an annual two billion dollars clear profit out of the Latin American countries. Our continent gets 62 per cent of the total North American investment in the countries of the 'Third World.' The profit rate of 14.3 per cent is double that of the return on capital invested in the United States or Canada. Investments pay for themselves in less than seven years.

7. Although Decision 24 was passed when Allende had been head of state for 50 days, the preceding process of drawing up the decision involved representatives of the Frei administration.

8. SELA — regional consultative organization with international legal status for coordinating cooperation and economic and social development.

9. For many years this conception was one of the bastions of imperialist strategy in Latin America. It boils down to justification of interference in the affairs of any country of the subcontinent on the pretext of combating 'communist infiltration.' In the view of its authors 'ideological' frontiers are more important than state boundaries.

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exchange of views

Social problems of the cities and communist policy

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

This was the theme of an international seminar in Prague sponsored by *WMR.* The seminar was attended by *Ruth Kessler,* Chairman of the City Planning Committee, Dresden, GDR; Professor *Dieter Hösel* of the Academy of Socio-Political Sciences and Law, GDR; *Giancarlo Quagliotti,* leader of the communist group in the municipality of Turin, Italy; *Renzo Ciaiolo,* leader of the communist group in the municipality of Bossoleno, Italy; *Nikolai Yablokov,* Chairman, Executive Committee of the City Soviet of Yaroslavl, Soviet Union; *Dmitry Bruns,* Chief Architect of Tallinn, Soviet Union; *Taisto Johteinen,* Mayor of Kemi, Finland; *Marcel Rosette,* CC member, French CP*; *Zdenek Zuska,* Mayor of Prague, Czechoslovakia, and *Vaclav Kasalicky,* Director, Institute of Architecture, Prague, as well as by members of the *WMR* commission on general theoretical problems.

The items offered for discussion were: the nature and distinctive aspects of the social problems of cities under the two opposed social systems; the place of municipal authorities in the structure of state power and their possibilities of materializing the working people's social, economic and political interests; problems and possibilities of urbanization control under capitalism and socialism; the main lines of communist activity in the urban sphere in socialist and capitalist countries.

Component of the struggle against monopoly

The evolution of capitalist society is closely linked with the growth of cities, the concentration of the working class in them, and its growing class consciousness and organization. Lenin defined the cities as 'centers of the economic, political and spiritual life of the people and ... the chief vehicles of progress' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 19, p. 270). Capitalist cities have always been the focus of the insoluble social contradictions of bourgeois society. What is today's capitalist

*The FCP representative sent in a paper.

city socially? What new aspects do relations between classes and between social groups show on the urban scene and how does communist policy take them into account?

The profound transformation of Italian society that has been going on ever since the end of World War II as a process stimulated by the political and social struggles of the working class and other popular strata, said *Renzo Ciaiolo,* involves rapid growth of the cities. Millions of people lacking adequate qualifications and proper housing have flocked to the cities. Those who have been able to secure a home are compelled to pay a huge part of their wages in rent, some as much as half of them. The average standard of school construction, medical care and other services is very modest. Urbanization has been accompanied by the economic decline and impoverishment of numerous cities. The traditional imbalance between North and South has increased and large agricultural areas of the South have become desolate. By contrast, the parasitical strata have become richer still. Thousands upon thousands of millions of lire are paid annually in urban rent. The big industrialists and monopolists have a vast reserve of workers who are willing to work for wages far below the subsistence minimum.

The workers have never been inactive or weak in the face of these phenomena. Led by the Communist Party and other democratic organizations, they have rallied together to resist monopoly pressures and have put their stamp on national development, on urban politics, culture and public life generally.

The growth of new urban strata is an important characteristic of the social environment of today's capitalist cities, said *Giancarlo Quagliotti.* The ICP, while promoting the traditional worker-peasant alliance, works steadfastly to unite other popular strata behind the working class. In this way we isolate and curtail the interests of big monopoly capital, of all whom are connected with the parasitical strata; we also alter a situation in which elementary modern amenities are lacking. Relations between diverse sections of the urban population are a reflection of the conflict between forces with opposed economic and political interests. In common with other political forces, communists as leaders of local government bodies or as a political opposition have always been uncompromising antagonists of the capitalist system. They have raised cardinal problems of the struggle for a new urbanism and revealed the social character of these problems.

A bitter struggle is going on for planned development, a struggle to ensure that urbanization serves the public interest and to balance the country's territorial organization and economic development. We also campaign for a housing policy that will make it possible to solve the problem as a social one, for an end to real-estate speculation, for

the transformation of schools into an instrument of a new culture, for the reorganization of transport, for medical services that will be within everyone's reach. This campaign was spurred by the gains of the communists and other democrats in the June 1976 municipal elections. At present 25 million Italians are living in municipalities governed by communists; communists head the municipalities of Turin, Naples, Florence and many other big cities.

Quagliotti told about some achievements of the Turin municipality and other communist-led urban self-government bodies in improving the working people's life. He pointed out that the democratic forces had dealt a telling blow at the parasitical, speculative use of urban land.

The housing crisis, the disorderly development of some components of the urban system, lack of sanitation, crime, unemployment and many other aspects of urban life to which Engels called attention over a hundred years ago exist today on a still larger scale and in sharper forms, participants in the seminar pointed out. The housing crisis, *Marcel Rosette* says in his paper, is particularly intolerable. It affects not only the working class but specialists and white-collar workers, who ensure the development of cities but have no share in decision-making on its character. Those who may be said to be living in unsatisfactory conditions include 75,000 slum dwellers, 2,700,000 families whose homes lack running water or are tumbledown dwellings and 4,900,000 people living in overcrowded dwellings. And now unhealthy living conditions and overcrowding are aggravated by new forms of social poverty. Skyrocketing rents and rates of interest on loans for the construction or purchase of homes are compounded by growing charges for public services. These expenditures prove too heavy for the family budget and arrears of rent assume alarming proportions. As a result, the property of families is impounded and they are evicted by the police with official authorization. Numerous families cannot afford gas or electricity. The critical housing situation is made worse by a shortage or complete lack of cultural and other public establishments and by destruction of the environment.

All non-monopoly strata are hit, if to varying degrees, by the urbanization crisis. More and more often, actions by various urban population groups are directed against monopoly power and the state subservient to it. The state tries to use urban development policy as a means of dividing the non-monopoly urban strata and inspiring the less exploited of them with reformist illusions. The growing length of daily trips has extended the working day and led to a certain slowing down of struggles at local level. But owing to the worsening crisis, the FCP's explanatory work, actions launched on its initiative or with its participation, and the special role of communist-led municipalities,

the means used by the government to block action by the urban strata and prevent their merger in one stream prove less and less effective. No matter who initiates action, the party helps in decisive measure to direct it against those really responsible for the situation by spelling out the existing alternative and the reasons why all non-monopoly sectors have a stake in the action. In this way the party bars the spread of reformist ideas ('change the city to change life') among the people and helps to increase popular commitment to this struggle. The growing crisis, various imbalances and deformations caused by monopoly urbanization in spite of efforts at communal level to meet the basic requirements of the population have stimulated FCP efforts to evolve a national approach to the modernization of urban areas, a policy toward urbanization and, in a broader context, toward living conditions. Tasks for the subsequent period were specified in the party's program 'For a Democratic Government of Popular Unity' (1971). Afterwards many of these tasks were included in the joint government program of three left-wing parties.

Urbanization poses problems not only in large communities but where the population is decreasing, said *Taisto Johteinen*. This decrease is most marked in the north and east of Finland. Where the population is on the decline, its social composition is becoming deformed. Specifically, there is an increase in the proportion of aged people and a drop in the birth rate; incomes and purchasing capacity are lagging more and more in comparison with other regions and, besides, a low level of consumption hampers industrial activity. At the same time, the revenues which the communes get in the form of taxes are falling off, with the result that opportunities for investment in school construction, transport, housing, and so on are substantially reduced. As the working people of town and countryside want a change in the monopoly trend of urbanization, the communists of Finland have always regarded the struggle to solve social problems of the cities on democratic lines as an essential component of the struggle against monopoly.

The Communist Party of Finland has gained considerable experience in the effort aimed at transforming local self-government bodies into strongholds of the anti-monopoly struggle of the working class and its allies. Although the communes have very limited freedom of action as self-governing entities, they are still in a position to adopt measures at variance with those of government agencies, above all by exercising their right to levy taxes. The Finnish working-class movement has always favored greater communal democracy. It was largely due to the communists' years-long campaign that late in 1976 a bill extending communal self-government was submitted to parliament.

The democratic forces of Italy, said Ciaiolo, have always seen local

autonomy as a strategic goal of the struggle to free the people. Italian communes have never been a purely administrative problem but a political one as well. They play an important part in the struggle for greater democracy, a new economic and social model for the country and new international relations. The communes' role is particularly great now, due above all to the pressing need of a substantial change in the nature and structures of state power. By increasing the role and powers of a state apparatus serving the interests of the big bourgeoisie, the Christian Democratic Party has imposed on the country an entirely adverse course of development leading to mismanagement and a waste of national resources. This course could only be pursued by simultaneously reducing the possibilities of local government bodies.

Yet the very nature of the communes, where popular influence is strong, demands that the emphasis be put on meeting the requirements of the people by encouraging social, collective consumption. The communes are in the forefront of the movement for democratic programming and for a close coordination of national and local plans, so that local bodies may be able to join in choosing and working out the main lines of development and in supervising the execution of plans. In Italy, the aims of a democratic reform can only be achieved by launching a vast mass movement and defeating the resistance of conservatives. The communes are a key channel for the formation and operation of a mass political movement. They have demonstrated their tremendous potential in bringing about democratic changes, extending the people's rights and setting up a durable system of alliances between the working class and other exploited classes and strata.

A growing financial debt is one of the greatest problems facing capitalist cities, said *Nikolai Yablokov*. Can it be radically and democratically solved by increasing communal autonomy, without altering the class nature of the national authority? It seems to me that to emphasize activity at municipal level rather than the attitude to the state and the struggle to change the social, economic and political structures of society is like trying to fell a tree by lopping off its branches. In general, can the bourgeois state grant the communes, especially those governed by communists, the financial and material resources needed for the solution of social problems of the cities? If so, at whose expense?

First of all,Ciaiolo replied, the ICP insists that the state assume the communes' entire debt and pay it off in 40 years. The party also insists on changing the tax system to make the rich pay higher taxes. It is a scandal that thousands of rich people still dodge taxes every year by using tricks and loopholes. It is essential to introduce a

fundamentally new pattern of tax distribution between the state and the communes. While the scope of communal activity has grown, the communes only get 11 per cent of all tax receipts, and surely this is wrong. Why, they got 23 per cent even under the fascist dictatorship. It is important to find a solution ensuring greater involvement of the masses, making it possible to take account of the interests of all communes and combining their efforts and resources.

The role of municipal bodies under state-monopoly capitalism is contradictory, according to Rosette. On the one hand, the communes are an appendage of the state apparatus, an institution enabling the bourgeoisie to tighten its hold on the working people. On the other hand, the effort to adapt communal structures to monopoly requirements comes up against the fact that the communes want to retain the relative autonomy they were granted earlier, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and that they remain to a degree traditional centers of democratic activity. For years, communists elected to diverse bodies have refused to support the authorities' strategy toward urbanization and other issues. They have taken numerous initiatives to develop a movement of the population and enhance the democratic character of communal government in both framing urban policy and meeting immediate demands. We invite the French to fight in common with us for the preservation of jobs and the creation of new ones, in support of trade and the handicrafts, for more vigorous development of social and cultural institutions, for everyone to have a guaranteed right to a home, for the state to do its duty by financing social construction and cutting rent, for cheaper and more-up-to-date public transport, against environmental pollution. We realize, however, that judicious urbanism and a durable improvement of living conditions and the habitat are impossible without far-reaching changes, without a change of policy, of power, of society.

In campaigning for more democratic local government and raising the problem to the stature of a national one, we do not confine the issue to the management of spheres of secondary importance, said Ciaiolo. We strive to use the mechanism of government interference in the economy as a means of introducing into the country's social and economic structures elements antagonistic to the nature of imperialism. Ours is not a reformist policy. In local self-government bodies in which they have a majority, the communists make a choice aimed at meeting people's everyday requirements and link up the solution of problems with more general plans to transform the economy and society as a whole. We make a point of safeguarding and extending the people's democratic gains, which are primarily a result of working-class struggles. This is bound to produce new contradictions in the mechanisms of capitalist society. Democracy is

the basis on which the working class shapes and builds up its ability to govern the country in alliance with other forces.

The ruling quarters, it was pointed out at the seminar, counter the communists' aspiration to thoroughly change the nature of state power and put an end to monopoly domination with the policy and ideology of state-monopoly regulation of urbanization processes. What are the limitations and contradictory aspects of this regulation?

In capitalist society, said Johteinen, the possibility of controlling urbanization depends largely on the possibility of regulating investment. Until recently, most government measures were restricted to consulting firms and granting them loans. At present certain efforts are being made to extend the forms and methods of state-monopoly regulation of investment. Whether they will have an effect on the distribution of production facilities, the creation of more jobs, and so on, is a topic of lively discussion in Finland. The communists join in this discussion and stress that the prerequisites of controlling and regulating urbanization and planned social development generally are created only where society controls investment, which, in turn, implies far-reaching social changes. The need to transform urbanization from a spontaneous into a regulated process is growing. We see this as a further argument in favor of the socialist perspective championed by the communists, by all democrats.

The limitations of state-monopoly regulation of urbanization processes, Rosette notes, are due to the structure-forming factors in today's social organization of capitalist society. Prominent among these are two elements: the big enterprises as production and economic management organizations corresponding to concentration of capital and means of production, and the state, which interferes more and more in economic activity and public life generally, thereby becoming their 'organizer' and playing the role of 'manager' of sectors that, being indispensable to production, yield a rate of profit seen as inadequate by the monopolies. The balance of the urbanistic system depends on how far the production process and the process of reproducing public life are interconnected. The logic of a balanced urbanistic system calls for organization according to the logic of reproducing the work force to the detriment of the special interests of capital. Government interference under capitalism is not neutral. It is not conditioned by the objectives of rationalizing the urbanistic system but by the nature of the machinery itself, and is effected with due regard to latent interests existing in this or that industry and at every level, to their relationship with the class struggle and the political situation. Hence the contradictions and crises and, most important, the dovetailing of urbanization policy with the overall policy of the bourgeois state, with all ensuing consequences. The political objec-

tives of managing the urbanistic system are such that the state apparatus is compelled not only to interfere sporadically, aggravating the contradictions of the system, but to disguise its inability to keep its hold on urban development and remove the contradictions of capitalist urbanization.

Socialism offers solutions in the people's interests

Being based on public ownership of the means of production and genuine democracy, socialism fundamentally changes the very nature of social problems and adds a new dimension to communist municipal activities. In socialist society, speakers pointed out, the priority problem is to manage urbanization in a way that will raise prosperity levels. The centerpiece of urban management is planning.

All the questions involved in the development of a city as a single harmonious entity, *Dmitry Bruns* said, are covered by the city's general development plan. Drawn up on the instructions of the city Soviet, it covers a period of 20 to 25 years, specifying the lines of urban development, the volume and location of housing and industrial areas, expansion of transport, services, educational, medical, cultural, sports and research facilities, and environmental protection measures. All this work is carried out in stages, according to fixed timetables. The general plan also makes provisions for the expansion of the water supply, the sewage system, electric power, etc. The city Soviet decides on the main targets of the general plan and on the basic data needed for its formulation. The plan is a result of collective effort by demographers, sociologists, architects, engineers, transport experts and other specialists.

Bruns described how this works out in Tallinn, the capital of Soviet Estonia, how the acute social problems left over from the bourgeois days and World War II were solved. Socialist rebuilding began with restoring the city's industrial potential and creating new industrial districts. This was part of a long-range plan. Today the city's industries produce nearly 40 times more than before the war. New industrial areas have come into being — they are located in specially designated zones. This solved one of the biggest social and town-planning problems, namely, providing transport and other facilities for thousands of workers. It also solved another important social problem, adequate housing for the people of Tallinn. Once industry had been rebuilt and industrial building methods introduced, housing construction was begun on a large scale. Thus, between 1956 and 1976 it increased by 330 per cent, which meant increasing the average per capita floor space to 15.1 square metres. It also meant ridding the city of many of its old, sub-standard houses and moving the people who lived in them into new, modern flats. This was a formidable task

and in the past 30 years we have virtually added three new cities to the old Tallinn. And as our economic potential continues to increase, we are shifting to a new and better type of house, with every housing area provided with kindergartens, schools, shops, hospitals, and so on. The very nature of socialism creates favorable conditions for the planned, harmonious solution of urban problems, enabling us to avoid the negative phenomena characteristic of capitalist cities. For instance, our cities do not have to worry about financial crises. Under the current five-year plan, Tallinn is spending 1,000 m. roubles, or nearly 200 million roubles more than under the previous five-year plan, on building new cultural and other facilities.

Experience has shown, *Harry Jones* (South African Communist Party) remarked, that problems arise even when urban development follows a definite plan. Does this not mean that restructuring a country's economy according to plan does not assure full solution of all urban social problems?

All the achievements of Soviet society, Bruns replied, including the solution of urban problems, are closely tied in with planning. Socialism is never content with what it has achieved. It searches for new, more effective ways and means of solving social problems. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that our society must raise the standard of planning, bring it into line with the new scale, character and requirements of our economy. At the present stage of building communism, it is extremely important to take a comprehensive approach to our long-range problems, to see economic and social problems in their unity. This means that we must solve our urban problems through socio-economic planning, by applying planning methods and systematic regulation to those aspects of city life which in the past were not adequately covered by the general plan. Formerly, the general plan was chiefly confined to town planning and took little account of the changing social structure of the city, of people's way of life. This made it necessary to find a comprehensive approach to economic and social problems. We now do that by evolving socio-economic development plans for our urban communities.

The thesis that socio-economic planning is the key to solving the basic problems of socialist cities was supported by other speakers from the socialist countries. In the initial stages of socialist construction, *Zdenek Zuska* said, planning was confined mainly to material production. But even then economic planning was a powerful factor in solving urban social problems, including the problem of overcoming the anti-social attributes of city life inherited from the capitalist system, and it has been solved in our country. In the capitalist world urban development, 'spurred' by the drive for profit, leads to social segregation and millions of people are compelled to live in over-

crowded or dilapidated dwellings even though there are numerous vacant flats (press reports set the number of such flats at 1.5 million in France alone). By contrast, socialism has put an end to the division of the city into rich and poor districts, with the quality of housing depending on the tenants' income, the sharp difference between the center and outlying districts, and the health hazards caused by a chaotic distribution of industry and the services.

Building developed socialism makes much higher demands on the theory and practice of planning, which is now characterized by a comprehensive approach, long-range planning and emphasis on the social aspects of town planning. Comprehensive socio-economic planning was initiated by the working people themselves and extended at first to only some of the factories, but afterwards it came to involve larger units, and experience has shown that many problems can only be solved by these larger units. A new stage was reached when long-range socio-economic planning was extended to larger territorial units, districts and cities.

Like other socialist cities, the Czechoslovak capital has its long-term socio-economic program, drawn up under the direction of the Central and City Party Committees. It is based on the city's general plan and is intended to coordinate the political, economic, social, territorial, technical and investment elements of Prague's development up to 1990, with a more detailed program for the present, sixth five-year plan (1976-1980). It also contains guidelines for the city's development over a longer period, up to the year 2000, with industrial expansion tied in with municipal development, the availability of labor and material resources, housing requirements, in public education and health and social maintenance.

Our comprehensive development programs, Yablokov said, are based on party and government decisions and the economic development plan. The 25th CPSU Congress decisions outline the overall aims of our social development and indicate the ways and means of attaining them. The job of municipal agencies is to find the most advisable methods of implementing their part of these plans, with due regard to local conditions.

Their chief aim is to make urban development a means of heightening prosperity standards, facilitate the all-round development of the individual and equalize social and economic conditions of the various population groups. The primary consideration here is expansion in housing and municipal services. The social and economic development plan for Yaroslavl for the current, tenth five-year plan (1976-1980; it was drafted under the guidance of the city party organization) provides for the construction of about 1,600,000 square metres of new housing. The accent now, in line with the 25th Congress decisions, is

on better housing and on simultaneous construction of houses and cultural and other establishments, providing more effective municipal services, modernizing the city and improving it architecturally.

All our plans, the speaker added, are based on scientific knowledge of the social structure of socialist cities and the social process taking place in them. Priority is given to measures designed to heighten the role of the working class, both in the production sphere and in public affairs, and to continued improvement of vocational training for the younger generation of workers. Nowadays the production process depends in large measure on the working people's ability to achieve higher efficiency in production and improve social structures. But that is possible only if society brings all the achievements of science and culture within the reach of the entire population and assures the all-round development of the individual. In our city (population 571,000) we have established a steadily expanding system of institutions that help raise the cultural level and skills of our working people. New workers are recruited exclusively from our system of vocational training in which young people, as well as learning a profession, receive a complete secondary education. There are 17 such schools, and their students get free meals, living quarters, uniforms and working clothes, in addition to regular grants. There are also four higher educational establishments with a student body of 25,000, 80 general schools with an attendance of 75,000 and kindergartens and day nurseries accommodating 45,000. The city has its drama theatre, philharmonic, circus and puppet theatre, 50 public halls, including 11 cinema theatres, and 30 houses of culture offering a wide range of facilities that help our people to develop their abilities.

Replying to a question by *Sergio Sierra,* Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Uruguay, Yablokov explained in detail how the municipal agencies in his city look after the health of the people and how physical education of children is organized in the Soviet Union. Health care and physical education of the rising generation in the Soviet Union are seen as a matter of state significance, he said. Every form of medical care and all sports facilities are provided free of charge. Yaroslavl has over 10,000 medical workers. Its major enterprises have holiday and health homes in the suburbs. The city also has 12 sports schools for children.

Low rent is a salient feature of socialist cities, said *Ruth Kessler.* In the capitalist countries, many working people have to spend up to half of their wages on rent. In Dresden, however, rent claims only about five per cent of the family income. Industrial and construction enterprises play an important part in improving working and living conditions. Their role in solving urban problems has grown noticeably in recent years. Once it was held that to improve living conditions in the

cities was a function of the municipal authorities and did not concern the enterprises. But now enterprises situated within city limits help to solve a growing number of urban problems, such as extending housing construction, modernizing old houses, providing more nurseries and kindergartens or building cultural and other public establishments. The club-houses, sports facilities and libraries built by enterprises are put at the disposal of the entire population of the city.

Kessler also told about some of the important elements of the socio-economic development plan of Dresden, notably housing construction, public health, assistance to women workers and large families, environmental protection and expansion of recreational amenities. She emphasized the importance of accurately forecasting population growth to plan housing construction and expansion of municipal, medical, educational and cultural services.

Kessler was asked a number of questions, in particular about plan provisions for the interests and requirements of the different population groups, especially the musical interests of its young people (question by Harry Jones), the requirements of motorists (question by *Jeronimo Carrera,* CC member, CP Venezuela). She replied that the cultural plan makes adequate provisions for every aspect of culture — folk, classical, modern. Dresden is a major cultural center, and the city authorities do much to meet the cultural requirements of young people. For instance, the city Palace of Culture, with a hall seating 2,500 arranges not only concerts of classical music, but also performances by vocal and instrumental groups and jazz bands, social evenings, and so on. Besides, there are a number of youth cafés with floor shows. All our restaurants and cafés arrange weekly social evenings. As for the motorists, we have made allocations for the maintenance of existing repair shops, petrol pumps, and other facilities, and for the provision of new ones.

It is generally conceded, *Dieter Hösel* remarked, that the socialist countries are successfully coping with the social problems of cities. But there are still many unsolved problems, and we never try to conceal them. In the GDR, not everyone in our major and medium-sized cities has adequate housing in terms of size and modern facilities. In the bigger town, kindergarten and day-nursery accommodation is still a problem. The important thing, however, is that all these problems are being solved, and the time is not far off when they will be solved. The SUPG program calls for complete solution of the housing problem, which will mean a modern flat for each family by 1990, and the problem of child-care facilities will be solved even before that.

The speaker was asked by Quagliotti whether the high degree of urbanization in the GDR has not resulted in the emergence of com-

munities or small towns whose development is considerably behind that of the country as a whole.

The answer was that the GDR has no regional problems similar to those in the capitalist countries. Urbanization follows a definite plan covering all communities, big and small, though, of course, growth rates have not always been the same. The medium-sized towns are developing at a faster pace because they provide optimal conditions for new industries and development of the infrastructure and offer congenial working and living conditions. Nor do we have the capitalist-type contradictions between the towns and agricultural areas. This is because, first, there are no substantial differences in pay, living and general conditions between the two, second, intensive agricultural development rules out the emergence of 'backward,' 'no-future' areas, and lastly, every hectare of farmland is cultivated.

In present-day conditions the accent is on the quality of our towns (scientific, production, cultural, educational, social and other facilities), *Vaclav Kasalicky* said. Accordingly, our urbanization policy does not simply reproduce the traditional pattern of populated communities but systematically promotes new patterns with higher socio-economic and cultural indicators. Socialist urbanization has, along with architecture, become a science and art. We undertake projects unknown in the past. Even formulation of our problems involves scientific and artistic elements, and their solution requires intensive research and proper aesthetic taste. This is all the more important because our future way of life cannot be simply a projection of the present way of life. What we town planners lack is, so to say, information of what the socialist way of life will be at the beginning of the 21st century, at a time when the housing estates and other projects we are now designing will be functioning. This involves many problems, and not so much in housing construction as in complementary projects that make residential areas more than simply a habitat. The way of life in developed socialist society already confronts us with demands that go beyond the customary components of town planning. This applies, for instance, to the development of trade and service facilities enabling every city dweller fully to enjoy the benefits of culture. It is an open secret that often our city dwellers take a one-sided, consumer approach to culture, assimilating its external attributes rather than its substance.

A number of speakers discussed the relation between municipal authorities and the national government in socialist society. We regard the city authorities, Zuska said, as a key component of one system of state power, their function being to carry out on their own particular territory the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state. The character and mechanism of relations between the

two rests on Marxist-Leninist political and legal concepts relating to the organization and functioning of government agencies and social management institutions. The leading role of the Communist Party, democratic centralism, worker participation in running the state, socialist legality, equality of nations and nationalities, are all fundamental principles of socialist government.

The primary function of the Prague National Committee as an organ of state power and city government is to assure the all-round development of the city through planned construction, expansion and modernization of transport and other services, development of cultural and public life, protection of the people's health and of the environment, preservation of cultural and historical monuments and maintenance of public order. The Communist Party Central Committee and the Czechoslovak government do much to help the city authorities cope with the many problems involved in developing Prague. Ministries and other central government departments closely cooperate with our National Committee in building up the capital and in solving its economic, cultural, health and other problems. The municipal authorities at all levels, the government and other government bodies always bear in mind that the development of Prague's economic and cultural potential has an important bearing on the entire country.

Yablokov discussed measures taken by municipal authorities to improve working and living conditions. Much has been accomplished in this respect in recent years, he said. Addressing the 25th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev remarked that due to the attention which the party devotes to problems of building up the state, 'the work of local Soviets has now acquired a new dimension.' City Soviets are empowered to coordinate and control the work of all industrial and other enterprises on their territory in such matters as housing construction, cultural and general amenities and all the many other factors that go into providing normal working conditions. In particular, enterprises and organizations that build housing on their own must put part of the housing they build at the disposal of the city Soviet. On the whole, however, the population's requirements are met in any Soviet city by contributions to the city budget out of the profits of industrial, building, transport and other enterprises. They exceed 90 per cent of the city's revenue, with less than 10 per cent coming from taxes and rents.

Question by *Alberto Kohen,* representative of the CP Argentina: While the nature and status of municipal authorities in the socialist countries are different, does that not lead, nevertheless, to contradictions between local and central organs similar to those described here by speakers from capitalist countries?

In the socialist countries, Yablokov replied, these relations are based on entirely new principles. Authorities at all levels are guided by common aims. Every decision by the central authorities accords with the interests of the people. Hence, counterposing the central leadership to the municipal authorities in a socialist society would only lead to undesirable consequences detrimental to the interests of the cities and their populations. The purpose of managing urbanization is to find an approach and methods which resolve some concrete problem and at the same time provide optimal conditions for the progress of society as a whole. Where municipal organs cannot cope with a problem for lack of requisite resources and powers, they refer the matter to a higher government agency to secure its assistance.

The right of municipal organs to control expenditure by industrial enterprises and organizations on housing, cultural and other facilities, Bruns emphasized, combines the interests of individual factories and offices with the interests of the city as an integrated and complex social, economic and territorial entity. Private property in real estate has been abolished in socialist cities, which affords the municipal authorities far greater opportunities to make more judicious use of the urban area than can be done in a capitalist city. The city Soviet is full master of all the territory under its jurisdiction. It alone can allocate land for use by state, cooperative and public organizations or private persons. And it exerts considerable influence on the character, design and construction of all projects on this territory. If, say, it is a matter of starting a new factory, the city Soviet determines where and how it should be built so as to conform with the city's growing requirements. The city Soviet also rules on measures to protect the environment (waste-disposal techniques, etc.), determines the size of the canteen to be built at the expense of the factory, the number of flats needed by its workers, and so on. The plans for every new construction project have to be cleared with the local Soviet. But its authority does not end there: every new building has to be examined and approved by a government commission of which a representative of the city Soviet is either chairman or a member. In short, the Soviet has the last say on all matters relating to the city's development.

Work among the urban masses

What are the most effective forms of political organization of the working people that help to consolidate the unity and organization of the working class and attract to it all the progressive forces of society? What opportunities and forms are there for worker participation in managing city affairs in socialist and capitalist countries?

The entire political system of real socialism, Hösel pointed out,

helps to unite the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party in building the new society. The socialist revolution initiates the process of removing social antagonisms between urban strata. Growing social and political unity of society as a whole is becoming the dominant trend of their evolution, a trend that is intensifying as socialism attains an ever higher degree of maturity. The socialist state is the working people's principal instrument in building a developed socialist society while the GDR National Front functions as the political form of interaction of all urban strata. The Front comprises the SUPG, another four parties and mass organizations of the working class and other working people: the Free German Trade Unions, youth and women's organizations, and cultural unions. All the democratic parties and mass organizations united in the National Front are represented in all elected bodies. The guiding force, the organizational and political center of this system, is the SUPG, which leads the activity of all the components of the political system of real socialism. The working-class party exercises its leading role in the cities through its groups in municipal and mass organizations and its branches, which organize the masses to implement to the party's political, social and economic strategy.

The most effective form of political organization in capitalist conditions is the party branch, as Rosette sees it. It can initiate and organize mass action on particular and general municipal issues, and impart purpose and direction to campaigns begun by other organizations. It can do this either directly or through its activists in mass organizations or local associations. The latter vary in character and can therefore influence different social groups, and promote a variety of initiatives and actions. The neighborhood committees are instrumental in analyzing municipal problems and action on them. They also play a role by assisting the municipalities and keeping a 'public eye' on their activities. Communist-led municipalities combine their functions with political activity. Unlike right-wing municipalities, which conceal their true aims behind a smokescreen of apolitical talk (as if municipal government did not involve politics!), the communists make it their business to reveal the real obstacles to satisfying the people's needs and to the city's harmonious growth. By their actions and achievements, especially on tax issues, communist-led municipalities help to merge public actions in a concerted effort against those responsible for the city's ills. They pursue policies calculated to prevent, not invite, financial crisis.

In Italy, Quagliotti said, monopoly capital is trying to maintain control in the municipalities. The monopolists and the rentiers have for many years been working within a broad alliance, bent on maximizing profits from the exploitation of our land and people. At local

level, this finds expression in weak and corrupt city administrations that look after private rather than public interests.

Growing social contradictions due to urbanization and the increasing political awareness of the masses have weakened this alliance, dominated by Big Business. The ties binding together these disparate social forces, including a section of the working people, have been gradually but steadily loosening. This has influenced the attitude of the political parties. That was the situation in the many municipalities which campaigned for an end to a bankrupt policy. We believe that the best way to combat the conservative Christian Democratic forces is to isolate them and increase our influence on the social strata on which they lean for support. Our aim is maximum unity of the democratic forces and parties as an indispensable factor in achieving broad agreement to pave the way to vitally needed economic and other fundamental changes. Accordingly, the Italian Communist Party has worked out organizational forms of uniting organizations of diverse political, ideological and cultural orientation.

Question by Kohen: What organizational forms were employed in Turin to unite the people around the Communist Party and other left forces?

Turin, one of Europe's biggest industrial centers, has strong proletarian and internationalist traditions and a strong party organization, Quagliotti replied. In the last elections, the communists obtained 40 per cent of the vote and a communist was elected mayor. The city's party organization has 40,000 members, with 200,000 workers belonging to the trade unions, 50,000 to communist-led democratic sports and cultural organizations, and 20,000 artisans and small businessmen belonging to anti-monopoly cooperatives. To this should be added the Democratic Women's Organization and other communist-led unity associations and committees. They include, for example, neighborhood committees active on issues vital to the people of the given area. Then there are hundreds of factory councils, made up of workers of different political affiliations — communists, socialists, Catholics. Nearly every higher educational establishment has its students' union. This organizational infrastructure is the reply of the democratic forces to the degradation of our cities resulting from uncontrolled urbanization.

The municipalities, Johteinen said, are one of the channels of communist contact with the masses. Through them the communists can reach large sections of the people and uphold their interests not only on the shop floor, but also, and primarily, at their places of residence. In a certain sense, municipal bodies, in particular the city government, not only champion the interests of the working people,

but are a very effective school of management for fairly large sections of the working people.

Question by Bruns: How can the municipalities serve as a school of management of public affairs in a bourgeois country?

In Finland, Johteinen replied, local government is based on a system of delegates, of whom there are about 30,000 in 63 cities and 22 suburbs, and of this number about 3,000 are active in city councils and another 800 in their executive committees. The city councils, of course, deal with matters that closely concern the population. The 2,046 communist and popular democratic city councillors concentrate on issues that have a direct bearing on the people's condition. The communists send large worker delegations to city council meetings when important questions come up for discussion.

Despite the great variety of forms and methods of communist activity in city government, and despite the widely different conditions in socialist and capitalist countries, *Pavel Auersperg,* Executive Secretary of *WMR,* told the seminar, the communists everywhere uphold the interests of the masses. It is typical of all their activity that they combine mass initiative with unremitting effort to enhance he party's role in relation to all other city organizations; second, that they concentrate on the fundamental political and socio-economic interests of the working people; and third, that they search constantly for new forms better suited to the situation in the given country. This is why the communists' activity in municipal bodies is a powerful factor impinging on the course and social trend of urbanization. In the socialist countries, it has strong socio-economic foundations and benefits from the immense advantages of socialist as against bourgeois democracy, a fact which substantially increases the opportunities for urbanization control and the population's participation in the solution of urban problems. As regards measures carried out by progressive forces in the capitalist countries at the municipal level, they cannot, for all their unquestionable usefulness and importance, bring about fundamental changes in the monopoly trend of urbanization. The problems arising from urbanization can be solved only if the working people's anti-monopoly struggle results not only in democratizing the political system but in thoroughly altering its class nature by establishing the people's political power throughout the country.

The fact that municipal authority in socialist countries is based on genuine, socialist democracy, Yablokov, Kessler and Zuska emphasized, offers far greater opportunities for uniting the population and satisfying its requirements than in any variety of bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy, Yablokov said, gives the masses a share in running the cities. This applies to every aspect of urban life and has become a cardinal factor in their development. In socialist

countries, municipal organs are deeply democratic both in terms of composition and the aims and methods of their activity. Take the example of Yaroslavl: more than 65 per cent of members of the city Soviet are workers. All the city government bodies are under constant public control, with deputies regularly reporting back to their constituents. Besides, there are many different forms of direct participation in decision-making, especially now that the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organizations play a bigger role. Every citizen has the right to lodge complaints or proposals with the city Soviet and receive a satisfactory reply within a month.

An effective form of the working people's participation in running our cities, Kessler said, is regular discussion in the factories and residential areas of the city's annual, five-year and longer-range development plans. These discussions extend to every aspect of the city's economy and services. The trade unions and other mass organizations state their views on every draft plan. It is part of my job as Chairman of the city planning commission to report to the trade unions on the plan for the coming year, consider their suggestions and amend the plan if necessary. Also important is systematic analysis of suggestions made by the general public: municipal agencies are required once every three months to examine all suggestions regarding their functions.

In Prague, Zuska said, the most widely used form of contact with the population is through the civic committees. These committees, whose number corresponds exactly to the number of deputies to the district national committees of Prague, hold every year at least four joint meetings of deputies and the population to discuss problems of implementing the National Front's election program. They also help to set up neighborhood groups of activists, such as house commissions. There are now 1,030 civic committees involving 14,746 persons, with another 62,476 active in house commissions. This means that nearly one adult Prague citizen in ten has a share in the work of the city National Committee. Moreover, its members take careful account of proposals and criticisms made at regularly held public meetings. The deputies are required to inform the population of what is being done by the city and district National Committees and to organize voluntary public work projects. This is fully appreciated. In 1975, the people of Prague contributed 48 million work-hours to beautifying their city, which means that each devoted an average of 50 hours of voluntary labor. This and other facts confirm the unity of Communist Party policy and the interests of the people, and are indicative of the continuous development of socialist democracy.

The discussion was summed up by Auersperg on behalf of the *WMR* commission on general theoretical problems. He noted that this

was the first seminar on the social problems of urbanization and the role of communists in city government sponsored by the journal, which had thus brought up a new, important subject. *WMR* would continue to publish articles on communist policy toward urbanization, setting out communist experience in city government in socialist and capitalist countries. Urbanization plays a growing role in society and the world revolutionary process, and the commission on general theoretical problems believes the journal should carry a series of articles on the sociological aspects of the problem, analyzing the interaction of urbanization and the scientific and technological revolution, their impact on the social and demographic structure, production, way of life, the individual's thinking, etc. This could be complemented by critical analysis of bourgeois urbanization theories and the measures they propose. There should also be in-depth study of the theoretical and methodological problems of planning the development of socialist cities.

Capitalism in crisis: some conclusions for our strategy

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If we were to single out the essential changes in the productive forces and production relations of contemporary capitalism and in its international economic and political relations, we would have to list the following:

— the increasing impact of the dynamically developing socialist countries on the internal processes of monopoly capitalism;

— the marked development of capitalism's productive forces in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. This objective tendency is stimulated by the laws of capitalist rivalry and by the struggle and competition of the two social systems;

— continued large-scale socialization of the economy and the related internationalization of production throughout the capitalist world;

— increasing state interference in the process of capitalist reproduction as the sequel to; and condition of, the continued concentra-

tion of capital; the new role of the capitalist state within the framework of its class function, with all its contradictory tendencies;

— aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions, accentuating the unequal development of capitalist countries in the new world alignment of forces;

— the changed pattern of relations between the leading imperialist powers and the ex-colonies;

— changes in the energy and raw material basis of production (raw materials, energy and environmental problems);

— the new quality of the subjective factor — development of the working-class vanguard, the international communist movement, into the world's most influential political force;

— shifts in the social structure, changing in the place and role of classes in the production process and in the appropriation of its results; deepening of labor-capital class antagonisms.

A scientific analysis of these and a number of other questions relating to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is an essential condition of formulating and substantiating the new concepts and conclusions necessary for devising an effective strategy for the world's revolutionary forces.

By working out democratic alternatives for their countries, the communist and workers' parties of capitalist countries are making a meaningful contribution to analysis of new phenomena. The documents drawn up at international conferences of communist and workers' parties contain important generalizations that have become part of Marxism-Leninism. But the interaction of theory and practice is influenced both by the accelerated processes of social development and the problems it poses, and by the subjective ability of Marxists to apply the theoretical conclusions drawn from scientific analysis.

For Marxists of the Federal Republic of Germany the present crisis of capitalism poses a number of new questions. The study *Economic Crisis and Economic Policy,* compiled by the Marxist Research Institute in Frankfurt-am-Main is a valuable contribution to an understanding of these questions.[1]

First of all, let us examine some of the distinctive features of the intertwining of the present cyclical crisis and the general crisis of capitalism. Methodologically, it is advisable to single out these features because, as a rule, capitalist contridictions manifest themselves more saliently against the background of the cyclical crisis and, at the same time, bring out the long-term factors and symptoms of capitalism's general crisis. In the past, cyclical crises reflected not only the contradictions of capitalist reproduction accumulated in the relatively short cyclical period, but also the main contradiction of

capitalism. Now, in this age of the general crisis of capitalism, the antagonism between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation stands out in greater clarity at every phase of the cycle.

West German imperialism, which again holds an important place in the world capitalist system, is no exception in this respect. Of course, individual features of the crisis can manifest themselves in the FRG to a greater or lesser degree than in other imperialist countries, but they always reflect the overall crisis trends of the imperialist system.

Up to the mid-60s, due to the specifics of its economic development, West Germany was exempt from major cyclical upheavals, though there were recessions in 1953, 1958, 1963, and again in 1971. There were also two over-production crises, in 1966-67 and 1974-75, with the latter much sharper, deeper and longer than the former.

A characteristic feature of the 1974-75 crisis was its simultaneous impact on the main capitalist countries and on all spheres of the economy. In short, it was a 'synchronized' world crisis. In striking contrast to this gloomy picture we witnessed the confident and dynamic development of the socialist countries. Indeed, it can be said that never before had the socialist economic system so convincingly demonstrated its superiority.

The last crisis vividly brought out the extent to which the FRG economy is dependent on foreign markets. A large part of its industry is geared to export, which in 1974 accounted for 24.2 per cent of total industrial output, and to as much as 50-60 per cent in some industries. This makes the FRG expecially sensitive and vulnerable to crises of the capitalist world economy. In a crisis or recession situation low demand on the world market — no longer under the undivided control of the imperialist powers — can exacerbate all external and internal contradictions in the FRG.

In such situations West German imperialism tries to pressure other capitalist countries to take more of its exports. This worked in the 1966-67 crisis, which was not worldwide, and powered the boom phase of the cycle. But in the present worldwide recession, despite the reassuring official statements, laced with nationalist complacency, the FRG has sustained considerable losses precisely because of its dependence on exports.

The situation was further aggravated by the eroding effect of protracted inflation both in the FRG and other capitalist countries. Unlike the earlier recession of 1966-67, inflation, far from declining, continued to grow Stagflation (stagnation + inflation), which hit the U.S. in the mid-60s, became a common feature of the crisis in the mid-70s, and has now struck the FRG economy for the first time. (Table 1).

	1968	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Percentage growth of gross national income	7.2	5.0	3.5	5.3	0.0	-3.5	5.5
Percentage growth of consumer goods prices	2.0	5.2	5.8	7.2	7.3	6.1	4.5
Balance-of-trade surplus (000m. DM)	18 4	15.7	20.3	33.0	50.8	37.3	34.6
Percentage share of nominal wages in national income	63.9	66.7	68.7	69.8	71.4	71.6	69.8
Percentage share of net wages in national income	44.9	44.7	44.8	43.6	43.9	43.8	---

Source: Gert Hautsch 'Wirtschaftspolitik und Profitinteresse,' Frankfurt am Main, 1976, S.36, 38, 40, 60 *Unsere Zeit* 20 Dezember 1976.

The figures show that national-income growth came to a halt in 1974 and in the following year dropped by 3.5 per cent. Boosting exports and increasing the balance-of-trade surplus (from DM 33,000 million in 1973 to 50,800 million in 1974) — a method employed in the previous crisis — together with other factors only bred more inflation: up to the early 1970s it was still at a 'creeping' pace, but in 1973 and 1974 prices rose by 7.2-7.3 per cent.

The figures on the share of wages in national income refute all the specious arguments of bourgeois ideologists that inflation is due to wage rises, that is, higher wages are the cause and higher prices the effect. But the statistics point in another direction: prices are the cause and wages the effect.

The main cause of stagflation, so clearly indicated in the table, should be sought in concentration of production and centralization of capital by a tight group of monopolists who are jacking up prices at the expense of the non-monopoly strata. The re-distribution of national income in favor of the monopolists is much greater than the statistics suggest. Higher demand on the internal market, which alone can power an economic pick-up, depends directly on higher wages. But this runs counter to the capitalists' drive for maximum profits. Hence, the workers can win higher wages only through the class struggle and energetic trade union action.

Still another clear illustration of West-Germany's involvement in the capitalist world crisis is unemployment, which increased from 300,000 before the crisis, to 1,351,000 in January 1976. To this figure should be added the more than 700,000 on short time. In other words,

nearly a tenth of the country's wage and salary earners are either fully or partially unemployed, a situation unknown since the early 50s. The youth are especially hard hit with tens of thousands of young men and women 'redundant' in the capitalist economy. In September 1975, 28.6 per cent of the unemployed were under 25 and 11.5 per cent under 20.

And the outlook is, to say the least, uncertain. Employment has declined by 1.3 million in the past three years, while output has risen by 3.2 per cent. The Bonn Ministry of the Economy estimates that an annual national-income growth of even 4.5 per cent will not cut back unemployment. According to other estimates, West Germany will approach 'full employment' only by the year 2000.[2]

The employment situation is compounded by under-capacity operation, especially painfully felt in this time of crisis. Even the chemical industry, one of the most dynamic, was operating at less than 70 per cent of capacity in 1975. Despite the 1976 pickup, industry is still operating at far below optimal levels.

Crises, inflation, unemployment, under-capacity operation — the whole complex of capitalism's internal contradictions can be fully understood only in the context of the competition and struggle of the two world systems, the continued advance of the socialist world system and the colossal changes that have transformed the world in the past 60 years. The objective tendency toward disintegration of imperialism — the result of its own antagonisms — and the contradiction between the two systems, are the determinative factors in the deepening general crisis of capitalism. The attitude of the forces working for the socialist refashioning of society to existing socialism is in our time the decisive element in any revolutionary strategy.

Trade between countries with different social systems now acquires special importance. So far the socialist countries account for only a small share of West Germany's foreign trade, but the tendency, a very clear one, is toward a steady increase. Economic contacts with the socialist countries are not subject to the fluctuations of the capitalist world market. During the last crisis the FRG exported 7 per cent more to socialist countries and 9 per cent less to developed capitalist countries and 24 per cent less to the USA. In fact, the share of the developed capitalist countries in West German exports dropped from 80 per cent in 1973 to 72 per cent in 1975, whereas the share of the socialist countries increased to ten per cent. Large orders from these countries provide about 150,000 jobs for West German workers. Imports from the socialist countries also show a growth tendency: from DM 8,300 million in 1973 they increased to 10,300 million in 1975.[3]

The deepening contradictions between developed capitalist and

developing countries hold a special place in the tangle of problems facing capitalism. The world economic crisis of the mid-70s is the first in which imperialism can no longer rely on its colonial hinterland, with all the consequences following therefrom. The developing countries are playing a much more independent role in international affairs, West German imperialism is trying to get its raw materials straight from the developing countries through bilateral arrangements, bypassing the multinational monopolies. And to this end it is making full use of its economic strength. When the Nairobi UNCTAD conference (May 1976) categorically rejected the policy of bilateral links, designed to weaken solidarity of the developing countries, the West German imperialist elements resorted to interlocking investments with the oil-producing countries, notably Iran.

These are some of the new methods imperialism is employing to adapt to the changing conditions resulting from the uneven development of capitalism. Its object is to re-divide the spheres of influence and resolve inter-imperialist contradictions.

The profound crisis of bourgeois ideology, of the political system of capitalist society, is a built-in feature of the general crisis of capitalism. In the FRG it extends to the imperialist-nurtured, right-opportunist ideology of the social democrats. The euphoria of 1968, when the social democrats came to power and launched their 'reform policy,' with its generous state support to the monopolies, is now but a fond memory. The much vaunted attempts to 'cure the country of crisis,' act as 'physician at the bed of sick capitalism' have proved a complete failure. The social democrats find themselves obliged to reckon with the communists. The crisis of right opportunism is jeopardizing the entire system of West German imperialism. It is a component and expression of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The social democrats (notably the S-D party leadership) are making strenuous efforts to win back the trust of the masses in their discredited policy and thus shift more of the crisis burden onto the people.

The deepening crisis of bourgeois ideology has led to more intensive nationalist propaganda as a means of diverting attention from the fact that, as distinct from 1966-67, capitalism's apologists can suggest no plausible way out of the crisis or ways of preventing its repetition.[4]

The German Communist Party is giving much attention to perfecting its anti-monopoly strategy on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the new phenomena at the present stage of the world revolutionary process. In preparing for its next congress and publication at the close of this year of the draft of its new program, our party has initiated a wide discussion on West Germany's road to socialism. This lends great importance to the conclusions the working class draws for its rev-

olutionary strategy from operation of the law of the uneven development of imperialism discovered by Lenin.

There is the proof of experience that this law is fully operative today. The present crisis is continuously changing the alignment of imperialist forces. The two most important changes are in the relations between the three world centers of capitalism, the U.S., Western Europe and Japan, and relations within the EEC. West German imperialism aspires to a leading role in Western Europe and is trying to increase its influence on world politics.

This is the picture as expressed in shares of capitalist world industrial output (Table 2).

Table 2

	1948	1960	1970	1975[1]
USA	54.6	45.7	40.3	37.6
EEC[2]	23.3	28.1	26.2	24.4
including:				
FRG	3.6	8.8	8.6	7.9
Britain	10.2	8.3	6.1	5.4
France	4.6	5.0	5.0	5.1
Japan	1.2	4.4	9.0	8.7
Other capitalist countries	20.9	21.8	24.5	29.3

[1] Estimate. [2] EEC nine. Source: Monthly Bulletin of Statistics. UN November, 1976. *Horizont*, Berlin, GDR. Nr. 17, 1974.

The table shows that the USA, though it has lost some of its positions, is still the strongest imperialist power with a very impressive technological lead.

As for the EEC, its economic growth has been attended by an internal power struggle, influenced by the FRG's strengthened position relative to the other eight countries.

The facts show that the objective trend toward more internationalization of the productive forces and toward capitalist integration do not lead to 'coalescence' of the imperialist powers. In fact, the contradiction between the objective process of internationalization of the productive forces and the discordant interests of individual imperialist states and monopoly groups has become sharper still.[5] Furthermore, resolution of inter-imperialist contradictions is achieved in a non-military way. And this, in our opinion, is a new factor in the regularities of capitalism in the present changed world correlation of forces. But it should be equally clear that, for all these new developments, the nature of imperialism, its substance, remain the same, and its basic laws, discovered by Lenin, continue to operate.

Lenin wrote: 'Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone' *(Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 242). And there is the evidence of history that an objective, rather than subjective, assessment of imperialist contradictions and antagonisms and of the other factors that make for a revolutionary situation, is essential for the victory of socialist revolution. That was so in Russia, which in 1917 was the focal point of imperialist contradictions and the weakest link in the imperialist system. History has refuted Trotsky, who denied the possibility of socialism triumphing in one country and advanced his own theory of 'permanent revolution.' Lenin's theory of revolution, formulated on the basis of a Marxist analysis of imperialism, was fully confirmed in 1917 and by the subsequent march of history. The Second World War ended with the victory of socialism in several countries that had become weak links in the imperialist chain. Fresh confirmation of Lenin's theory has been provided by the socialist revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam.

However, despite these convincing historical precedents, the discussion continues about the possibility of a socialist victory under present conditions in one country, which could be in West Europe. The serious mistakes on this problem — these relapses into Trotskyism, which Lenin so vigorously fought — are, in the final analysis, due to an underestimation of the objective contradictions of imperialism. Researchers are of the opinion that the revival of Trotskyist views 'is connected with the uneven maturing of the objective and subjective factors of the world revolutionary process, with the difficulties attending its development.'[7]

There are at least two answers to the theoretical question of whether new victories for socialism are possible. The first answer is that a socialist revolution in one, notably West-European country, is now impossible because its working class would be confronted by all, or at any rate the main, imperialist powers. And from this it is deduced that socialist revolution can be victorious only if it occurs simultaneously in all the main West-European countries. The second answer is that inter-imperialist contradictions make it possible to accomplish the revolution in one country alone, but only if there is no imperialist intervention.

We are deeply convinced that if the victory of socialism in one country was possible in 1917, when there were no other socialist countries, then it should be even more possible now, with the existence of the powerful socialist world system, and with the balance of world forces steadily changing in favor of socialism. Our party takes the following factors into consideration.

Both of these theoretical propositions presuppose close coopera-

tion and solidarity of the revolutionary parties of all countries. This is necessary, for without a definite level of revolutionary unity the chances of success are nil. But when applied to the practical class struggle, these two propositions translate into sharply different patterns of strategy and tactics. Thus, orientation on simultaneous victory in a number of countries could, on the one hand, lead to disregarding a revolutionary situation on the plea that a similar situation had not yet developed in other countries. On the other hand, a wrong assessment of the situation in one's own country, on the false plea that a revolutionary situation had developed in other countries, could lead to adventurist, leftist actions.

We do not, of course, deny that a number of new factors and possibilities have arisen and should be taken into account in formulating revolutionary strategy. In particular, it is quite realistic to envisage that the intertwining of the class struggle on a world scale could produce a 'chain reaction' of socialist revolution. Lenin, it will be recalled, repeatedly referred to a victorious revolution in 'one or several countries.' This would only *expand* the revolutionaries' field of action.

The mistake lies not in accepting the possibility of simultaneous action by several national revolutionary contingents, but in denying or underestimating the possibility of a victorious revolution, in present conditions, in one country alone.

1. *Wirtschaftskrise und Wirtschaftspolitik,* IMSF, Frankfurt/Main, 1976.
2. *Frankfurter Rundschau,* Dec. 31, 1976.
3. *Frankfurter-Allgemeine Zeitung,* 9.12.1976; *Wirtschaft un Statistik,* Nr. 2, 1976.
4. Cf. *Bürgerliche Ökonomie ohne Perspektive,* Berlin, 1976, pp. 185-228.
5. Thus, the *Frankfurter-Rundschau* (Dec. 27, 1976) wrote: 'The monetary gap between the ''strong'' countries, the FRG, Benelux and Denmark and the ''sick'' countries, Italy, Britain and Ireland, has become wider. France is coming closer to the second group.'
6. *Bürgerliche Ökonomie ohne Perspektive,* p. 513.

Essential condition for progress

Baqir Ibrahim
CC PB Member, CP Iraq

UNITED ACTION BY THE PATRIOTIC FORCES AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Ours is an age of impressive victories for progressive humanity in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress. Radical changes have given the world a new political shape and one of these changes is the emergence of a large group of countries that have freed themselves of colonial oppression and are making increasing efforts to consolidate their political independence and economic liberation and achieve a cultural renaissance.

A natural result of the development of the national revolutions in a growing number of newly-free countries is their socialist orientation. Experience shows that this orientation, which puts the country that chooses it in the vanguard of the liberation movement, is most effective and meaningful on two conditions. One, that there is close interaction between the progressive national forces and, two, that they maintain close contacts with the revolutionary forces across the world, particularly the countries of the socialist community. In other words, what we are talking about is the importance of the patriotic and internationalist principles in shaping national unity and determining the revolutionary course.

In our view, the question of the correlation of patriotism and internationalism in the political life of the countries that have chosen the non-capitalist road is of great theoretical and practical importance. Without claiming to discuss the matter fully we shall attempt in this article to show, by the example of Iraq, and some other Arab countries, that the combination, the mutual complementing of these two elements is an essential condition for the successful advance of the socialist trend.

Since the early 20s of this century the Iraqi masses have been fighting the domination of imperialism and internal reaction. It was thanks to their revolutionary drive and determination that the pro-imperialist monarchist regime was overthrown and the aggressive Baghdad pact abolished in 1958. Our country has today become a

truly sovereign state, firmly set on the path of non-capitalist development. These crucial victories would, of course, have been inconceivable without the patriotic alliance of the country's revolutionary forces. It is no secret that in the 1963-1968 period, when this alliance was broken, the Iraqi revolution came to a grinding halt. It only got under way again after the progressive wing of the Baath Socialist Party came to power in 1968.

A major landmark in the revolutionary process came in July 1973 when agreement was reached between Baath and the Iraqi Communist Party on the Charter of National Action, which became the platform of the Progressive National-Patriotic Front (PNPF). Since then, other parties and organizations have joined the front.

The Iraqi communists regard the unity of the progressive patriotic forces thus achieved as a powerful boost for the national-democratic revolution. We are therefore doing our best not only to prevent any weakening of the PNPF but to keep it going full blast. As was stressed at the enlarged plenum of the Iraqi Communist Party's Central Committee, held last February, our party is convinced that rallying the contingents aligned in the progressive front, deepening national unity, turning the front into an active political force and overcoming the mistakes and adverse developments of the past in the relationship between the communists and the Baathists, constitute a vital necessity and indispensable condition for Iraq's advance to socialism, a guarantee that any hostile operations against the republic will be thwarted.

At the same time the Iraqi experience indicates that the internal political factors for successful advance of the national-democratic revolution, which in themselves are, of course, decisive, become most effective when the alliance of progressive patriotic forces makes full use of the opportunities afforded by international proletarian solidarity. In the present situation this solidarity is more meaningful to the peoples of the developing countries than previously, when it amounted mainly to supporting their struggle for independence. Today it has shown itself to be an important, indeed essential condition for accelerating socio-economic progress in the young states, stimulating the masses to turn away from the capitalist road of development and encouraging their desire to remould society on socialist lines. In respect of the support that the countries of the socialist community give the newly-free countries, there has been a significant and, in some cases, decisive intensification of its economic aspect, i.e., help in developing the national productive forces and the struggle for economic independence from imperialism.

All this encourages internationalist trends in the national-liberation movement itself and proletarian internationalism in the world view of

its progressive, revolutionary-democratic sections, particularly in the Arab countries.*

Between the patriotic alliance of the revolutionary forces within the country and their international alliance we see a close interconnection that it would be wrong to interpret mechanically. In our view it is dynamic, dialectical and many-sided. The deepening of the national-democratic revolution and acceleration of socio-economic development in a socialist direction have a significant effect on the patriotic alliance itself. They narrow the political gaps between the participants and enlarge their scope for joint action. At the same time this helps to bring them closer to their natural external allies in the anti-imperialist struggle and pave the way for long-term and increasingly fruitful cooperation with them.

In other words, the building of international revolutionary solidarity and raising the level and effectiveness of the support for the national-democratic revolution offered by the external allies depend to a great extent on the will and effort of the mass of the people, on the activities of their political vanguard in the given country. In their turn, the gains of the national-democratic revolution make a contribution to the world revolutionary process proportional to their significance in the homeland. Thus the deep-going dialectical interconnection between the patriotic and international alliances takes effect in the course of the mass struggle, and only in this struggle is the basis created for a united front of progressive forces at the national and international levels.

We Iraqi communists can state with satisfaction that the uniting of the progressive patriotic forces in our country stems precisely from such a conception of this interconnection. As the Charter of National Action stresses, 'the revolutionary movement in Iraq is a viable and effective part of the world revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.' The Charter also notes the 'complete and decisive nature of Iraq's entry into the camp of the peoples fighting against imperialism, aggression and race discrimination, and Iraq's universal support for the liberation movements and progressive forces.'

On the question of the link between the Arab national-liberation movement and the world revolutionary process the Charter points out that 'the unity of action of the Arab countries, the mobilization of their efforts and energies in the struggle against the subterfuges and aggressive plans of imperialism, Zionism and the forces of reaction, their strengthening of cooperation with the socialist countries constitute a vital condition for the success of the struggle against the Israeli-imperialist aggression.' Of special importance is 'the alliance

*See the article by Aziz Muhammed, 'The socialist community is our dependable ally,' in the January 1975 issue of *WMR*.

that is being built on strategic principles between the emancipated progressive Arab regimes and the progressive movements of the Arab homeland, on the one hand, and the forces of world revolution led by the socialist camp, on the other.' Thus, as a whole, far from contrasting patriotism and internationalism, as the opponents of the communists and their participation in the front would like it to, the Charter on the contrary, builds an organic link between these two concepts.

From the standpoint of external support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the newly-free countries their alliance with the world socialist system plays an extremely important role. It is quite natural that, all other things being equal, the links between a developing country and the world socialist system tend to expand and strengthen as its home and foreign policies become more socially progressive and anti-imperialist. Conversely, any weakening of these links is usually due to the abandonment of a policy furthering the aspirations of the working masses and to neglect of true national interests in foreign policy.

In recent years, as we know, such a swing has occurred in the policy of Egypt's ruling circles under the leadership of President Sadat. These circles have almost entirely abandoned social change that benefits the working people, the policy of strengthening the state sector, the non-capitalist road of development, and have backed out of the struggle against imperialism and reaction. Most of what they are doing today expresses the selfish interests of the local bourgeoisie, which are a far cry from those of the people and social progress. Simultaneously it is designed to 'keep happy' certain Western and Arab reactionary circles, while the masses, the democratic forces of Egypt are subjected to persecution and repression. In the policies adopted by Egypt's present leaders it is easy to trace a direct link between the departure from patriotic positions in home and foreign policy and the repudiation of alliance and friendship with the socialist and progressive forces on the international scene.

Of course, a very active role in the reorientation of the Egyptian ruling cirlces was played by the imperialists, whose operations inside the newly-free countries employing the traditional methods of subversion, sabotage and counter-revolutionary conspiracies are aimed against patriotic unity and, on the international plane, against the internationalist solidarity of world socialism and the national-liberation movement. Weakening of the solidarity and particularly its deliberate subversion improves the monopolies' chances of exploiting these countries by neo-colonialist methods.

It is worth noting that in addition to such methods of fighting the

forces of liberation and progress as export of counter-revolution and direct military threats (which may go as far as the unleashing of local conflicts that endanger world peace) international reaction is making ever wider use of ideological subversion. All kinds of 'theories' are peddled including those that equate the socialist and capitalist systems as allegedly bearing 'equal responsibility' for the social and economic lag of the developing countries, and treat the non-aligned movement as a rejection of both systems. Such views, unfortunately, are still current in some sections of the national-liberation movement, particularly the Arab movement. They are actively preached by Egypt's present leaders.

It should also be remembered that the imperialists quite often find useful helpers among the right-wing opportunists and 'left' revisionists in the ranks of the most progressive forces. These imperialist agents do everything they can to slander the true patriotism of the communists, democrats and other revolutionaries who uphold the principles of internationalism. They spead false notions of an alleged contradiction between patriotism and internationalism, thus striving to isolate the revolutionaries, destroy their unity and hold back the progressive forces. All these imperialist stratagems have obviously had an effect on the positions of Sadat and his supporters.

Sadat has always tried to hide his repudiation of everything that in President Nasser's time made Egypt the most powerful anti-imperialist force in our area, with demagogic slogans calculated to appeal mainly to the politically uninformed and inexperienced sections of the population. However, the pro-imperialist policy of the present Egyptian leaders, which has been accompanied by a deterioration in relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community has quickly had disastrous economic results for the people. The hopes of gradual elimination of the consequences of the Zionist aggression by means of separate partial agreements have also turned out to be an illusion.*

The January demonstrations in Egypt expressed the working people's condemnation of the 'open door' policy (open to imperialism and reaction!) and their firm resolve to continue the struggle against Israeli aggression, for the liberation of the occupied territories, for a way out of the economic crisis that would benefit the broad masses, and for restoring relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The genuinely progressive forces in Egypt emphatically reject the lie that Sadat is trying to foist on the people regarding the allegedly anti-Egyptian attitude of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community in matters pertaining

*See Naim Ashhab, 'For an overall settlement in the Middle East,' *WMR*, December 1976.

to the Arab peoples' just struggle against the Zionist-imperialist alliance.

The anti-imperialist solidarity of the socialist and developing countries is based on common interests and aims, on mutual respect and mutual responsibility to the world revolutionary movement. This solidarity has become the basis for a new type of international relations, both economic and political. It is a bastion in the developing countries' struggle for equality and against discrimination in relations with the capitalist powers. World socialism's support of the young countries does not make them subordinate to or dependent on a foreign will. On the contrary, it helps them to strengthen their independence, to preserve their self-esteem, to rebuff the attacks of the united forces of imperialism and internal reaction, to achieve successes in various fields of development, and to increase their contribution to progressive humanity's fight for a better future.

Iraq's experience shows how fruitful close and friendly relations with the socialist countries can be. For instance, they have helped the Iraqi people to break the economic blockade set up by the imperialists after the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company on June 1, 1972. Characteristically, the act of nationalization became possible only after Iraq and the Soviet Union, on April 9, 1972, had concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation.

With Soviet help Iraq set up in North Rumaila its first national, state-run center for the exploitation of oil resources. The center now has an annual output of 42 million tons. In Iskanderya an agricultural machinery factory has been put into operation that is one of the biggest industrial enterprises in the Middle East and exports part of its output. The Soviet Union has helped Iraq to boost its defense capacity considerably. An event of major importance for Iraq was the conclusion, in July 1975, of a treaty with the CMEA on economic, technological and cultural cooperation. The signing of this treaty indicates major progress in Iraq's political, economic and cultural relations with the countries of the socialist community. The CMEA countries and the Republic of Iraq have instituted a joint commission to ensure growing cooperation, including industrial construction.

The assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is designed primarily to help build up new, progressive branches of the economy. In Iraq today 200 big projects have been put into operation and 150 others are being built with the cooperation of the CMEA countries.

The socialist countries are giving Iraq effective assistance in training national personnel. In the technical colleges and industrial enterprises of these countries over 3,000 future Iraqi engineers and technicians are undergoing training. Ten centers for training specialists in

such industries as oil, textiles, and machine-building have been set up in Iraq itself in recent years with the help of CMEA countries. They have already turned out about 40,000 skilled workers, engineers and technicians.

For the Iraqi masses the country's rapid economic and social progress is inseparable from the development of friendship and cooperation with the world socialist system, above all the Soviet Union. These relations have become even stronger since the visit to the USSR in February, 1977, of a party and government delegation led by Saddam Hussein, Deputy General Secretary of the Baath regional leadership and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command. The Iraqi Communist Party is confident that the new perspectives of cooperation in the political and economic spheres and in strengthening Iraq's defense potential that were defined during the visit will consolidate the positions and role of our country in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for a better future for the Iraqi people. We are convinced that the strategic alliance between our countries is essential for the building of a new exploitation-free society, taking into account Iraq's special features.

In times of victory and defeat, in the difficult day-to-day work of revolutionary struggle our Iraqi people — Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities — like all the Arab peoples fighting imperialism, reaction and backwardness, have relied on the international solidarity of the world revolutionary movement, the socialist system and its vanguard, the Soviet Union. This solidarity will undoubtedly continue to be a firm bastion in the struggle of the Arab nations against Israeli aggression, for ending the occupation of the Arab territories and safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestine people, including its right to set up an independent national state.

The experience of our party, of all the revolutionary democratic forces of Iraq shows that in present conditions a further deepening of international revolutionary solidarity can be achieved only on the basis of fidelity to the well-tried principle of proletarian internationalism. Such fidelity is a firm guarantee of continued success for the peoples of the newly-free countries in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

This year all progressive humanity is celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The experience of socialist construction in the world's first state of workers and peasants is of enduring significance for any country that is heading toward socialism. The Iraqi communists are convinced that, guided by the general basic laws of development toward socialism discovered by Marxist-Leninist science and creatively applied in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and employing them with due regard, of

course, for national conditions and specific features, building on the all-round support of world socialism, it will be possible to protect our people from many troubles and difficulties and the risk of counter-revolution. Here we have one of the most important and valuable features of the international alliance of all the revolutionary forces that is today going from strength to strength.

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Book reviews

INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

Janos Kadar, *Internacionalizmus, nemzeti erdek.* Magveto Diado, Budapest, 1976. 252 p.

The Hungarian people, led by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), are building a developed socialist society. As they strive for this major goal, it becomes increasingly important that the working people's socialist world outlook should be further widened and the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism popularized. What the world communist movement really needs is a clear Marxist-Leninist awareness of the link between the national revolutionary struggle and proletarian solidarity, and a correct understanding of the unity of national and international interests. Détente and the class struggle have raised the importance and role of ideological factors in international affairs, and higher standards have to be reached in propagandizing socialist ideas and criticizing bourgeois and opportunist concepts.

All the more topical is the new book *Internationalism and National Interests* by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP.

This book, which is a collection of articles and speeches covering the last 15 years, conveys the basic thought that the revolutionary party of the Hungarian working class is both a patriotic and internationalist party and that the national and the international have always been inherent in its work. 'Our party's policy,' Kadar said on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 'furthers the interests of the working class, our people and our national goals and, at the same time, it is internationalist. We believe that if it had not served national interests, it would not have served the interests of the international working class and, if it had not been internationalist, it would have endangered our country's interests.' (p. 134).

Such dialectical reasoning illustrates the HSWP's deep concern for the destiny of the Hungarian nation and the international workers' movement and shows that its policy is an alloy of patriotism and internationalism, two interlocking aspects of its commitment to the socialist cause.

The HSWP's general political course is based on the application of the laws governing the establishment and development of socialism to our country's national conditions.

The book gives a broad picture of the party's many-sided analytical work in creatively applying international Marxist-Leninist theory to Hungarian conditions. Drawing on the historical experience of the Hungarian revolutionary workers' movement, the HSWP, writes Janos Kadar, needs the conclusions reached by the fraternal parties. Of particular importance to the Hungarian communists is the never-aging experience of the CPSU, the experience of the first country of existing socialism, a 'depository of knowledge indispensable to all communist and workers' parties, and to each socialist country.' (p. 122).

The HSWP took the best road and planned the realistic policy that has ensured calm and broad creative endeavor over the past 20 years, steadily increasing the leading role of the working class and building up its authority.

The party educates the people in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. This book shows that the country's new, enriched patriotism embraces the progressive traditions formed in the course of the Hungarian people's struggle for independence and social progress. We may confidently build our patriotism on these values, particularly on the gains made by our people's revolutions and the revolutionary workers' movement, linking them with respect for the progressive traditions and achievements of other peoples.

Explaining the meaning of socialist patriotism, Janos Kadar writes that the working class is society's motive force, which expresses the people's interests through its revolutionary party. He shows that socialism and communism are the country's today and tomorrow and, therefore, the main source of patriotism today is a justified pride in the steady realization of the social ideals of the working class, in the historic transformations of past decades and the building of developed socialism. A person's contribution to socialist endeavor, to the building of socialism, is the greatest measure of patriotism and of serving one's country, and the importance of these factors is increasing. The great majority of the adult population, Kadar continues, accepts, and by its common effort confirms that 'socialism is the Hungarian people's program and future' (p. 212).

Our socialist patriotism is expressed in specific conditions. The

HSWP does not forget that it was the Soviet Union that liberated the Hungarian people, and our free and independent development is inseparably bound up with the achievements of the fraternal socialist countries and all progressive movements. That is why our patriotic ideal, embodying all progressive, democratic and socialist elements, is closely linked with internationalism and helps greatly in dealing with national problems and in strengthening our ties with other nations.

From similar historical positions Janos Kadar examines internationalism in connection with the tasks facing the world communist movement today. 'It is impossible,' he writes, 'to carry out and embody internationalism in abstraction, it can be expressed only in a necessarily specific attitude to questions posed by life itself' (p. 127). The conclusion to be drawn is that the class foundations of proletarian internationalism do not change, they remain based on the world outlook and political goals of the revolutionary working class. Their content and forms, however, are developed and enriched by the objective demands of our times. This analysis of internationalism stresses the need to continue extending Hungary's ties with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and strengthening the might and influence of the socialist world system. Socialist Hungary, writes Kadar, will continue to identify itself with the revolutionary and anti-monopoly forces in the capitalist countries and its support of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed nations, the young independent states and the world's peace forces. The logical conclusion is that proletarian internationalism advances both socialist and democratic goals.

It is apparent from the speeches and articles included in this volume that over the past 15 years, Janos Kadar, ever sensitive to world events, has given his constant and close attention to the problem of cooperation between the main revolutionary forces of our day — the socialist world system, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation fighters, and especially to the problem of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. In conditions 'where every party is independent,' writes Kadar, 'and where the independent and sovereign socialist states settle their affairs themselves, it is particularly important to maintain the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and abide by the principles of proletarian internationalism (pp. 126-127). The achievements of individual parties,' said Kadar at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, 'strengthens our movement, and strengthening the international communist movement means helping every individual party.' This growing revolutionary unity stands firmly on such democratic norms characteristic of our movement as coordination of na-

tional and international interests, comradely cooperation through regular bilateral and multilateral meetings and exchanges of views, a careful analysis and summing up of experience, all of which helps us to achieve a comprehensive elaboration of complex problems, formulate common positions and decide on collective methods of action.

Ideologically and politically this book is important to our party. It provides us with a guide in our theoretical work and political activities. It advances the international and patriotic education of Hungarian youth and all working people and sets forth the views of the HSWP on further strengthening the unity of the world communist movement.

Karoly Lipkovics

BROAD PANORAMA OF CLASS BATTLES

Miedzynarodowy Ruch Robotniczy. Tom 1 i 2, Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1976.

This two-volume study, *The International Working-Class Movement,* compiled by the Working-Class Movement Institute of the CC PUWP Higher School of Social Sciences, is the first of its kind to be published in Poland.

The working-class movement of every country has its own history, but its development follows laws and regularities that are common for all countries. The authors therefore regard the history of the international working-class movement as a single process of which the central element is the transition from spontaneous proletarian actions in defense of vital rights to organized forms of class struggle and its increasing internationalization.

The first volume gives a detailed account of the unorganized and organized forms of working-class struggles, including the history of the three Internationals and of other international organizations brought to life by the development of the labor movement.

Volume II, covering the period from 1945 to 1975, discusses the basic problems of the movement's strategy and tactics and its place in the world revolutionary process. Chapter One examines in some detail the main trends of development of the world communist movement, the growing influence of the communist and workers' parties, forms of their cooperation and international duty. Chapter Two analytically describes the formation of the socialist world system, Chapter Three deals with the activities of the communist and workers' parties in developed capitalist countries, and Chapter Four deals with the problems of present-day social democracy. The last, Fifth

Chapter, is devoted to the development of the national-liberation movements and the role the communists play in them.

Revolutionary practice of the world communist and working-class movement is examined against the background of the ideology and policy of its class enemy, the imperialist bourgeoisie, now forced onto the defensive in every sector of the front. This comparison enables the authors convincingly to demonstrate the moral and political strength and historical correctness of the communists, their consistent struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress, and for socialism. And there is an in-depth analysis of the communists' steadily growing influence on the destinies of the world we live in. In discussing the achievements of the working class and its vanguard, the communist parties, the authors make no attempt to obscure the movement's difficulties. On the contrary, they show that the working-class movement is confronted with a strong adversary having at its command a powerful repressive machine of government and an equally powerful propaganda machine enabling it to maintain its hold on a considerable part of capitalist society and exert a strong ideological influence on the working class.

Central to the political history of the international working-class movement, the authors note, is the controversy between the revolutionary and reformist trends over what path should be followed to popular rule, to socialism (Vol. 1, p. 11).

This controversy has been resolved by history, by the victorious socialist revolutions begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Of the many theories of how to refashion society worked out by working-class political organizations, history has confirmed the viability of only one, Marxism-Leninism. And existing socialism, the practical embodiment of that theory, has raised the entire process of social development to a qualitatively new plane.

Examinations of the two main trends in the working-class movement, the revolutionary and the social-democratic, focuses on the all-important and formidable problem of overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class. The present stage of the revolutionary process calls for mobilization of the overwhelming majority of society to fight for progressive social change. And that, in turn, calls for united action by all the working-class political organizations. The authors rightly emphasize that no matter how great are the differences between the communists and social democrats over ideological and organizational principles, they must not be allowed to become insurmountable obstacles to joint action.

The national contingents of the international communist movement are united by identical aims, ideological and organizational principles. Though each communist party is formed and conducts its principles

as a national political force, the results of its struggle also have international implications. In this context the Polish authors draw attention to the following essential factor in the interaction of the national and the international: the intensive process of internationalization of all revolutionary and liberation movements, accompanied, however, by accentuated differentiation of the concrete conditions in which each party has to work and, consequently, by a clearer national character of each party's program for revolutionary change.

The analysis of new aspects in communist party strategy in developed capitalist countries is another interesting feature of the study. The authors examine in detail the question of the interrelation of the democratic and the socialist stages of the revolution.

By demonstrating the link between history and our time, and by analyzing the crucial and urgent problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice, the Polish historians have enriched our knowledge of politics in the world of today.

Janusz Janicki

FROM THE 'NEW LEFT' TO THE OLD RIGHT

On Günther Nenning's book *Realists or Traitors?* Günther Nenning, *Realisten oder Verräter? Die Zukunft der Sozialdemokratie.* Munich, Bertelsmann-Verlagg, 1976, 255 pp.

A word about the author of the book to begin with because he is hardly known to readers outside Austria and West Germany, and also because a knowledge of his political biography gives a deeper insight into the content and message of his book.

Günther Nenning began his political career shortly after World War II as a Social Catholic journalist writing for the SPA (Socialist Party of Austria) newspaper in Graz. From there he moved to Vienna, where he was enabled to publish a magazine.

Nenning repeatedly changed his convictions over a relatively short period of time by alternatively advocating rightist and ultra-leftist theories. As an ally of the 'new left,' he made the columns of his magazine available to spokesmen of that trend, who attacked the communists and the Soviet Union as well as the SPA. Nenning fell out with the SPA leadership, and Bruno Kreisky, the Party Chairman, said at the Villach Congress (1968): 'While we have no touring harlequins at the court of pseudo-revolution, we have buffoons doing their bit in the journalistic backyard of Austrian reaction.'

The word 'buffoons' plainly referred to Nenning as a spokesman of

the 'new left.' However, Kreisky and Nenning made up before the speech was printed. This explains why in the pamphlet containing the speech there is a footnote by Nenning saying that the family quarrel was settled. Kreisky volunteered the following clarification: 'Nenning started a controversy with the party in the magazine he publishes. He carried on the dispute in a way injuring our party's prestige. If Nenning is now stopping the controversy in his magaine I see no reason for continuing it. I consider the matter thereby closed.'

In *Realists or Traitors?* 1976), Nenning goes further by siding openly with the right-wing social democrats. He wants to prove that the latter's stand on the interests of the working class is no betrayal at all. The right-wing social democrats have always been realists and have chosen the right road to socialism, he asserts. Without sophistry, Nenning tries to justify all past revisionists of Marxism beginning with Bernstein. 'What is the salient aspect of social democracy?' he queries. 'Their cooperation with capitalism,' he replies (p. 10). 'Social democracy is a factor for order in favor of capital. It is a junior partner of capital' (p. 11). However, Nenning does not regard this as a betrayal of socialism but as a sure and indispensable means of achieving it. 'The very fact that capitalism is being advanced into the future with the aid of the social democrats makes it possible to change capitalism optimally in the process. Capitalism can be carried forward in the most peaceful democratic, humane and judicious manner until it drops out of history' *(ibid.)*.

This is the fundamental idea (if one may call it that) recurring in the book. On page 45, we read: 'The working-class movement cannot "overthrow" capitalism but must carry it forward and through to the end, like a doctor "at the sickbed".' And on page 47 Nenning describes the social democrats' 'historic' mission as follows: 'By sharing in political and economic power, the social democrats gradually push capitalism towards socialism.' A capitalism which the social democrats have been pushing toward socialism for decades is certainly a fine spectacle.

Now how have the social democrats been pushing capitalism toward socialism? From what Nenning says, it is simple enough: 'The production process and the process of making profit typical of latter-day capitalism can no longer go on without support from an organized working class. This is the lever of social democracy — capitalism cannot do without it' (p. 40). Kreisky says as much by stating that the SPA is a party adequate to capitalism. Olof Palme, another prominent ideologist of the movement, talks about a symbiosis of capitalism and social democracy. But can such a social democracy fight for the abolition of capitalist production relations if this would rob it of its vital basis? Of course not. During his interview with Nenning, who

reproduces it in his book, Kreisky reacted in a most peculiar way to the provision of the SPA program regarding the establishment of a classless society. Asked whether the Socialists want a classless society,' Kreisky replied, according to Nenning, 'It must be left as a working hypothesis' (p. 245).

As we see, the capitalists need the social democrats, and vice versa. This is an exceptionally frank and brusque admission of the role of the SPA's right-wing leaders. But then the social-democratic parties are not made up of leaders alone. They unite hundreds of thousands of wage and salary earners who see socialism as a realistic goal and not a 'working hypothesis.'

Nenning does not mind admitting an occasional shortcoming of capitalist society. 'Freedom of the press (in the capitalist countries. — *F.F.)*.' he writes on pg. 59, 'is the right to fool the masses unhampered. This is an exaggeration but the share of truth is growing fast.' Nenning is right on this point. But what do the social democrats do, or rather, how do the social-democratic leaders counter that, in particular where they head the government? Alas, it is they who help zealously to mislead the masses by launching slander campaigns on anti-communist lines. 'To renounce it (anti-communism. — *F.F.)* would still be suicidal for parties like the Social-Democratic Party of Germany or the SPA' (p. 125).

As for Nenning himself, he recommends as a means of curbing monopoly domination of the media — please don't laugh — statutes establishing editorial rights. As it happens, Austria is a country where bourgeois newspapers have editorial statutes, yet these have not altered the papers' pro-capitalist, anti-communist and anti-Soviet bias in the least.

Nenning feels that the class struggle has assumed a new character. 'Growing out of the old life-and-death class struggle is a new live-and-let-live class struggle . . . In the life and death class struggle of the past, a frontal attack on the vital interests of capitalism brought the working class nothing but a series of reverses. But the new live-and-let-live class struggle is leading to the death of capitalism by sparing the latter's vital interests. This is what constitutes the classical function of the growing social power of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism' (pg. 42).

It is amazing how many incorrect and, indeed, absurd things can be said in a short paragraph.

First of all, the class struggle between antagonistic classes is not always a continuous frontal attack even though it is part of a great historic life and death class struggle. Secondly, the working class has achieved big victories and successes, some of them through a frontal attack, and this applies to both countries where capitalism was over-

thrown and countries where it persists. Thirdly, a class struggle defending the vital interests of capitalism and thereby leading to its death is something that no editorial statutes, however fine, can help to accomplish.

But Nenning's 'discoveries' go further than that. He claims that, strictly speaking, all the noted leaders of the working-class movement of the past and present, beginning with Marx, have been or are social democrats (meaning reformists). Proud of his discovery and referring to Marx's demand for a legalized normal working day, Nenning writes: 'In Marx's principal work *(Capital — F.F.)*, puzzlingly for those who do not know it, one finds only this truly "social democratic demand" ' (p. 77). Thus he echoes an Austrian anarchist, who made that allegation in 1927. And this *is* puzzling.

Nenning is certainly not unfamiliar with the following passage in *Capital* (quoted frequently enough by friend and foe); 'The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.'* But strangely enough, he has ignored it ever since Kreisky said in public that he got along very well with the multinationals and that the party led by him was thinking of no expropriation whatever.

For some time now, Nenning has seen nothing but social democracy around him and he declares boldly that the social democrats are advancing. After all, he says, the Bolsheviks, too, called themselves social democrats during the October Revolution. Speaking of the first country of socialism, Nenning writes: 'Cooperation with the capitalist powers is the basis for the survival and continuous strengthening of the Soviet Union' (p. 27). This is more or less what the opponents of détente say, who would gladly go back to the cold war although realistic-minded members of the bourgeoisie know that the Soviet Union is growing and gaining in strength through its own efforts. As for trade with the capitalist countries, it benefits both sides. In speaking of trade with the capitalists as the basis for the 'survival' of real socialism, Nenning is prompted by considerations different from those of the enemies of détente. 'Cooperation between the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the USA — is world political "social partnership" ' *(ibid.)*. This is the idea which Nenning the 'leftist' advances and from which he proceeds subsequently. He is undisturbed by the fact that peaceful coexistence is not class 'cooperation' but a form of the class struggle aimed at preserving and consolidating

*Karl Marx, *Capital*. Vol. I, FLPH, Moscow, p. 763.

peace between countries with different social systems. This distinction means nothing to him. He does not hesitate to equate the Cologne trial of the Communist League (1852) and the trial of the Baader-Meinhof group of anarchist terrorists.

In these circumstances, Nenning's affirmation that the communist parties of the European capitalist countries are becoming social-democratic is hardly surprising.

The evidence cited by Nenning in support of his contention is as ridiculous as the contention itself. Assuming that he believes in what he has written, one must say that he has no understanding at all of the communists' fight for peace, against monopoly capital, for democracy and for socialism without armed struggle. Besides, he clearly has no idea of the fact that the class struggle for everyday demands, for small and big reforms and for democratic rights is an essential part of the communists' struggle against capitalist domination. Nenning refuses to understand that today the communists see a way out of the capitalist crisis and the road to socialism in the struggle of all working people against monopoly capital. Stripping the monopolies of power paves the way for the overthrow of capitalist rule and for socialism.

We will not burden the reader's attention with any further specimens of Nenning's wisdom. But it is worthy of note that to add substance to his book, Nenning has included in it interviews with Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Sergio Segre, the Italian communist, as well as a letter from Vitaly Vasin, a Soviet scholar from the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, who, incidentally, exposes Nenning's misquoting of Lenin and calls on him to be 'more truthful.' However, there is hardly any hope that Nenning will heed the call.

Nenning's political biography and his vacillation are a fresh indication that ultra-leftist and right-wing revisionism can always take each other's place. The more Nenning tries his hand at anti-communism, the more he will satisfy his present patron, Kreisky. Speaking to a meeting, Heinz Fischer, chairman of the SPA parliamentary group, described Nenning's book as a 'hot-water bottle for the SPA's stomachache.' Yet the water in the bottle is cold.

Friedl Fürnberg



The U.S. military-industrial complex and the arms race

In response to readers' letters we requested the Economic Commission, Communist Party USA, to supply information on the U.S. military-industrial complex. The material provided by the Commission is published below.

The term 'military-industrial complex' was coined by President Dwight Eisenhower. He first mentioned it on January 17, 1961, in his farewell speech on the TV. 'This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience,' he said. 'The total influence — economic, political, and even spiritual — is felt in every city, every State House, every office of the Federal Government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications.' In other words, what is implied by the military-industrial complex in the USA is the actual rulers of that country — the arms manufacturing monopolies and the Pentagon élite.

The military-industrial complex is headed by giant corporations like General Electric, General Motors and International Business Machines manufacturing tanks, missiles, artillery pieces and electronic equipment. Exxon and Du Pont de Nemours produce napalm, fuels and war gases. Lockheed, Boeing, Douglas and North American Aviation manufacture missiles, bombers, fighters and other hardware.

The financial might of the military-industrial complex is illustrated by the following. The profits of General Motors alone in the late 60s were 50 times as high as the revenues of the State of Nevada and exceeded by 800 per cent the tax revenues of the State of New York.

The military-industrial complex has put its stamp on every sphere of American life. A comprehensive analysis of its activities would require extensive research. We shall confine ourselves to only one aspect — the arms race in the USA, which is jeopardizing the process of détente.

The new U.S. defense budget provides authorizations of $120.3 billion for fiscal 1978, a 9.2 per cent rise over the year, and 43 per cent

over the past three years. Virtually all of this build-up is in weapons system — their procurement, research and development — the stuff of which the giant corporations make maximum profits. At $35.1 billion, procurement authorizations are up 25 per cent over the previous year, and 110 per cent in three years! Research and development funds of $12.1 billion are up 14 per cent on the previous year, and 41 per cent in three years.

Advance warning of continued military build-up is contained in the budget, to $135 billion in fiscal 1979, $146 billion in 1980, and $157 billion and $168 billion respectively for the two following years. The figures for the years through fiscal 1981 are increases of $5 to $7 billion from those projected a year earlier. Thus the Pentagon has already added to its previously planned build-up the $5 to $7 billion that President Carter promised to reduce during the 1976 election campaign.

The increased procurement is concentrated in the most provocative strategic weapons — thus $2,154 million is provided for the controversial B-1 bomber, even though its production has not yet been officially approved by Congress. $3,469.8 million is provided for the Trident submarines and missiles to go with it, the 'new generation' core of the aggressive strategic forces.

The budget calls for $402.7 million for the manufacture of cruise missiles, more than double the $198.7 million allocated in fiscal 1977.

Business Week writes that under the new Carter Administration 'the Pentagon's weapons buyers will be setting out on their biggest shopping spree in nearly a decade. Their pockets are jingling with more cash than they have seen since 1970, when the Vietnam build-up climaxed . . . Barring a radical shift in policy by President — a move most observers do not expect — the Pentagon will be spending its new wealth on nearly a dozen advanced weapons systems that have been simmering in research and development for the first half of the 1970s and are now ready for production.'

The business journal calls this 'very good news for the nation's defense industry . . . The Pentagon's expected largesse looks unusually attractive to defense companies' because new Defense Department policies provide higher profits, and less risk, as well as longer production runs. Thus, the new tank 'may stay in production until the end of the century, with a $5 billion domestic market and an even greater foreign potential.'

The war profiteers cynically boast of the effectiveness of the CIA-spearheaded anti-Soviet campaign. D. Brainerd Holmes, president of Raytheon Corp., says President Carter will want to get out of his commitment to cut the military budget.

The CIA itself, in turn, is run by representatives of the same financial oligarchs who own the armament conglomerates.

Ex-Navy Commander James M. Beggs of General Dynamics 'whose F-16 fighter program is one of the juiciest new defense plums,' according to *Business Week,* is confident that President Carter will find bookkeeping and other tricks to 'wiggle off the hook' of his promise to cut $5-$7 billion from the military budget.

And presidential aides assure a *Wall Street Journal* reporter that 'there will probably be some increases as well as decreases' in the military budget presented by ex-President Ford. The Carter spokesman talked of increased spending on NATO, and Vice-President Mondale, on his initial trip, spent much of his energy urging the European NATO countries to also step up their aggressive preparations, which directly violate the spirit of the Helsinki accords and presents a threat to world peace.

The following table gives the military sales and total sales and profits of the 25 largest military contractors in 1975. The figures do not include the huge export sales of weapons, which have been exceeding $10 billion per year in total, and which exceed sales to the Pentagon for some of these companies.

The Largest Military Contractors of the Pentagon — 1975
($ Millions)

Company	Gross income		Net income	
	Total	Military	Per cent: Military:	
Lockheed Aircraft	3,387	2,080	61.4	45
Boeing Co.	3,770	1,561	41.4	76
United Technologies	3,903	1,407	36.0	117
McDonnell Douglas	3,311	1,398	42.2	86
Grumman Corp.*	1,329	1,343	100.1	24
General Dynamics Corp.	2,160	1,289	59.7	84
General Electric Co.	13,399	1.264	9.4	581
Litton Industries	3,433	1.038	30.2	35
Hughes Aircraft Co.**	—	1,026	—	—
Rockwell Int'l Corp.	4,943	732	14.8	102
Raytheon Co.	2,245	681	30.3	71
Northrop Corp.	995	620	62.3	25
Textron Inc.	2,459	546	22.2	96
American Telephone & Telegraph	28,957	510	1.8	3,148
Sperry Rand	3,073	437	14.2	131

General Motors	35,725	390	1.1	1,253
LTV Corp.	4.312	366	8.5	13
Int'l Business Machine	14,437	360	2.5	1,990
Exxon	44,865	330	0.7	2,503
Martin Marietta Corp.	1,053	320	30.4	55
Westinghouse Electric	5,863	315	5.4	181
Standard Oil of Calif.	18.167	301	1.7	773
Honeywell Inc.	1,989	291	14.6	78
TRW Inc.	2,586	286	11.1	104
RCA	4,789	286	6.0	110

Note: *The 0.1 per cent discrepancy between gross and military income is explained by fiscal year compilations for military income compared with calendar year figures for gross income. **The company's business information is unavailable to the public.

Newly released figures for 1976 show a shift in the order of the top companies, with McDonnell Douglas in first place with $2,465 million of Pentagon business.

These companies have excellent direct ties with the Pentagon. Here are a few of their officials, with their past Pentagon links:

Lockheed Corp. John Edward Cavanaugh, Vice President and General Counsel, was Counsel to the Quartermaster Department of the Army during the 1950s. *Willis Moore Hawkins,* a Lockheed Director, was Assistant Secretary of the Army for research and development during the 1960s.

Boeing Co. J. Clinton Maxwell, a vice president of the corporation, and general manager of its military airplane development, was a major general in the Air Force until his retirement in 1973. During his last ten years in the Air Force he held key posts related to procurement of airplanes. He is now in an ideal position to get new development contracts for Boeing.

United Technologies. Vice President *James Feguson* was an Air Force general until his retirement in 1970, also involved for a decade prior to that with research and development, and weapons systems.

McDonnell Douglas. John E. Forry, a former assistant director of the office of Aircraft and Marine craft of the Department of Defense, is a vice president and the controller of the corporation. *Gordon M. Graham,* a retired Air Force lientenant general, is the company vice-president in charge of the Far East.

General Dynamics. Max Golden, a vice president of the company, was general counsel of the Air Force. International vice president *Otto J. Glasser* is a retired Air Force lieutenant general. He is responsible, therefore, for the huge foreign sales of this corporation. *James M. Beggs,* an executive vice president in charge of aerospace for

General Dynamics, is a retired lieutenant commander in the Navy. Director *Stephen M. Du Brul,* who is a partner in the influential Wall Street firm of Lazard Frères, influential in General Dynamics affairs.

Sperry Rand. Gerald Graham Probst, vice president of the corporation and President of its Univac (computer) division, served for 15 years in the Air Force.

IBM. IBM Director *John M. Irwin,* was an Assistant Secretary of Defense, and held various other key government positions. Director *Cyrus Vance* was during the 1960s respectively, Secretary of the Army and Deputy Secretary of Defense. He has now formally left his directorships to be Secretary of State. *Harold Brown* has also left an IBM directorship to take over the Secretaryship of Defense.

U.S. Senate and Defense Department surveys found 768 retired high-ranking officers employed by the 100 largest military contractors in 1959, and 2,072 in 1969. At this rate of increase there may well be 4,000 by now.

Thousands of threads tie together the military-industrial complex, internally, and with the decisive financial centers in Wall Street.

The above figures show that the U.S. military-industrial complex is responsible for whipping up the arms race and obstructing détente and disarmament.

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