WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

June 1978, Vol. 21, No. 6 $1.00

Cyprus/37
Our duty to the children/115
The potential of the Ethiopian revolution/120
Shaping class consciousness/132
The right to live in peace/3
Paraguay/138

Workers of all countries, unite!

WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

June 1978, Vol. 21, No. 6

Features

3 The right to live in peace
E. Gierek

11 Dangerous symptoms
J. Stewart

24 A creatively developing, revolutionary doctrine
International research group

Party experience

37 Leninism and the struggle to democratize society in Cyprus
G. Savvides

48 Problems in setting up an anti-dictatorial front in Paraguay
A. Maidana, A. Alcorta

Exchange of views

58 Shaping the class consciousness of the modern working class
A. Ambatjelos

71 The dialectics of economics and politics during the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society
International scientific conference

105 On the threshold of more difficulties
Y. Karpelinksy, N. Sergeyev

Viewpoints

115 Out duty to the children
F. Brown

120 Against repression and persecution

120 The potential of the Ethiopian revolution
N. Ashhab

The press

129 Ethiopia, the unknown revolution
M. Menendez

Continued next page

Continued

132 A social portrait of the Salvadorian bourgeoisie
J. Barrios

Facts and figures

135 Your questions answered
L. Nikitin

140 The condition of women in the GDR and FRG
R. Wahner

Represented on the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the Communist and Workers' parties of the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, South African Republic, Spain, Soviet Union, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Second class mail registration number 2352. Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague.

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., $7.50 a year. Other countries, $11.50. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Rumanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Third Floor, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5V 2P6.

Or, in USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, Ill. 60610

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Third Floor, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5V 2P6.

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved.

feature

The right to live in peace

Edward Gierek
First Secretary, CC,
Polish United Workers' Party

The right of individuals and nations to live in peace is the most essential one, and it determines all the other human rights. Without it they cannot be realized. This is the lesson of human history. It is, in effect, the right to life, to its existence and protection. It is, consequently, the right of rights.

The formulation, substantiation and concretization of the right to live in peace is one of the key theoretical and practical achievements of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels and Lenin believed that the historical mission of communism — to liberate men and nations from social injustice and from every form of oppression and exploitation — is closely bound up with the struggle for release from the horrors of war, for the establishment of lasting peace. Before Marx, philosophers, historians, economists and politicians were unable to understand the real causes of wars, and so to indicate the way to effectively eliminate them. Marxism-Leninism marked a breakthrough in this field, and it was Lenin who gave the fullest analysis of the class sources of wars in the period of imperialism. It was he who made the right to peace one of the chief slogans of the socialist revolution and formulated the idea of peaceful coexistence. Marxism-Leninism exposed and explained the socio-economic, class and historical roots of wars, and showed that it is possible to remove them and also to build a lasting peace.

The problem of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems was, in practice, formulated in international politics after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. By then, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism had already become not only the main content of the class struggle within the capitalist formation, but also the chief problem of international relations. In his article, 'The Tasks of the Revolution,' Lenin pointed out that one of the first and main values that Russia after the revolution would offer the whole world would be general peace on democratic terms. (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 62). Accordingly, one of the first legal acts of the Soviet government was the Decree on

Peace, which it adopted on October 26 (November 8), 1917. Lenin repeatedly stressed that socialism represents humanity's peaceful interests and stands in defense of these interests against the war schemes of the militarists and the imperialists. Lenin made a thorough analysis of the concrete situation and showed that peaceful coexistence with capitalism in the existing conditions was necessary for the ultimate worldwide victory of socialism.

Soon after the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR declared in its address 'To All the Peoples and Governments of the World' that the Soviet Union set itself the goal of preserving peace with all nations.

The principles of peaceful coexistence have become an organic part of the Soviet communists' program and the foreign policy of the USSR. They have been creatively developed and expressed in ever more concrete terms at the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was of especial importance, for it adopted its profound, realistic and well-argumented Peace Program. This program takes into account the present-day realities and factors which determine international relations and the urgent requirements of humanity's historical development. In the field of foreign policy, it envisaged a number of important measures to strengthen peace and international security.

How realistic and effective any program is can only be demonstrated by practice. Today, there is no doubt at all that the Peace Program has stood the test of time. All the positive changes in international relations in the 70s are closely connected with the implementation of the Soviet Peace Program.

The Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, continues and develops the Peace Program. It is the basis for the active and consistent effort by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in their work to repattern international relations in such a way as to create the structures and forms for solving the urgent global, continental, regional, multilateral and bilateral problems.

At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, Leonid Brezhnev declared: 'For us peaceful coexistence is not a temporary tactical device, but an important principle underlying the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of socialism. Such a policy creates the most favorable conditions for building the new society in socialist countries, and for spreading the revolutionary and liberation

movements.'* This line, which stems from Lenin's conception of peaceful coexistence was also fully reflected in Leonid Brezhnev's Report on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a report which was also a further development and actualization of the Soviet Peace Program. In implementing their foreign policy, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the government of the USSR, the parties and governments of other socialist-community countries consistently work to make the détente irreversible. This means that the détente should become lasting, universal and deep-rooted.

The struggle to consolidate the détente is now being carried on by the whole great coalition of peace, which includes, alongside its chief force — the socialist states and also the international communist and working-class movement — the national-liberation movement, the non-aligned movement, the democratic and progressive social trends and realistically minded forces in the various countries.

As the communist and working-class movement develops and gains in strength, it has an ever greater role to play in the establishment of peaceful coexistence and in attaining détente and the security of the nations. International and regional, including European, conferences of communist and workers' parties have become important occasions for the exchange of experience and views on the key problems of the contemporary world, for joint action on an international scale. The very first International Meeting of 64 Communist Parties, held in Moscow in 1957, adopted a Peace Manifesto, which said that war could be prevented and peace maintained. The Conference of 81 Communist Parties in 1960 issued its Appeal to the Peoples of the Whole World, which called for joint efforts in the struggle to consolidate peace. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 reaffirmed our movement's belief that its historical mission is to safeguard humanity from a nuclear cataclysm.

The growing belief that the communists of Europe must take a common stand on the key problems of our day was expressed at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Berlin in 1976, which adopted a joint document spelling out in concrete terms the tasks in the further struggle for peace, security, international cooperation and social progress.

The policy of détente and the conception of peaceful coexistence elaborated by the communist and working-class movement and being practically implemented by the socialist countries is a far-reaching program of security and peace for all nations, for the whole of humanity.

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969.* Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 171.

In our epoch, a new socio-political map of the world has taken shape. We are now witnessing the further strengthening of the material basis of peace, which is the political, economic and defense strength of the socialist system, and also the powerful impact of the ideas and practice of socialism in the sphere of ideology. Guided by the principles of scientific socialism, the socialist countries have made peaceful coexistence a real and dominant force in the development of international life.

We have always attached especial importance to strengthening international security in Euope, where both world wars broke out and where the watershed between socialism and capitalism now runs.

The price of the Second World War was so high that no passage of time can make the peoples forget it. Humanity cannot erase from its memory that most tragic lesson of the whole of its history. The war left a terribly deep scar on the minds of the Polish people on whose soil it was started, where it was fought longest and where it caused the greatest havoc: the death of more than six million people, or nearly 20 per cent of the population, the loss of about 40 per cent of the national wealth, the complete destruction of its capital and many other cities, and immense damage to the national culture, science and every other field of the nation's endeavor.

The consistently peaceful policy pursued by People's Poland stems from the memory of that tragic period, of the immense sufferings and losses, and also from the urge to give a fitting life to our nation, which has endured grave trials in the past. These are the same aspirations that guide the great Soviet people, who made the crucial contribution to the peoples' victory over fascism and who paid the price of incalculable losses and devastation.

The peoples of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and all the other peoples which fell victim to the fascist aggression remember the Second World War. It inscribed some dramatic pages in the modern history of Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and other countries. There is no doubt that the German people have also had to pay a heavy price for the barbarous crimes of Hitler's Germany. The German Democratic Republic, which was built by the anti-fascist forces, has settled accounts with the past, and is now a powerful element of peace in Europe. There is no doubt that all the nations of Europe, and also the peoples of the United States, Canada and other countries which were involved in the Second World War and which had their own losses and made a contribution to the victory, will not forget that experience.

Peace has now reigned in Europe for 33 years. This is the longest period free of wars in the whole history of our continent. It is the duty of our generation of European peoples and of those to come to act in

such a way as to prolong it for the entire future. This peace is not a gift in any sense. It has been built at the cost of tremendous effort, it needs to be strengthened and safeguarded, and calls for constant vigilance and elimination of any potential dangers. It requires close cooperation among all the states.

The Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist states, believing that the starting point for all-European decisions is a recognition of the realities stemming from the Second World War, seek to do away with the artificial division of Europe into opposed military groupings, to attain disarmament, and to substitute the balance of cooperation for the balance of terror, and peaceful competition, for armed conflicts.

The success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, expressed in the signing of its Final Act, marked a giant stride forward, carrying the European nations closer to the main goal, the establishment of a European security system. The socialist states, which tirelessly worked for the conference, and which made a great contribution to its work, declared at Helsinki that it was a joint achievement of all the participants in the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

The Polish people regard the Helsinki Final Act as a great Charter of Peace in Europe, which will help to build a sound all-European structure of peace. It creates favorable conditions for peaceful coexistence and equitable cooperation among the nations of our continent.

It is of the utmost importance to continue the common effort in facing and solving all the important problems of Europe on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, regarded as a single whole. This purpose was also promoted by the meeting at Belgrade, where there was a broad exchange of views on realizing the Helsinki Final Act, with a unanimous recognition of the need to continue the multilateral dialogue on the problems of security and cooperation in Europe. It would also be exceptionally useful to hold all-European congresses on protection of the environment, energy and transport.

From the standpoint of the overall prospects for détente, special importance attaches to the Soviet-American dialogue, and primarily, the conclusion, ratification and actualization without delay of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons.

The chief task today is to stop the continuing arms race, to limit and reduce it, and to pave the way for disarmament. That is why there has been such broad support for the Soviet proposals for a military détente and why we attach so much importance to the special UN General Assembly on disarmament. The situation today is such that either the continuing arms race will erode the results already achieved in the political détente, or — and this is our goal — the political détente will entail a limitation of armaments and lead to gradual

disarmament, so making the positive changes in the international situation irreversible.

Like peace, peaceful coexistence is indivisible. The principle of peaceful coexistence cannot be binding only on some regions or countries. Peaceful coexistence depends on all those who are concerned with it. Consequently, it can become a reality only when its principles are accepted by all the countries. Socialism is strong enough to engage in peaceful competition on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and to demonstrate its superiority in the course of that competition. But it is also capable of rebuffing any aggression and any challenge from the militaristic and aggressive policy of the forces of imperialism in the cold war spirit. One should always bear in mind, however, that humanity can benefit only by adopting the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is the supreme command of our epoch that this simple truth should be realized, popularized everywhere and at all times, and embodied in concrete activity in the political, economic and military spheres.

The whole community of socialist countries, each of its members, including the Polish People's Republic, have been making a tangible contribution to the elaboration and implementation of the strategy of détente, international peace and security. Our party, the Polish United Workers' Party, which in the most tragic period of the Polish people's history, undertook to solve its problems and bear the responsibility for its future, has made the effort to secure for the Poles the right to live in peace one of its most important goals, indeed, its over-riding goal.

Poland's international activity and its concrete contribution to laying the foundations of Europe's postwar development in security and peace are a corollary of the conclusions our nation has drawn from the tragic lessons of war. The new conception of statehood, of our country's internal order and foreign policy, which the Polish left-wing circles developed and worked out even under the Hitler occupation, was a continuation of the noblest revolutionary and internationalist traditions in the history of Poland and Europe. The policy statement issued by the Polish Workers' Party in 1943 proclaimed the need for a turn in Polish-Soviet relations and said that after the war Poland, together with the other countries of the anti-fascist coalition, 'will take part in organizing the security and economic rehabilitation of Europe.' Through Poland's solid alliance with the Land of Soviets, through its active participation in establishing and strengthening the political and defense system of the Warsaw Treaty, the organization of a strong people's Polish Army and the build-up of the country's new economic potential, our party created sound guarantees for the

country's security, the safety of its borders and peaceful conditions for its socio-economic development.

From these positions, the positions of socialism, Poland has worked in close cooperation with the Soviet Union in realizing its Leninist policy of peace, in effecting the concerted policy of the community of socialist countries, and making a creative contribution to détente.

Everyone knows that Poland took an active part in suggesting and implementing the idea of calling and holding the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and in the adoption of its Final Act. There has also been general recognition of Poland's constructive contribution to the recent Belgrade meeting and its successful results.

Our country attaches special importance to the effort to avert the use of nuclear mass destruction weapons. At the Second UN General Assembly in 1947, Poland motioned the proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons, having made a correct assessment of the threat which their development held for the whole world. In 1957, the Polish delegation motioned a resolution in the United Nations on averting the danger of a world war. That same year, the Polish government, considering that the West had rejected the initiatives for a comprehensive solution of the disarmament problem, believing them to be unrealistic in the existing situation, put forward the first proposal for a partial solution of the problem. This was a plan to create an atom-free zone in Central Europe, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

A few years later, after the FRG government had torpedoed the idea of setting up an atom-free zone in the region, despite the fact that it was welcomed by world opinion, Poland put forward a plan to freeze nuclear armaments in Europe. Considering that U.S. nuclear weapons were located in Western Europe and also the objections of the Western powers, who asserted that the atom-free zone proposal was much too far-reaching, the new initiative envisaged a freeze at the first stage of the existing military potential of all the states. In this way it created a starting point for subsequent concrete steps in disarmament, while offering a relatively feasible form for containing armaments.

These Polish initiatives have gone down in the history of the struggle for disarmament for all time. They have been accepted and supported by broad circles of international opinion. The idea of setting up atom-free zones has been realized in Latin America and the Antarctic, and with respect to outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor. Its further implementation has been seriously considered in various regions of the world.

Poland has also made an important contribution in other areas both

to the theoretical elaboration and the shaping of the political stand of the socialist-community countries on the problems of peaceful coexistence. This was promoted by our active participation in the meetings of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, and also in the numerous multilateral and bilateral meetings between party and government leaders of the socialist countries.

When taking part in the negotiations on arms and troop cuts in Central Europe, which have been going in Vienna since 1973, we are always guided by the urge to reach an agreement that would reduce the military confrontation in Europe without upsetting the existing equilibrium of forces. This means that there is a need to reduce and limit the arms and armed forces of individual states in this region. We believe that such an agreement can be reached if all the parties to the Vienna talks act in accordance with the principle of non-impairment of the security of any party in the light of the interests of all the states of Europe.

It would be highly important for Europe to implement the proposals put forward in November 1976 by the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee for the conclusion of a treaty between the Helsinki nations with a commitment on the non-first use of nuclear weapons, and an agreement not to enlarge the military-political groupings existing in Europe and to refrain from setting up new ones.

We also fully support the important Soviet proposals to ban the development of new types of mass destruction weapons (June 13, 1975), for banning all nuclear weapons tests and a moratorium on nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes (November 2, 1977), and also for mutual renunciation of the production of neutron weapons (December 24, 1977). The importance of these proposals is enhanced by the manifest danger connected with the present stage in the arms race, which has a specific quality that creates new obstacles to containment and control in the field of military technology.

The most important problem today is to prevent the launching of the production of neutron weapons and their deployment in Western Europe. This is an extremely dangerous weapon. The idea behind it is to obscure the existing fundamental distinction between conventional weapons and mass destruction weapons. Putting it into production would dangerously lower the so-called nuclear threshold. At the same time, it would be tantamount to starting a new stage of the arms race in Europe and would probably freeze the process of détente here for a long time to come and cause fresh tensions.

There is no doubt that with the passage of time neutron weapons would be deployed in other regions of the globe as well. So this weapon would actually create a new danger on a world scale.

It is all the more necessary to have universal support for the

proposal to conclude an international convention banning the manufacture, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons which the socialist countries put before the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. The stand of Poland's leadership on this issue is in accord with our nation's feelings and attitude to it. This can be seen from the numerous resolutions and letters from Polish scientists and intellectuals to their colleagues abroad.

Thirty years ago, Poland, the Polish city of Wroclaw, played host to an international congress of workers in culture in defense of peace, which inaugurated the worldwide movement for peace. The Second World Peace Congress was held later in Warsaw, and last year the First World Assembly of Builders of Peace was also held in Warsaw.

While working to strengthen international security in Europe and the whole world, Poland has simultaneously given much attention to the general human values which are connected with peace. On behalf of our nation, I proposed from the UN rostrum the idea of working out and putting through a program of education for peace. At the Belgrade meeting our country also proposed a project for protecting the nations' cultural values.

To assure the Poles, the Polish people, of the right to live in peace and active participation in the struggle to secure that right for all nations and people on the globe is the noblest goal of our policy and our endeavor. It coincides with our people's traditions and aspirations, and is determined by our party's ideology, Poland's socialist system and our being part of the community of socialist states and the worldwide coalition of the forces of progress and peace.

Dangerous symptoms

James Stewart
Assistant General Secretary,
CP of Ireland

ON TENDENCIES TOWARD ACTIVIZATION OF REACTIONARY FORCES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The advance of the historical process confirms that the situation in the capitalist part of the world today tends to strengthen the positions of those who are fighting for true democracy and social progress, for the reorganization of society on socialist lines. Daily events bring considerable and convincing evidence of the historical doom of the

exploitative system and the decisive victories that the future holds for the builders of the new world. From the standpoint of the prospects of the revolutionary struggle, however, it would be politically shortsighted and dangerous not to see symptoms of a step-up in the activity of the right and ultra-right forces in a number of capitalist countries. So any analysis of the present situation in the capitalist world should begin by acknowledging the dialectical connection between these two aspects of contemporary political development.

Ideological, political and economic pressure, and use of the repressive apparatus are the means by which the bourgeoisie still hopes to seize the historical initiative won by the working class and all working people in class battles. Its resort to these means is particularly blatant in the face of capitalism's protracted economic and social difficulties, and its military-political defeats in many parts of the world.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in the summer of 1976, reaffirmed that the crisis-ridden economic and social structure of capitalist society has been running into ever greater contradiction with the requirements of the working people and the needs of economic, social and political progress. Representatives of the fraternal parties, including the Communist Party of Ireland, pointed out that the deepening of these contradictions inevitably leads to growing awareness among ever broader sections of the working people of the inability of the bourgeois parties to find a way out of the dead end of capitalist development and the new opportunities for the communists and their allies to exert an increasingly effective political and ideological influence on social processes.

At the same time, in evolving their strategy and tactics in the class struggle, the communist parties of the capitalist countries bear in mind that the weakening of the socio-political position of the ruling class, its economic difficulties do not at all imply that capitalism's reserves are exhausted. The monopoly bourgeoisie still has considerable economic strength today. It controls effective mass media. It can rely on the powerful repressive machinery in every country of the capitalist world, and globally, on the system of military-political alliances and a widespread intelligence network. All these means are now being used in efforts to prevent the further weakening of capitalism.

One of the sharpest class battles is developing in the sphere of ideology. In this sphere the monopoly bourgeoisie of today often makes use of past experience, including the social demagogy of pre-war fascism. It counts mainly on stirring up anti-communism in general and anti-Sovietism in particular, and is playing a dirty game with nationalism and racism. Its main tactical aim is to stem the growing unification of various contingents of the working-class

movement and all the other anti-monopoly forces, and to prevent them from carrying through their own democratic program for overcoming the difficulties resulting from the crisis, a program capable of further weakening and finally undermining the positions of capitalism.

In every country the character of ideological subversion is determined by the specific situation and specific tasks that the bourgeoisie sets itself. In Northern Ireland, for instance, the reactionary circles, with the covert and sometimes overt support of London, are doing their best to set the Catholic and Protestant communities at loggerheads, smash the civil rights movement and isolate it from the outside world. Seeking to close the border between the two parts of Ireland, the right-wing Unionists[1] have tried to justify their demands by 'flying kites' alleging that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are behind the activities of the Catholic paramilitary organizations in Northern Ireland, particularly the armed campaign of the Provisional IRA,[2] with the alleged aim of 'turning Ireland into another Cuba.'

These and other similarly provocatory insinuations are only a part of the frantic anti-communist campaign launched by the right-wing forces in Northern Ireland. It is no accident that the right-wing Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), in 1976, put the Communist Party of Ireland at the head of their assassination list.

It must be admitted that this campaign has, unfortunately, had its results. The blatant slander has worked on the minds of part of the population, particularly those infected with the petty-bourgeois ideology. By 'exposing' the non-existent ties between communists and the supporters of the Provisional IRA's armed actions, the rightists have succeeded in holding back support for our party's program among the working class, small farmers, small businessmen and professional people. Anti-communist propaganda has helped the paramilitary organizations of the right and, indeed, the Provisionals, to gain adherents from among the petty-bourgeois and the 'lumpen strata' of workers.

Incidentally, the practice of using the terrorist activities of 'left' and right extremists to strike at the truly democratic forces is not confined to Northern Ireland nowadays. We find it, for instance, even in 'respectable' Switzerland, where, as the Central Committee of the Swiss Party of Labor stated last spring, 'using international terrorism as a pretext, the authorities have taken a number of measures that significantly intensify the police character of the state.' This refers to the setting up of a central police file and a police force whose virtual aim is to impose the will of the monopolies on the people.[3]

Here is clear evidence of how the ruling classes of the capitalist countries are trying to exploit the criminal adventures of the extreme right and left-wing elements. And this is why the communist parties

resolutely advocate the halting of terrorist activity. 'We are living through days that are dangerous for our democracy,' Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, stated in March 1978 in connection with the kidnapping of Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro. 'We have already said that our republic is in danger. We say this not for emotional reasons. This is a political judgment based on awareness of the fact that powerful internal and international forces are directing this brutal attack on the state and on republican freedoms.'[4] Berlinguer called for firm action against these provocatory attacks on the democratic order launched by various rightist and leftist groups that have no connection with the people.

The experience of Northern Ireland also shows that with conditions as they are at present, there is still a possibility of using religious sectarianism to divide the working people and to subvert their struggles for their class interests. The democratic forces have not yet succeeded in fully exposing the efforts that reactionary propaganda has been making for years to write off the socio-economic and political contradictions in our country as a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. The success of the struggle for civil rights, for social and economic progress for the whole population (and I stress the word 'whole'!) of Northern Ireland, depends largely on how soon and how effectively we are able to break down the artificially erected religious barrier.

In its efforts to weaken the anti-monopoly front the bourgeoisie has no scruples over fanning racist attitudes. And, although in Northern Ireland there is no racist question as such, as an 'autonomous province' of the United Kingdom, it feels the effects of speculation by British right-wing forces (including an influential group of Tory leaders) on the political immaturity of some people in Britain. In order to clear the monopolies and the conservative government that reflects their interests of the blame for growing unemployment, a foul racist campaign has been launched against the 1.5 million immigrants from the former British colonies, who are the object of ruthless exploitation by the British monopolies. In January Tory leader Margaret Thatcher, virtually associating herself with the extreme right, placed 'racism' as a central point in the electoral platform of her party.

A result of the activation of the reactionary elements in Britain has been the establishing of contacts between them and the extreme right parties, groups and paramilitary organizations in Northern Ireland. This applies above all to the neo-fascist National Front operating in Britain, which has opened a branch in Belfast. There is irrefutable proof of the support it gave in May 1977 to the extreme right paramilitary formations — the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force — which tried to organize an action against the civil

rights movement. It is no accident that Enoch Powell, a former Conservative MP, is now a Unionist MP representing Northern Ireland at Westminster. The right-wing Unionists in Northern Ireland welcomed this foremost spokesman of the racists in Britain, who has now become one of the champions of their campaign against the civil rights movement, against Catholic working people, and against supporters of Ireland's unification.

In the political sphere, evidence that a shift to the right is possible has come above all from a weakening of the positions held by the social-democratic parties and governments in some countries of Western Europe, with a corresponding step-up in activity by the right-wing and conservative forces. This process can be observed in both parts of Ireland. In Northern Ireland it has resulted in the Social-Democratic and Labour Party abandoning the struggle for democratic rights and the Northern Ireland Labour Party completely embracing Unionist ideology. In the Republic of Ireland it caused the Labour Party of Ireland to go into coalition with the Fine Gael Party[5] and so weaken the building of the anti-imperialist movement.

The chief tactical device in the recent period has been to put growing pressure on the social democrats in the form of sharp attacks on their left wing and efforts to use the whole arsenal of anti-communism against those who are progressive-minded. And this device is sometimes effective. An example was the action of the Labour Party of Ireland in forcing its left-wing members out of the Left Liaison Committee, which was an alliance of communists, republicans and socialists.

Naturally enough, the situation in the six counties comprising Northern Ireland is influenced by the political situation in Britain, where the social democrats face the greatest pressure from the right. The method of identifying left-wing Labourites with the communists is also being used in Britain. Thus, one Tory speaker in the House of Commons alleged that the communists had 'infiltrated' the Labour Party and that at least 30 Labour MPs were 'crypto-communists.'

It should be remembered that at present British monopoly capital resorts more and more often to such tactics. It is obviously worried about the rise of the working-class and democratic movement, the strengthening of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions, by the activities of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the consolidation of its ties with other democratic organizations, including those in our country. In this situation the British bourgeoisie aims to hold back the trend toward working-class unity, and push the social democrats still further to the right.

In this they sometimes gain support among the right-wing Labourites who logically develop their position to the point when they find

themselves in the Tory camp. One of these turncoats, former MP Woodrow Wyatt claims, for example, that the trade unions and the party he has left could be vulnerable 'if faced with a left-wing coup.' 'No one should vote Labour for at least the next ten years,' he writes. 'The party should stay out of power until it has purged itself of the Marxists . . .' Wyatt demands hysterically.[6]

The right-wing danger is becoming increasingly 'continental' in Western Europe. National monopoly capital and the international corporations are trying to use West European integration to support the right-wing parties. The advocates of capitalist integration have been working hard to get the West European nations to accept the idea of 'supranationality' on the plea that there is an objective need to deepen the international division of labor and economic complementarity. They have tried to extend this thesis to the political sphere, suggesting that the political interdependence and political unity of West European countries, particularly in the EEC, are inevitable. According to their logic, EEC members are no longer faced with the mere problem of independence, but of 'independence within the framework of interdependence.' Consequently, they claim, the question of forming a government can no longer be a purely domestic affair. The experience of a number of countries, specifically, Italy and France, shows that this peculiar notion of 'independence' has passed from the sphere of theory to that of Washington's practical policies.

Indeed, the 'European Parliament' idea sprang from the effort to provide 'supranational instruments' for tackling the common political problems of the EEC countries' monopoly bourgeoisie. Many people believe that the creation of such a parliament presupposes subsequently the formation of an executive organ, i.e., a 'supergovernment.' Moreover, they hope that, as Claude Bourdet wrote in *Le Monde,* a 'European Parliament and a supergovernment, controlled by a pro-American and anti-communist majority, could provide the legal grounds for preventing a left victory in France and Italy.'[7] He feels that even if things do not go so far as the use of a 'European military command' and the West German army as a police force (a possibility he does not deny in principle), the 'European Parliament' in itself could, at any rate, provide an excellent field of maneuver by right-wing parties.

The authors of such schemes realize, however, that for this they require an economic base in the shape of interpenetrating capital and subordination of the weaker partners to the stronger. This process with all its consequences can be seen at work today in both parts of Ireland, each of which is, in its own way, tied up with the Common Market (The Republic of Ireland, as a direct member, and Northern

Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom).

As regards the Republic of Ireland, in the past ten years nearly 700 international companies have been set up there. This fact alone provides the Irish bourgeoisie with a strong motive for strengthening economic ties between Ireland and her main investors, namely, the EEC, and also the United States and Japan. This undoubtedly has been a help to the right-wing forces in their relations with Britain, notably on the Northern Ireland question.

A similar situation is developing in Northern Ireland. This is evident, for instance, from the situation in the manufacturing industry, 78 per cent of which is controlled by overseas monopolies. It can also be seen in the distributive trades, in banking, insurance, and the farm machinery and other industries.

Official sources admit that well over £500 million is exported in profits from Northern Ireland annually, mainly by British monopolies; but this does not include the hidden figures, which must amount to at least as much again. But while plundering Northern Ireland, the British monopolies try to create the myth that they are 'subsidizing' Northern Ireland and that it is therefore to that country's advantage to retain the link with Britain. The right-wing forces in Northern Ireland use this argument to subvert the struggle of the Irish working people for self-determination and national unity.

In London, admittedly, it is often claimed that Britain would gladly quit Northern Ireland. But the facts indicate that British big business is doing its best to keep the six Northern Ireland counties under its direct control. Wages in Northern Ireland are lower than in Britain and this means bigger profits for big capital.

At the same time London seeks to strenghthen its hold on the Republic of Ireland. Ireland's geographical position close to British shores and not far from continental Europe explains why Britain's political and military presence in both parts of Ireland is so important for the political and military strategy of London and Washington.

Monopoly capital has succeeded with the help of the EEC mechanism in reinforcing its economic dominance over the island and consolidating the dominant position there of foreign, particularly British, monopoly capital. The current efforts to force the Republic of Ireland to abandon its neutrality policy and join NATO and the prospect of separate participation of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland in the 'European Parliament' undoubtedly intensify these political trends. By pulling hard on the political, economic and military strings, the imperialist politicians want to prevent the Irish working people from taking the road to national independence.

In their fear of the consolidation of the progressive forces' positions, the right-wing circles and their ultra-right allies are sometimes

prepared to clamp down on even the bourgeois-democratic freedoms and to attack any constitutional norms that are not to their liking. We observe this today in Portugal, for instance, where, as Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, stated in April, the opposition People's Democratic Party is demanding revision of the Constitution, replacement of the President of the Republic before the end of his mandate, and abolition of the Revolutionary Council. This means, Cunhal stressed, that the extreme rightists are openly moving toward subversion of state stability and adopting a platform of illegal action, putsches and coups.

The monopolies are pressuring the working class economically in many ways. They try to intimidate it with difficulties, make it more tractable and integrate it with the capitalist system through a policy of class collaboration, social partnership, and so on. Industrial outfits, as a rule, favor the programs put forward by conservative and reactionary parties, actively support them and concert their actions with them. This has undoubtedly given impetus to the rightist trend. And, conversely, where the right-wing forces gain a strong foothold, the monopolies become tougher in the sphere of labor relations.

The aims and results of this policy can be assessed by the situation in the two parts of Ireland. Take for a start, the situation in Northern Ireland, which is covered by British labor legislation. In Britain, by using the right-wing social democrats and trade union leaders, the monopolies and the government have succeeded in imposing the 'social contract' on the working people. Its purpose is to prevent wage increases and shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the working people's shoulders, thereby securing high profits for big business. (At present the country is in the third phase of the 'social contract' with wage increases restricted to ten per cent per year.)

This rule naturally extends to Northern Ireland, although the average male workers' wage is low enough already (£6 a week lower than in Britain). In the Republic of Ireland the government and the employers, in an effort to take the heat out of the trade union movement, use the National Wage Agreement to pressure the working people. The Communist Party of Ireland conducts a consistent campaign in both parts of the country for unity of the trade union and working-class movement, against the 'social contract' in the North and the National Wage Agreement in the South.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and the right-wing forces that express its interests do not, however, confine themselves to putting ideological, political and economic pressure on the masses. They are using direct police methods to stem the rising tide of the left forces. One could cite, for example, the notorious *Berufsverbot* in the Federal Republic of Germany, under which not only members of the GCP but

any social democrats expressing progressive views can be dismissed from work for their political convictions. A document published by the CC of the Swiss Party of Labor draws public attention to the fact that a similar witch hunt is being whipped up across Switzerland.[8]

There is a real danger that such anti-communist — and in the final analysis, anti-democratic — methods could be 'internationalized.' In 1976 the French communists exposed witch-hunting practices at an international level — in EEC agencies. Thus, seven thousand officials of the Brussels Commission, the EEC's chief organ, were secretly ordered to answer a questionnaire containing questions like the following: Have you ever been a communist? Have you ever had any connections, whether direct or indirect, with communist parties or affiliated organizations? Have you ever travelled to a country with a communist government? And so on. Is this secret police questionnaire not reminiscent of the McCarthy period?

There is nothing accidental about the anti-communist persecution in the policies of the monopolies and the repressive machinery that serves them. Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, referred to this in a recent speech. Noting the lately intensified attacks on the CPL, he attributed this to the fact that in present-day Luxembourg the communists have become a real force with growing prestige.

The conclusion drawn by the Luxembourg communists is confirmed by the fact that the desperate attempts of the reactionaries to check democratic tendencies by means of anti-labor and anti-communist terrorism are particularly in evidence in the countries where there is a marked swing to the left and vigorous growth of mass movements for democratic and progressive change. One such country is Northern Ireland, where the discriminated-against Catholic minority, with the support of progressive-minded Protestants and also the democratic forces in the Republic of Ireland and in Britain, resolutely opposes the present unjust socio-conomic system of exploitation.

The organizations of the working class in Northern Ireland have great difficulty in functioning: their meetings are restricted, their policies buried in the carnage of violence. The paramilitary organizations of the right virtually dominate whole areas. Religious differences are inflamed in every way and pushed to the point of bloody conflict.

The British troops in Northern Ireland torture civil rights workers who have been thrown into prison and concentration camps. In February of this year the hearing of charges against London for violating the European Convention on Human Rights, which it signed in 1950, was resumed by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. A special commission submitted factual evidence of tor-

ture designed to break down prisoners psychologically. The Prosecutor-General of the Republic of Ireland, Declan Costello, stated in court that it was not a matter of individual cases of brutal treatment of prisoners by the British authorities, but of large-scale use of torture in Northern Ireland.

All this has played into the hands of the ultra-right elements who reject even London's timid attempts to find a political solution to the Northern Ireland problem. The demagogues of the ultra-right combine, in their propaganda, the discontent being felt among the small businessmen, farmers and workers as a result of the economic takeover of Northern Ireland by British capital with the militant sectarian ideology of Unionism. These elements are helped by the blind physical force tactics of the Provisional IRA, which has created confusion among the democratic forces, and intensified discord among the working people on religious grounds. Because of all these factors the February 1974 general elections resulted in the return of eleven right-wing Unionist MPs to the Westminster Parliament (of the 12 representatives which Northern Ireland sends to Westminster only one was anti-Unionist).

The tactics of the ultra-right can be assessed, for example, by the fate of the Sunningdale Agreement, signed in December 1973 by the British government, the government of the Republic of Ireland and the Northern Ireland 'centrist' parties. Under the pressure of the growing civil rights movement, London and its Northern Ireland allies were compelled in principle to agree to 'power-sharing' between Northern Ireland political parties representing both Protestants and Catholics, and also to certain steps preparing for the reunification of Ireland (in the indefinite future).

The Protestant extremist organizations refused to accept even these half-measures, particularly any attempt at rapprochement with the Republic of Ireland, and launched a fierce campaign against the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. May 1974 saw the appearance of the notorious Ulster Workers' Council, which was, in fact, a facade for the Protestant paramilitary organizations. Using terror and demagogy the ultra-right succeeded in forcing some Protestant workers to come out on strike against the ratification of the Sunningdale Agreement.

On this occasion the extremist provocateurs achieved their aim. It was not long, however, before the working people of Northern Ireland realized that the 'success' of the right-wing Unionists had brought no gains, whatever, to any section of the working class or working people. So, in the spring of 1977 when the right again tried to force a 'general strike' on the working people of Northern Ireland, the organized workers made it clear that they were against such an

action. Even many rank-and-fie members of the right-wing paramilitaries were reluctant to follow the new call, having seen for themselves that the 1974 action had not benefited them as workers.

The lesson to be drawn from 1974 and 1977 is a simple one: working-class unity can defeat right-wing terror. It can go further, it can advance the interests of the working class politically, economically and in terms of democratic rights. Led by the working class the working people inflicted a defeat on the right in 1977. Working-class unity and leadership can build the alliance of forces which will bring an end to British imperialist domination, not only in the North but in the South as well.

And there is yet another important lesson for the working class of the capitalist countries. As events have shown, the policy of the British ruling class on the Irish question is directed not only against the people of Ireland but also against the British working-class and democratic movement. Is this not borne out by the fact that the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Northern Ireland has been extended to the whole United Kingdom? Northern Ireland is a test range for proving new techniques of repression that are also in store for the British people. Under the pretext of fighting terrorism the army, the police and the courts have been working on a set of measures for 'pacifying the population' and overcoming 'violent and non-violent subversive activity,' measures that give the British ruling class new ways of putting down any political opposition.

The events in Northern Ireland have created a pretext for vesting the British army with punitive functions that can, if necessary, be turned against the anti-monopoly movement in Britain itself. At the same time precedents are being created for anti-democratic, emergency trial methods: closed courts without juries, without the hearing of prosecution witnesses in the presence of the accused, etc.

Because the crisis for British imperialist rule affects the whole of Ireland, because the root of the crisis lies in the consistent determination of the British bourgeoisie to deny to the Irish working people the right to self-determination and national unity, British imperialism has gone to great lengths to involve governments of the Republic of Ireland in repressive measures against its citizens. Thus, the Irish bourgeoisie, using the same pretexts as the British, have instituted Special Courts, an Offences Against the State Act and renewed a State of Emergency. The obvious conclusion is that the reactionary policy of the right in any one country threatens the interests of the working people of other countries as well.

We Irish communists never lose sight of this interconnection, because we fully realize that the struggle for a democratic solution of the Northern Ireland problem is a vital common cause of both the Irish

and British peoples. We are well aware of the major role played by the British communists and their paper *Morning Star* in the organization of public opinion to bring pressure to bear on the monopoly and right-wing circles in Britain that are stubbornly clinging to the remnants of their imperial positions on our island. An important result of the efforts of our British brothers-in-arms is seen in the actions of the British TUC and the leadership of the Labour Party in support of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.

The communists have countered the right-wing forces' efforts to cut short the further shift to the left with a policy of massive struggle by the working people for a democratic way of overcoming the consequences of the crisis, for the unity of the working class and all the anti-monopoly forces, and for their cohesion round a constructive alternative to the power of the monopolies. In the various countries this struggle has assumed different forms, depending on the concrete conditions.

Where working-class unity is high and there are massive communist parties, the right-wing forces find it harder to go over to an offensive, while the working-class parties, relying on broad support from the working people and an alliance of all the democratic forces, have opportunities to carry on a concrete struggle for decisions alternative to capitalism. But where the communist forces are limited, and where the social democrats are predominant, the communists, while advocating cooperation with the social-democratic parties on issues where there is an identity of interests and an approximation of views, have been fighting against the right-wing social-democratic leaders' policy of class collaboration and anti-communism.

It could be noted that in the past few years contacts have broadened between the communist and social-democratic parties, and this is due, among other factors, to the growing strength of the communist parties and the fact that in many countries the social democrats have run into a dead end. However, the communists, while developing their cooperation with social democrats and other democratic forces, have naturally remained communists. They have not forgotten about their important differences with social democrats on a number of fundamental issues. They have worked consistently to strengthen their ranks, to extend their bonds with the working class and all the other working people, putting forward constructive proposals on all the democratic and foreign issues.

In Ireland the Communist Party, which is one party covering both parts of Ireland, has its roots not only in the labor movement but also in the national independence struggle and is the only party based on both sections of the working class (Catholic and Protestant). From this unique position it has a vital role to play in building the unity of

the working class, small farmers and small businessmen in the struggle for democratic rights, self-determination, national unity and socialism.

It is engaged in the broad organizations of the working people, the trade unions, the tenants and community associations. It is linked with the small farmers' organizations and is creating the basis for unity of political class forces that oppose the right wing. Communist Party members spearheaded the struggle against the fascist threat that the Ulster Workers' Council presented in 1974, and so laid the basis for defeat of the attempt to revive this danger in 1977.

We Irish communists know from our own experience what persistent efforts the right-wing reactionary circles, parties and groups are making to isolate the working people from the world's progressive forces, particularly the Soviet Union. This is why we regard it as a vital task to combat all forms of anti-Sovietism.

We are convinced that the struggle against the right-wing danger is the common task of all the workers' and communist parties. It is now more vital than ever before that the invigoration of the movement in defense and development of democratic rights and against the growing tendency of monopoly capital to resort to repressive and authoritarian methods, should be combined with the struggle for détente and implementation of the Helsinki principles of relations among nations. Success in fulfillment of this task hinges on the ever fuller use of the power of factors such as the unity and internationalist solidarity of the working class of the world and of the whole communist movement.

1. Unionists — general designation of various conservative groups in Northern Ireland who want to preserve the 'union' of Northern Ireland and Great Britain and the division of Ireland. In other words, they are supporters of semi-colonial status for Northern Ireland as an 'autonomous province' of the United Kingdom. They reflect the interests of the Northern Ireland Protestant bourgeoisie and British monopoly circles. — *Ed.*

2. IRA (Irish Republican Army) — military organization of the Sinn Fein Party. Since the 1950s Sinn Fein has been fighting for the reunification of Ireland, its political and economic independence. At the beginning of 1971 a split occurred in Sinn Fein and in the IRA. The 'provisional wing' advocates a stepping-up of IRA terroristic activity against British soldiers, police and members of Protestant organizations. The so-called 'official wing' of the IRA stands for broad use of methods of political struggle and supports the socio-economic demands of the working people. — *Ed.*

3. See *Vörwarts,* March 9, 1978.

4. *l'Unita,* March 19, 1978.

5. Fine Gael — right-wing party in the Republic of Ireland representing the interests of the big landowning bourgeoisie and big farmers, and connected with British and American monopoly circles. — *Ed.*

6. Quoted from *Le Monde diplomatique*. February 1978.

7. *Le Monde,* November 27, 1976.

8. See *Vörwarts,* March 9, 1978.

A creatively developing, revolutionary doctrine

'The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any forms of superstitution, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression.'

V.I. Lenin

On May 5 of this year it was 160 years since the birth of Karl Marx. To make the date, *WMR* set up an international research group, which included: *Girgin Girginov,* CC member, CP Bulgaria; *Luis Padilla,* CC member, CP Bolivia; *Georg Kwiatowski,* representative of the German Communist Party; *Teodor Dizerman,* Corresponding-Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and *Vasizwe Seme* of the South African Communist Party.

The research group concentrated on these main questions: the growing role of Marx's doctrine in the present epoch; Marxism as a developing scientific system; the Marxist doctrine as a guide to action in the emancipation movement of the working class, the building of a socialist society and the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle.

Below is a concise summing-up of the group's deliberations, prepared by its members.

I

In our day, millions of people have adopted Marx's doctrine as their world outlook. As it takes hold of the masses, it becomes a material force, that is, it emerges as the cohesion, organization, unity and revolutionary action of the masses. Marx's doctrine has revolutionized the world, and this is expressed in the achievements of socialist construction and the gains of the working-class and national-liberation movements.

At the beginning of this century, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie claimed that private property (which was usually identified with all personal property) was a natural condition for the existence of civilized society, that the opposition of classes had been sent from on high as a trial of human virtues (everyone should know his place), while the existence of masses of people without any property was, alas, an inevitable evil, because there could be no paradise on earth.

Nowadays, the bourgeois theoreticians no longer claim — that is, not in so many words — that capitalism is everlasting. On the contrary, they increasingly tend to ask this question: 'Can capitalism survive?' They say that the bourgeois society has already entered into a stage of non-capitalist development, which will lead (naturally without any revolution or any loss for the bourgeoisie) to universal affluence and even to a disappearance of class distinctions.

In contrast to the traditional bourgeois ideology, its latest brand increasingly lays claim to having produced a theoretical alternative to the capitalist organization of society, a 'third' or 'middle' way, which is allegedly free from the 'extremes' of individualistic capitalism and collectivist socialism. This far-reaching ideological strategy is also served by the concept of a 'mixed economy' (which is allegedly part capitalist and part socialist) and the theories of a 'post-industrial society,' the 'welfare state,' the 'consumer society,' and so on.

Nowadays, the anti-communists frequently adopt pseudo-socialist and anti-capitalist catchwords. They frequently assert that capitalism is not capitalism at all, and socialism, a far cry from socialism. What is more, they insist that socialist ideals are being realized by the bourgeois society.[1] What is the explanation for this turnabout in bourgeois ideology, which at first sight appears to be so strange? There is only one answer: it is the great attractive power of the Marxist doctrine, the impressive might of the modern anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement in its many diverse forms, and the vitality of the socialist system and its superiority over capitalism, which now and again horrifies even capitalism's most fervent votaries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the advocates of capitalism can no longer shout from the rooftops that they stand for the capitalist system. That is why they now have not merely to reckon with Marxism, but also frequently to admit (albeit with various reservations) and it is now exerting a powerful influence on mankind.[2]

When writing about Marxism, of course, they make sure to kill its socio-political, communist content. On the eve of the Great October Revolution, Lenin exposed such interpretations when he wrote: 'What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their *names* to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time

robbing the revolutionary theory of its *substance,* blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it ... Today, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 385). This trend appeared before the October Revolution and is even more characteristic of the present bourgeois ideology.

The participants in the discussion analyzed the ideas of the Frankfurt school of social studies, which have had a marked impact on present-day social democrats. The members of the school claim to profess an 'authentic Marxism,' which they usually call the 'critical theory' and also 'neo-Marxism' or 'Western Marxism,' in contrast to Marxism in the USSR and other socialist countries. Actually the 'critical theory' is a reflection of Marxism in the petty-bourgeois consciousness. Among its characteristic features is a denial of the proletariat's socialist mission, neglect of the experience of its emancipation movement and, in effect, a negative attitude to the existing socialist social system. The petty-bourgeois, reformist anti-capitalism of the Frankfurt 'critical theoreticians' does not amount to more than an abstract humanistic critique of the 'industrial society,' a concept which is itself a sociological cliché used to obscure the antithesis between capitalism and socialism, so that the Frankfurt school's romantic anti-capitalism frequently turns out to be trivial anti-communism.

The theoretical premise for denying the fundamental antithesis between the social systems of socialism and capitalism is rejection of the basic concept of historical materialism, of the category of relations of production. The West German philosopher Jürgen Habermas claims that relations of production existed only in the framework of 'liberal capitalism' and are absolutely alien to the 'latter-day capitalism,' under which the productive forces allegedly develop without this specific form, which is simply declared to be transcended and non-existent. With this kind of methodological approach, the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, in effect, becomes superfluous, which is why the whole social program of the Frankfurt school amounts to a call for liberalizing social institutions, extending the sphere of 'human relations,' developing interpersonal 'interaction,' communications, etc. And all of this is presented as an 'authentic' interpretation of Marxism.

II

Marxism is a coherent and integral doctrine whose components — philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism — are not only closely bound up with each other but are in a sense transformed into each other. Marxism combines its analysis of the key economic,

social and political aspects of society's life with an analysis of society as a whole, that is, as a unity of its diverse social relations. Over a century ago, Marx and Engels inaugurated, first, the *interdisciplinary* analysis of social life; second, *systemic* analysis of the social process; and third, analysis of the *development* of society. They were not only head and shoulders above the other historians, economists and sociologists of their day, they anticipated the research methods which are also being universally adopted in the sciences of nature.

Indeed, in the lifetime of Marx and Engels, not only philosophical, economic and sociological theories but also the most developed sciences of nature were regarded (to the extent, of course, to which they were recognized as authentic) as systems of knowledge which were in the main complete and independent of the subsequent development of knowledge. Thus, classical mechanics, geometry and logic were usually characterized as sciences which were close to exhausting their subject-matter, a view that was refuted by the emergence of non-Euclidean geometry, mathematical logic, relativist mechanics and quantum physics. Truth is a process, and as science attains to a definite truth it does not stop its analysis but continues to develop, discovering new truths and correcting the true propositions it has established. These methodological principles, which in our day all forward-looking scientists accept, were formulated by Marx and Engels, who creatively applied their dialectico-materialist methodology.

Marx's doctrine is a *model of the scientific approach*. Having stated this, the members of the research group went on to consider the typical bourgeois and revisionist insistence that *pluralism* in Marxism is not only inevitable but even necessary. The implication of this argument is that any revision of Marxist-principles, including the abandonment of some of them, as long as all this is accompanied by avowals of allegiance to Marxism, may be recognized as an attempt to produce a new version of Marxism. Thus, the advocates of pluralism try to back up the idea that there can and must exist a great many different Marxist theories, all of them equal and independent of one another. The Second International opportunists strove to 'combine' Marxism with neo-Kantianism. The Austrian revisionists produced an 'Austro-Marxism.' Some social democrats, under the influence of Freudism, tried to supplement Marx with Freud's psychoanalysis. Not long ago the French idealist philosopher, Sartre, presented his own doctrine as 'existentialist Marxism.' The Austrian neo-Thomist Marcel Reding has proclaimed the need to unite the doctrines of Marx and Thomas Aquinas. Some feel that they have to emphasize their advocacy of 'revolutionary Marxism' or 'democratic Marxism.' Apparently they are oblivious of the fact that a 'non-revolutionary' or 'non-democratic' Marxism is simply no Marxism at all.

It is hardly necessary to prove that such attempts to 'diversify' Marxism and to interpret Marx's doctrine in accordance with one's own ideas are eclectic, ignore the coherence and integrity of Marxist theory and are, in effect, a denial both of the scientific nature of Marxism and its close bonds with the interests of the working class. It is also clear that the talk about all the interpretations of Marxism being equivalent and equal amounts not only to a denial of Marx's real doctrine, but also to a justification of any distortion of it. After Marxism defeated the numerous varieties of petty-bourgeois socialism, its opponents began to don Marxist garb. Indeed, the various attempts to 'pluralize' Marxism are precisely this kind of exercise.

Internationalism is the basic feature of the Marxist doctrine. The working class of all countries and continents has the same vital long-term goals. The laws of the development of capitalism, of the advance of the emancipation movement of the working class (and of all its class allies) and of socialist and communist construction are also the same in all countries. There are no special laws of development, say, for British or American capitalism. A law, any law, whether in nature or in society, is a *form of universality*. Marx's *Capital* revealed the laws of capitalist development, which apply to all countries. But it is also clear that the development of capitalism in the United States differs substantially from the same process in Britain and in other countries, so that analysis of this historical peculiarity is an important scientific task. The same is true of the laws of the class struggle and of the laws of socialist construction.

Marx's followers oppose the stereotype, dogmatic application of Marxism, in which the concrete historical conditions and the specific features of a given country, level of development of the working class, and so on, are ignored. Lenin wrote that it was important 'to seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task' (Vol. 31, p. 92). Establishment of a classless society is just such an integral international task of the working class and its allies in all countries. But, as the members of the research group noted on the strength of the experience of their own countries, it would be an oversimplification to assume that because the laws of the struggle for socialism are universal, the integral international task can be fulfilled in the same ways and by the same means. It is of tremendous and fundamental importance to comprehend and theoretically sum up the experience of each country and of each communist party. Dialectical materialism holds that any unity implies not only identity but also difference, with the latter undoubtedly being substantial. Identity without difference is not

a real identity but a metaphysical abstraction. Lenin wrote: 'There is no doubt whatever that the transition from capitalism to socialism is conceivable in different forms, depending upon whether big capitalist or small production relations predominate in the country' (Vol. 32, p. 233).

The conditions of the working people's emancipation movement, the conditions for building socialism are highly diverse, and the fact that for all the diversity of these conditions, the struggle against capitalism and the building of a socialist society has been steadily advancing testifies to the truth and power of the Marxist doctrine. The qualitatively distinct conditions in which the communist ideals are realized in practice are the basis for enriching Marxist theory. Each communist party helps to develop Marxist theory by analyzing and comprehending the specific conditions of its own activity. The diversity of the historical experience summed up in the light of Marxism adds up to a vast ideological asset. Leonid Brezhnev says: 'It is experience in building socialism in a great variety of conditions, showing both its general objective laws and the diversity of concrete forms. It is also experience in defending the vital interests of the masses, in mustering the revolutionary forces, in fighting for socialism in countries at different levels of development. All this requires analysis and generalization, and doubly so because, apart from its very own specific features deriving from national peculiarities, the experience of every fraternal party necessarily contains common features of interest to our entire movement. Also, life continuously adds something new to the objective socio-political and economic processes in the individual countries and on the world scale, to the struggle for our common aims.'[3]

In the present epoch, when the three main revolutionary streams — the constructive effort of the socialist countries, the emancipation movement of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and the peoples' national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggle — merge into a single tide, the scientific and practical political importance of Marxism *for all the regions of the globe* stands out most clearly. This shows the flimsiness of the Euro-centrist interpretation of Marxism, which claims that Marx wrote exclusively in the light of the experience of Europe, and even of Western Europe alone, so that his doctrine does not apply to other continents. This is also the approach to Leninism, when an effort is made to present it as a regional system of views reflecting the specific historical conditions of Russia's development. This view is all wrong. First of all, Marx and Engels gave much attention to India and other colonial countries. Starting from the propositions formulated by the founders of Marxism, Lenin comprehensively elaborated the theory of the national-colonial ques-

tion within the framework of his doctrine of imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism. Second, in his brilliant work, *Capital*, Marx analyzes the development of capitalism from the simple commodity economy which exists in pre-capitalist societies, and shows the regularities of its functioning and development.

When formulating their doctrine of socio-economic formations, the founders of Marxism examined the historical transition from feudalism to capitalism, and also from capitalism to socialism, as the first stage of the communist formation. In our day, with the advance to socialism a global process, the Marxist doctrine of the transition to socialism includes an analysis of the socio-economic premises for the socialist transformation of social relations, which arise not only within the capitalist formation but also in the process of non-capitalist development of the former colonies of imperialism taking an independent road of development. Even Marx and Engels did not consider the capitalist stage of development to be fatally inevitable under any historical conditions. These ideas were elaborated by Lenin and his followers into a coherent and harmonious system of views.

Marx's doctrine has continued to develop on the basis of the new historical experience and the advances in all the sciences. Attempts to contrast some philosophy or sociology with Marxism have always failed because, as practice has shown, scientific philosophy and sociology can develop only on the basis of Marxism, that is, as a Marxist analysis.

In the light of this, members of the group also considered the sphere in which Marxism can be applied. Some bourgeois ideologists assert that Marxism is inapplicable to the highly industrialized countries, and others, that it is inapplicable to the developing countries. There is only one correct answer to all these claims: Marxism is applicable to any object of philosophical, economic and socio-political analysis. This conclusion does not in any way contradict the truth that Marxism is the scientific ideology of the working class. In the main, the working class and the non-proletarian oppressed and exploited masses have the same interests. Marx and Engels identified the working class not because they wanted to separate it from the non-proletarian exploited classes or to range them against each other, but to show its historically rooted status as the vanguard class, the leader class, rallying all the fighters for the people's social emancipation.

When Marx and Engels set the task of joining scientific socialism with the working-class movement, and when Lenin, and other Marxist-Leninists after him, theoretically developed and fulfilled this task by setting up the communist parties, this did not at all mean that Marxism can or must be introduced only into the working-class movement. That was a key, concrete historical task which was tack-

led in that period and which continues to be of primary importance in our own day, but which does not in the least rule out the goal of joining Marxism with the national-liberation movement, with the anti-monopoly struggle for democracy, with the general democratic struggle for peace, and against war, etc. Of course, there are specific features to this process of joining Marxism with the general democratic struggle against the monopolies, and for peace and a solution of global problems. The strength of the general democratic movement lies in the fact that it involves men and women with different socio-political and ideological orientations. It would be wrong to minimize the importance of this qualitative characteristic of general democratic movements, because the task is to provide these movements with the broadest possible social base. But it is equally obvious that the communists are the most consistent fighters against fascism, militarism, racism, apartheid and the suppression of democracy.

It goes without saying that the developing nations' road to socialism is very hard. The working class in these countries is small and it is still scattered among small enterprises. Nevertheless, the workers are an active political force with an important role to play in the socialist movement. Of course, the fact that the bulk of the population in the national-liberation zone consists of non-proletarian working classes provides the soil for 'socialist' concepts and doctrines which are petty-bourgeois and utopian, and which idealize economic backwardness, so that despite their rejection of capitalism, they are usually based on the ideas of present-day bourgeois philosophy and sociology, which they eclectically combine with Marxist ideas. But such illusions are blasted by the advance of the people's liberation struggle. The revolutionary-democratic parties, which did much in the fight against colonialism, have been moving toward scientific socialism. More and more people in the developing countries look to the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and want genuine socialism.

Metaphorically speaking, water is always sweetest and purest at the source. Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the MPLA — Party of Labor, said in his Report to the party's First Congress: 'There cannot be an African or European socialism, one socialism for developed countries and others for underdeveloped countries. There is only scientific socialism, which exists in a large part of the world.'

The members of the research group reached this conclusion: the importance of Marxism tends steadily to grow with humanity's advance. At the same time, the theory of the working-class emancipation movement is a modern, truly scientific methodology for revolutionary thinking and revolutionary practice in the struggle for peace, democracy, freedom of the nations, progress and socialism.

The patent truth of this fact and the historical perspectives connected with it refute the bourgeois ideologists' traditional arguments about Marxism being 'outdated,' and the members of the research group made a special examination of the arguments used to back up this idea.

III

Paradoxical though it may appear at first sight, the idea of Marxism's being 'outdated' was first put forward in the early years of Marxism. It was in the 1840s that the petty-bourgeois opponents of Marxism presented some refurbished pre-Marxist teachings as the latest thing in philosophical and sociological thought. The Young Hegelians claimed that the founders of Marxism took an 'obsolete' and 'uncritical' view of the proletariat, which the petty-bourgeois radicals regarded merely as a 'deprived' mass. By contrast, Marx and Engels argued that the proletariat's historical mission was determined by its objective status under capitalism, that the proletariat developed in the struggle against capitalism, and that it ultimately became a force capable of abolishing capitalist social relations. They wrote: 'It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment *regards* as its aim. It is a question of *what the proletariat is,* and what, in accordance with this *being,* it will historically be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is visibly and irrevocably foreshadowed in its own life situation as well as in the whole organization of bourgeois society today.'[4]

Today, the revisionist pronouncements about a 'deproletarization' of the working class and its 'integration' with the capitalist system of production do not square with the actual facts. The proletariat — the chief productive force of bourgeois society — is deprived of the means of production, which are owned by the capitalists, the non-productive forces of that society. The very existence of the proletariat within capitalism is a negation of that antagonistic social system.

Present-day opponents of Marxism, seeking to prove that it is 'outdated,' refer to the fact that in some capitalist countries working-class living standards have markedly gone up as compared with those in the 19th century. This argument was also considered in the course of the discussion. Marx criticized Lassalle's conception of the 'iron law' of wages, according to which the price of labor-power was reduced to a minimum of the means for its reproduction. Marx saw wages (and, accordingly, the value of labor-power) as a cultural and historical phenomenon which changed with the development of the bourgeois society's forces and especially because of the organized class struggle carried on by the workers. The fact that the proletariat

in some capitalist countries has secured a marked improvement of its living conditions testifies to the strength of the working-class movement and not to any social partnership of the antagonistic classes in the bourgeois society, as the social-democratic theoreticians would have us believe. The working class is opposed to capitalism not only when it rises to revolutionary attack on the dictatorship of capital, but also when in its daily struggle it stands up for its human rights and the working and living conditions won in persistent struggle. These words of Marx's are as true and meaningful today as they were in the mid-19th century: 'Even the most *favorable situation* for the working class, the *most rapid possible growth of capital,* however much it may improve the material existence of the worker, does not remove the antagonism between his interests and the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the capitalists. *Profits and wages* remain as before in *inverse proportion.*'[5] The general crisis of the capitalist system, which is growing deeper and more acute because of the accelerated development of the productive forces under the scientific and technical revolution, is perhaps the most impressive confirmation of the Marxist doctrine about the historically transient character of the capitalist mode of production.

The assertions that Marxism is 'outdated' frequently go hand in hand with an effort to contrast *Capital* and *The Communist Manifesto,* and other Marxist writings, on the one hand and, on the other, Marx's early works written from 1841 to 1844, when he was just beginning to develop scientific socialism and was moving from idealism and revolutionary democracy to dialectical materialism and scientific communism. These works of his contain remarkable anticipations of his future discoveries, but they also contain many ideas bearing the imprint of Hegel's idealism and Feuerbach's anthropologism, which Marx subsequently abandoned. Any contrasting of Marx's early works (like his *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844)* with the classical Marxist works is a subtle attempt to discredit Marxism. With such an approach to Marx's doctrine, the theory of the class struggle is replaced by a conception of alienation among individuals which is allegedly independent of the relations of production. The theory of surplus-value is replaced by a conception of alienation of the product of labor, without any attempt to show the specifics of the antagonism between labor and capital, which is organic to the capitalist society. The cult of the young Marx does not in any way amount to a genuine acceptance of Marxism. What is more, those who contrast the writings of the young Marx with his subsequent classical works, try to find in the former something that is not there, namely, the theory of non-class ethical socialism, which is an old idealist theory borrowed from neo-Kantian philosophy.

The myth about Marxism being obsolete is based on the claim that Marxism is a system of hard-and fast rules laid down over a century ago, rules which were relevant at one time but which became irrelevant because of the qualitative changes the capitalist system has undergone since then. In other words, the advocates of this view deny the obvious fact that Marxism is a *developing system,* which as a matter of principle rejects the unhistorical approach to phenomena and mechanical application to the present or future development of society of any proposition which characterized its previous development. Marx never claimed that capitalism would always remain the same as it was in his lifetime. On the contrary, he analyzed the *development* of the capitalist mode of production, which naturally produces qualitatively new features. Did Lenin ever say that the turn-of-the-century capitalism was the same pre-monopoly capitalism of the epoch in which Marxism originated? Of course, he did not. On the contrary, Lenin formulated the scientific theory of the qualitatively new, imperialist stage of capitalism. Do Marxists today deny the fact that capitalism is now not what it was, say, a half-century ago? On the contrary, Marxists now make an in-depth study not only of the changes within capitalism but also of their causes, like the scientific and technical revolution, the influence of world socialism, the contest and struggle of the two systems, and the intrinsic regularities of the capitalist formation.

The analysis of the bourgeois and reformist myth of the obsolescence of Marxism has led the researchers to the conclusion that this myth is actually based on a denial of the *development of Marxism,* a denial of Lenin's outstanding contribution to the development of Marxism. Bourgeois 'Marxologists' and social-democratic revisionists have kept stubbornly saying that Leninism is a specifically Russian phenonenon, which has no bearing on other countries. What stands out above all in this assertion is the clear refusal to understand the obvious truth that Lenin did not merely apply Marxism to Russia's specific conditions, but that he creatively developed *all the component parts of Marxism.* Indeed, it is an odd view of Marxism which makes some insist that Lenin's theory of imperialism or his law of the uneven development of capitalism is limited in scientific and practical significance to the framework of Russia's socio-political development. An even more incomprehensible view of the substance of theoretical analysis in general is the assertion that Lenin's development of the philosophy of Marxism and, in particular, his all-round elaboration of materialist dialectics as the theory of development, logic and gnoseology, are only of regional importance. This is a far cry from the ideas of Marx and Engels.

The whole historical experience of the 20th century shows that

Leninism is Marxism which has been consistently and comprehensively elaborated in Lenin's writings. No wonder then that the opponents of Marxism seek to contrast Marx and Lenin, that is, to exclude Leninism from Marxism or, in other words, to limit the content of Marxism to the epoch of Marx and Engels, which, of course, differs essentially from the present. When we speak of Leninism we naturally have in view not only Lenin's writings but also the creative contribution of the communist parties and Marxist theoreticians.

The suggestions that Marxism and Lenin's theoretical legacy are 'obsolete,' the members of the research group noted, contain yet another idea that is hostile to Marxism, namely, the denial of the epoch-making importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the history of the CPSU, and of the historical experience and outstanding achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union.

In marking the 160th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the members of the research group emphasized, we gain an ever fuller understanding of the profundity of Lenin's precept: *constantly to consult with Marx*. This means above all to master the scientific methodology of practical revolutionary action and revolutionary thinking, and to beware of imitating the pseudo-scientists who keep 'discovering' truths which Marxism has long since established. It means not applying stereotypes to new problems whose solution calls for development and substantiation of new Marxist propositions. To consult with Marx means remaining loyal to the principles of Marxism, creatively applying these principles, developing Marxist propositions and putting them into more concrete terms. Those words of Lenin's are just as meaningful in our own day: 'A Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of *reality,* and not cling to a theory of yesterday' (Vol. 24, p. 45).

Summing up his critique of preceding philosophy, Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it.'[6] The bourgeois interpreters of Marxism distort the true meaning of this thesis and say that Marx (and Marxism in general) denies the need for a scientific interpretation of the world, so leaving a narrow practicism which, as everyone knows, is propounded by utilitarian bourgeois theories. The fact is, however, that, for the first time in history, Marx gave a scientific interpretation of the socio-historical process, discovered its motive forces and laws of development, and proved the objective necessity of a communist transformation of social relations. But Marx censured researchers who confined themselves to understanding what exists, and stopped there. In contrast to the impassive, pseudo-nonpartisan contemplation of bourgeois social reality, which oppresses and distorts man, Marx put foward a scientific interpretation of this reality which serves

its revolutionary change. Consequently, he contrasted science, scientific philosophy, which theoretically substantiates the revolutionary transformation of social relations (dialectical and historical materialism are just such a science), and the philosophical speculation which is content with merely interpreting them and is for that reason inclined to justify what goes on, on the plea that it has definite foundation in fact, its own frequently long history, and so on. This thesis of Marx's does not deny the role of theory but requires a higher theoretical level of research to discover the *laws of change* in social reality, and to blend theory and revolutionary practice so as to also raise the practical-political movement to a new and higher stage.

The members of the research group emphasized in conclusion that Marx's doctrine has stood the test of time, has been creatively developing in the light of new historical experience, and is now the only scientific guide to action in the struggle against any oppression and exploitation, and in building the new, communist social formation. The doctrine of Marxism, which has illuminated not only mankind's present, but also its future, is a living scientific world outlook, which is closely bound up with the struggle of all the forward-looking forces for humanity's most humane and lofty ideals.

1. In a Special Report on the spread of socialist ideas today, *Time* magazine says that 'socialism in its various manifestations is now the world's dominant political and economic ideology.' It adds that socialism is the dominant system in 53 countries, with 39 per cent of the territory and 42 per cent of the population of the world (March 13, 1978, pp. 5, 12). It classifies under the head of socialism both truly socialist countries and capitalist countries like the FRG, Britain and Belgium, where the social-democratic or kindred parties safeguarding the capitalist system are in power.

2. Here is the view of the Belgian Catholic philosopher A. de Waelhens, who is not a Marxist in any sense. He writes that Marxism 'is now the only political philosophy which judges everything with a sense of responsibility, the only philosophy which speaks in the light of the facts, which *examines all the facts,* the only philosophy which understands that politics and history cannot be separated' (A. de Waelhens. *Une philosophie de l'ambiguité*. Louvain, 1967, p. 333).

3. *Information Bulletin,* Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Prague, No. 12, 1976, p. 36.

4. Marx and Engels, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 4, p. 37.

5. Karl Karx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes,* Vol. 1, p. 167.

6. Marx and Engels. *Selected Works in Three Volumes,* Vol. 1, p. 15.



Leninism and the struggle to democratize society in Cyprus

Georgos Savvides
Chairman, Central Control Commission, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)

Consistent democracy, Lenin said, on the one hand, demands socialism, and on the other, is transformed into it (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 452). In the light of the contemporary experience in the struggle for the democratization of political and the whole of social life this problem is especially meaningful and has attracted the attention of many analysts. I want to express our opinion concerning some aspects of the solution of this complicated problem, starting from Lenin's system of views, and on the basis of our party's practical experience.

As in many other capitalist countries, democracy in Cyprus is an important gain by the people in their struggle against imperialism, reaction and fascism. It is supported and advanced by the working people's liberation, class struggle. Does this mean that under capitalism today, in our country, for instance, bourgeois democracy is a conception which no longer holds good? We do not think so. We feel that this is a conception which does not suggest any neglect of the democratic urges of the masses or of their role in securing and maintaining the democratic order. It merely reflects the fact that, despite all the contradictions with imperialism, democracy is compatible with its power and remains a form of political system ensuring the class interests of the bourgeoisie. But from this it does not follow that in themselves democratic gains are of no value for the masses, that it is allegedly 'inadmissible,' as the leftists and adventurists claim, for the supporters of socialism to act within bourgeois-democratic structures and to rely on them in their struggle.

Some are inclined to regard our stand as being inconsistent. If democracy is bourgeois, if under capitalism it is largely illusory, narrow, curtailed and limited, if it maintains the bourgeois right to exploit the workers and other working people, how does our practice of defending it square with this view of democracy? 'Does not such

defense amount to an "opportunistic concession" to the middle sections?' our opponents on the 'left' say. 'Is this not a "tactical ploy" in order to win power?' they are echoed by our opponents from the right. Both are agreed that because our theory characterizes democracy as bourgeois, the only possible conclusion is the need to 'destroy democracy,' and to break with it as soon as we take over. They insist that the class approach to democracy is an expression of the 'class reductionism' which is allegedly inherent in our theory, and advise us to 'purge' our theory of it. However, we do not intend to refrain from identifying the class substance of democracy under capitalism and defining the class stand with respect to it on the part of the working class.

The question of democracy is always a concrete one. But this does not mean that we either support or deny democracy, depending on the concrete situation. In general, it would hardly be theoretically right to make our attitude to democracy contingent on the concrete conditions of the class struggle, as if in some 'special' circumstances we could abandon the defense of consistent democracy, without abandoning the scientific world outlook of the working class. Depending on the conditions, there is a change not in our attitude to democracy but to the political *regime* of bourgeois democracy. In one set of conditions, as in the struggle against fascism, the point would be to stand for bourgeois *democracy;* in another set of conditions, in the struggle for the overthrow of the political power of the bourgeoisie, we oppose *bourgeois* democracy. But in the latter instance, we still stand up for democracy, preserving all its valuable elements, changing its class content, making it into truly popular power and raising it to a new level.

Consequently, while bringing out the connection between democracy under capitalism and the bourgeoisie's political power, we emphasize that the working class is capable of breaking the bond and of transforming bourgeois democracy into socialist democracy. Historically, democracy emerged long before the bourgeois society came on the scene and adapted it to its own needs. But it can be linked with the class interests not only of the bourgeoisie but also of the working class. This has been proved above all by the practice of the socialist societies. It is also evidenced by the communists' policy, which blends the democratic and the socialist aspirations of the working class and the rest of the people.

We do not regard the democratic aspirations of the masses as something 'secondary,' compared with their socialist aspirations. In our day, it would be wrong to confine the struggle for democracy to the framework of capitalism, merely reducing it to the demand to improve the existing bourgeois set-up. To limit the democratic aspira-

tions of the masses to the narrow framework of what bourgeois democracy does give and is, in general, capable of offering would amount to suggesting the well-known aporia of Zeno, who lived in Cyprus over two thousand years ago and who claimed that the fleet-footed Achilles could never overtake the tortoise. In his *Philosophical Notebooks,* Lenin says: Achilles will overtake the tortoise if he is permitted to 'overstep' the limit (see Vol. 38, p. 258).[1] The class power of the bourgeoisie is the limit in the general democratic struggle which the bourgeoisie does not allow anyone to overstep. But this is not a limit that is inherent in the democratic aspirations of the masses: it is laid down by the bourgeoisie. It can be overstepped only in class struggle against the bourgeoisie, in a struggle oriented upon socialism.

The specific feature of the present situation in our country and in some other capitalist countries is that the working class and the other working people stand to gain more than the bourgeoisie from a development of democracy. It gives the workers the right to have their own trade unions and political organizations and their own press, and legally to take part in the political struggle. This puts the working people on the same footing in terms of civil rights with the other classes, and so provides an important strongpoint for a drive against imperialism and big capital and helps to build up the preponderance of the popular forces for advancing in the class struggle.

At the present stage of the Cypriot people's struggle, which we define as 'basically an anti-imperialist and national-liberation one,'[2] our party attaches exceptional importance to democratization. AKEL's Program says that 'the democratization of the political and social life of the country, the protection of human rights, constitute the best safeguard for the progress of our people and the success of the struggle for the completion of our independence.'[3]

Thus, our party has tied in the struggle for democracy with the achievement of complete independence for the Republic of Cyprus, seeking an end to the Turkish occupation of a part of the island, withdrawal of NATO's three armies stationed on the island under the 1959 Zurich-London agreements, and annulment of the 'guarantee treaty,' which empowers Greece, Turkey and Great Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus, and so allow the Turkish and the Greek population of Cyprus to solve their own, internal problems freely and without outside interference. For Cyprus, the 'guarantee treaty' has been and remains a sword of Damocles, and it has already been used by the Turkish troops to occupy 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus.

For the working-class party, the struggle for democratization is not an expedient but a matter of principle. Lenin emphasized that 'we will

carry to the end the struggle to democratize the state system, without looking back' (Vol. 6, p. 122). In alliance with all the other democratic forces, our party is working to make the form of government in the country truly democratic. The Republic of Cyprus was designed to suit imperialism and the local right-wing forces. Under the present, presidential system in Cyprus, the government is not accountable to parliament. The ministers are appointed by the President as he sees fit, regardless even of the strength of the parties in parliament. To this day, no electoral law based on proportional representation in parliament has been passed.

AKEL's main demands in the political sphere are: a more democratic constitution and broader powers for parliament; a more democratic electoral system; respect for human and civil rights; no discrimination on ideological, political, national or other grounds. Our party is working to get the anti-democratic elements out of the state apparatus, the police, the army and the educational system. It has proposed the adoption of relevant laws. We demand elections to the local organs of power and the municipal councils.[4]

When we speak of democratization, we mean, however, not only the form of government, not only the abolition of the multiplicity of limitations, exemptions and obstacles which prevent the masses from taking an active part in state and municipal affairs. We also mean transformations which, as Lenin put it, do not consider democracy separately from the economy and social relations, but together with them (Vol. 25, p. 452). This means, for instance, ensuring the *working people's* social rights, *their* participation in control of production, a *democratic* nationalization of the banks and enterprises (that is, one that meets the national and the people's interests), and so on.

When democracy is considered outside the context of economics and covers only politics, any improvements in the existing mechanism of democracy are obviously inadequate for attainment of the ultimate goals of the working class. But what happens when the front of democratic transformations is substantially extended and goes beyond the framework of purely political relations, involving the socio-economic sphere as well? Is democratization which goes to the basis of society capable of ultimately leading to socialism or, at any rate, of producing some of its initial elements?

These questions have been posed by the practice of the class struggle in many capitalist countries. What is our party's answer?

In the social sphere, for instance, AKEL has made the following demands: higher living and cultural standards for the people: full employment; better working conditions; unionization of all the workers; social insurance and pensions for all the working people; free medical assistance; solution of the housing problem with the help of

the state; special concern for the countryside and the lagging regions; electrification, improved water supply and the building of roads and schools; protection of the interests of artisans; restructuring and modernization of education and its adaptation to the country's needs; compulsory education for children up to the age of 15 years and free secondary education; scholarships for needy students.

Now and again we hear objections of this kind: 'Are we not out of touch with reality when putting forward such demands today? Unemployment, for instance, is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism, which is why the demand for full employment is unrealistic.' And so on.

This reasoning is wrong. It is impossible to establish in advance, without the class struggle, to what extent the basic human right — the right to work — and any other social rights of the working people can be realized under capitalism. Indeed, we find that in some capitalist countries the workers have won more than in others and are still fighting for more. What seemed to be unattainable under capitalism 50 years ago has become a realistic goal for them to achieve today. Of course, only socialism can fully realize these rights. This we clearly see. But it does not follow that one should adapt oneself to the 'potentialities' of capitalism. That would be opportunism and abandonment of our efforts to extend the limits of the possible in accordance with the direction of society's development. Lenin wrote: 'Since we have correctly determined this direction (in general and in particular) we must — in the name of our revolutionary principles and our revolutionary duty — fight *with all our might* always and absolutely for the *maximum* of our demands. However, to try to determine in advance, before the final outcome of the struggle, in the course of that struggle, that we shall perhaps fail to achieve the *entire* maximum means lapsing into sheer philistinism' (Vol. 6, p. 120).

Democratization means getting the state to play a new economic role. In Cyprus, the state is capable of acting decisively in rehabilitating and invigorating the economy, which has been hard hit by the military coup and the Turkish occupation of a part of the island. Among the urgent measures proposed by our party is the establishment of state or mixed industrial and other enterprises (with state, cooperative and private capital). In our conditions, AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou says, 'intervention of the state is especially necessary when it comes to large-scale industrial units. Here, conservatism on the part of the state is totally unacceptable, and has to be abandoned.'[5]

We also advocate further measures for state control or nationalization of the mines, banks and insurance companies. In Cyprus, it would be highly important to realize some of our demands, like

nationalization of the Development Bank, and state control of the oil refinery, a major enterprise. We believe that it is necessary to have legislative regulation of the activity of foreign banks in the country for the benefit of the national economy.

A well-considered analysis of these facts suggests the answer to the question concerning the place and role of democratization in social change. Our party does not believe that the democratization (in the political, social and economic spheres) which it has proposed at the present stage will lead to a restructuring of society on socialist lines. Even if the conditions were favorable and we succeeded in making greater advances and winning greater democracy, it would not amount to any qualitative changes in the political, social and economic structures, changes that would add up to a socialist system.

Consequently, solution of the problem of transition to socialism does not consist merely in supplementing democratization of the political superstructures with a democratization of the basis. First of all, such a 'supplementing' or, one could say, 'amplification' of democracy does not obviate the need for radical changes in the power relations. Even with the broadest and deepest democratization, the first step in establishing socialism continues to be the 'winning of democracy' by the working class, as Marx and Engels wrote, and as the experience of all the revolutions has confirmed. Second, democratization of the basic structures is not yet identical with an economic revolution, because capitalist relations of production remain, although it does mean that the working people and the rest of the people are being prepared for democratic management of production. Similarly, democratization of the political superstructures, which is not the equivalent of a political revolution, prepares the working people for organizing their participation in managing the affairs of the state on democratic lines.

In other words, our view is that through democratization it is possible to approach realization of socialism. In our country, it may well prove to be the prologue to socialist transformations. We do not think, however, that in discussing the prospects in our struggle we can confine ourselves to an abstract antithesis between democratization and socialism. In our country, democratization is an urgent and necessary transformative stage. It would be utopian in our conditions to suggest the instant introduction of socialism, bypassing this stage. The way to socialism in our country now has to run through democratization.

Our experience in the struggle for democratization shows that under the bourgeois power it is a process that is not uniform, straightforward or uninterrupted. Various ebbs and flows, ups and downs, breakthroughs and temporary retreats are possible along the way.

Following the liberation of Cyprus from colonialism, a democratic process led to the winning of political rights and freedoms, and a greater role for the workers' trade unions in economic and political life. Nevertheless, the pace of democratization has been unstable. In many areas, democratization regressed under the influence of internal and external reaction. We have in view first of all the state apparatus, the army, the lack of municipal elections, and the relations between the Greek and the Turkish communities. Virtually no positive advances have been made in these key areas. In 1974 came the reactionary putsch, followed by the Turkish invasion. The democratic administration of the whole country can be fully re-established only by the people's persistent struggle.

The stepped-up activity of imperialism and its agents is also a response to the advance of the democratic movement in Cyprus. They would like to keep the island as a military base and this explains their urge to suppress the anti-imperialist forces and AKEL, their vanguard.

Let us note the following. Democratization in Cyprus, which led to a growth of the economy and technical progress, has largely gone to benefit the bourgeoisie. It took over from the colonialists and used the state machine to promote its own interests, which, however, in many instances coincided with the country's overall economic interests, as in the development of industry, tourist travel, foreign trade, the infrastructure and technical education. Simultaneously with the rapid growth of the national income, there was a growth of the bourgeoisie's profits, while the real incomes of the working people tended to decline, especially in the past few years.

Our experience shows, therefore, that under capitalism the democratic gains of the masses are not *irreversible,* and that the bourgeoisie may well reap the benefits of democratization at the expense of the masses. This, we believe, is yet another argument for the view that there is a need to merge democratic with socialist transformations. Only a revolution which establishes the power of the working class in alliance with all the other working people provides a guarantee for the fullest and most comprehensive development of the democratic process. That is why orientation upon preserving capitalism, however 'modified' and 'refined,' is unacceptable. That is why this is unacceptable to anyone who seeks to consolidate and multiply the democratic gains of the masses and make them irreversible.

Of course, our party takes into account the possibility of defending and further developing the working people's democratic rights through more intense mass struggle, better organization of the working class, a policy of alliances and joint anti-imperialist action by all

democrats and patriots. But our party has never lost sight of its socialist goal.

While putting forward general democratic goals at the present stage, AKEL has also advocated democratic ways and means of attaining them. Our party's program emphasizes that 'the democratization of the Constitution, as well as other changes in the regime, must be effected by democratic means. . . . AKEL will follow strictly democratic methods for the realization of this program.'[6]

Our adversaries have cast doubt on the sincerity of our intentions. They claim that democratic ways and means rule out any revolutionary action and are identical with reformist practices. Accordingly, they say that our approach is a 'ploy' and seek to provoke the party into abandoning revolution.

But what are the grounds for contrasting democratic and revolutionary means? After all, does revolutionary action imply a neglect of the will of a majority of the people, or violence to it? Of course, not. At the same time, reaction and the conservative forces have frequently managed to use democracy for their own anti-popular purposes. That is a turn of events that cannot be ruled out in the future, considering that democracy is a phenomenon that is not over and above class.

Of course, we do not reduce revolutionary action to democratic ways and means. But if the general democratic goals of our struggle are supported by an overwhelming majority of the people of Cyprus (and this is something of which we are convinced) there is no reason why we could not succeed by such ways and means alone.

At the present stage, there arises the problems of overcoming the resistance of the anti-popular, reactionary minority to democratic anti-imperialist transformations. We think that the essential thing is to prevent anti-democratic acts inspired and actively supported by the imperialists. Here we are mindful of the lessons of the 1974 putsch. The party's strong positions in workers' and peasants' organizations, combined with the parliamentary activity of AKEL members and extra-parliamentary action by the people, have helped to rebuff the Greek junta and the EOKA-B terrorist, pro-fascist organization. We regard the forced self-dissolution of a part of that outfit in 1978 as a success for the democrats of Cyprus and support the demand that its members should surrender their weapons to the authorities.

There is a discussion in our party of the possibility of achieving not only general democratic but also socialist goals by democratic means. For the time being, we regard this as a perspective, but one which is linked with our present practices. We feel that the fuller and more fundamental the democratization of the country, the greater the potentialities for peaceful development of the revolution and peaceful

transition to socialism. In any case, we are working to pave the way to just such a future for our country.

Nor is there any ground for identifying democratic ways and means with reformism. It is alleged that we reject reforms. Actually we do not, and this is not where we differ from the reformists. On the contrary, our approach is that in practice democratization in our country is the cumulative effect, the sum-total of reforms. Our party has displayed initiative in organizing a popular struggle for such reforms.

What then is the difference between us and the reformists in general?

First of all, it is that we stand for democratic reforms in *the interests of the working people*. The reformists, for their part, only want democratic reforms which are acceptable to the bourgeoisie. But this tends to kill the general democratic content of such reforms. Democratic nationalization becomes *bourgeois* nationalization, and serves the interests of big business. The working people's participation in the management of enterprises turns into *social partnership*. Structural reforms at the local level help the capitalist economy to function and go to benefit the capitalists. If we took the reformist road this would convert our program of democratization into a caricature of the democratic aspirations of the masses.

Our program of democratization has an anti-imperialist edge, and in this sense it also meets the interests of the national-patriotic bourgeoisie. But the transformations envisaged by the program are aimed to ensure the interests and rights of the whole working people of Cyprus and they are bound to affect not only the circles connected with imperialism and the foreign monopolies (there are no local monopolies in Cyprus), but also the economic power of big capital. It would be wrong to assume that such measures cannot be got under way before the working class wins full power or that one should refrain from making such demands at the present stage and put them off until some future date. The democratic aspirations of the masses imply non-capitalist measures which in effect mean steps toward socialism.

Furthermore, our approach to the way the reforms are carried out is another point on which we disagree with the reformists. We believe that reform is inseparable from a growth of the mass movement aimed against imperialism and internal reaction. How are we to draw a distinction between reformist and non-reformist measures? Lenin characterized the tactics of the advanced class in the struggle for reform as follows: 'We shall never reduce our task to that of supporting the slogans of the reformist bourgeoisie that are most in vogue. We pursue an independent policy and put forward *only* such

reforms as are *undoubtedly favorable* to the interests of the revolutionary struggle, that *undoubtedly* enhance the independence, class-consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat. Only by such tactics can reforms from above, which are always half-hearted, always hypocritical, and always conceal some bourgeois or police snare, be made *innocuous*.

'More than that. Only by such tactics can real progress be achieved in the matter of important reforms. . . . *Actually,* reforms are won as a result of the revolutionary class struggle, as a result of its independence, mass force and steadfastness. Reforms . . . are real only in proportion to the intensity of the class struggle' (Vol. 11, pp. 71-72).

Finally, we regard the question of the struggle for reforms as being connected with that of power. In the present conditions, AKEL is not faced with the problem of directly taking power. But it does regard it as highly important who holds the state power. At this stage of the liberation struggle, our party has worked for and has achieved cooperation with broad democratic, anti-imperialist forces fighting for the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. We seek to isolate the extreme right-wing forces taking a pro-imperialist, pro-NATO stand. It is for the purpose of putting through urgent transformations for the benefit of all the patriotic forces that our tactics are aimed at keeping out of power the groupings of the ruling class which coalesce with reaction and imperialism, and at overcoming their resistance.

Here we have gained some experience. At the 1970 elections, AKEL challenged the absolute majority of one party in parliament (the Clerides party), won 40 per cent of the votes and got all its candidates elected (26 per cent of the seats). This had an effect on the resistance to the Greek military junta, the putsch in particular, and helped to bring about a return to the democratic order and legality in the unoccupied part of the island. In the 1976 elections, AKEL entered into a coalition with the Democratic Front, led by Kyprianou, and the Democratic Center Union (EDEK). All the coalition candidates were elected, which kept out of parliament the rightists who had collaborated in the elections with the fascist putschists and took a pro-imperialist orientation. This victory largely blocks a NATO solution for the Cyprus issue and helps to internationalize it.

We believe that democratization in the country would stand to gain if AKEL took part in a coalition government of anti-imperialist parties. This was a demand AKEL first put forward in 1974. AKEL now demands the establishment of a government of national unity with a clear-cut anti-imperialist orientation, on the basis of a minimum program envisaging, in accordance with the decisions of the recent 14th Congress of AKEL, the solution of the working people's urgent economic and social problems.

The participation by AKEL deputies in the work of all the parliamentary committees and the party's very presence in parliament have an effect on the adoption of important decisions and laws. Our party's General Secretary is on the National Council, which, together with the Council of Ministers, takes decisions on matters connected with the government's general political line. Many members of our party are involved in the work of consultative organs of the ministries or the government, like the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Education, and the planning committees. Parliamentary activity is an important aspect of our party's work. We do not underestimate it, but believe that democratization of the country depends on the initiative, creative approach and struggle by broad masses of the people. We feel that the workers' and peasants' organizations in Cyprus have the crucial say in this matter.

While drawing a distinction between general democratic and socialist task, we do not rule out the possibility that in practice the solution of both could interweave and even merge. Evidence of this is provided by international experience. That is understandable, because the struggle against imperialist power and arbitrary rule in our time is inseparable from the struggle for socialism both on a national and international level. However, when considering the possibility of the general democratic and socialist elements interlacing with each other, we see it as highly important not to forget the distinction between the two categories. It would be wrong, for instance, to ascribe the general features and regularities of general democratic development to socialist transformations and vice versa. The important thing, we believe, is to go on developing Lenin's conception of social revolution in the 20th century, considering the possibility not just of a coincidence in time of the general democratic and socialist processes but of their merger in one coherent revolutionary process.

Ours is a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of the working class and of the other working people, whose goal is socialism and communism. In Cyprus, the communists are the most consistent fighters against foreign domination and for freedom and peace in the country, which is why AKEL is supported by masses of working people involved in the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle.

Of course, it is hard to anticipate at which stage democratization in our country will develop into a struggle for socialism. At the present anti-imperialist, national-liberation stage, our party, making general democratic demands, works to develop among the working people a socialist consciousness and seeks to mould them into consistent fighters for the rights of the people. Our party regards Leninism as a sound scientific basis of action. In the light of Leninism, applying the doctrine in accordance with the specific conditions and taking into

account the accumulated experience, our party can advance in step with the demands of the times.

1. Zeno argued that as Achilles reached the point at which the tortoise had been, the tortoise would have advanced some distance beyond it, and so on.
2. Program of AKEL (Cyprus), Published by the CC of AKEL, p. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
4. For a long time, the municipal councils of cities in Cyprus have not been elected but appointed by the government.
5. *To AKEL gia ti sotiria ke tin ikonomiki anorthosi tis Kipru,* Nicosia, 1977, p. 19.
6. Program of AKEL (Cyprus), pp. 7, 31.

Problems in setting up an anti-dictatorial front in Paraguay

Antonio Maidana
Chairman, Paraguayan CP
Alfredo Alcorta
CC member, Paraguayan CP

The whole of the Paraguayan communists' theoretical and practical activity is now pivoted on the vital task of forming a broad anti-dictatorial front. The events of recent years have shown very well that there is a need for the political and organizational consolidation of all the progressive and patriotic forces on the basis of one common platform.

The political isolation of the Stroessner dictatorship has been growing. The extent to which it is isolated will be seen from the attitude of the electorate to the so-called constitutional amendment designed to enable Stroessner to be 're-elected' for yet another term as president,[1] and to institutionalize the typrant's presidency for life. And while the government did manage to push through the amendment by means of an electoral farce, boycotted by all the recognized opposition parties, it was in fact rejected by all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country.

This fact is undoubtedly of great political importance because the consensus among the opposition circles on such a vital issue as that of power is a necessary condition for shaping the broad national anti-dictatorial front that our party advocates.[2]

This consensus among the opposition forces first because evident in 1973, when Stroessner signed a Treaty on the construction of the

Itaipu hydropower complex, which is extremely disadvantageous for Paraguay and under which Brazil has become the co-owner of the Parana River's tremendous energy resources[3] and has actually been given the possibility of intervention, including armed intervention (naturally, 'for security reasons') in our country's domestic affairs.

The whole people was outraged by this act of betrayal of the national interests. The Treaty has become the line of demarcation between the broadest social and political forces, on the one hand, and the Stroessner tyranny, on the other. The Treaty was opposed by the Liberal Radical Party, the main legal opposition force, by the Communist Party, by the Febrerista and the Christian Democratic parties,[4] and the MOPOCO group which split away from the ruling Colorado Party. The dictatorship was condemned by students, lawyers, economists, two leading dailies, the Catholic Church, intellectuals holding different political and ideological views, and also by wide sections of the Paraguayan business community.

The most important conclusion that we communists have drawn from these two confrontations — over the Itaipu Treaty and the constitutional amendment — is that the Paraguayan people have come out in a united front. And while this front has not been organizationally formalized and is not the result of an agreed policy of the opposition parties, it does reflect a vital objective trend toward joint action by various social and political circles which are coming to realize that the Stroessner regime can be toppled only by uniting all the anti-dictatorial forces.

The fact that the most diverse forces have come out unanimously against the dictatorship, and that their views are identical on important economic, democratic and anti-imperialist tasks and on the defense of national sovereignty is due to the general upswing in the struggle of the Paraguayan people, to the growing consciousness of the masses and an understanding that the Stroessner clique is the main obstacle in the way of deep-going democratization.

The experience of other countries shows that the effectiveness of an anti-dictatorial front largely depends on the capability of the working class to exercise the leading role in the popular movement for radical transformations and to rally ever broader sections of the population. Considering this capability of the working class, Lenin wrote: 'The proletariat becomes revolutionary only insofar as it does not restrict itself to the narrow framework of craft interests, only when in all matters and spheres of public life, it acts as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 194). That is why the Paraguayan communists are now actively working to translate into practice the important idea of setting up an anti-

dictatorial front, relying on the Marxist analysis of social and political forces which constitute two opposing camps.

The regime of oppression and exploitation, of which Storessner's treasonous and anti-national dictatorship is the political expression, enjoys extensive financial, political and military support from U.S. imperialism and Brazil's ruling circles and, at home, from the powerful latifundist and bourgeois oligarchy. The plans for 'Paraguay's strategic development' framed by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development envisage the country's conversion into an important area of strategic communications and a base for mounting punitive operations against the peoples' liberation movement on the continent.

Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, has been reaping tremendous profits from the exploitation of cheap manpower and the plunder of our natural resources. Paraguay is one of those backward countries, of which Lenin spoke, where 'profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap' (Vol. 22, p. 241).

Our country is a veritable paradise for foreign companies. In a book, *Paraguay: the Year 2000,* Henry Ceuppens, an economist of the ruling Colorado Party, says that 12 of the 15 leading companies operating in the country are owned by foreign capital. The foreign monopolies control 90 per cent of the bank capital, and 80 per cent of industrial output and export.

In the past few years, foreign companies have set up more than 200 subsidiaries in the country, and over 250 are on the waiting list.[5] The foreign monopolies enjoy extensive privileges. In 1976, the government issued Law No. 550 on so-called necessary investments, under which capital, chiefly foreign capital, is exempted from taxes and levies on foreign-exchange operations, and from customs duties.[6]

The latifundists are the social mainstay of the dictatorship within the country, and their domination is attested by the distribution of land. In a statement to the press in 1977, Alfonso Resck, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, emphasized that 2.6 per cent of the big landowners control 75 per cent of the land area; of the big local and foreign owners, 25 per cent have estates of over 100,000 hectares each, while some foreign enterprises hold over 2 million hectares of land. This powerful oligarchy exerts the crucial influence in political life and the top government echelons.

In recent years, a top section has emerged within the Paraguayan bourgeoisie, which with financial aid from imperialism has concentrated tremendous economic power in its hands. It openly takes a reactionary, anti-national stance.

The bourgeoisie linked with the multinational companies' opera-

tions in foreign trade is also a part of the dictatorship's social base. This is a strong group of local exporters. Their export earnings go into the foreign banks, that is, they go into the coffers of the big multinational magnates or are remitted to the bank accounts of these Paraguayan billionaires.

As we have said, the forces within the anti-dictatorial camp are highly diverse. We communists are striving to make the working class its leading core. This is a difficult task. The authorities have established stringent police surveillance of the working-class movement and the trade unions, including the Paraguayan Working People's Confederation, which is run by well-paid trade union bureaucrats. The Stroessner regime's agents in the trade unions seek to prevent any action for satisfaction of economic and democratic demands and not to allow the working class to lead the struggle of the other patriotic forces for democratic freedoms.

It is clear why the dictatorship has sought by every means to keep the working class away from any political activity or contact with democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. The Paraguayan working people have repeatedly demonstrated their high level of class consciousness and have gained much valuable experience concerning the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the proletariat is the only consistent revolutionary class and the only leader of the working people as a whole. That is why the re-establishment of trade union freedoms and isolation and removal of the corrupt trade union leaders is becoming an ever more urgent task.

The slogans for trade union unity and the establishment of a single working people's trade union center, which the Paraguayan communists have always advocated, are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the working class, and it is also fighting today to realize them. Much united militant action is taken on the shop floor and in some trade unions: strikes are staged for the satisfaction of immediate economic demands, against dismissals and arrests, against anti-labor laws and other dictatorial acts which invalidate trade union rights.

In the past few years, there has been a relative growth of industrial production. Several new enterprises have been built, others enlarged and re-equipped. The number of those working on the Itaipu hydropower project will soon top 20,000. The numerical growth of industrial workers will certainly help to strengthen the proletariat's influence on the country's political and social life.

The shaping and gradual development of Paraguay's agricultural proletariat resulting from the development of capitalist relations in the countryside, and from the emergence of numerous large-scale agricul-

tural enterprises also help to strengthen the positions of the working class in society.

Of course, the growth of the proletariat's consciousness crucially depends on its ideological and political enlightenment and clarification of its role and strategic goals, that is, on the activity which the vanguard of the working class, the Paraguayan Communist Party, has to carry on. The PCP has been working to strengthen its ties with the working people, especially at the large-scale enterprises, and to set up action committees for higher wages and satisfaction of other demands. The communists carry to the masses the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, seek to make the trade unions class-oriented organizations once again, expose government and police agents among trade unionists and explain why the working-class movement must be united.

Guided by Lenin's doctrine, the Paraguayan Communist Party seeks to combine underground activity with legal forms of work.

The peasantry is the chief ally of the working class. It has been rising ever more resolutely to struggle against the latifundists and for land. In the recent period, the government has repeatedly sent punitive expeditions to suppress peasant action and to drive rural working people off the land they had taken over from the landowners. Today, at least 150,000 poor peasants till land 'illegally.'

The sharpening of the agrarian crisis and the Communist Party's ideological and political work among the peasants help them to escape the influence of the landowner and bourgeois parties. Today, the peasants are ever more consistently guided by the economic and political interests of their own class. This factor undoubtedly has an effect on the present political situation and on the formation of a genuine workers' and peasants' alliance.

Of tremendous importance, we believe, is the official stand of the Paraguayan Church, which has firmly opposed the dictatorial regime, especially in view of the ceaseless reprisals, tortures and political assassinations. The Church has openly come out against the regime's squandering of the national wealth, against the Itaipu Treaty, against administrative corruption and the suppression of democratic liberties. A convincing expression of this patriotic stand is the boycott by the head of the Paraguayan Church of the State Council and his refusal to attend the sittings of this organ of the dictatorship.

For all its ideological differences with the communists, the Church has resolutely refused to take part in the anti-communist campaigns, as the regime wanted it to do. The communists sincerely respect the Church's constructive and patriotic stand, and this helps to promote mutual understanding and joint action in the interests of broad masses of Catholics and other fighters of the anti-dictatorial camp.

Although the dictatorship has spent much money to bribe the university leaders, most students have come out in a united front against any transfer of the national resources to imperialism and against the police reprisals, the tortures and political assassinations. In the recent period, the students have organized mass meetings at which spokesmen for various circles voiced their opinions on the most burning political issues. This action culminated in a large-scale manifestation by the masses and by representatives of various political and business circles. Its participants came out against the pressure being exerted by Brazil, which insisted that Paraguay should adjust its electric-current cycle to conform to Brazil's standard.[7]

The economic crisis has also hit the urban middle sections: government employees, the liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, etc.) and small businessmen. Through their professional organizations, they have been fighting for higher wages and salaries and against the mounting taxes. Acting in defense of their interests, they have moved closer to other categories of working people, and this creates the conditions for agreements on joint action in the struggle for improving their conditions.

Considerable experience of joint action by the workers' trade unions and the broad mass of bank, commercial and transport employees has already been gained. Fraternal relations have been established between working people from all walks of life. All of this shows that the numerous urban middle sections can join the anti-dictatorial camp.

Finally, one should also bear in mind that the dictatorship is not supported by the whole of the Paraguayan bourgeoisie. That part of it which could be called the national bourgeoisie has had its economic interests heavily infringed, and is getting less and less profits because of the privileges that have been accorded to foreign capital: U.S., Brazilian, West German and Japanese, and also to the richest local tycoons. Many businessmen have been ruined. The protests and complaints by industrialists, merchants, owners of transport facilities and building and insurance companies have become universal and are expressed in various forms, including exposures of the criminal acts of highly placed government officials. Quite obviously, this influential section of the bourgeoisie can be drawn into the movement for political and economic change. Consequently, our analysis shows that the forces of the opposition, regarded objectively, have a strong edge over the forces of reaction.

The Paraguayan democrats and patriots realize that the dictatorship has been able to continue in the country for over two decades not only because of support from imperialism, but also because the opposition forces did not act in concert and because — and this is the

main thing — they had failed to set up a national coordination center. That is the main weakness of the anti-dictatorial camp and, consequently, the main strength of the dictatorship.

That is why there is a need to formulate a platform for the country's democratization and urgent economic measures to ease the condition of the people. This platform should take into account the interests of sizable sections of the national bourgeoisie and even some groups of landowners who are discontented with the dictatorship.

Today, there is, on the whole, complete identity of the economic and democratic demands put forward by the communists, the Radical Liberals, the Febreristas, the Christian Democrats, MOPOCO, the Catholic Church, the students, a sizable section of the liberal professions, industrialists, merchants and landowners and, of course, the working class and the toiling peasantry, whose alliance is designed to lay the foundation for a broad national anti-dictatorial coalition.

Here are some of these demands:

Democratic liberties for all the people's parties and organizations, without restrictions or exceptions;

release of all political prisoners;

an end to the reprisals, tortures and assassinations of patriots;

lifting of the state of siege;

annulment of anti-democratic laws;

raising of wages;

an end to the layoffs of workers and urgent measures against the high cost of living and the shortage of goods;

full re-establishment of the free activity of the trade unions;

land and low-cost credits for the poor and middle peasants, fair prices and secure marketing for their produce;

abolition and reduction of the burdensome taxes on industrialists, merchants, petty producers and the liberal professions;

re-negotiation of the Itaipu Treaty.

The experience of long years of struggle against the dictatorial regimes has been driving it home to the Paraguayans that the communists are right: in order to win democratic liberties there is a need to get down without delay to practical measures for mounting joint action by the working people and various other sections of the population on the basis of their common demands so as to set up a national anti-dictatorial front. The PCP believes that in class terms such a front should mainly be a front of the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the urban middle sections. Under the pressure of struggle by these forces, the front can and must involve the national bourgeoisie, between which and imperialism, latifundism and the dictatorship there are objective contradictions. The front can also expect support from a section of the latifundists and the big capitalists

whose interests have been hurt by the dictatorship's economic and repressive policy.

The task of such a national anti-dictatorial front would be to create the conditions for overthrowing the military-fascist dictatorship and replacing it with a government that would implement the democratization program and would pursue a peaceable and independent foreign policy of international cooperation on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference of states in each other's domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

The PCP believes that every enterprise, school, district, village, big or small, should set up unity-building committees of struggle. At the same time, the PCP wants the establishment of a national coordination center for the people's democratic struggle.

We think that the Paraguayan communists' strategic goal should be taken into account. Our program says that the economic crisis which has gripped the country is a crisis of the old socio-economic organization based on latifundism and imperialist exploitation, and that 'life itself urges the need that it should be replaced by another, higher socio-economic organization. With the growth of the population and the development of capitalist commodity production, its contradictions are ever more pronounced and there is an ever greater need for revolutionary changes and radical transformations that would eliminate the regime of the military-police dictatorship, latifundist exploitation and imperialist domination and plunder.'

Consequently, this implies revolutionary changes of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, something that would enable the country to take the non-capitalist way with a socialist perspective.

Stroessner's military-fascist clique feels that the ground is slipping away from under it. It has not forgotten the powerful general strike staged by the working class in 1958, which rocked the whole country. It has not forgotten the revolutionary political crisis of May and June 1959, which forced it to dissolve even its own 'rubber-stamp' parliament. Nor can it forget the numerous other revolutionary political upheavals over a period of more than two decades.

The dictatorial regime is alarmed at the people's urge for unity. That is why it has been making moves designed to prevent the opposition forces from uniting. In particular, a clause has been written into the constitution on Stroessner's orders banning any kind of political coalition.

The regime hit out with police reprisals at the young people's political circles which suggested the establishment of a front for joint anti-dictatorial action. Its leaders were arrested, savagely tortured and thrown into prison for several years.

With its tremendous financial resources, the Paraguayan oligarchy

has managed to create a powerful network for spying, bribing and corrupting a great number of senior officials, military commanders and political, trade union and youth leaders.

Another move by the dictatorship, aimed to weaken and disorganize the anti-dictatorial forces, is to split the political parties of the legal opposition, above all the Liberal Radical Party, which operates throughout the country. It has more than 100,000 members, and tens of thousands of sympathizers and allies among the liberal, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, including some sections of the landowners. Its progressive members have repeatedly addressed Parliament with fiery speeches against the anti-national policy of the dictatorship and demanded the nationalization of the U.S. REPSA monopoly, which makes a profit of 10 million guarani a day (nearly $80,000). They demanded the abolition of Law No. 209, which allows the use of repression against democrats. They also exposed scandalous deals, thefts and smuggling, and resolutely rejected the Itaipu Treaty, which they branded as surrender and treason.

Stroessner's camarilla is aware that the PCP is the most consistent fighter for the people's vital interests. That is why it has concentrated its fire, and the whole of its class hatred, on the Communist Party.

In November 1975, Storessner's bloodhounds managed to track down and arrest Miguel Angel Soler, PCP CC secretary, and Derlis Villagra, leader of Paraguay's Communist Youth, who together with other patriots were savagely tortured and then disappeared without trace. Fighters loyal to the party's cause have been kept in the Stroessner dictatorship's torture-chambers for 15 and more years, without investigation or trial.[8]

However, police terrorism will never break our party's revolutionary morale, and its unflinching loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the fight against various expressions of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The dictatorship will never be able to prevent the Paraguayan communists from working in the midst of the masses, from helping them to organize for joint struggle, from recruiting new members for the party, from winning over new friends and allies and educating the people in the spirit of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the other peoples, in defense of world peace, in the spirit of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, socialist Cuba and the other socialist-community countries.

1. The presidential 'elections' were held on February 12 of this year.
2. See Reynaldo Marin, 'The masses will decide the outcome of the battle,' *WMR*, December 1975.
3. Brazil has administrative control of the whole project, is to receive 75 per cent of the revenues from it, and is to get all the electric power generated there at a fixed price over a period of 50 years.

4. The Revolutionary Febrerista Party represents the interests of some urban middle sections, officers and national bourgeoisie. The Christian-Democratic Party expresses those of the petty-bourgeois sections of town and country. — *Ed.*

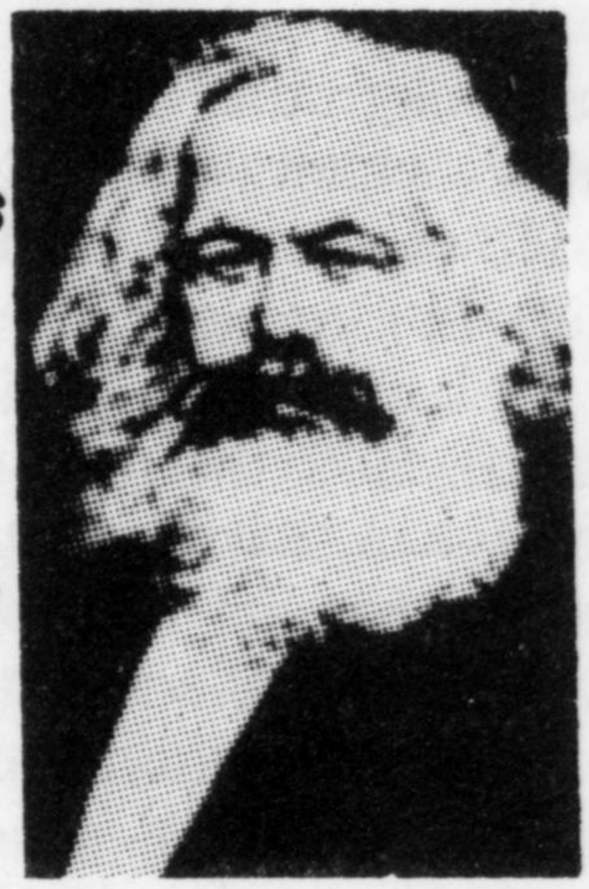
5. In 1976, the Anchutz Corporation of the United States received 40 per cent of Paraguayan territory to prospect and work mineral deposits, under a 20-year concession, with a subsequent option to extend it to 50 years and over.

6. It has been estimated that every dollar invested by U.S. monopolies in our country yields a profit of five dollars.

7. The movement in protest against changing the electric-current cycle involved not only all the parties of the legal and illegal opposition but also large circles of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and the liberal professions and even a section of the armed forces. Stroessner was forced to renege on the promise which he had given to the clique of Brazilian generals, so that the struggle of the democratic forces in the country was crowned with victory. For the nazi general Stroessner this was one of his heaviest political defeats.

8. The authors of this article and CC CPP member Julio Rojas were kept in prison for 19 years, and were released in 1977 under pressure from international opinion. — *Ed.*

Karl Marx, a Biography



More than the life story of a great man, this book provides the background of the ideas and events which produced the person, the development of his thinking and a philosophy which changed the world. This is a study based on a wider range of research and sources than ever previously published, including much of Marx's own writing not yet translated or only recently discovered.

Prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU. Includes illustrations, name and periodical index.

Cloth $8.95 694 pp

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 BATHURST ST. TORONTO M5V 2P6
3rd Floor

exchange of views

Shaping the class consciousness of the modern working class

Antonis Ambatjelos
Political Bureau member, CC,
CP of Greece

For the past three and a half years, since it became legal, our party has been activating the struggle to win over a majority of the Greek people, notably the working class, and to achieve radical changes in our country. The Communist Party has scored many successes in the course of this struggle, but its activity has also revealed a number of shortcomings.

Both features became clear during and after the latest parliamentary elections last year, when the CPG scored a telling political victory with nearly 500,000 votes (10 per cent of the poll), as compared with 250,000 in 1974, and with more than double the seats in parliament (5 and 11). The victory was especially important against the background of the total political defeat suffered by the revisionist party, which just got in with one deputy.

However, the elections also showed that a majority of the working class in Greece continues to vote for bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, and this despite the growing strike movement. Let us note that in 1977 the total number of wage-workers involved — at least once — in strikes (May Day apart) — was more than 1.5 million. This means that about one million of them (and actually even more, because among the 500,000 who voted for the communists, some did not belong to the working class) voted in the elections in disregard of their objective political interests.

Of course, the election returns are only a partial indicator, and do not fully reflect the working people's desire for deep-going, radical transformations. Still, the fact is there: although in the course of the day-to-day battles a majority of the working class has invariably backed the communists' concrete aims and tactics, it is not yet convinced of the need or possibility of putting through the radical changes which the Communist Party of Greece has defined as one of its program goals.

We continue discussion of 'The communists and the consciousness of the masses' started in *WMR*, February 1978, p. 64.

Consequently, we have to face here the general problem of the working class, or at any rate a part of it, following not the communists, who express the ideology of the proletariat, but their political opponents. This means that the communists' arguments do not always have the desired response among the masses.

Why is this so? The answer (depending on each country's concrete conditions) lies in an intricate pattern of causes and circumstances, both subjective and objective, including some which are rooted in the country's history and the ways and specific features of the development of its working-class movement.

So, taking the election returns in Greece, for instance, one must reckon with the fact that since emerging from the underground, the party clearly has not had enough time, working systematically among the broad masses, to win them over to its side.

Besides, in Greece, as in any other capitalist country probably, one cannot ignore such factors as the inequality in the control of the mass media between the communists, and the progressive forces in general, on the one hand, and the ruling class, on the other. In the present conditions, in terms of quantity the communists are able to exert much less influence on broad (especially non-proletarian) sections of the population than their ideological adversaries. As I intend to illustrate below, the latter have at their command powerful mass media systems, government and private-owned, to exert the strongest ideological pressure.

Equally important is the existing gap between the level of political action by our working class and its rather limited involvement in trade union activity throughout its long history. Suffice it to say that only about 20 per cent of the working people in our country are unionized.

But while recognizing the importance of all these and other objective and subjective factors, no Marxist analysis can stop at such statements. The analysis must be continued in depth to bring out *the specifi features of the consciousness* of the working masses as an *objective reality* which at each given moment is the product of a multiplicity of factors that are typical of present-day capitalist society. In other words, the aim of our analysis must be to establish the content, the forms, properties and other characteristics of the working-class consciousness, and in particular to identify those specific features which *enable* the bourgeois ideology to confuse the masses, or conversely, *enable* our revolutionary ideology *to win*.

Here, one of the most important and acute problems is that of the proletariat's *class consciousness,* the forms it takes in present-day capitalist society, the limits within which it functions, its relationships with other types of social consciousness, and so on.

In general philosophical terms, the class consciousness of the work-

ing (or any other) class is the sum-total of the ideas, views, notions, values and feelings *inherent in the class as a definite social entity,* reflecting the specific status, experience, interests and other hallmarks of the class, differing from the views, notions, etc., of other classes of society, and ultimately, finding expression in definite forms of class behavior (class activity). *A great number of diverse elements* can be identified within the class consciousness. These are: knowledge, notions (including notions about the future — ideals), opinions, values, norms, 'images,' stereotypes, emotions, moods, etc. Some of these fall under the head of rational, logical elements of consciousness connected primarily or even exclusively with the workings of the mind; others fall under the head of sensory, psychological elements of consciousness; a third group has simultaneously to do with the sphere of thought and mentality.

This in itself raises the question of the *levels* on which the class consciousness exists. History shows that the consciousness of various social entities (classes, strata), like the consciousness of the same entity at different historical periods of its development, may be simultaneously characterized by different combinations of the above-listed factors. So, in various instances, either rational or emotional elements may prevail in the class consciousness of the working class. Within the framework of purely logical forms, this consciousness may also unfold on the level of what is known as everyday consciousness (which, according to Marx, coincides mainly with the immediate, practical-object forms of reflection of being) or on the level of theoretical consciousness (science and ideology), and so on.

It is clearly an important task for the Communist Party to shape a *developed* class consciousness in the working class to accord with the *highest level* of its development. Such consciousness, marking the transformation of the proletariat from a class 'in itself' into a class 'for itself,' means that broad masses of the working class, a majority of the class, are aware of their status and also of the conditions of their existence in capitalist society, of their relation to the other classes and sections of society, to the capitalist state, etc., and ultimately of their role in the historical development of society, of their basic strategic mission in the revolutionary elimination of the existing capitalist system.

Historical experience teaches us that on its own the working class is capable of acquiring (developing within itself) only the embryonic forms of class consciousness, and that the developed class consciousness is introduced into its midst from 'outside,' from science, through the elaboration of the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the blending of this ideology with the spontaneously develop-

ing working-class movement, with the experience of the struggle of the working masses themselves.

While it is undoubtedly an integral formation distinguishing the working class from the other classes of society, the proletariat's class consciousness is characterized at any given moment in its historical existence by a greater or lesser heterogeneity. This heterogeneity is expressed primarily in the *content* of the class consciousness, in the differences in the knowledge, notions and emotions shared by the various sections of the class. But it also runs deeper and bears on *the levels of existence* of the class consciousness. As a result, one section of the class may be conscious of the status of the class in society, of its interests, goals, tasks in the struggle and so on, on the level of everyday consciousness, while another is conscious of these factors in the form of theoretical propositions and scientific truths.

Is it at all possible to imagine a situation in which all these sections of the working class (trade union, regional, age-group, etc.), let alone all the members of the class, would display absolute unity of stance on all the issues, a monolithic class consciousness? This is most probably a mere abstraction, because even in the shining hours of the proletariat's life, in the periods of its great class battles and revolutionary action, when understanding of the class interests, and so class solidarity, are at peak and most widespread in the consciousness of the class, even at such moments, as we all know, there is still a discrepancy between the proletariat's backwardness and the forward-looking section, the masses and the vanguard, the class and the ideologists of the class.

That is quite natural. The thesis concerning the heterogeneity of the class consciousness (at any given moment of its existence) follows directly from another, namely that the class consciousness is a *historical* factor.

In no country does the working class appear ready-made. Nowhere does it spring like Athene from Zeus' forehead. In every country it travels a long and intricate road of development together with its people and other classes of society. Its history is a part of the broader history of society's economic and social development, and it is along this road that it develops its class consciousness as a whole class. In Lenin's writings we find some brilliant analysis of the *origins* of the consciousness of the working class in Russia, from 'a hazy sense of hatred of their exploiters . . . to the development of a sense of unity, a sense of solidarity — at first among the workers of a particular locality, and then among the workers of the entire country, among the entire working class' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 2, pp. 113, 114).

The proletariat and its class consciousness have also developed similarly in other countries, among them Greece.

Our working class took shape in the second half of the 19th century and grew especially fast after the liberation of Greek territories and the Asia Minor disaster (1922) on the basis of a large 'reserve army' of refugees. At that time, it was apparently growing faster than the population as a whole. A similar situation, even if at a slower pace, persisted in the subsequent period, as the national economy moved from extensive to intensive development.[1] Before the war the working class in Greece made up only 15 per cent of the economically active population, but by the beginning of 1978 the figure had gone up to 46.2 per cent, with the industrial proletariat alone numbering 550,000. In the past decade, the nucleus of the working class has thus markedly increased: of the 532,000 persons employed in large-scale industry and small-scale (artisan) production, 350,000 now work at factories and plants, including almost 200,000 at enterprises with over 100 workers.

At the same time, our working class has historically taken shape chiefly in industries processing farm produce (food, tobacco), extraction of some minerals, and manufacture of light metal goods. As a result, a large part of it is still employed in small-scale production and coincides with the small contingents of the class which are not in

General structure of wage-working population

Sector	Number employed (1,000)	Percentage of work force
Industry (large-scale industry and artisan production)	532	36.24
Building	250	17.03
Public utilities (chiefly state sector)	190	12.94
Transport and communications*	120	8.17
Trade and hotels	110	7.50
Merchant marine	76	5.18
Farming**	65	4.43
Banks and insurance	40	2.72
Cottage industries	40	2.72
Mines	23	1.57
Energy and water supply	22	1.50
Total:	1,468	100.00

*Rough estimate.
**Excluding 105,000 seasonal workers employed roughly one or two months a year.

touch with each other (see Table). The historically rooted characteristics of the Greek proletariat obviously shed much light on the state of its class consciousness and self-consciousness.

Concerning the problem of the heterogeneity of the class consciousness one should further take into account that the modern (like the old) working class is an intricate whole, a living organism, which changes not only on a historical scale, over the decades, but *at every given moment* of its existence. It changes, first of all, in make-up, as it absorbs new contingents, partly from the ranks of the working class itself (children of working-class families) and partly from other sections of the population, above all peasants moving into the towns, the urban middle strata, and so on.

Quite obviously, all these people do not rise to the heights of proletarian class consciousness as soon as they become a part of the proletariat.

Of course, the party and the forward contingents of the working class seek to reduce the time it takes them to do so in the process of educational, organizational and propaganda work. As a result, some of the newcomers to the proletariat take historically less time than the class as a whole to absorb the progressive ideas and values of the class and become aware of its status in the capitalist society and the tasks, goals and forms of its struggle. But it is well known that such party activity does not always yield the desired results, and even in the event of success, it takes some time to achieve these results, and a considerable time with respect to some sections of the population. That is why at every given moment we find 'sections' in the consciousness of the class which are at different stages of the development of the class consciousness as a whole.

One will easily see that this heterogeneity of the proletariat's class consciousness depends above all on the heterogeneity of the sources from which it is formed, as reflected in the intricate structure of the working class. Lenin wrote: 'Capitalism would not be capitalism if the proletariat *pur sang* were not surrounded by a large number of exceedingly motley types intermediate between the proletarian and the semi-proletarian . . . between the semi-proletarian and the small peasant (and petty artisan, handicraft worker, and small master in general), between the small peasant and the middle peasant, and so on, and if the proletariat itself were not divided into more developed and less developed strata, if it were not divided according to territorial origin, trade, sometimes according to religion and so on' (Vol. 31, p. 74).

This is true in our own day as well. In fact, it is even truer today, and, we believe, not only for countries recently risen from colonial oppression and taking the road of independent economic and social development (where the fledgling proletariat has an especially check-

ered social make-up) but also for the developed capitalist countries, where the working class is shaped in the most tempestuous processes, coming not only from 'below,' from the semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois (peasant) sections, but also from the 'side' and even from the 'top,' from the middle sections, employees and intelligentsia.

In Greece, for instance, the working class is amplified by poor and middle peasants in a twofold form: direct and indirect. In the first form, this involves internal migration, as a result of which over 76 per cent of the migrants (non-working-class origin) move from country to town and enter the ranks of the working class; such persons now make up a sizable part — over 10 per cent — of the latter.[2] In the second form, these sections of the peasantry are also converted into wage-workers (whether permanent or seasonal) as industrial zones take shape in the provinces, but they also remain owners of small plots of land (farms), so that their conversion into members of the working class is objectively incomplete.

It will be readily understood that this has a marked effect on the level of consciousness among such people. Instead of sharing the 'dual' anti-capitalist attitude together with the exploited worker and oppressed peasant, they tend, as vehicles of the petty-property ideology, to retain an underdeveloped class consciousness for a long time, remaining captive to the false ideas generated by the conditions of life in capitalist society and induced by bourgeois propaganda. Their main illusion, which our party has been fighting all along, is that they will be able to eke out their receipts from the sale of farm produce with wages, or vice versa, to eke out their wages with earnings from their plot of land. Such illusions are rudely shattered by capitalist reality because, far from covering the costs of production, the prices of farm produce are frequently much lower than costs (so that some of the wages obtained through the sale of labor-power go to cover the differential between the costs of production and the receipts from the sale of produce). But these illusions turn out to be very tenacious and long prevail in the minds of the small holders.

Our party has to tackle problems of a different kind when analyzing the formation of the working class in connection with the effects of the scientific and technical revolution and the penetration of capitalist relations into the service industries. One of these is the state of consciousness among the still small but steadily growing new contingents of the proletariat consisting of the scientific and technical intelligentsia with a specific character of work (mainly mental), special conditions of activity, etc. According to our data, these categories of wage-workers now make up about 7 per cent of the working class, and because of their origins (mainly petty-bourgeois) and of their special status within the structure of social production and services,

are frequently influenced by views which are alien to the proletariat's ideology. It is characteristic of them to express either an intolerant radicalism, or to adopt various reformist theories about the 'disappearance' of the working class, the absence of any distinctions between the socio-political systems locked in contest in the modern world, their 'convergence,' and so on.

Of course, these new contingents of the working class (and others which I have not considered) do not exist in any 'pure' form. But this approach, springing from methodological considerations, is the best guide to the operational factors which objectively cause differentiation in the consciousness of the class and to an understanding of the important regularity in accordance with which every level of class consciousness reached by the class as a whole in the course of its struggle, and on the basis of its experience, is inevitably 'eroded,' 'distorted,' as the working class absorbs new contingents.

The next 'plane' of analysis of the heterogeneity of the class consciousness of the working class goes beyond the framework of the genetic nature of the existing consciousness connected with the structure of the class, the modes, sources and pace of its formation, etc. It is well known, after all, that even the representatives of the class which belong to its 'cadre' echelon may also display substantial differences in their attitudes, views and behavior. In the communists' practical activity, this is a real factor which is attended with acute problems such as the right-opportunist, social-democratic (non-communist and frequently even anti-communist) orientation of a section of a *pur sang* (as Lenin put it) proletariat, or the link-up of some 'sections' of this proletariat with blatantly reactionary forces, regimes, and so on.

At this point of our analysis we reach the important theoretical notion that the class consciousness (of this or that class) does not exist in society in isolation from other forms of social consciousness or parallel to them, but is linked to them with a thousand strands. The notion that the *class consciousness* of the proletariat (as of any other class of society) does not coincide with the broader *real consciousness* of which the working class (or, accordingly, any other class) is the vehicle at every given moment of its development.

In effect, this notion has two aspects. One of them may seem to be altogether trite and obvious (though this does not prevent us from losing sight of it now and again in the process of shaping the class consciousness of the proletariat and revolutionary education of the masses). It is that individuals, workers, representatives of the proletarian class who, in their aggregate, make up that class (the parts that constitute the whole) are *simultaneously part of other* more or less

broad *social entities* — demographic, regional, ethnic groups, nations, neighborhood (habitat) groups, etc.

Thus, 36 per cent of the working class in Greece today are women, and 23 per cent are young people, both specific groups of the population, with their specific problems, special mentality and special attitudes to the goals and forms of the class struggle. About 3 per cent of our working class are migrants from some Asian and African countries; others are representatives of the national minorities, the Pomaks and the Moslems. These groups of the working class naturally have even more specific features to their objective condition and consciousness.

Being members of the class, workers are evidently creators and vehicles of the consciousness specific to that class, which corresponds to the proletariat's status in society, reflecting its interests, a class consciousness which is distinct from that of other classes and so on. As members of other entities these same workers, alongside the members of other classes and sections of the population within the entity, take part in creating and spreading elements of consciousness which are different and distinct from the class elements. Apart from everything else, society also has a 'human' consciousness, which is identical to some generally accepted categories of morality, 'eternal' truths and values of world culture (science and art); and the so-called historical consciousness which expresses men's attitudes to their country's past and future. Also, there are habitual forms of perception of changes on the level of the everyday consciousness. Then again there is the traditional consciousness, which assumes the form of national, ethnic, and other customs, preferences, prejudices, models of attitude to reality; the specific consciousness of various age groups (like the 'youth' consciousness that vented itself with great force in some capitalist countries in the memorable years of 1968 and 1969), and so on.

The other aspect of this phenomenon — the discrepancy between the class consciousness and the real consciousness of the class — is much more intricate. In brief, it is that in present-day capitalist society, in which massive processes predominate, these processes spread not only to the sphere of work, consumption, leisure (entertainment), human intercourse, but also to the sphere of social consciousness.

This means that under present-day capitalism, the workers, representing the proletarian class, like the representatives of all the other classes and sections of society, are members, in addition, of such stable *sets of members of society*, as consumers of some particular good, readers of some paper, fans of some sport, admirers of some filmstar, etc.

To be specific, in the sphere of social consciousness the emergence of such sets is attended with widespread phenomena like the massive transmission of a stereotype of thinking, creation of a public fad for some person, thing or symbol; acceptance by broad masses of people of outwardly striking but actually very poor language formulas, which become stereotypes in consciousness, and so on.

All these mechanisms are 'naturally' superimposed on the habitual forms in which the everyday consciousness of the masses functions, so that various semantic 'combinations,' after being repeated millions of times, become established as axioms. The special significance of such axioms is that regardless of an individual's personal experience they are not only absorbed as absolutely authentic and 'personal' but also regulate human behavior, exerting an influence on the mode in which new knowledge is ordered and on immediate, everyday practice.

Clearly, all of this contributes to the heterogeneity of the proletariat's real consciousness. Simultaneously, this tends to complicate the Communist Party's work of shaping the class consciousness of the working class in accordance with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. When working out the proletariat's scientific ideology and (especially) when introducing it into the workers' midst, the communists must reckon with the fact that such types of social consciousness do exist. Neglect of this aspect and failure to take into account the specifics of the workers' real consciousness, and accordingly the 'subtleties' of the mechanisms which shape their class consciousness may reduce the effectiveness of our ideological influence on the masses and lose us larger or smaller sections of the class from the standpoint of their revolutionary education and the spread of the scientific ideology of communism in their midst.

The problems considered in this article are of concern not only to the Communist Party of Greece but also to the Greek bourgeoisie, which is aware that the existence of different contingents within the working class, the 'merger' of the working class (on the consciousness level) with other groups and sections of the population results in a significant gap between the developed proletarian class consciousness, which is systematically expressed in the ideology and policies of the proletariat's revolutionary party, and the actual consciousness of workers in the country at any given moment. Accordingly, it seeks to widen the gap by means of all its mechanisms for the production and distribution of information and propaganda: the state machine, the church, the system of education, the system of upbringing, etc.

Marx gave a brilliantly concise expression of the social nature of the inequality of the various classes and sections of capitalist society in terms of their opportunities for using the available means of

ideological influence. In *The German Ideology,* he wrote: 'The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.'[3] In our day, this inequality has become even more pronounced, considering that the bourgeoisie has at its disposal all the modern technical facilities for exerting a massive influence on human consciousness.

Quite naturally, the bourgeoisie uses all these media primarily to spread *its own*, imperialist, class ideology. But nowadays its activity in this sector of the class struggle is not confined to this effort, but includes a *multiplicity of other aspects* connected with the keeping of the class consciousness of the working class at relatively low levels of development, intensifying its heterogeneity, and finally, eroding this consciousness and dissolving it in other, including non-class types of social consciousness characteristic of the present-day capitalist society.

Along the first line of its activity, the Greek bourgeoisie seeks, for instance, to convince the workers that capitalism has been and will be 'their own' one and only system. This idea is now no longer as easily accepted as it was in the past, and so the ideologists of the ruling class try to refine their arguments and make them more acceptable to the masses. In the light of the situation, they now no longer deny that capitalism has 'some' negative features, but this admission is extensively used as proof that bourgeois propaganda is 'objective' and goes hand in hand with the claim that all the 'other' social systems (meaning socialism) are 'even worse.'

This effort on the part of the Greek reactionaries is designed to disillusion and disorient the working people and to make them abandon the struggle for socialism, that is, to get them into a mood of putting off any effort, a mood of waiting and apathy. Nor have the reactionaries forgotten their old, well-tried methods, ranging from various concessions to the working people and all the way to downright terrorism.

Along the second line of its ideological activity, the Greek bourgeoisie has made extensive use of the most diverse forms, including an artificial ranging of some categories of working people against others (like the high-wage and the low-wage groups) and skillful manipulation of the mechanisms of the mass consciousness. Thus, exploiting the elements of traditional national consciousness it seeks to induce in the minds of the working people the idea that the

monopolists and the workers belong to the same nation, which is why they have 'common national interests.' Following the failure of the junta's fascist slogan, 'A Greece of Greek Christians,' the reactionaries tried to switch the explosive moods of the oppressed people to problems of national prestige connected with the people's love for football. However, this attempt to corrupt the class consciousness was also a fiasco, because even in the field of sport the country did not have the requisite infrastructure and the occasional successes could not cover up the regime's impotence in this field, either.

Deliberate efforts are simultaneously being made to distort the working people's historical consciousness and to give the working class a one-sided notion of the past and consequently of the historical perspective as well. Thus, following the defeat of the working class and the whole of our popular movement in the civil war in the late 40s, the bourgeoisie tried to spread defeatism among the people and to present our party (among others) as a 'party of errors,' and thus persuade the working class that it would have no historical role to play in the future either, and so on and so forth.

In this fight against the class consciousness and self-consciousness of the proletariat, the reactionary bourgeoisie has found allies among revisionists and reformists of every stripe, who have overtly or covertly falsified reality, declaring that the class consciousness of the working class has completely 'disappeared' in the face of new forms of social consciousness such as the 'youth' consciousness, that reformism and syndicalism have brought about its qualitative 'degeneration,' and that in any case the scientific conceptions formulated by Marx are 'obsolete' and that they need to be replaced by other conceptions in accord with the conditions of the 'new,' 'industrial,' 'post-industrial,' 'consumer,' etc., society, which is allegedly free from class antagonisms.

The Communist Party of Greece has been working simultaneously along several key lines to resist all these trends.

One of these is to expose all the ideas of bourgeois ideology and propaganda designed to defend present-day imperialism, spread anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and also to split the working class and erode its class consciousness and self-consciousness.

A second line of struggle is directed against revisionism, petty-bourgeois socialism and leftist adventurism in politics, backed up with opposition to the demegogy of the servitors of the employers and the reformists in trade union activity. This struggle is connected with the tasks of restructuring the organization of the trade union movement in the country and of securing its unity.

A third line is extensive popularization and explanation by the party of its political line as specifically set forth in the documents of

the 10th Congress of the CPG, tireless work among the masses to explain the strategic goals and tactical tasks in the struggle against imperialism, and positive efforts to shape a developed class consciousness in the working class.

A fourth line is in-depth theoretical study of the problems of the development and struggle of the working class and the broad masses of working people in our country's specific conditions, notably an analysis of the structure, status and role of the working class within the system of social production in Greece, its working and living conditions, the mechanisms behind the formation of its views and so on.

The problems of the Greek proletariat's class consciousness are, of course, much more complicated than I have shown above. But even this initial essay shows the important theoretical and political tasks which the communists have to tackle in the effort to shape the revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

1. See, G. Farakos, 'The place and development of the working class in our country,' *Neos Cosmos,* No. 1, 1974, p. 24.
2. See, *EKKE, The Greek Review of Social Research,* 1975, No. 23, p. 125.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology,* Moscow, 1968, p. 61.

The dialectics of economics and politics during the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society

International Scientific Conference

IV. TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ECONOMY AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Jerzy Pawlowicz, Department Head, Institute of the Working-Class Movement of the PUWP CC Higher School of Social Sciences, examined, as a central problem in the interconnection between economics and politics in a revolution, the character of the political regime capable of carrying out revolutionary transformations in the socio-economic basis and satisfying the interests of the working class and all the other working people in this important sphere, and the content and forms of political democracy at various stages of the revolution.

Economic developments in Poland and the PUWP's methods of dealing with key economic problems, he said, accord with the basic regularities discovered earlier. However, there were important specific features in the initial period of revolutionary transformations.

During the early reforms (pre-1948), our party, which has invariably played the leading role in carrying out economic transformations, always emphasized that the nationalization of industry, the agrarian reform, etc., were being carried out in the interests of the whole people and the state. Various forms of socialist democracy were applied by the PUWP in order to achieve broader and more active participation by the people in the country's development.

Most important among the economic reforms was the consistent realization of the idea of democracy in the basis, in the relations of production. However, in the initial period of building socialist foundations there was a one-sided approach to the question of property with emphasis primarily on the formal-law aspect. In the 50s, many scien-

Final installment. For beginning see *WMR*, March and May 1978.

tists held that the growth of the state and cooperative sector in the national economy was an indicator of the extent of social transformations. H. Slabek, in his book *Stages of Development and the Nature of the Polish Revolution,* later wrote that, in simpler terms, their thesis could be expressed as follows: the measure of socialism equals the measure of state and cooperative property.

In the latter half of the 50s, state property was already considered as a unity of legal, economic and sociological categories. The attitude toward forms of property was increasingly being determined by factors bound up with attainment of socialism's main goals, the essence of which is maximum satisfaction of society's needs and regulation of social relations in the light of social justice. Such an approach resulted in deeper socialization of production, developed forms of socialist democracy and worker self-management at state-owned enterprises, and an atmosphere in which the workers felt a growing sense of responsibility for the affairs of their enterprise and their country.

The changes in the socio-economic basis were reflected in socialist democracy — the equivalent political superstructure. Poland's political system provides all the working people, all of society and the individual, with full economic, social and political rights and real guarantees for the exercise of these rights. While applying the principles which are universal for all the socialist countries, it also draws on Polish traditions. This is seen in the existence, alongside the PUWP, of other political associations, in the workings of Parliament and in the broad cooperation of all the social forces. It has room for differing opinions and diverse initiatives. But it is characteristic of the system that it invariably aimed for unity and in this it differed radically from the model of 'political pluralism' with its rivalry between groups representing classes and social trends. The guiding role of the working-class party, considered by Marxism-Leninism a condition for the victory of the revolution and for building socialism, has been fully confirmed by the activity of the PUWP.

The strategic line of the Communist Party of Spain, the democratic road to socialism, which in our country is summed up in the term 'Eurocommunism,' said *Damian Pretel, member of the CPS Central Committee,* is a reflection of Spanish reality, stressing, on the one hand, that democracy and socialism are indivisible and, on the other, that politics has primacy over economics because politics is a concentrated expression of economics.

The CP Spain has drawn up and is elaborating its policy quite independently, proclaiming unity of the communist movement in all

its diversity, exposing any attempt to accuse, condemn, or excommunicate.

The policy of the Communist Party and the mass struggle undermined the Franco dictatorship. The attempts to bolster the dictatorship with the help of the Arias-Fraga government's so-called centrism failed miserably, and the first Suarez government had no choice but to proclaim an amnesty, legalize the Communist Party of Spain and agree upon a date for the elections. The returns showed that the people wanted changes and democracy and gave the left parties a majority in Parliament.

This showed undeniably that the Communist Party's political line of abolishing the fascist dictatorship, of following a democratic, unexplored, new and untrodden path, was correct, just and scientific.

The country's legacy from the past was an acute economic crisis. The one-party government of the Democratic Center Union tried to deal with resulting problems by saddling the working people with a harsh social pact, and the whole people with an equally cruel stabilization plan. But the crisis in Spain is a general crisis and so affects not only economics but also politics. This underscores the incontrovertible fact that the political crisis is also a crisis of the government's ability to manage public affairs.

In this emergency, it was clear to the Communist Party that it was necessary to form a government of national democratic concentration with a parliamentary and national majority and with sufficient prestige and authority to continue the economic and political measures that the country required. Subsequently, these measures were reflected in the Moncloa Pact which was but the embodiment of the policy of national conciliation, of actual affirmation of the constitutional pact, on which we had insisted throughout the election campaign, but with the participation of the government and even of the Popular Alliance Party. Though this party did not sign the political section of the Moncloa Pact, it accepted its economic measures.

Fulfilling the Moncloa Pact means winning a corresponding political sector for the working people in the country's public life, and also taking several socio-economic steps against the more reactionary interests of the financial oligarchy. All these facts emphasize the possibility of a democratic transformation of the state despite the difficulties encountered in the transition from the fascist dictatorship to a democracy.

The nationalities and regions are rapidly winning autonomy, thus making it possible to decentralize the state machinery, so bringing it closer to the people, making it more democratic, giving representative democracy new scope and making direct democracy more effective.

Our democratic path attaches great significance to the Parliament,

autonomous and municipal organs of government, democracy at enterprises, democratic participation and control in the rural areas and at all levels. Our path stresses the decisive importance of the mass struggle in a class-divided society. Resolution of the contradictions that exist between dictatorship and democracy continues to be the main goal of the class struggle even today.

The speed with which events have developed, particularly after the signing of the Moncloa Pact, have made it possible to draw up a draft constitution. We believe that, generally speaking, it accords with the requirements for the establishment of democratic institutions in our society. This gives us fresh opportunities for making the state apparatus play a role that is different to the one allotted to it by capital, namely putting through transformations to carry our country to political and social democracy, the threshold of socialism in freedom and democracy.

The role of the CP Spain in attaining all these goals is well-known — our country's policy revolves around our party's policy. Its real strength does not end with the possibilities of its 20 deputies. It is much greater and is measured primarily by the party's political capabilities, the influence of its tactical and strategic line which in our country is called 'Eurocommunism.'

In conclusion, I should like to point out that just as everything that was achieved prior to June 15 has confirmed the correctness of our policy, so also have all the subsequent events convinced us of this.

At every stage of the class struggle, said *Aloise Bisdorff, CC Executive Committee member, CP Luxembourg,* the dialectical interdependence between the basis and the superstructure differs and invariably requires theoretical study and corresponding practical decisions.

No matter what the mode of production, he said, the productive forces are the element ensuring the flow of society's development and determining its progress from the lower to the higher stage. Production relations, however, are another element of the mode of production expressing the breaks in historical development. The superstructure is directly bound up with it. The most interesting transitions in society, as in nature, are the breaks and leaps because they bring forth new properties and qualities.

Ours is an age when precisely such a transition is taking place and therefore its mechanism must be systematically studied. This is particularly important since an inadequate evaluation of the character of the period, say direct analogies with the course of bourgeois revolutions, could lead to wrong conclusions concerning the proletarian revolution.

It is generally recognized that after the French bourgeois revolution the transition to capitalism in other countries was a peaceful process. Stage by stage, the bourgeoisie won various positions in the feudal state while other positions remained in feudal hands. The bourgeois state formed gradually, passing through many intermediate stages. Is it correct, then, to conclude that in a socialist revolution similar stages of transition are possible, when the working class, relying on an electoral majority, could gradually intrude into the bourgeois state? In other words, is it possible for it to take over the ideological mechanism and restructure the bourgeois state mechanism while preserving bourgeois democracy and legality and not resorting to the dictatorship of the proletariat?

We think this question can be answered correctly only if two key distinctions between the bourgeois and the socialist revolution are considered.

First, the rudiments of the capitalist made of production were developed in the feudal society. The economic basis required by the bourgeois superstructure was formed in the depths of the old system. The growth of capitalist commodity production weakened feudalism's subsistence economy and its superstructure, laying it open for the bourgeoisie. The new owners of the means of production — the capitalists — started penetrating the feudal state while members of the feudal aristocracy often ran the economy.

Second, the working class — the bourgeoisie's grave-digger — was growing parallel with the growth of capitalist production. This was an important motive force in the bourgeoisie's drive for state power, forcing it constantly to make compromises with the feudal regime out of fear of the working class.

It is hardly necessary to prove that neither the former nor the latter will be found in the proletarian revolution. The development of the socialist mode of production, prepared by economic socialization, is possible only after the working class and its allies come to power. That is why the political revolution is not the end but the beginning of the social revolution with a socialist content. In the socialist revolution, the basis and the superstructure are formed in close interconnection.

Taking over and then destroying the bourgeois state machinery is the decisive step which determines everything else. What are the paths leading to this? If the role and function of the bourgeois state are taken into account, particularly at its state-monopoly stage, it is apparent that this bastion can be taken only after it has been weakened, is shaky and is ready to be stormed. True, Marx and Engels spoke of peaceful transition by legal means. But this is no more than a possibility which, we believe, it would be wrong to

absolutize or to counterpose to other forms of struggle, to the forms of political democracy which enable the working class to exercise its will — the radical transformation of the basis for the benefit of the working people.

It is generally recognized that the economic role of the state greatly increases with the development of state-monopoly capitalism. This question then arises: how can the working class and its organizations influence the work of state institutions so as to meet the interests of the working class to the utmost? This problem was elaborated by *Aulis Leppänen, representative of the CP Finland on the journal.*

Communist participation in a bourgeois government is one of the most complicated questions from the standpoint of theory and practice. In principle, Finnish communists are unanimous in the view that when participating in the government, they must influence the state's activity in the working people's interests. Opinions differ, however, concerning the real prerequisites for the communists' participation in the government.

The main question, we think, is what sort of government it is, what our goal in joining the government is, and what the conditions for attaining these goals are.

In May 1977, when the opportunity arose, the People's Democratic Movement, in which the Communist Party is a major force, again decided to take part in the government,* on the following grounds:

— the government's political basis was precisely the one envisaged by the draft program of cooperation of the democratic forces, approved by our party's 17th Congress. Apart from us, the government included the Social-Democratic Party and the Center Party, i.e., the parties which we offered to cooperate with throughout the entire postwar period. Also in the government were representatives of the Liberal People's Party and the Swedish People's Party.** In other words, it represented a broad range of political forces which, we believed, could cooperate. Participation in the government promoted the joint efforts of these parties in Parliament and in the municipal sphere;

— the only possible alternative was a more rightist government that could have included the National Coalition Party, which directly expresses the interests of big capital. The present government composition excludes any forces standing to the right of the bourgeois center;

— if we were in the opposition and the Social Democrats in the

*During the postwar period, communists were in the government in 1944-48, 1966-71 and 1975-76.

**In March of this year, the party withdrew from the government — *Ed.*

government, relations between the parties would have been greatly worsened and joint action by workers at enterprises and in the trade unions would have been weakened — that is something we have enough experience of. Our party could find itself in some isolation and the same could be said of our relations with the Center Party;

— constitutionally, Parliament is the supreme legislative body. In practice, however, the government drafts the bills and tables them in Parliament, and carries out its decisions. Bills tabled by the government are usually adopted in their original form. Therefore, participation in the government affords great additional opportunities to sway Parliamentary decisions;

— up to now we have been able to influence our country's foreign policy — first by cooperating with the Center Party and later with the Social Democrats also. We can assume, therefore, that by cooperating further with these parties we shall likewise be able to secure changes in home policy and in the economy. This will be much more difficult than changing foreign policy because changes in domestic policy imply changes in the present economic relations. That is something the Center Party, for instance, may not yet be prepared for;

— participation in the government does not imply an uncritical attitude to its decisions and to other government parties. On the contrary, the communists are always openly critical of any government actions which they believe to be wrong. Within the government, the party can make better use of the mass media to bring its ideas and views to the people.

Participation in the government has its problems, responsibilities and even some risk. One danger is that of becoming identified by the people with other parties, when they cease to distinguish the communists from other parties. In other words, we would appear to dissolve in the capitalist system. This would certainly make big capital very happy.

Our ability to achieve positive results is yet another problem. This is complicated by the country's deep economic crisis.

However, we firmly believe it is possible to find correct solutions when all these problems and dangers are identified and faced squarely. We communists participate in the government in order to act, to fight and not to be identified with or absorbed by other parties.

Vladimir Vinogradov, Director, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, spoke on Soviet experience in worker control, which played a major role in the development of the revolution and in consolidating the gains of the October Revolution.

Lenin's well-argumented slogan of worker control of production as

a democratic measure of transition to socialism, he said, is an example of the creative development of Marxism. 'It is not our *immediate* task to "introduce" socialism,' Lenin wrote in *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution,* 'but only to bring social production and the distribution of products at once under the *control* of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 24). The nationalization of land, the merger of all the banks in one national bank and establishment of control over it by the Soviets, and control of insurance offices and capitalist monopolies were among the urgent, practical steps toward socialism outlined in this program.

Lenin based his evaluation of concrete steps toward socialism not only on their economic maturity and technical feasibility at the given stage, but also on whether or not these measures and steps would be supported by a majority of the working people, and on their ability to understand them.

In May and June 1917, worker control over production became a massive, organized and growing movement. The worker control slogan was winning ever more supporters. It was becoming increasingly apparent to the working people that the bourgeois Provisional Government was incapable of stopping the economic dislocation, was unwilling to restrain the capitalist saboteurs or carry out any economic transformations in the working people's interests.

Worker control was one of the measures in the transition to socialism designed for the peaceful development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. But the peaceful period of revolutionary development ended in July 1917. The party set the task of preparing for an armed uprising. At this time, the message of the worker control slogan also changed. At the height of the counter-revolution, the workers at plants and factories, while continuing their efforts for fulfillment of this slogan, gradually saw it as meaning transition of political power to the working people.

Another feature of the efforts for worker control at this stage were the growing demands among the working people for such control to be introduced not only at individual enterprises but countrywide. This was a new approach, testifying to the proletariat's political growth.

The party's Sixth Congress helped extend and deepen the workers' intervention in the production affairs of enterprises. Within a few months, the revolution had given the workers experience in the political and economic struggle that in other conditions would have taken many years. They had to grasp the intricacies of the production process, and frequently even to handle fuel and raw material supplies and control the sale of the finished product. All this taught the workers a great deal, giving them confidence in their strength and their organizational abilities.

So, as the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia grew into a socialist revolution, worker control of production and distribution was a new and effective form of the proletariat's class struggle for its daily needs and for its ultimate goals.

How the means of production are transferred into the hands of the working people is another important question closely bound up with the first.

The fathers of scientific communism considered the conversion of the means of production into social property a regularity of socialism, and believed that the forms of this conversion would depend on the concrete historical conditions. The facts show that in certain conditions the Soviets not only allowed for, but actually paid compensation to former owners of the means of production. A decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars on April 18, 1918, stated that holders of stocks and other securities, which had been duly registered, would 'be entitled to remuneration in the event of nationalization of enterprises to the extent of and on the terms to be stipulated by the law on nationalization.'

Exposing slanderous bourgeois claims to the effect that the socialists intended to confiscate property belonging to 'tens of millions' of people, i.e., the small and middle peasants, Lenin wrote in the summer of 1917 that in reality the socialists have in mind only the property of the landowners and the capitalists. Besides, in order to crush the resistance of the capitalists it is enough to confiscate the property of a few hundred, at the most one or two thousand millionaires — the banking, commercial and industrial tycoons (see *Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 440).

We think that what has been said is a good example of the right balance struck by the Bolshevik Party between political and economic methods of struggle, a good example of gradually helping the masses to understand the revolutionary tasks they face.

As the building of all-round developed socialism progresses in Rumania, operation of the regularities of political life is intensified, said *Aurel Negucioiu, Professor of Cluj University, Rumania.* The leading role of the working class and its party tends to grow.

The *leading role of the working class* is enlarged in our country, he said, through representative democracy and direct worker participation, with leading functions in all spheres and systematic training of leaders from among the working class. This is fully in line with the party leadership's recent decision that shopfloor workers should account for approximately 30 per cent of the Worker Control Councils, including the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities, and also of other collective organs — central and

local, government and public. Direct participation by the workers and other working people in the central and municipal governing bodies imparts a new strong revolutionary impulse to socio-economic action, improving the balance between the experience of the masses and that of the leading cadres, builds the unity of the working masses and the leadership, helps to strengthen control and raise the responsibility of the working class and all the other working people.

The growth of the *Communist Party's leading role* is realized through creation of a scientific party program, essentially a program of the whole working people; elaboration of the strategy and tactics for its fulfillment; guidance of all the political and organizational activities in realizing the party's program and policy; development of democratic forms of the party's cooperation with the masses; improvement of the competence, awareness and sense of responsibility of party members and the mass of the working people; constant application of the party principles of organization and functioning in party life and in all the other fields of endeavor, i.e., democratic centralism, collectivism in work and leadership, Communist Party discipline, etc.; the party's increasingly organic integration in the concrete work of all sectors.

The party's growing organic integration with socio-economic affairs at this stage of building all-round developed socialism is achieved through the introduction of several new forms stemming from our reality, namely:

1. Conjugation of party and state posts. For example, the first secretaries of district, municipal, city and rural party committee are simultaneously chairmen of the executive committees of people's councils at the corresponding levels; a number of district, municipal and city party committee secretaries and also deputy secretaries of rural party committees are simultaneously deputy chairmen of executive committees or bureaus of people's Councils at the corresponding levels. As of last year, the functions of chairmen of the councils of working people's state economic enterprises are being exercised by the secretaries of the party committees of enterprises. Experience shows that combining party and state functions is a demand of the times which achieves the following: decisions are taken, handed down and fulfilled more rapidly, speeding up realization of party policy; greater competence and sense of responsibility among party workers; more concrete leadership; natural coordination between helping to arrive at and realizing decisions; abolition of parallelism in party and state activity; broader opportunities for imparting a worker style and party spirit to the activity of state bodies; stronger ties between the party and state organs and the working masses, and a deeper knowledge of their problems, all of which strengthens the trust

of the masses in the party's policy; growth of the party's leading role.

2. Establishment of central and municipal party and state (dual) organs and forums, such as the Higher Council of Socio-Economic Development, the Council of Economic and Social Organization, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities, the Municipal Council of Worker Control, the National Council of Science and Technology, the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, the Municipal Councils of Political Education and Socialist Culture.

3. Regular joint discussion by party and state organizations of cardinal questions in various fields of activity.

The role of the socialist state in the integrated leadership of society has been growing parallel with the growth and improvement of the party's leading role. The deepening of socialist democracy is yet another factor exerting a positive influence on economic development. This is the main line and key to improving, organizing, guiding and planning socio-economic activity. Improvement of the organizational opportunities for participation by the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, by the whole people in the governing of society has led to the establishment of several national forums and standing democratic organs, such as the Legislative Chamber of People's Councils, the National Agricultural Council, and the Working People's National Council.

Replies to questions, discussion

Question to the Czechoslovak comrades from Julio Laborde, CC member, CP Argentina: Bourgeois propaganda has sought to cast doubt on whether the transition to socialism in Czechoslovakia actually ran a peaceful course, and whether, in fact, the principles of the Constitution and parliamentary rules were observed. The role of external factors is also presented in a different light. Will you, please, explain this?

Reply by Pavel Auersperg, CC member, CP Czechoslovakia: First about the external factors. What was the situation in Czechoslovakia by the end of the Second World War? Eighty-five per cent of the country's territory was liberated by the Soviet Army. This struggle to liberate the country also involved General Svoboda's Czechoslovak Army Corps. Fifteen per cent of the territory was liberated by the U.S. Army. But on December 15, 1945, there was not a single soldier of the anti-Hitler coalition in the country.

In view of this, political and economic pressure was applied to Czechoslovakia, especially by the United States, such as a stop to reparations from West Germany, refusal to return our gold stock

which the Americans had seized in the Western zones of Germany, refusal of financial assistance, etc.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union gave the country all kinds of support. Let us recall that in 1947, the country was hit by a severe drought. The Soviet Union then decided to supply us with 600,000 tons of grain, although it itself had also had a crop failure. On December 13, 1947, our two countries signed the first long-term trade treaty for a period of five years, which assured the supply of Czechoslovakia's industry with raw materials — iron ore, cotton, etc. The Constituent Congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union met at the height of the events and voiced full support for our two countries' cooperation.

Concerning constitutionality. Up to May 9, 1948, we had the Constitution of February 29, 1920, designed by the bourgeoisie as the basis of the political system of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The Presidential decrees on nationalization, on the powers of the factory councils, workers' control, the land reform, etc., were constitutional acts and an organic part of constitutional legality. These were passed by the Provisional National Assembly, which operated for eight months and in which the political parties were represented on a parity basis. This Provisional Assembly prepared the elections to a Constituent Assembly, which was to adopt the new Constitution.

At a plenary meeting in November 1947, when the crisis had already sharpened, Klement Gottwald put forward this slogan: 'Win a Majority of the Nation.' In connection with the forthcoming elections in 1948, it was suggested: 'The party's electoral rolls should go beyond the framework of the party,' meaning that prominent personalities commanding nationwide, popular, prestige should be included in the Communist Party's roll. The only question that remained open was whether this would be the Communist Party's independent roll or one backed by some coalition. The communists acted as the heirs, defenders and continuers of the best, progressive traditions of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

When the crisis came to a head, the party put forward the conception of class counter-blows. The trade unions outlined a decree on the second stage of nationalization, and this was adopted at a Congress of Factory Councils on February 22, 1948. The decision of the revolutionary trade unions provided the impetus which made the counter-revolution go all out, up to the point of resignation of members of the government. It expected that the resignation would not be accepted. However, Gottwald insisted that the President should accept the resignation on the strength of the clauses of the Constitution, which said: whenever resignation is submitted not by a majority of the

government but a minority — and that was the case in February — the government is to be reconstructed. This reconstructing, proposed by the head of government, had to be approved by the President and the new government would then go before Parliament for a vote of confidence. That is just what happened in February 1948.

Let me add that at this time new elements emerged which could be called elements of real democracy. First of all, there was the Congress of Factory Councils, which was attended by 8,309 delegates, who almost unanimously (with only 13 delegates voting against) came out in favor of nationalization. Then there was a one-hour general strike of February 24, when 2.5 million people came out in support of the Congress of Factory Councils. The following decision was taken: if President Benes should fail to accept the resignation proposal the strike would be resumed. This also had an influence on the President's decision. Finally, an important factor was the mass movement for reviving the National Front on the basis of a program for the further development of the national-democratic revolution.

When the new government was being installed, it turned out that of the 300 deputies, 59 were either in exile or did not attend. Gottwald's proposal was approved by the Parliament unanimously, with 241 deputies attending. The same Parliament passed all the laws and bills put forward by the February Revolution, including the new Constitution. In the subsequent elections in May 1948, the National Front's list of candidates won 90 per cent of the poll. These changes paved the way for socialism.

Our experience shows that the democratic way to socialism is possible when political action is developed both from 'above' and from 'below.' Incidentally, I was surprised to hear our Spanish comrade say that the democratic way to socialism is still unexplored and untrodden. This may apply to Spain, but in Czechoslovakia, for instance, the democratic way to socialism was blazed 30 years ago.

Question to D. Pretel from Luis Padilla, CC member, CP Bolivia: Which anti-imperialist measures and measures to democratize the country's economic life has the Communist Party of Spain proposed? How is the program for anti-monopoly struggle and social progress in practice combined with the policy of 'national concentration,' which the party is pursuing?

Reply by D. Pretel: First of all, I should like to give a short explanation in connection with the remark by the Czechoslovak comrade: when I said that we had gone a new and untrodden way I did not have in mind the democratic way to socialism but the democratic way to eliminating the fascist dictatorship.

The first anti-monopoly measure, in fact, consists in eliminating the

fascist regime in Spain, which was a pliant tool of big capital and the big financial oligarchy. Then, especially since the signing of the Moncloa Pact, decisions were taken and some measures were put through which directly affected the interests of the financial oligarchy. There is, for instance, the democratization of the state financial enterprises and, more concretely, the Bank of Spain. Considering the characteristic features of the Spanish financial oligarchy, and above all the preponderance of finance capital in Spanish capital in general, one will realize that this measure is having a strong influence and is aimed against the interests of big capital. Add to this participation and control, democratization of state enterprises, notably the National Institute of Industry, and one will realize the tremendous importance all of this is having on the country's economic condition.

One could also explain the meaning of the land reform, the development of democratic cooperation, the social effect of wage rises, and the resolute 'no' to social partnership in Spain. I also have in mind the measures to control inflation, prices, and unemployment, and the tax reform, under which those who earn more will have to pay more. This is the first time Spain is pulling out of an economic crisis, making big capital pay for the consequences. In short, one could say that the putting through of all these measures means the imposition, the start of the imposition of a new model of development which is causing substantial structural changes and is aimed against big monopoly capital.

However, in the atmosphere of the grave crisis it is quite naturally not easy to put through all these measures in practice. There is a need for a coalition of all the democratic forces in the country, of all the democratic forces represented in Parliament and the establishment of a government with the participation of the Democratic Center Union, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist People's Party, and also — and why not? — of the Communist Party of Spain. The need is to set up a government of national democratic concentration. In the given conditions, it has been impossible to set up such a government. But a highly positive fact is that we got this policy of national democratic concentration reflected in the Moncloa Pact. Ordinarily, a start is made by setting up a government, and then a policy is elaborated. In our country, the reverse has been true.

Question by Jose Lava, CC member, CP Philippines: Do you apply the concept of 'Eurocommunism' only to Spain or to all the non-socialist countries of Europe, and also to the developed capitalist countries of other continents?

Reply by D. Pretel: This question is connected with a problem which it is not for the Communist Party of Spain to solve. The parties

use or cease to use the concept of 'Eurocommunism' on their own, as they see fit. Our party has not sought to foist any concepts on any other Communist Party, realizing that the international communist movement should seek to find unity in diversity, and that every party is fully independent and sovereign in adopting the relevant decisions.

However, we have used this concept for various reasons. Let me give only one of these. The point is that, in contrast to the other developed capitalist countries of Europe and the world, the democratic way to socialism in Spain at the present time is expressed in the need to destroy the apparatus of the fascist dictatorship and to put an end to fascism. This explains the specific features of our conception of the democratic way to socialism and the corresponding use of the term 'Eurocommunism.' Needless to say this term is not scientific, but there is nothing strange in this because in science in general, in the process of cognition, concepts are used which are not scientific. We use the term 'Eurocommunism' because in political terms it promotes Spain's development along the road of socio-political democracy, and in the future, of socialism. One must take into account what our country was like in these 40 years of anti-communism, with all the remnants, with all the elements that fascism had striven to implant in the minds of broad sections of the people of Spainish society. For us this concept of 'Eurocommunism' is of special value, I emphasize, in view of the social mentality of the masses, who are still fearful of communism.

Question to Bert Ramelson, staff member of the International Department, Executive Committee, CP GB, from Ahmed Salem, CC Economic Committee member, Communist Party of the Sudan: What political parties will operate in the pluralist and democratic society which is planned in your party program? Are there to be any limitations in that sense?

Reply by B. Ramelson: The only limitation is that we would outlaw the National Front, which has as its major thesis the preaching of racism, which is criminal under British capitalism law and is, of course, inhuman.

But apart from that we would permit the functioning of not only the Labour Party, which has its base in the working class, as well as the national parties in Wales and Scotland, but also the Liberal and the Tory parties, which will preach and agitate against the policies of a socialist government and certainly try to win support for a return to capitalism.

I think it is only right that I should explain why we believe that that sort of attitude to a pluralist society is absolutely vital in our approach. Firstly, the right of freedom of speech, press and demonstra-

tion is really meaningless unless organizations which exist can take advantage of those rights and express not only marginal differences, but even those differences that are fundamental. Some comrades argue that since parties express class interests and our socialism intends to do away with classes, it is pointless to artificially preserve or create parties. Of course, we do not intend to do this but we do anticipate their continued existence in our conditions. Why? Firstly, because there is going to be a long period before a classless society is achieved, even after the working class and its allies take power. Secondly, I think it is historically and theoretically wrong to assume there cannot be different trends in advancing the interests of the same class. The plurality of parties representing the ruling class is a fact. So is, in a number of cases, the plurality of parties representing the working class, even though some of those parties may not have a clear class outlook on all issues.

Above all, we have absolute confidence in the superiority of our ideology, of our program and our policy. We consider that they will enable us to overcome and defeat our opponents, and to win the confidence of the masses and persuade them to follow us. Our basic assumption is that we would come to power without civil war in an era in which the hegemony of imperialism has been smashed by the emergence of the Soviet Union and the socialist world. We would come to power in those conditions by combining extra-parliamentary mass struggle with struggle in Parliament, operating within a constitutional framework.

We realize that the ruling class still has the economic power, huge finances and, if not absolute monopoly, certainly the overwhelming control of the mass media. Now, if we can win power under those circumstances why should we not have absolute confidence in our ability to advance and to consolidate our gains when we begin the erosion of the economic power of capitalism, when we begin to take away the monopoly of the mass media from the ruling class and when the new state begins to use the institutions not to perpetuate the anti-socialist bias but to promote socialism?

Of course, some will argue that there is bound to be foreign interference involving the possibility of the use of force and sabotage, and that it will be aimed at overthrowing the socialist government's power. That we anticipate and say so in our program. We have no doubt whatsoever, and we say so, that we would use revolutionary violence in order to prevent that happening and make illegal any party that based itself on illegal measures.

Britain belongs to that group of advanced capitalist countries with traditions of bourgeois democracy and a long history of working-class democratic institutions. We consider it therefore possible in the pres-

ent historical context to evolve a strategy of non-insurrection pluralist transformation of society referred to, in particular, by the comrade from Spain. However, we do not use what we consider to be a misleading and harmful term, such as 'Eurocommunism,' to describe this strategy. And that's not because of the question of semantics or because it is a scientifically incorrect description of our strategy. We believe it's wrong and harmful not only because it describes in geographical terms something which has to do with a certain level of development in history, and makes a certain strategy possible. But above all because it is wrong politically, because it gives the impression that it has its origin in a different ideology, whereas the world communist movement is inspired by Marxism. Our ability to evolve a strategy in our particular circumstances at the present stage of world development is derived from a correct application of Marxist analysis. And the use of the term 'Eurocommunism' does give the impression that somehow it separates itself in ideological inspiration from the rest of the world communist movement.

I wholeheartedly agree that it is very important to recognize our different trends of thought and different roads to socialism. It is very important to recognize a tolerant, friendly attitude to criticism in the communist movement. But unity is of tremendous importance as well. And therefore we must avoid the use in our polemics of the sort of terminology, the sort of phrases, which harm unity. 'Eurocommunism' is one of these terms — it is wrong in concept. We all know that no communist invented the word or was the first to use it. It was first used by the bourgeois press and, as some of the comrades (in Spain, I think) say now, we are stuck with it. Why should we be stuck with a term which we believe to be harmful to us? Perhaps the communist movement has not yet produced a term to describe the current strategy of a number of communist parties. But the absence of this term may be due to the fact that this strategy derives inspiration from Marxism, the common ideology of the world communist movement as a whole.

Question to the Chilean comrades from Alvaro Mosquera, CC member, CP Colombia: The experience of all the revolutions, including the Chilean, confirms in concrete form the general regularities of social development, notably the law of the class struggle. Classes whose interests have been infringed as a result of revolutionary transformations, resort to the fiercest resistance, including the staging of coups to establish fascist dictatorships, as the case was in Chile. That being so, regardless of the internal balance of forces, which is favorable to the revolution, and international factors, which are also favorable to it, there arises the need to take the most vigorous

measures to suppress the enemy's resistance. In other words, there is a need to establish a power capable of ensuring the successful advance of the revolution. Do you not think that there was in Chile a fatal contradiction between the depth of the revolutionary process and the slow pace of transformation of state structures?

Reply by Hugo Fazio, CC member, CP Chile: Indeed, there was a contradiction between the depth of the revolutionary process and the lag in the structural transformation of the state apparatus, noted by Mosquera. An analysis of the concrete reality will show its causes. Luis Corvalan said that the solution of this problem was not merely a matter of desire or will. That is why, we believe, this question cannot be analyzed only from the standpoint of the resolve by the vanguard party or the revolutionary forces to provide an answer. What was the concrete situation at the time? The Popular Unity program gave much attention to the problem of power. There was a need to work in greater depth in this direction. As our party said, although we did elaborate our line quite well for the period which led to the winning of power and also for the initial period of the government's activity, we did not adequately elaborate our line for tackling the problems of transition from the winning of power to the winning of full power. Besides, of primary importance in tackling this task is a favorable balance of forces, and it had to be created.

Through 1970-73, the whole class struggle was centered on the achievement of a favorable balance of forces. A negative effect was exerted by the fact that, as I have said, the need to win full power was not a problem on which our party, and the other popular parties, carred on the necessary educational work among the masses, so that in their day-to-day struggle they were not aware of the need for this. Broad sections of the people pinned their hopes for the future — and this was also promoted by our own propaganda — only on the individual or the coalition of forces exercising Presidential power in the republic. No account was taken of the fact that the basic problem consisted precisely in understanding the existing type of power, the classes which held it, and the need for its radical change. This limited approach produced the conviction that if the post of President were won this was sufficient to solve the country's problems. In the course of the process, when the developments themselves clarified to the masses the class character of Parliament, the judiciary, and exposed the obsolete structure of the whole state apparatus, and the influence of the reactionary positions within the armed forces, the balance of forces had already swung for the worse, making it impossible to modify the state structures and solve the problems of power, although ever broader sections were aware of the need for this.

We believe that the concrete conditions required the fulfillment of

other tasks in order to solve the problem of power. This included the battle for production, the solution of the most vital economic problems, improvement of the people's living conditions, that is, tasks directly bearing on the real level of mass consciousness. This would have made it possible to carry on parallel educational work among the masses, to induce an awareness of the need for a fundamental change of the state structures and the winning of full power by creating the necessary balance of forces.

Question to Otto Marx, Head of the Karl Liebknecht Party School (FRG), from A. Leppännen: Your party is known to give much attention to the problem of the working people's participation in management. What could you say about the existing forms of participation, and is it not perhaps a form of integration of the working class with the capitalist system?

Reply by O. Marx: We include the question of participation (Mitbestimmung), as the struggle for reforms in general, in our overall strategy. Of course, we have no illusions at all about it being possible to change the system by means of reforms. The point is how is one, in the struggle for reforms (a) to secure improvements in the working people's living conditions in the existing circumstances and (b) to mobilize the forces capable of putting forward far-reaching demands and to carry them forward to the struggle for social change.

The problem of participation in the management of enterprises in our country is a historical demand stemming from the working-class movement. Its origins lie in the fact that big capital, which dominates every sphere of life in society, has always resisted the economic, social and democratic demands of the working class (and this is most obvious in time of crisis). This has induced the working-class movement to make the radical demand for the working people's participation in management. Let us note that the forms in which this demand is put forward have always depended on the concrete historical situation and the balance of forces within the working class.

This was already manifest during the November 1918 revolution, when the question of participation implied workers' control of production and was closely tied in with the demand for its socialization.

Following the defeat of fascism in 1945, working-class and other democratic organizations charged that the monopolies had been to blame for the emergence of fascism and the war, and naturally insisted that industrial and office workers should exercise control of the enterprises and manage them. In order to consolidate its power, big capital sought, as it always does whenever class conflicts are aggravated, to strike up an open alliance with the opportunist forces within the working-class movement favoring a 'social partnership.' The pol-

icy pursued in the changed conditions in that period was similar to that in the early stages of the Weimar Republic; once again there were two approaches to participation in management: the line of class struggle and the opportunist line of integrating the working-class movement with the capitalist system, and the latter won out with the help of the Western occupation authorities and also as a result of the stoking up of anti-communism (which weakened the working-class forces).

In 1951, the Bundestag, under pressure from the trade unions, which threatened mass strikes, passed a law on participation in the management of production by workers in the mining industry, and this to some extent reflects both approaches to the question of participation. The re-established monopolies were forced to make concessions, but they also managed to retain the most essential thing, their power. The same applies to the laws adopted later, notably the law on participation in management in branches of the economy not connected with the mining industry. This law does not fully meet the trade union demands, nor does it reflect the gains already won. But this did not prevent the industrialists' associations from lodging an appeal with the Federal Constitutional Court, seeking a ruling that the law was unconstitutional.

The GCP supports the trade union demands with respect to workers' participation in management. At the same time, it favors more far-reaching demands, such as would affect the sphere of profits and the power of the monopolies. In other words, the point is to go beyond the framework of the enterprises and to extend the workers' participation to the government instruments used in administering production. We have also resisted every attempt to convert participation into an instrument of the illusory social partnership.

Remark by B. Ramelson: Well, I'm not really happy with the reply given by Otto Marx on the question of Mitbestimmung. I feel this is one of the crucial questions facing countries of Western Europe. Attempts are being made to involve the organized working class in assuming the responsibility of maintaining capitalism by the facade of workers' 'participation' miscalled 'industrial democracy' or 'workers' control.' The model that is in existence in West Germany has now been adopted by most of the industrial countries to try and impose it upon the working class in the rest of Western Europe. Indeed, the Common Market is in the process of introducing a statute modelled on the West German Mitbestimmung principle of the two-tier boards. There has been a struggle by the British working class to reject that model and it was quite a considerable struggle. That model has now been rejected.

This is a topic of great interest and it should be widely discussed, in

particular by this journal. What should be the forms of workers' participation in management and in decision-making on matters directly affecting their interests? Can this be done by using the facade of participation? This is a particularly important matter bearing on relations between employer and worker which are subject to collective bargaining. Can the workers' struggle result in decisions which are more akin to their interests?

Reply by O. Marx: I have tried to show that, in the struggle for workers' participation in management, we start from the experience gained in our country, without losing sight of the two current trends. It goes without saying that we are taking a class approach to the issue.

Although the illusory trend toward social partnership did prevail in the period of consolidation of the old power structures, one should bear in mind that the workers have had to fight even for the present forms of participation and to retain them in struggle with the most reactionary forces. This has also brought out the forces capable of going beyond the narrow enterprise framework and of taking mass action to beat back the monopolies. The trade union movement has been ever more insistently demanding the establishment of control over investments. There has already been some success in job protection in some industries. The numerous actions in support of participation in management and in defense of this right show that, on the one hand, it can be secured only through struggle, and that on the other, this struggle opens up potentialities for raising of the class consciousness among the workers.

Question to Naziha Duleimi, CC member, Iraqi CP, from Idris Cox, representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the journal: To what extent is democracy practised within the trade unions in Iraq, including voting by secret ballot to decide policy and to choose their leaders? Does the participation of the communists in the National Progressive Front give them a share in real government?

Reply by Naziha Duleimi: I must say that democracy within the trade unions is still very limited, but some new positive phenomena are in evidence. For example, lately a new tradition has been developing: trade union committees in factories call general meetings with the workers to discuss their problems together. After such discussions, the trade union committees of the factories work out plans to fulfill the demands made at the meetings. On the other hand, discussion among workers is going on for realizing trade union democracy in a way that would enable them to nominate and elect their candidates to the committees freely. Theoretically, every worker has the right to stand or to nominate another as a candidate. But it is hard to use this right in practice. The workers want these committees to have pro-

grams of action to meet the working people's interests, and to be accountable to the trade union members, reporting to them in the run-up to the elections. The communists emphasize the importance of democratization of the trade unions.

Concerning the communists' participation in the National Progressive Front and our party's having a share in real government, I would say that this depends on many factors. However, we see the way toward the consolidation and development of the regime as lying through the deepening of the coalition structure on the executive and legislative levels, and the provision of possibilities for every party of the National Front to take an active part in the government on the basis of the National Action Charter. An important step toward this goal would be termination of the transition period, the drafting of a permanent Constitution and the establishment of constitutional organs and institutions. But, of course, as you are well aware, even if you have a written program, you have to carry on a struggle to get it fulfilled. And we are carrying on just such a struggle.

Question to Vladimir Vinogradov from Julio Laborde: You described worker control in Russia before the victory of the October Revolution. How important was it in the period after the victory?

Reply by V. Vinogradov: Worker control in the period of preparation for the October Revolution could not be comprehensive or practised everywhere. In most instances, the factory committees and their control commissions exercised only partial control. After the victory of the October Revolution, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, worker control was introduced everywhere, and no longer as a democratic but as a socialist measure, paving the way for the nationalization of industry.

The decree on worker control was issued on November 15, 1917. To this the capitalists and the industrialists responded with sabotage virtually throughout the whole of industry. That is why, worker control had to be established in struggle against them. The capitalists closed down their enterprises, refused to supply them with raw materials and fuel, dismissed workers and failed to pay wages. In these conditions, the working people frequently took over the management of factories and plants and carried on production on their own.

There is a document showing that at a congress in early December 1917, the All-Russia Union of Factory-Owner and Industrialist Societies adopted this decision: to block the fulfillment of the decree on worker control by closing down the enterprises. This made it necessary to speed up the nationalization of some enterprises.

In the first year of the revolution, the working people received very good schooling in management activity in these worker control bodies

and within a year Lenin was able to say that from worker control we had moved on to worker management of industry on a countrywide scale.

V. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Jeronimo Carrera, CC member, CP Venezuela, said that in the modern world no country's economic development could proceed exclusively on the basis of internal social factors. The internationalization of the economy appears to be at a stage, or, at any rate, on the threshold of a stage in which total independent development in its strictly economic sense becomes virtually impossible, and this is something the revolutionaries should reckon with.

This characteristic feature, he said, is an objective element of the international situation in our day.

But there are adequate grounds for drawing this conclusion: the economic processes running on a world scale are increasingly influenced by political processes. The policy of peaceful coexistence and détente has undoubtedly become a powerful instrument in improving international economic relations.

One could say that in economic terms, the peaceful coexistence policy has exerted the greatest influence on the less developed countries of the world, that is, those which produce raw materials and are less developed industrially. At the present time, the economic development of some of these countries — together with the political transformations which have largely premised it — is determined by cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We believe it to be of the greatest importance that these so-called Third World countries now put forward nearly the same slogans in international economics as the socialist countries. The demand for a new international economic order can now be seen as the most favorable ground for joint action by these two large groups of states. The socialist countries' prestige among the peoples of Africa, America and Asia never did and does not depend on the scale of the investments or credits made available by the socialist countries or possible material and technical assistance. Their prestige springs from their consistent pursuit of the Leninist policy of active solidarity with the drive for liberation of all the peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism. This policy has proved to be a powerful force capable of engendering new structural changes.

The following appears to be of substance in the light of the analysis of the growing interconnection between social national processes and

international factors. The basis-superstructure dialectics, as Marxism has shown, far from ruling out, in effect implies the possibility that within strictly definite historical conditions some element of the superstructure may become a crucial factor in the development of a definite social process. At any rate, for a truly Marxist analysis it is absolutely necessary to avoid two twin dangers, namely, to be too simple or too sweeping. Every society presents an intricate pattern which cannot be understood if it is seen through the prism of only one characteristic feature, even if it is the most important one of all. That is why we take the view, for instance, that a study of West European countries mainly on the strength of one characteristic feature — their high level of industrial development, or their political institutions based on bourgeois parliamentarism — tends always to oversimplify the analysis, while making too much of the importance of one or two characteristic features among a multiplicity of them.

We believe that the most serious flaw of such an approach is that it inevitably leads to an emphasis on the nationally specific or regional, while failing to take sufficient account of development in the rest of the world. Just now, we feel, it is doubly dangerous for a revolutionary party to bring to the fore national specifics and absolutize them. On the one hand, there is the danger of upsetting the necessary and concrete balance between the particular and the general in the revolutionary process. On the other, the main factor is lost sight of, a factor which is necessary for a full understanding of the modern world, namely, the internationalization of political life through the workings of the three essential factors: the level of development already attained in the process of economic internationalization, new characteristic features of the general crisis of capitalism, which have appeared at this stage, and the growth in these conditions of the political role of the working class throughout the world.

U.S. foreign policy is decisively influenced by lasting and acute crisis phenomena in the economic sphere, inside the government, and in economic and political relations with other countries. This is undoubtedly the underlying reason for the Carter Administration's recent outrageous intervention in the political affairs of Italy and France over communist participation in government, said *Erik Bert, National Council member of the CPUSA.*

He said that at present elements of social conflict continued to exist in acute form, and in particular drew attention to the persistence of mass unemployment, conservatively estimated at seven per cent of the labor force — after 34 months of economic 'recovery' — and persisting inflation, whose end no one can foretell with confidence.

The persistence of crisis factors has implications beyond the social

fabric, implications affecting the political fabric, Bert pointed out. Last April, Randal Meyer, President of Exxon, one of the leading U.S. international corporations, in an address at the University of Chicago, declared: 'All of us should be concerned that public confidence in American institutions has deteriorated over the past few years.' Moreover, in the subtitle of his address he indicated that the problem is more than one of loss of confidence in 'American institutions.' It is, he said, a 'matter of survival of capitalism.'

Bert said that underlying this problem of 'confidence' is much more than the fact that the credibility of corporation, government, academic and other spokesmen of capitalism has been undermined. The main development is the growth of widespread, if as yet ill-defined, popular sentiment for government intervention to alter the status quo.

The interaction of the economic and the political is to be seen in the so-called 'crisis of confidence' in U.S. capitalism, which reflects the objective possibility of advances by the U.S. working class in the struggle to halt the erosion of their living standards and democratic freedoms.

The crisis of 'confidence' does not mean that capitalism will acknowledge its bankruptcy and retire from the scene abjectly. Capitalism will resist with might and main, both at the national and the international level. The communists must draw proper conclusions from this, particularly in the sense of international solidarity.

Tibor Halay, Deputy Director, Institute of the Social Sciences, CC HSWP, emphasized that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie did not end with the winning of power. The experience of 1919 and 1956 in our country showed that an urge to stage a comeback is characteristic of the international forces of capital and the deposed domestic bourgeoisie.

Our victory, he said, became final only when we laid the foundations of socialism (that is, when we eliminated the exploiters as a class), and when socialism became a world system. I think that the historical experience of many countries warrants the general conclusion that society has to be carried to a definite level of development and transformation if the revolutionary gains are to be entrenched; at the same time, revolutionary changes today and in the future require an international background, and in this sense the socialist world system supporting them is now an essential factor.

For a long time after the takeover, the deposed bourgeoisie in our country continued to resist, largely in the economic sphere. Deprived of political power, it resorted to economic sabotage: exported capital, staged 'strikes,' organized a black market, and simultaneously

poisoned the minds of the masses. In this it got organized support from the international bourgeoisie, and this, we are now convinced, is also part of the pattern. Of this the Chilean comrades have spoken and written with much conviction.

For that reason, the communists' strategy cannot fail to take account of the ongoing processes of internationalization, because it makes each country ever more closely dependent on others and, consequently, tends to complicate the confrontation with international capital. But it is among the working people at home that the working class undoubtedly has the main support in resisting international and domestic reaction, for all the importance of international support from the progressive forces of the world. Of much importance is the effort to muster the so-called middle sections of the population. At one time it was the peasantry that was the chief ally of the working class in Hungary, as it generally was in countries with a backward economic structure. In the developed capitalist countries, we now realize, the intelligentsia, office workers and small businessmen also have an important role to play alongside the peasantry. Again, some elements of the capitalist class, and a section of the political leaders and intellectuals bound up with it, become allies of the working class on some issues at a definite period.

On the strength of our experience, we can say that the correct choice of allies, the practical establishment of an alliance and, conversely, a clear-cut separation from the enemy are highly important for successful struggle at the stage of winning power and in the period of consolidating the victory of the revolution. The turning point in the takeover of power in Hungary was the unification of two working-class parties, but this is certainly in no sense some kind of model for winning power. The main thing is the concrete content of the alliance, and consideration of with whom the working class can advance together and up to which point. In Hungary in 1919, the alliance of the communists and the social democrats based on fundamental concessions by the communists became the weak element in the winning of power. By contrast, the unity achieved through the clarification of fundamental principles in 1948 provided a sound basis for our mass party, which to this day has the role of vanguard.

A well-grounded economic program is, we think also of paramount importance for winning and consolidating power. Its key elements could be summed up as follows:

— first, the party's assessment of the country's economic condition at the given moment; under capitalist relations, exposure of the overt or covert relations of exploitation; concrete criticism of the government's economic policy; demonstration of the limitations and contradictions which spring from the capitalist character of the economy;

— second, defense of the working people's present interests; in this way the party will convince the masses that it is the most consistent force in the struggle for their vital interests;

— third, the party's proposals for overcoming the concrete economic difficulties and contradictions, and for working out a comprehensive conception for national-economic development. The Communist Party puts forward a positive program for the solution of current economic problems which it is possible to solve in the given concrete conditions, but emphasizes that only the elimination of the capitalist system can provide a fundamental solution;

— fourth, detailed elaboration of measures ensuring revolutionary transformations and also a characteristic of the basic features of the future socialist economy expressing its qualitatively new state.

Replies to questions

Question to D. Pretel from John Nkosi (South Africa): Am I right in assuming that you connected Spain's entry into the Common Market and European political institutions with the need to transform the Europe of the monopolies into a Europe of the working people, of democratic and socialist forces? Meanwhile, the CP of Great Britain has gone on record as taking a negative attitude to Britain's membership of the Common Market.

Reply by D. Pretel: Indeed, we believe it necessary for Spain to join the EEC and its political institutions, and if this happens we intend to act within them so as to help democratize Europe. Our starting point is that the Common Market is there, and it will not go away of itself; in order to transform the Common Market it is necessary to act both outside and within it. It is also our assumption that it cannot be eliminated by means of a frontal attack, like the storming of the Winter Palace. On the other hand, we believe — considering the Common Market's specific features — that it is possible to transform it in the same way as society in the developed capitalist and other countries is transformed. I think that while taking economic factors of monopoly power, etc., into account, one should also reckon with the political factors: the international policy of détente, disarmament, the winding down of blocs, the withdrawal of foreign troops, etc. For instance, consistent application of the Helsinki Charter creates favorable conditions for transforming Europe into a democratic, progressive and socialist Europe.

It is important for us to join the Common Market, first, because Spain has had only a preferential treaty with the EEC signed by the Francoists. This preferential treaty is similar to the treaties the Common Market has signed with the former colonies of its member-countries. Fascism was the main obstacle to Spain's entry

into the EEC. Thus, the fight against fascism was connected with the struggle for Spain's entry into Europe, and this helped to eliminate the dictatorship and carry the country to democracy. One should also bear in mind the tremendous dependence of Spain's foreign trade on its ties with the Common Market countries. The question contained this point: the CP of Great Britain believes that Great Britain should not be in the Common Market. Our party believes that Spain should join the Common Market.

Question to Ib Nielsen (Denmark) from Hamid Safari (Iran): Your country is known to have close economic and political ties with other European countries, and moreover largely depends on them. Does this not jeopardize the very possibility of democratic and socialist transformations in Denmark as 'one separate country'? How do the communists' strategy and tactics take account of this kind of dependence and the possibility of resistance from international reaction to the envisaged transformations?

Reply by I. Nielsen: This question of the possibility of democratic and socialist transformations is common to a number of countries, including Denmark. Of course, we cannot work out in advance a strategy or alternative tactics for a presumed future situation about whose concrete content we can now judge only on the strength of a few features. But we know that the existence of the world socialist system and détente provide us with better opportunities than ever before in terms of progress toward anti-monopoly democracy and then on to socialism. One should also point out that we have always emphasized the decisive role of internationalism in the working-class movement and have stood for stronger world communist unity on that basis.

VI. EACH PARTY'S EXPERIENCE, A COMMON ASSET

The analysis by the participants in the conference, *Konstantin Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of WMR,* said, displays certain regular features; as a communist party gains strength in the struggle for democracy and socialism, enhances its influence in the masses and plays a greater role in the country's political life, it also devotes more attention to economics and concrete economic problems. This is reflected both in the long-term programs and the day-to-day activity of each party in industry and in the countryside, in parliament and the local organs of power.

It is our growing conviction that in some capitalist and developing

countries the fraternal parties have so much influence that in critical circumstances the ruling circles are forced to request their support or, at least, neutrality in the solution of national or local problems. It proves to be increasingly impossible to do without the communists. This tends to produce an intricate and contradictory situation: in such instances, the communists evidently have to shoulder a great responsibility toward the people, while being unable — because they do not possess power — to provide the working people with guarantees that the decisions taken with their consent will truly go to benefit the people. Moreover, both domestic and international reactionaries marshal all their resources to block the communists' advance to government.

This is an important question. On every occasion, the communists consider it in concrete terms, in the light of the concrete situation. That is evidently the only way to resolve this contradiction in practice. But, we think, it is characteristic that, first, the communists have not retreated in the face of difficulties and responsibility, have not retreated to the sidelines, but have taken a definite stand. As other comrades here have said, in present-day circumstances it is frequently impossible to confine oneself to propaganda activity, however important it may be, and the communists believe it to be their duty not to miss any opportunity to demonstrate in practice that they are capable of solving concrete problems, notably difficult economic problems. However — and this is another characteristic point — they seek in any situation to preserve their image, to maintain their clear-cut class stand and also to bring it home to the working people what their decisions actually mean.

We feel that in terms of principle this problem links up with the communists' participation in bourgeois government. The main criterion is: who stands to gain eventually from such participation? Will it boil down to helping the monopolists run their affairs or will it benefit the people today and help to attain the ultimate goal of the working class, the revolutionary transformation of society?

The need for concrete and constructive economic programs and slogans of the day is variously expressed in the setting up of alliances of left-wing, democratic forces. This need also tends to grow as such alliances become stronger and make real advances toward power. At the same time, when these are shaped mainly on the basis of fighting the common enemy, unity of action in the struggle is of key importance. When it comes to assuming the responsibility for the country's destiny and to exercising constructive functions, virtually the main condition for success then is a joint, well-grounded conception and program, followed by united and purposeful leadership in realizing it. Otherwise, joint action becomes impossible.

In short, the distinctive features of the communists' policy, which distinguish it both from reformist conciliation and from leftist adventurism, are maintenance of a clear class line and ability to implement it not only in consistent struggle against the bourgeois order but also in the constructive activity aimed to defend the interests of the working class, of the popular majority.

A few words about another problem which was prominent in our discussion. As others here have said, even the avowed enemies of socialism, even the representatives of the right-wing parties now tend to use the banner of socialism as a cover. Their reasoning could be summarized as follows: if socialism implies only political democracy and does not extend to the socio-economic basis of society, it is a socialism that suits the advocates of capitalism. Hence the suggestions that the social democrats should take charge of politics, while the capitalists handle the economy, or — and this the main point — put the revolution on pluralist and democratic lines and not on the road of economic changes.

We find that in all such conceptions — and there are a great many of them — politics is separated from economics. What is more, they tend to evade or obscure two crucial questions: the question of property in economics, and the question of power in politics.

On the one hand, a model is suggested for economic development based on a system of reforms which could allegedly lead to socialism without the working class and its allies winning power, without any struggle for power at all. On the other hand, there are conceptions of a democracy and a set of freedoms which have no bearing at all on a radical restructuring of economic relations, and which could allegedly rest on any economic basis and make people 'happy' regardless of whether capital dominates or not.

The fundamental distinction of the Marxist-Leninist stand, as our conferences has shown, is that the problem of property and the problem of power are regarded as an unbreakable unity. In particular, when considering nationalization, the communists always raise this question: whom does it serve? And that is nothing but the question of who wields state power.

The General Rules of the International Working Men's Association said: 'The economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*.'* That is why for the working class the takeover of power is never an end in itself, but merely a stage in realizing the working people's socio-economic interests. But experience shows that the notions about the possibility of bypassing this stage have always implied either an illusion or a deliberate fraud. That is why the

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

struggle for nationalization and other radical reforms in the economy, for influence within the trade unions and for enhancing their militant drive has been conducted by the communist parties in close connection with the struggle to take over the political instruments of the running of society. This implies a strengthening of the ranks within the party itself, its winning of a leading role in national social life, and recruiting support for the working class among the other working people and the broadest sections and groups of the population, including members of the intelligentsia, civil servants and members of the armed forces.

While the class content and real direction of any economic transformations are determined by the character of the political power, the class substance of this power is, conversely, expressed in its acts in the sphere of socio-economic relations.

That is the angle from which we consider the question of the economic goals and interests of the modern worker in the struggle for socialism. Quite clearly, he seeks to do away with poverty, injustice and inequality. He wants to live a better life. But the fundamental point is whether such improvement is to come in the form of handouts, in the form of concessions from the capitalists, which are always partial, and most frequently unrealiable and shortlived, or will the worker himself begin to dispose of the products of his labor and to determine the measure of consumption and the measure of accumulation. The answer to this question helps to draw the demarcation line between the reformists and the revolutionaries.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the conciliatory parties would like to reduce the worker's ideals to consumerism, thereby limiting the goals of his struggle to a gradual improvement of the material conditions of his existence through a change of the terms on which he sells his labor-power. As our conference has shown, the communists seek to bring it home to the worker that his economic and other interests can be fully and consistently realized only through struggle against the system which separates the producer from the means of production and keeps him as a seller of his labor-power. This implies a fundamental change in the worker's socio-economic status, a question which is equally meaningful for those who are relatively well off and for those who live in poverty. It is the question of economic emancipation that is the primary condition of genuine freedom and the first premise of the individual's all-round development.

As the conference shows, the communists are faced with the task of fostering among the working people the awareness that as they advance to power they will have to show increasing concern not only for their personal consumption but also for production accumulation.

That is the condition on which the working class can establish itself as the leading force of society in the economy as well. This does not mean, of course, that the worker should display concern for the interests of the monopolies and for private-capitalist accumulation. We believe that the worker can display an interest in the problems of production accumulation only as he begins to manage the means of production. This means that he will display full concern for accumulation only in the socialist society.

Incidentally, the speeches at the conference suggest the importance of the idea that there is a need to draw a clear distinction between the struggle for higher living standards for the working people and a movement inspired by consumer ideals. The latter is always a ground for opportunism, and in a situation in which the revolutionary forces begin their constructive effort, it could even help reaction. Thus, relatively recent experience, both in Western Europe and in South America, shows that strikes with unrealistic and overstated economic demands could play into the hands of the counter-revolution. The consumer mentality blends, in a way, with the mentality of the wage-worker, who is used to the idea that his interests and those of production are contradictory and opposite. This hampers the arrangement of life along new lines and makes it more difficult to consolidate the gains of the revolution.

The working class does manage to secure some changes in its status even under capitalism, and now and again this amounts to real gains, but we believe that these should be always assessed in the light of more substantial factors. Take the workers' participation in the management of production. The demand for such participation has been written into the program of several parties. However, speakers at the conference stressed that this is a rather complicated phenomenon. There is no doubt that in the capitalist countries this is a compromise on the part of the workers, that is, partial and always curtailed participation means indirect recognition of the capitalist's right to have the main say in production and distribution, but it is also to some extent a limitation of that right, that is, a concession on the part of the capitalist.

I think the main question is whether this gain is used as a bridgehead for a further drive against capital, and how it helps to promote the working people's activity in that direction. Of course, the concrete situation introduces many other aspects to this question, but I think that the fundamental conclusion relating to such gains by the working class boils down to the following: so long as social property in the means of production is not predominant, so long as the working class and its allies do not have political power, there is no socialism. No amount of progressive or democratic gains warrant the claim that

the line separating socialism and capitalism has been crossed, if they do not carry things to that level.

Let me now deal with the next, third question. Speakers here said that one of the basic doctrines of reformism springs from the notion that forcible intervention in society's socio-economic structures is impermissible. Now and again, the advocates of this notion even refer to Marx, who said that the economy does not tolerate violence. Do we have such a proposition in Marxism? Yes, we do. The Marxist-Leninists believe that the ignoring of economic laws and the level of economic maturity results in political adventurism. But in the course of society's revolutionary transformations violence is done not to the economy but to the classes, social forces and institutions which articficially preserve the old relations of production, thereby actually doing violence to the economy. On the other hand, revolutionary violence is aimed to 'emancipate' the economy, to bring the relations of production into conformity with the level of development of the productive forces.

That is precisely why the revolutionary use of force is most frequently a response to the resistance by the capitalists and by all those who want to preserve the old economic relations and order. This also occurs whenever — as other comrades here have emphasized — the advent of the revolutionary forces to power results from a peaceful expression of will by the people.

The communists have always believed the peaceful, that is, non-armed development of the revolution to be preferable. They attach much importance to democracy as a key sector, instrument and form of revolutionary struggle. Lenin wrote: 'To develop democracy *to the utmost,* to find the *forms* for this development, to test them by *practice,* and so forth — all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution' (Vol. 25, p. 452). But the Marxist-Leninists have never regarded the role of democracy as self-sufficing; they have always seen its close interconnection and interaction with the crucial socio-economic factors in revolutionary development and the advance of socialism. Lenin emphasized: 'Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken together" with things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate *its* transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history' (Vol. 25, pp. 452-3). I think that this is still true today.

Finally, much attention at the conference was given to the fact that the present-day capitalist economy is at a very high level of internationalization. The revolutionary forces are obviously faced with a

situation in which their action aimed at democratic and then at socialist transformations of the national economy now and again directly hit out at the interests, the property, the profits and the privileges of international monopoly capital. This means that on the part of imperialism and world reaction there is a natural increase in resistance to any movement that sets itself the aim radically to restructure socio-economic relations.

But does this mean that in such a situation the revolutionary struggle within the framework of one country lacks any prospects? No, it does not. Why not? Because it would be wrong to accentuate only one aspect of the matter, namely, the international interlacing of the interests of the monopolies, of capital and to ignore the unevenness of the capitalist countries' economic and political development, which, far from being reduced, is in effect still growing.

For that very reason, Lenin's proposition on the possibility and the need to work for a revolutionary victory within the national boundaries of the individual countries fully applies even in the present conditions. Any relaxation of effort toward that goal and a switch mainly to the international or regional level could dampen the revolutionary struggle and fetter the initiative of its participants.

Of course, this does not in any way deny the importance of the international, including the regional, unity and cooperation of the revolutionary forces. What is more, the Marxist-Leninists believe that a united stand on proletarian solidarity is a key source of strength for the international working class and the communist movement.

Nor is there any doubt that in the conditions of the emergent regional economic complexes, which frequently also constitute the basis of political cooperation among bourgeois states, the communists are faced with the need to work out their own stand with respect to these processes. That is why the communist parties of the various regions of the world — individually and jointly — put forward conceptions for an alternative development of these regions which differs from bourgeois development. I feel, however, that the comrades were quite right in also pointing out the conditions in which such conceptions could be effective: first, they must not be contrasted with the broader, worldwide, international goals and tasks of the revolutionary struggle, and second, they should not in any way hamper the initiative of the revolutionary forces in the individual countries.

The struggle to develop and deepen détente is an important element in the strategy of the revolutionary forces. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that the policy of détente is of tremendous value in itself as a means to consolidate peace in the world. But for us communists the restructuring of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence is of exceptional importance also because

it creates the most favorable conditions for successfully carrying on the struggle for democracy and socialism. For us détente is not a policy of abstract pacifism, but a policy of genuine humanism, which springs from the class interests of the working people, that is the overwhelming majority of mankind.

In the revolutionary movement today there are many problems and various views on how to tackle them. At the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin in June 1976, our party's stand on this question was set forth by Leonid Brezhnev as follows: 'Our primary assumption is that the criterion of the truth or, conversely, falsehood of a proposition can be only practical experience, but even before practice hands down its final verdict it is possible and necessary to verify these propositions in comradely discussion, through a broad comparison of standpoints and experience of the various parties. It is obvious that, as a result, both theory and practice, and our common cause will stand to gain.'

It is quite clear that it is a great, complicated and also very important task to comprehend the whole wealth of the revolutionaries' international experience, which is now extensive and multi-faceted as never before. We should like to hope that our conference has also made some contribution to the collective efforts of the communists of the world aimed to fulfill it.

On the threshold of more difficulties

Yuri Kapelinsky
Nikolai Sergeyev
Soviet economists

THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN THE LATE 70s

For four years in succession, the capitalist world has been rocked by deep crisis phenomena, and many of them appear to be without end. The state-monopoly machine has failed to balance out the reproduction process and to inject health into economic activity, despite all it has done, including the attempts by the leading capitalist countries to concert their action. In mid-1976, seven Western countries, headed by the United States, announced their intention to right the situation by means of deflationary policy. They found the tables turned on

We continue the exchange of opinion on the crisis of capitalism. See *WMR*, January, March and May 1978.

them: there was a spurt in the inflation everywhere, the United States in the first place, while the expansion of industrial production was sharply slowed down. A Western summit conference held in London in May 1977 withdrew priority from anti-inflationary measures and decided that the first thing to do was for the 'strong-economy' countries (United States, Japan and FRG) to stimulate their own economic growth, so helping the other countries to pull out of the crisis. But soon came reports that Japan and the FRG were incapable of maintaining the economic-growth rates envisaged by the conference.

The present economic crisis is specific. It has unfolded against the background of deep-going changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and a sharp aggravation of capitalist society's political and economic instability.

The way for the crisis was paved by the whole of the postwar development of capitalism, which brought out the disproportions and contradictions that had long been piling up within the national economies and the world capitalist economy as a whole. The current crisis naturally resulted from the operation of an increasingly complex set of cyclical and long-term factors, many of which now have qualitatively new aspects.

The crisis is rooted in the unprecedented disruption of the reproduction processes over many decades, just when capitalism is less than ever capable of making efficient use of scientific and technical achievements. It was largely prepared by processes like the inflation which had been building up within the world capitalist economy, and the unusual exacerbation of difficulties within the whole obsolescent system of capitalism's inequitable international economic relations. This applies primarly to the burst of contradictions between the young developing states, which seek to escape from the grip of poverty, and Western monopoly capital.

The stepped-up activity of the multinationals of the imperialist countries, reflecting a new stage in the concentration and centralization of production and capital within the world capitalist economy and a new stage in the sharpening of the main contradiction of capitalism, has a special part to play in the present crisis of the capitalist economy. By the start of the current decade, the international monopolies, or as they are now more appropriately called, the multinationals, which number no more than a few hundred, have geared to their self-seeking interests something like 40 per cent of the capitalist world's industrial production and about 60 per cent of its foreign trade. The functioning of their production and marketing networks, located in dozens of countries across the globe but strictly managed by the parent corporation in line with its policy, has sharpened the edge of many contradictions of the capitalist economy. Intercorporate

ties between the foreign subsidiaries of the multinationals have provided the channels along which the crisis has rapidly spread across the capitalist world to gain an unprecedented depth.

The transnationals, headed by the major U.S. corporations, have pursued a strategy of extracting superprofits on the scale of the whole capitalist world in an effort to have the countries hosting their subsidiaries bear an ever greater part of the crisis burden. They have high-handedly violated the sovereignty of states, infringed on the people's national interests and carried on a simultaneous drive against the vital rights of working people in dozens of countries. It is their interests that are mainly served by the policies of the ruling circles in the leading Western countries, which have been trying ever harder to pool their efforts to get out of the crisis and re-animate the economy by depressing the working people's living standards and spreading unemployment for the sake of their superprofits.

In connection with the *WMR* discussion of various aspects of capitalism, we intend to deal with some of its features which have been most acutely expressed in a growing interdependence. They show that the capitalist economy is on the threshold of more difficulties. Among these features are, primarily, the unprecedented deep and protracted decline and instability of production, the low level of investments, the chronic underuse of industrial capacities, the qualitatively new character of inflation and unemployment, and the flare-up of external economic contradictions.

Revival effort fails

The gap between the peak in industrial output reached by most countries in the fourth quarter of 1973 and its low in mid-1975, came in the United States to 13 per cent, Britain 17 per cent, the FRG and Italy 22 per cent, Japan 25 per cent, and France 30 per cent. From mid-1975 on, the decline in industrial output in some countries, notably the United states and Japan, was stemmed and began to give way to revival processes. This enabled bourgeois propaganda to claim that late 1975 and early 1976 marked a 'dynamic pull-out' from the crisis and that the capitalist economy was now on an 'upswing.'

However, by mid-1976, there was a slowdown in the upward trend. Although in 1976 industrial output was nearly 8 per cent upon the 1975 low, the revival had clearly proved to be a non-starter. The upward trend petered out, without having returned most of the countries, including Japan, the FRG and Britain, to the peak pre-crisis levels.

Contrary to the bourgeois economists' forecasts, the results of 1977 were not satisfactory either: in Western Europe, industrial output rose by only 2 per cent. In the FRG, the capitalist world's third industrial power, which the Western prognosticators expected to act

as a 'locomotive' pulling the rest of the West European countries out of the crisis, the level of industrial output in the autumn was 10 per cent down on the pre-crisis level. Britain, the fourth-ranking capitalist country in economic potential, virtually made no advance from the 1975 level, which was 8 per cent below the pre-crisis level. By the autumn of 1977, industrial output in Italy was more than 6 per cent and in France 4 per cent down on the beginning of the year.

The statge of ferrous metallurgy, a key industry, testifies to the gravity and growing depth of the crisis phenomena, which continued in 1977. By the end of the year, its facilities were operating at only 50 per cent of capacity. The ship-building and the textile industries are in deep crisis.

Most West European economists and organizations hold that production is on a steep downgrade, and there are even more forecasts that this year the present 'mini-stagnation' in the West European countries could well develop into a slump.

In 1977, Japan, where the upswing in production was fairly strong throughout a part of 1976, never actually reached the pre-crisis peak. Most economists are agreed that it will no longer be able to continue boosting economic activity virtually through external economic expansion alone, and together with actual recent developments this shows that Japan will hardly justify the Western strategists' hopes that its 'dynamic' development could give the world capitalist economy a push to overcome the 'protracted pause.'

Over the past year, the Untied states also failed to escape the slowdown in industrial growth, although it is in a somewhat better state than the other parts of the capitalist world, largely owing to the U.S. multinationals' expansion abroad. The U.S. Congressional Joint Economic Committee characterized the state of the U.S. economy in the first half of 1977 as follows: '... two years after the economy began its recovery from the 1974-75 recession, the unemployment rate still hovers close to 8 per cent; inflation is still troublesome; and growth prospects for the current year are somewhat disappointing.'* That is the state of things in capitalism's economically most powerful country, which, bourgeois propaganda claims, is showing the other Western countries the way to reviving and boosting the economy.

The unflagging and massive ruin of small and medium enterprises shows that deep-going crisis difficulties and tensions remain in the capitalist countries' industry. Thus, in 1977, 18,000 firms went to the wall in Japan, or nearly 20 per cent more than the year before, and double the figure for the last pre-crisis year. In Britain, the FRG and

*The 1977 Joint Economic Report, 95th Congress, 1st Session, March 10, 1977, p. 9.

other West European countries, the number of firms which went bankrupt or wound up their operations in 1977 was 10-15 per cent up on 1976.

The continued and tremendous underloading of production capacities is symptomatic of the state of the capitalist world's industry. Over 20 per cent of capacities in Japan, the FRG and many other countries have remained idle for four years in succession, which is much more than the figure for the pre-crisis period.

This has been no surprise for Marxist economists and serious bourgeois analysts, for the contradictions of the capitalist economy have tangled into much too tight a knot in the present crisis, while the revival trends were flimsily based on a short-term growth of consumer demand, which largely resulted from a realization of deferred demand, much of which, besides, was effected on an instalment basis (in 1976 and 1977, the instalment debt in the United States grew twice as fast as in the past), and also on the broader external economic expansion of the leading Western countries. One factor was the build-up of corporate inventories in the unwarranted expectation of a brighter outlook.

One important reason for the failure of the revival to materialize was that the upward trends in production were not backed up with more investment and this, we believe, suggests that these trends are non-cyclical. Thus, U.S. corporate investment in machinery, plant and industrial construction dropped by 3 per cent in 1974, and by another 14 per cent in 1975. In 1976, investments in fixed capital in Japan were 18 per cent lower than the pre-crisis level, in the United States 13 per cent, in the FRG 10 per cent, in France 8 per cent, and in Britain 7 per cent.

The facts show the untenability of the 'theories' recently evolved in the West about the possibility of pulling out of the crisis and reviving economic activity without invigorating a key factor of the reproduction process like the expansion and renovation of production facilities. The latest bitter experience has now induced bourgeois leaders themselves to abandon them.

Capitalism's growing incapacity to use the opportunities held out to mankind by modern scientific and technical progress has vividly manifested itself. The bourgeois economists themselves say that a large part of the machinery and plant, especially in the West European countries, is obsolete and has to be replaced, while investments remain at the level of the lowest point of the crisis (in 1977 investment into fixed assets fell short of the pre-crisis level by 15 per cent in Japan; 5 per cent in the FRG, and, despite some growth, 4 per cent in the United States).

Growing burden of inflation

The pace and scale of the growth of retail, wholesale and foreign-trade prices, and the changes in their levels in the mid-70s warrant the assumption that inflation has acquired a qualitatively new character, and has come to exert a strong depressive influence on the whole capitalist economy. Developments in the past few years have in a sense been unique: the decline in production has gone hand in hand with a sharp spiralling of prices.

The unbridled and unflagging rise in prices in the course of the current crisis is an expression of the many disproportions and contradictions in the capitalist economy. Inflation processes are being whipped up by the growing budget deficits and the continued ballooning of vast military appropriations. The spreading drive of the transnationals has carried inflation over the whole capitalist economy and paralyzed the conventional 'national' instruments for containing it.

Chronic inflation is an organic feature of capitalism, but until the latest crisis retail and wholesale prices did not grow at more than 3 or 4 per cent a year. While this did erode the people's living standards, Western experts believed the situation to be normal. When in the years just before the crisis, inflation suddenly jumped to 5-6 per cent and began to affect the interests of monopoly capital itself, measures were taken to return inflation to within 'safe limits.' But the crisis made nonsense of all their expectations. In 1974, the general retail and wholesale price index (the so-called GNP deflator) in the developed capitalist countries shot up to 12.5 per cent and rose another 10 per cent the following year. In 1976, the aggregate inflation rate somewhat slowed down, but was still higher than 8 per cent, that is some 100-150 per cent higher than the level of the pre-crisis decade. The general level of inflation was pressed down mainly through wholesale prices, while consumer prices continued to spiral almost as rapidly as before. In October 1977, prices in West European countries were on the average 15 per cent up on the previous year.

Although the working people have managed to secure some increase in their nominal wages through hard class battles, the current inflation tends to erode their living standards to a much greater extent than ever before. The tough deflationary policy which the Western ruling circles began to conduct in 1976 was expressed chiefly in a wage freeze. Even in the United States, where until recently the inflationary growth of prices was lower than it was in Western Europe and Japan, real family incomes in 1976-77, according to the U.S. press, were lower than before the crisis. In the past five years, retail prices have gone up by more than 50 per cent, and the cost of house building by nearly 70 per cent. From $1,783 a year, the cost of

education in the most 'accessible' colleges rose to $2,790 and, as U.S. sociologists admit, is beyond the means of many families. The austerity programs adopted in Britain and France, says their press, have reduced the working people's real wages and living standards.

According to the OECD, the level of inflation in the industrialized Western countries in the first half of 1977 rose to 11.5 per cent, as compared with 8 per cent in the second half of the previous year. Overall, in the course of the current crisis (from January 1974 to January 1978), retail prices increased by nearly 90 per cent in Italy and Britain, and by 55 per cent in France and Japan.

Inflation has risen to a totally new level and is bound to continue eroding the living standards of the people in the capitalist world, worsening the overall economic outlook, slowing down the reproduction processes and making the external markets even more unstable.

Deeper external economic contradictions

The current economic crisis was largely prepared by the acute growth of contradictions and difficulties in capitalism's external economic sphere. The tenacity of the sharp contradictions between the industrialized capitalist and the developing countries, the instability of the foreign-trade and monetary situation in many countries, and the mounting inter-imperialist rivalry tend to deepen and complicate the crisis, and are its characteristic features.

The crisis processes in the economy of developed capitalism led to a drop in the demand for raw materials from the developing countries and in 1975 and 1976 pressed down the world prices of many types of raw materials. According to press reports, the crisis decline in the demand for 20 key raw material commodities caused the young states to lose $18-20 billion in those two years. Meanwhile, the cost of their imports from the West had gone up by at least 10 per cent, and this increased their import outlays by $20-22 billion.

A so-called North-South Conference, attended by eight industrialized countries, on the one hand, and 19 developing countries, on the other, which had gone on for 18 months, ended in virtual failure in late May 1977, revealing the deep contradictions between the young states, which want a restructuring of the whole system of the inequitable international economic relations under capitalism, and the imperialist powers' neo-colonialism.

The leading Western countries stepped up their efforts to pull out of the crisis through foreign-trade expansion, but because the crisis had simultaneously hit virtually all the main centers of capitalism, the expansion of exports by some countries made things worse for the others. In 1975, the capitalist countries' foreign trade fell by 6 per cent, and the following year the quantum of their exports rose by

roughly 11 per cent, and this was a short-term factor behind the revival of the overall economic outlook. But it also threw the capitalist countries' trade and payments balances into even greater disequilibrium. Thus, the U.S. balance of trade worsened sharply, and despite all the efforts, it was unable to increase its exports to the extent some of its rivals had done.

In defiance of the understanding reached within the OECD not to resort to any direct or indirect trade restrictions in view of the continuing economic difficulties, protectionist trends were intensified in all the countries of this group while their rivalry spread beyond the bounds of a mere trade war. The contradictions, in particular between the Japanese monopolies and the big capital of the United States and Western Europe, were sharply aggravated. The United States and some EEC countries, alarmed over Japan's massive invasion of external markets, demanded a 'voluntary' cutback in many key exports and this was strongly resisted by Japanese monopoly circles. The differences between the United States and the Common Market countries, and also among the EEC countries, were intensified. The multilateral negotiations within the GATT framework, which began back in 1973, were dragged out because of the fresh burst of commercial and political contradictions and yielded no practical results. As a result, the growth of capitalist foreign trade in 1977 dropped to 4-5 per cent.

The growing unevenness of development in the world capitalist trade and the sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry could substantially slow down trade, increase protectionism, and result in fresh trade wars among the chief competitors on the foreign markets, so further complicating the state of the world capitalist economy.

The past few years have been marked by a continued disorder and instability in capitalism's monetary sphere. This is expressed, for instance, in the falling exchange rates of such leading capitalist currencies as the pound, the French franc and the lira, and in sharper fluctuations of other exchange rates, together with a fresh tide of speculative movements of capital ('hot money') between countries, primarily along the channels of the transnationals, and deeper disproportions in the payments balances of many countries. Britain and Italy have been forced to resort to large international loans in order to avoid even greater monetary upheavals. France has had to withdraw for a second time from the West European countries' joint 'float' with respect to the dollar. By contrast, there was some strengthening of the FRG mark and the yen.

The results of the past few years show very well that all the Western attempts to establish healthier monetary relations, including an agreement on changing the status of gold, introduction of a system

of 'floating' exchange rates, based not on gold but on Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) and other count currencies, have failed. They have not helped to stabilize the situation but have merely piled on fresh confusion, for they are largely designed to help the leading imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, to maintain their privileged positions in this sphere of the capitalist economy in the new conditions at the expense of all the other participants in international commerce.

Millions of unemployed

In the pre-crisis period, fully unemployed in the industrialized capitalist countries totalled 7-8 million, or about 2.5-3 per cent of the active labor force. The crisis has raised and, judging by many indicators, entrenched unemployment for a long time at a new and much higher level: 14-15 million, or 5-6 per cent of the working people.

A recent assumption was that the unemployment peak in the current crisis had been reached and passed in October 1975, when, according to the OECD, the number of officially registered fully unemployed was over 15.2 million. In May 1976, unemployment dropped to 14 million, but by the end of the year it was back at more than 15 million. After the London summit the OECD declared that the previously predicted decline in unemployment to 13 million in 1977 was faulty, and that there would actually be a substantial rise. This forecast proved correct. By the end of last year total unemployment in the industrialized Western countries surpassed 17 million, which was nearly one million above the October 1975 peak. In the autumn of last year, the number of officially registered unemployed in the EEC countries alone had gone up to more than 6 million. Last year, Japan had 5 per cent more unemployed than the year before. In the United States, despite some growth of production, the unemployment level was virtually the same, about 7 per cent. President Carter's message to Congress in early 1978 admitted that some 3 million Americans were working part time, while 1 million had stopped registering because they had lost all hope of finding a job.

Today, unemployment has much graver social consequences for the working people than in the past. It is becoming protracted, and millions have lost their right to unemployment benefits. According to official sources, in January 1976, of the 7.3 fully unemployed in the United States, 2.3 million (31 per cent) were no longer entitled to unemployment benefits, and by the end of the year the figure had gone up to 4.4 million (55 per cent of the total).

There is now no reason to expect not just a substantial reduction in unemployment over the next few years, but even an easing of its disastrous effects for millions of men and women. The U.S. Congress

says that until 1980 unemployment will be higher than 5 per cent of the total active population. By then, the number of unemployed in the FRG is expected to go up from 1.1 million in 1977 to 2 million. The prospects in all the other West European countries are also extremely unfavorable.

Recent developments drive home the point that in the interests of the monopolies' superprofits, Western ruling circles have concentrated their efforts on pursuing a policy that deprives more and more millions of men and women of their prime right, the right to work, instead of combating the social evil of unemployment.

In the recent period, the working people of the capitalist countries have been steadily intensifying their struggle against the anti-popular exploitative policy of big business. The number of industrial workers and employees involved in the strike struggle sharply increased in the mid-70s. Last year, it went up markedly, to 50 million.

The ills of the capitalist economy highlight the advantages of the socialist mode of production. In the four years between 1974 and 1977, when the developed capitalist countries' industrial production increased by a mere 6 per cent, industrial output in the CMEA countries went up 33 per cent. The world socialist economy, free from crisis and recessions, has been steadily advancing from one high point to another, forging ahead in the historical competition between the two social systems.

Have you changed your address?

Please do not forget to notify us of the change. To be sure you do not miss an issue we must receive your change of address immediately.

viewpoints

Our duty to the children

Freda Brown
President,
Women's International
Democratic Federation

All parents hope for a happy and secure future for their children. They want to give them a good education and protect them from the unexpected hazards of life.

However, even though the future of our planet will soon be in the hands of today's children, the world still faces the critical problem of making life better for them. Much has been accomplished in this direction in the socialist countries, where exploitation and oppression have been abolished and where the people are in control of their destiny. But in a major part of the world, primarily in the capitalist and developing countries, a good deal remains to be done.

The year 1979, proclaimed International Children's Year by the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly, is expected to contribute greatly to the happiness of children and protection of their rights. International Children's Year will be a part of the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85). This is particularly important because the problem of children's rights is directly bound up with the problems facing women and society in general. The Year also coincides with the 20th anniversary of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the United Nations on November 20, 1959.

This Declaration stresses that the child is in need of special care and protection, including adequate prenatal and post-natal care. He must enjoy the benefits of social security — the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation, medical services, education — all of which should enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially. The child, the Declaration states, must not be the subject of traffic in any form, and should not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age. The child should be brought up in a spirit of understanding and friendship among peoples, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

The Declaration particularly states that all children, without any exception whatsoever, should be entitled to these rights, without

distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or property status.

The UN General Assembly that proclaimed the Declaration on the Rights of the Child called upon parents, voluntary organizations, local authorities, and national governments to recognize and strive for the observance of these rights by legislative and other measures.

In preparing for International Children's Year it is possible to review fulfillment of the Declaration's principles. In many countries, particularly the socialist, children's rights are broadly implemented. In ever growing measure the needs of the family and of children are provided for. It is rightly said that in the socialist countries children are the only privileged class.

All children should enjoy the right to an education, a progressive system of social security and never experience unemployment. Today's school children should be guaranteed a profession and regular employment. All this is essential. But I should also like to stress the very important moral side of the problem. Children in the capitalist world are in constant danger of falling prey to narcotics, violence and sadism. In the socialist countries we see healthy morals, and children brought up to respect the community and each other.

In the socialist countries care for the child begins before he is born. Social security provides for the future mother's free prenatal medical treatment. She receives a paid maternity leave and is guaranteed her former job after her leave ends. Many socialist countries have introduced paid leaves, so the mother can care for the child up to a certain age. Of course, not all problems have been solved. There are still not enough crèches, particularly in new towns and cities. In some areas there is a shortage of sports grounds. Nevertheless, these problems are being solved and we can say that in the socialist countries the principles of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child are really being carried out.

It is regrettable that not in every country do governments and societies show a similar concern for children. Despite efforts by progressive forces the right of children to a healthy development and to an education are still systematically violated. According to the International Labor Organization more than 40 million children the world over, in the 6 to 15 age group, are forced to work instead of getting an education.

Modern society requires that children receive an education corresponding with the level attained by science and technology, that their world outlook should be scientific, progressive and democratic to enable them to be active and productive in efforts for social progress. In this respect we must, in all seriousness, study the possibilities of

giving children a professional training. By 1985, in the non-socialist countries 900 million children 15 years and older will be ready for professional training and 457 million new positions will have to be created.

It is absolutely impermissible that even in the most developed capitalist countries that like to boast of their living standards and preach human rights to others, illiteracy and racial discrimination have not yet been abolished, and certain parts of the population are deprived of normal medical care and the opportunity of getting an education. School and college graduates are denied jobs and cannot apply their knowledge, and are, in effect, rejected by a crisis-ridden society.

Children receive their social and spiritual upbringing not only in schools. The family is important here. Children form deep impressions and views on social values from their daily contacts with their parents. A well-knit family and a healthy moral atmosphere, so necessary in the adolescent period, are a key factor in moulding the human character. In this respect the plight of hundreds of thousands of children of foreign-born workers in capitalist countries is alarming. It is they who are the first to suffer from the disintegration of a family as a unit, from their cultural and social uprooting and from discrimination.

In a capitalist society, boys and girls learn of social inequality early in life. They see that some children live in comfort and wasteful luxury, while others are poor and hungry. They see the anxiety of their friends, parents and neighbors who have lost their jobs and can no longer provide for the family. In view of this social situation, together with the influence of the school, the cinema and television, it is not surprising that in these countries the crime rate among juveniles is growing and that many become addicted to alcohol and narcotics.

We are well aware of the terrible legacy inherited by the newly independent countries from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Hunger, sickness and poverty are still the lot of millions of children in Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to figures released by UNICEF,* more than 200 million children in the developing countries suffer chronic malnutrition and the resulting maladies, only one child out of 20 receives medical care and approximately 100 million children in the 7 to 10 age group do not have the opportunity to attend school.**

Countries that today have rid themselves of colonialism and foreign rule — mainly those following the non-capitalist road — are relying on the experience of the socialist countries and are evolving complete

*UN Children's Fund.

**See, *Women of the Whole World,* No. 2, 1976, pp. 10-11.

systems of mother and child protection. Laws are being adopted for maternity and infancy protection, crèches and schools are being built and funds allocated for future mothers and working mothers.

The plight of children in countries with fascist, racist and anti-democratic regimes is cruel and inhuman.

The Women's International Democratic Federation has done a good deal in recent years to focus public attention on the plight of children in countries where violations of human rights and the rights of the child are particularly glaring. WIDF delegations have visited Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, territories occupied by Israel, the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. The delegations have returned with documented proof that women and children are invariably the first to fall victims of wars, aggression, oppression and fascism.

On Israeli-occupied Arab territories, many children and young people 10 to 21 years of age were killed when troops fired upon citizens demonstrating against crude violations by the occupation forces of elementary rights and freedoms of the Arab population. School children told a WIDF delegation how Israeli police would often charge into schools throwing tear gas grenades in the class-rooms. The delegation was given documents by the Israeli League in Defense of Human Rights, registering arrests of Arab children and recounting their brutal treatment.

In Northern Ireland the state of emergency allows children 10 years of age and older to be held criminally responsible. Teenagers suspected of contacts with progressive organizations are often arrested, beaten and even shot. In Chile thousands of youngsters have lost their parents and are doomed to hunger and poverty. In South Africa only one of 400 African children goes through secondary school and one out of 5,000 gets to a university or college. For white children education is compulsory and free, while Africans are not encouraged to study. The examples are endless of the violence, terror, racial discrimination and humiliation that children are forced to suffer under apartheid, fascism and dictatorships. We are prepared to make available to all governments, international institutions and public organizations the proof in our possession of violations of the rights of the child.

International Children's Year will make it possible to attract wider public attention to the plight of children in countries where a large part of the population, particularly working people and their families, have been hard hit by the aftermaths of the economic and social crisis, by inflation, soaring prices and unemployment.

We appeal to all people of goodwill to actively help prepare for

International Children's Year. This should be a year of solidarity with all children who are forced to live in such tragic conditions.

Since 1950, on the initiative of the WIDF, June 1st has been marked as International Day in Defense of Children. On that day demands are particularly strong the world over that children be ensured the rights enumerated in the Declaration on the Rights of the Child. This Children's Year will be an important new stimulus for the WIDF and its national branches to work toward this end with renewed energy.

The Seventh WIDF Congress, held in Berlin in October 1975, outlined many important measures for 1976-80 to ensure the rights of all children to life, health and education. These include international conferences on children's problems, seminars on mother and child protection, bringing up children and the youth in the spirit of internationalism, peace and friendship among peoples.

The United Nations Organization is helping prepare International Children's Year. It has called on all governments to appoint special national ICY commissions. A coordinating consultative group of representatives of specialized UN agencies has been set up within the UN framework. UNICEF is the lead agency of ICY, and an ICY committee of non-governmental organizations has been created.

The fate of children and their future are inseparably bound up with the fate of the world. Despite the impressive progress made by détente, the military-industrial circles in many capitalist countries are becoming more active, and militarist and pro-fascist sentiments are spreading. The world knows no rest from unjust local wars and conflicts, while arms manufacture has reached an unprecedented and frightening level. In the United States alone there is sufficient nuclear weaponry to match the destructive capability of 600,000 bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. This is enough to destroy the entire world population 12 times over. Isn't that a little too much?

Women give life, and it is for this very reason that they are such fervent supporters of all initiatives for peace. That is why we believe that the preparations for the ICY and the year itself must become the pivot of the common struggle for peace and for disarmament. Disarmament has become a pressing necessity, an ardent desire of millions of people on all continents who are active in the fight against the manufacture of weapons of mass annihilation, against the neutron bomb and for reducing military spending. The WIDF appeals for an end to the arms race and to see that the funds used for arms manufacture be used, instead, to fight hunger, illiteracy and unemployment, and for mother and child protection.

The exceptionally broad composition of the movement for the

protection of the rights of the child is a sign of its great potential possibilities, and the task now is to encourage mass action on the basis of preparations for ICY at international, national and local level.

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

It is reported from Bangladesh that Moni Singh, President of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, a veteran of the communist and national-liberation movement of Bangladesh, has been released from jail. Like Mohammed Farhad, the General Secretary of the party's CC, he was arrested on October 12 last year. That same day the Communist Party of Bangladesh was declared illegal. Many other political and trade union leaders, true patriots who have done much for their people, are also in prison.

The fact that arbitrary acts have been taken against the party and men who are well known in their country as outstanding fighters against the yoke of the reactionary Pakistani regime, for national and social freedom, has aroused legitimate indignation in Bangladesh and abroad. Democratic opinion demands the release from prison of all the communists and other patriots and immediate lifting of the ban on the CPB. These legitimate demands must be met. History testifies to the ignominy which falls upon those who imprison true patriots, prepared to devote their whole life to the struggle for their people's happiness.

J. Ali

The potential of the Ethiopian revolution

Naim Ashhab
Political Bureau Member,
CC, Jordanian CP

I had the good fortune to visit people's Ethiopia while the battles were still raging in the Ogaden. The people's nerves and will were strained to the limit, for in that historic period the country was demonstrating its whole revolutionary potential. Now, after the victory over the forces of foreign invasion, one has an especially clear comprehension of how vast that potential is. The strength of the Ethiopian revolution

lies in the élan of the millions of its working people in town and country, in the qualitatively new organization and discipline, and the resolve to carry the revolutionary struggle to the end and to build a society without exploitation, with the support of the progressive people of the world.

Touring the country in a big group of foreign journalists (a tour organized by the revolutionary authorities of Ethiopia) I saw for myself the strength of the people's anti-imperialist spirit, as it met, arms in hand, the campaign mounted by external reaction of slander, accusations and misinformation, especially during the Somali aggression. The Western propaganda machine and the anti-popular regimes in regions neighboring on Ethiopia predicted a defeat for the revolution, and that is what some must have believed to be certain when the vast territory of the Ogaden was occupied by foreign troops incited from outside. From Pakistan to Egypt, the opponents of the progressive regime, spurred on by NATO, did their utmost to extend the anti-Ethiopian campaign. The Shah of Iran threatened armed intervention under the pretext of 'protecting Somalia, a victim of Ethiopian aggression (sic),' while Arab reactionary circles, the Saudi Arabian in the first place, called for a 'holy war' against the revolutionary state. Even the Israeli rulers joined in this discordant chorus. In order to create a pretext for direct intervention by Arab reaction in the Ethiopian events, Foreign Minister Dayan spread the 'news' that Israel was supplying Ethiopia with weapons. The Ethiopian Foreign Ministry quite rightly qualified Dayan's statement as provocative and subtly timed. Those machinations testified to the deep hostility which all the reactionaries, whatever their divisions, have for the progressive state.

The Ethiopian people's anti-imperialist feelings were further sharpened when they saw for themselves that imperialism was at the back of the external reactionary forces, whether of Arab, Iranian or any other origin. The irrefutable material evidence of this came above all from the American and NATO weapons captured from the retreating Somali troops. It is true that the United States claimed to be neutral in the Ogaden conflict, pretending to be unaware of the growing influx of NATO weapons into Somalia, and even called for an end to the fighting, but it did so in the loudest tones just when the collapse of the aggression became obvious. Yet only a few months earlier, the U.S. President had, in fact, nothing to say about the invasion of Ethiopia by Somali troops, which had penetrated its territory to a depth of hundreds of kilometres.

The plot organized by imperialism and reaction against the people's revolution opened the eyes of many of the Arab countries to the present scale of the struggle in the Middle East region and in the Horn

of Africa, where Arab, Israeli, Iranian and African reaction has overcome its national divisions and has actually mounted a united front against the progressive circles and movements. This policy is being rebuffed by the sound Arab forces, which truly oppose Sadat's defeatist line on the Middle East conflict. That is why these forces have moved much closer to an understanding of the substance and nature of the Ethiopian revolution and have correctly discerned the existence of a deep-seated interconnection between the anti-Ethiopian plot and the plans for a defeatist settlement in the Middle East.

The progressive and democratic circles have also been much alarmed by the plans for a so-called Arabization of the Red Sea being nurtured by Arab reaction. Let us note that this idea did not emerge during Haile Selassie's feudal despotic regime, although his policy of encouraging the U.S. and Israeli military presence in the region and also these two countries' military bases on Ethiopian territory presented a great danger for the Arab peoples, especially after the Israeli aggression of 1967. Indeed, the idea of turning the Red Sea into an 'Arab Lake' has been most intensively peddled since the emergence of revolutionary Ethiopia, in an effort to isolate it from the rest of the world, to deprive it of an outlet to the sea, and, finally, to weaken it to the utmost, something that would also have been served by prying away the northern province of Eritrea.

Those who now talk about the 'Arabization' of the Red Sea in effect cast doubt on the obvious fact that it is international waters open for free navigation. Such it has been since ancient times. Ethiopia has always been one of the chief states with an outlet to the Red Sea, and its international character was indirectly recognized by the 1888 Treaty of Constantinople, which was concluded for the purpose of organizing international navigation along the Suez Canal.

Revolutionary Ethiopia has not ranged itself against other peoples and states. Its leaders have constantly emphasized their adherence to a policy of good-neighborliness and they have no aggressive schemes against any country, including Somalia. But the government has no intention whatsoever of making concessions when the national sovereignty and territorial integrity are at stake. The rebuff of the Somali aggression and its defeat have shown very well what is in store for those who now nurture plans for another invasion and who try to put gross pressure on the country.[1] At the same time, the authorities in power, relying on the revolutionary masses, have been resolutely fighting domestic counter-revolution and the right-wing forces.

From my conversations with revolutionary and patriotic-minded Ethiopians, I carried away the conviction that many people in the country have a very clear understanding of the specifics of the

anti-imperialist struggle in present-day conditions. While the heroic stand of the Vietnamese people, led by their working-class party, predetermined the victorious outcome of the battle against *direct* imperialist intervention, Ethiopia is faced with the task of beating back the new imperialist tactic which has been worked out in the light of the lessons of Vietnam and which is designed above all for the utmost activation of the reactionary forces in the adjacent regions, a tactic which is closely connected with the imperialist attempts to prepare the overthrow of the progressive regime from *inside*. The revolutionaries attach special importance to the internal front, where, in the course of the effort to fulfill the constructive tasks of the revolution, a battle is being fought against the anti-popular classes and sections, a titanic effort to eradicate the legacy of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The slogan, 'The Revolutionary Motherland or Death!' is an expression of the Ethiopians' resolve to go through with their endeavor.

Ethiopia's victories on the domestic and external fronts have enabled the ship of the revolution to navigate the narrow straits and to sail into the open sea, and these are the natural result of the tremendous gains of the revolution itself. By the people's forces and for the people it has carried out social transformations whose radicalism and resolution are unprecedented in the history of the continent, and that have brought the mustering and organization of the masses to a high level. I have seen for myself that progressive Ethiopia has the capacity and skill to defend itself. It relies on the detachments in defense of the revolution, numbering many millions, and the people's militia, which is regarded as the nucleus of the army of the revolution. It is more than 300,000 strong, and many of its members fought valiantly in the Ogaden. Finally, there has also been a radical change in the armed forces: they have been cleared of the reactionary senior officers, who had been fostered in the spirit of loyalty to the old system, and the armed forces now have political workers carrying on ideological work among the soldiers.

'Organization, Political Education, Armament,' that is the call which epitomizes the profound understanding of the need for all-round organization and ideological work, for arming the masses, which the revolutionaries have demonstrated. Alongside the improvement of the military agencies and the mustering of the people on an unprecedented scale, the growth of trade union organizations and the rise of other mass organizations is under way. The All-Ethiopia Trade Union already has more than 350,000 members. Millions of peasants, released from the oppression of the feudals and landowners, have set up their own organs of self-administration, the

peasant associations. The associations of urban dwellers also have many self-administration functions.[2]

Much importance is attached to raising the people's political consciousness. Twice a week there are political classes in the trade union branches at factories and offices, at which the working people are educated in a spirit of internationalism, and a clear understanding of who their friends and enemies are. I saw and heard Ethiopians condemning the schemes of Arab reaction against their country, while simultaneously emphasizing that the Arab peoples are their friends. In the camps of refugees who left their homes after the Somali aggression one frequently hears ardent expression of solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine and its struggle.

Broad masses of people have wholeheartedly responded to the current calls and slogans, for they see that these are being given real substance and implemented through fundamental transformations: the land reform, nationalization, and so on. At the same time, there remains the urgent task of converting the sincere revolutionary enthusiasm into revolutionary consciousness. Here, a great role will be played by the establishment of the vanguard party which the Ethiopian leaders and other progressive circles have now got down to forming. The establishment of such a party will raise to a totally new level the solution of the diverse problems faced by the country, notably the nationalities problem, which is of key importance for the destinies of the Ethiopian state.

Ethiopia is one of those multinational countries of Africa where conflicts on a national basis have always been especially acute, conflicts for which the exploitative system was above all to blame. The state was run by feudal aristocratic circles originating mainly from the Amhara people, which oppressed all the other nationalities and tribes. This state of affairs was ended by the revolution, which made a real start on the solution of the nationalities problem on the scale of the whole country. The progressive regime has won the multinational masses to its side by the surest way which they could understand: radical social transformations, above all the land reform.

Quite naturally, the revolution was unable to do away all at once with the grim legacy it had inherited in the relations between the nationalities. Nor was it easy for the nationalities, which had for ages regarded the central authority as something deeply hostile to them, to change their frame of mind all at once and to really understand the cardinal change in the situation after the overthrow of the monarchy. The separatists, who rejected the just settlement of the nationalities problem proposed by the national-democratic revolution, were quick to capitalize on this. These circles, especially in Eritrea, insist on separation from the rest of the country.

When considering the Eritrea problem — one of the basic problems at the present stage of Ethiopia's national and social development — it is important to see both its historical roots and the perspective, above all with an eye to the fact that Ethiopia's future, like that of many other African countries, is now determined by the mainstream of the social struggle. There is no doubt that the old rulers' policy had created the conditions for the emergence of a movement for the separation of the Northern Province. But even then, there was doubt about a separatist solution for the nationalities problem in a historical period in which the task of uniting Ethiopia's different nationalities for the struggle against the common enemy — the tyrannic monarchy, feudalism and capitalism — became a real one.

The situation underwent a radical change after the collapse of the monarchy. Since then, the activity of the Eritrean separatists has, in effect, coalesced with the counter-revolutionary acts of the monarchist circles and the numerous opponents of the progressive regime. The separatists' leadership, having ranged itself against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population in insisting on a separation of Eritrea, was directly harming the revolution and it was doing this at a time when international reaction, imperialism and its allies in the Middle East, especially among the anti-popular and monarchist regimes, ganged up against it.

It is only fair to say that despite the influence in Eritrea of suspect circles allied with Arab reaction there are also some healthy forces. A number of active leaders of the separatist movement have broken with it and have sided with the new power. Despite all the obstacles revolutionary changes have also reached the Eritrean Province, where trade unions and peasant and urban associations are being set up, and the government has been doing much to start a dialogue with the population. However, until lately the separatist trend has continued to be fairly strong.

The question naturally arises: what is the justification today for the revolution, which has reaffirmed the right to self-determination of the nationalities inhabiting Ethiopia, to be oriented on Eritrea's development within the framework of the country, while there are loud calls in the region for separation? On the other hand, there is also the legitimate question of what it would give the Eritreans in terms of real self-determination. Let us look, in this context, at some historical examples.

We know from the experience of several African countries, for instance, the Congo in the early 60s, that the separatist movements there (in Katanga, etc.) were defeated because they acted contrary to the trend of the post-colonial world toward national consolidation and the shaping of one or several nations on the basis of the big and small

peoples and tribes inhabiting many young countries, a trend toward the establishment of strong national states capable of pursuing a truly independent line in international affairs. Nowhere did separatism have anything in common with the national struggle (like the struggle in Bangladesh under the reactionary Pakistan regime) because separatism there pursued the self-seeking goal of winning privileges for a definite part of the population, a tribal élite, for which purpose, in effect, the demand for separation was made, with artificial incitement from outside by imperialism. In such cases, there was no real national ground for the emergence of independent state entities.

Pondering Ethiopia's nationalities problems in the context of this article, I feel that the destinies of independent national development and the interests of establishment of a strong and independent state, and finally, the destinies of the social revolution — which is perhaps the main thing at the present stage — should be largely taken into account in any solution of these problems. The more successful the course of the revolution, the greater the guarantees of a fair settlement of the nationalities problems. Thus, Iraq's experience shows that only with its switch to the progressive anti-imperialist road did the prospect of obtaining national rights open before the Kurdish people, as a result of autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi state. There is no doubt that in order to consolidate this advance it is highly important for the country to continue and give greater depth to its anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic orientation.

Taking a sober view of things, one finds it hard to imagine that the population of Eritrea could win genuine national rights by breaking with revolutionary Ethiopia, especially now when imperialism and Arab reaction have stepped up their pressure to an unprecedented degree in doing their utmost (mainly by helping the separatists) to detach the province. It is important to stop such plans. There is still profound meaning in what Lenin said in 1920, when he urged 'the need constantly to explain and expose before the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 150).

Indeed, the progressive forces of Ethiopia, including those in Eritrea, have the right to ask this: what can the state of Eritrea be, having been set up with the support of Arab reaction acting in league with imperialism against the Ethiopian revolution? Is there any doubt at all that such a state will prove to be no more than a puppet of international reaction and a bridgehead for aggressions and plots against Ethiopia? Will separation advance the people of Eritrea to the

goals of liberation from imperialist oppression and influence, and so to genuine national liberation and social emancipation?

The way of the revolution is never easy. Even a brief acquaintance with Ethiopia and its people's struggle makes one sense the intricacies and dramatism of the historical turn through which the country is going. But simultaneously one also sees something else, namely, the scope and grandeur of the tasks, and the people's sincere urge to fulfill them. It is natural, therefore, that the Ethiopian revolution, a truly popular revolution, has won sympathy and support abroad, above all in the socialist and in many developing countries. The progressive and patriotic Arab circles have displayed their solidarity with it. A statement issued by the recent Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries says: 'The supreme interests of the Arab national-liberation movement consist in ... blocking the way to intervention by imperialism and reaction, defending the Ethiopian revolution, and solving the Eritrea problem by peaceful means on the basis of the right to self-determination and in the interests of the joint struggle against imperialism and reaction, on the basis of the Ethiopian state's territorial integrity.'[3]

Progressive world opinion shares the Ethiopians' joy at their every success, and has greeted with profound satisfaction the news of the victory in the Ogaden, which was scored by the Ethiopian people itself with the fraternal support of the socialist community, notably the USSR and Cuba, and of all the progressive forces of the world. The profoundly principled stand of these two countries, which in the Ogaden conflict sided with the victim of aggression, was simultaneously a vivid demonstration of solidarity with fighting Ethiopia. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP Cuba, and Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, said that the internationalist-minded Cuban fighters who came to the country fought as if they were fighting for their own homeland. There is profound meaning in these words. Heroism and the capacity for self-sacrifice for the sake of a happy future for other nations and for the sake of socialism have always been inherent qualities displayed by the internationalist-minded communists who gave their lives on the battlefields of the Civil War in Soviet Russia, in Republican Spain and in Angola. Today, these qualities also help to multiply the potentialities of the peoples who have risen to revolutionary battle.

1. Many facts show that the moves against the Ethiopian revolution have continued. Thus, at the March meeting of the Arab League, the reactionaries once again sounded a provocative call, promising to supply Somalia with weapons and financial aid if it should be subjected to 'attack' (sic). The reactionary and conservative Arab regimes attending the meeting (it was boycotted by five anti-imperialist Arab states) also promised to help the Sadat regime break out of its isolation, following the broad

condemnation in the Middle East of its policy of surrendering to U.S. imperialism and the Israeli occupation.

2. For details see, Berhanu Bayith, 'The Ethiopian revolution: a hard period,' *WMR*, April 1978, p. 56.

3. 'For an Effective National-Progressive Front, for Activating the Arab Countries' Struggle Against Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction, for Foiling the Defeatist Plans, for the Liberation of Occupied Arab Territories from the Israeli Aggressors, for Securing the Legitimate Rights of the Arab People of Palestine, for Struggle in the Interests of Stronger Independence, for Democracy and Social Progress.' This statement and other documents, published in the newspaper *Tariq al-Shaab*, were adopted at the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries held in mid-April with the participation of the Jordanian Communist Party, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, the Communist Party of the Sudan, the Syrian Communist Party, the Lebanese Community Party, the Communist Party of Egypt and the Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

VOLUME ONE: CAPITALISM
VOLUME TWO: SOCIALISM

Editor: **G. Kozlov**

First printing 1977

New, comprehensive, easy-to-use books on Marxist-Leninist basics

Ideal for textbook use or personal reference and study

(Volume One not to be confused with *Political Economy of Capitalism* by Afanasayev)

Each volume $4.95

Set of two volumes $8.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst Street
Third floor
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6

the press

Book reviews

ETHIOPIA, THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION

Raul Valdes Vivo, *Ethiopia, the Unknown Revolution.* Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Ciudad de La Habana, 1977, 147 pp.

The book by Raul Valdes Vivo, CC Secretariat member of the Communist Party of Cuba, has been published in Spanish, English and French. It will definitely interest those who have been following press reports on the profound changes that Ethiopia has undergone over the past few years, especially recently, and those who know practically nothing about that country, except, perhaps, for the fact that more than 40 years ago there was a campaign of international solidarity with Abyssinia, which was then resisting invasion by fascist Italy.

The world's news agencies recently dispatched thousands of words on the situation in the Horn of Africa. But little was said about the events preceding the conflict, about the revolutionary process in Ethiopia which started with a spontaneous mass action in February 1974 and the events in September of the same year when 'a small white VW stopped at the main entrance to the Imperial Palace of Addis Ababa' and three soldiers arrested 'God's Elected' (see p. 3).

The author's historical analysis of the main features of Ethiopian society gives us a better understanding of the explosive character of popular action in that country. After 1930 the state was ruled by Haile Selassie, the last Ethiopian emporer. During his rule state centralization peaked, the feudal lords strengthened their power and the 'King of Kings' became the ruler of an absolute monarchy whose parliament was there merely to make feudal Ethiopia look like a country where bourgeois rule had long since been established.

The reforms in Ethiopia, the book says, promoted capitalist relations only to a very small degree. In 1974, this country with a population of 30 million had a mere 200,000 industrial workers. At the same time, millions of peasants lacked land. They owned a bare 5 per cent of all the country's arable land. The remainder was divided between

the feudal lords and the clergy; 65 per cent of the land was owned by a handful of families (the Emperor's family was, of course, the wealthiest), and 30 per cent belonged to the hierarchy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (see p. 95).

'The national economy was the poorest in the world. Ethiopia was more backward than Haiti, and that's saying a lot. Per capita income (which, with such vast social differences, doesn't reflect the reality) was only $60 a year ...' (p. 96).

If we add to this the fact that 95 to 98 per cent of the population were illiterate, living conditions appalling and the health figures disastrous (about 450,000 suffering from tuberculosis, 150,000 from leprosy, 6 to 7 million from malaria and 14 million from infectious eye diseases), even a layman in politics must see the causes of the profound revolutionary upheaval observed in Ethiopian society today.

But the mere existence of conditions for a social explosion do not in themselves explain why the revolutionary process did, in the end, begin in a country where no serious social change had occurred for years. The author points out the facts which made possible the 'revolution that took the world by surprise.' Among them was 'the spontaneous uprising of the mass of workers and peasants and city intellectuals against the feudal bourgeois regime; and the realization by members of the armed forces that they were part of the people rather than a tool of oppression' (p. 61).

At this point one is inclined to ask if the Ethiopian revolution was not a typical 'revolution of the military.' It is a great merit of the book that it answers this question in a way that helps one to assess the specifics of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia. There was neither a party equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, nor a movement in the army (either among officers or men), pursuing revolutionary goals. And this is what makes the situation preceding the revolutionary process so specific. 'The Ethiopian Revolution has been spontaneous in the sense that nobody determined in advance the date on which it was to break out — and, therefore, there were no advance preparations in terms of organization and education' (p. 26). Having stated this, the author goes on to show that the fundamental laws governing social development, discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin are fully applicable to such a peculiar social process as the Ethiopian revolution.

The eruption of popular discontent, the book says, set off a national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution which also turned against the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This, says the author, explains why the soldiers joined it en masse (see p. 30). Moreover, in the kind of conditions brought about by the social process that had begun on February 13, 1974, the army had the

leading functions, since no other state institution could hold out amidst economic dislocation, famine and the outburst of popular indignation which followed (see p. 28).

The four-year history of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia points to its profound class character. In the army, for instance, the officers who were committed to the interests of the exploiter classes and wanted merely a 'modernization of the old state machinery,' assumed a reformist and then a counter-revolutionary position. On the other hand, middle-ranking officers were in favor of a socialist way of development and took the side of the masses without hesitation, seeing in them the main historical force, and set about forming a union of revolutionaries, a Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading the revolution.

History has known a good many spontaneous revolutionary actions. The distinctive feature of the Ethiopian revolution was that from the outset its participants turned to Marxism-Leninism. The events in Ethiopia testify to the strength and impact of revolutionary ideas even where there was no organized vanguard. This once again confirms the correctness of Lenin's words. During a revolution, he said, the masses are able to grasp in a few days what in usual circumstances it would take them years to understand.

The appendix to the book, *Diary of the Revolution,* lists the most important events in the history of the country from February 13, 1974, to September 12, 1977, when millions of working people, students, soldiers and members of the people's militia celebrated the third anniversary of the revolution.

The author does not analyze the Somali-Ethiopian conflict, but the reader will find in this interesting book enough material to grasp its causes. The book shows, in particular, that the nationalities problem was one of the most difficult the revolution faced. The country has people of more than 80 nationalities. In the recent past the situation was made still worse by Haile Selassie, who elevated the Amhara ethnic group and oppressed the other nationalities. The imperialists and their henchmen exploited the complex ethnic situation in the area in a bid to destroy the national-democratic revolution. The weak spot in the revolution, they hoped, was the wish to protect national unity by providing equality for all ethnic groups, by promoting deep-going transformations in the social and economic spheres. The armed conflict in the Horn of Africa was provoked by reactionary forces in collusion with imperialism. But the Ethiopian people are carrying on a fearless struggle against the aggressors and reactionary forces.

The nationalities question in Ethiopia, the author stresses, should be viewed from Marxist-Leninist positions. It is most important that the struggle of nations for self-determination should not be isolated

from the struggle for socialism. The former does not contradict the latter. On the contrary, history has proved that only in a socialist society can the nationalities question be solved effectively. The struggle for socialism, Lenin wrote, should be combined with the struggle for the implementation of a truly revolutionary program on the nationalities question. And the Ethiopian revolution is going ahead along this path.

At present the international solidarity of the revolutionary forces and socialist and other progressive states with the just struggle of the Ethiopian people is growing stronger. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Cuba, said on that score: 'Although the Ethiopian revolution has to deal with powerful enemies, the people are fully resolved to continue the struggle, as they know that a genuine revolution is hard to win. We believe that the successes and strengthening of the Ethiopian revolution are of immense significance for Africa.'

Manuel Menendez

A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF THE SALVADORAN BOURGEOISIE

Eduardo Colindres. *Fundamentos economicos de la burguesia salvadorena* (The Economic Basis of the Salvadoran Bourgeoisie). San Salvador, UCA/Editores, 1977, 438 pp.

This book by a lecturer at the Central American Jose Simeon Canas University, El Salvador, analyzes the material foundations of the power of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie in the 1950-70 period. The reason for singling out these two decades is the unprecedented process of industrialization that in the 50s launched El Salvador, an essentially agrarian country, on the road of capitalist development.

The purpose of industrialization, the author notes, was mainly to check the importation of essential goods from the countries of the Central American Common Market, which was struggling to its feet at the time, only to find itself afterwards in a crisis that ended in the Market's virtual failure. In this industrialization process, multinational companies linked in various ways with the Salvadoran bourgeoisie played an important role, establishing themselves in El Salvador as they had everywhere else in Central America.

Before dealing with current Salvadoran reality, the author looks back at the period extending from the early years of Spanish colonial rule to the middle of this century. Showing that increasing production of export crops, primarily balsam, cocoa, indigo, coffee, cotton and sugar, kept the country underdeveloped and dependent on the dom-

inant capitalist countries, he points to the connection between this process and the formation of a landed oligarchy which ruthlessly exploited the Indians and, as capitalist relations developed, the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians.

Examining the situation today, the author describes the diverse forms of land tenure and use and the profits derived from farming and their distribution. He shows who gets rich and who is allotted the lion's share of the farm credits, and proves incontrovertibly that the landed oligarchy holds a dominant position in the economic, social and political spheres. He also notes the lopsided process of industrialization and exposes the role played by the foreign monopolies and El Salvador's banks, financial system and armed forces in this process.

Unlike many other writers on El Salvador, this author has done some painstaking research revealing that the top section of the bourgeoisie is confined to the exclusive circle of a few families. 'They are big landowners who make money by producing and exporting the most important agricultural products. They are big producers of agricultural products for the home market. They own banks and other financial institutions and are the principal industrialists of the country, some of them in conjunction with foreign capitalists. They are also big merchants and have a share in enterprises of the service industry' (pp. 307-308).

Colindres' social portrait of this top stratum of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, a portrait stressing their ubiquitous interests, leads him to important political conclusions. 'The possibility of a progressive industrial sector favorable to an agrarian reform and certain changes,' he writes, 'is remote, for the principal industrialists are at the same time big landed proprietors who gain a substantial part of their profits from farming. Moreover, their links with industrial enterprises involving foreign capital and the fact that they must import raw materials, half-finished products, plant and technology, above all from the United States, and that they sell their farm produce to these countries, prevent them from becoming a progressive industrial sector, a progressive national bourgeoisie' (p. 308).

The author's assessments of the acute agrarian problems in El Salvador are of especial importance precisely at this period when organizations of rural working people, such as the Association of Agricultural Workers and Peasants of El Salvador (ATACES), have been pressing the government into complying with their demands for a higher official minimum wage, lower rents and charges for the use of seed, fertilizer, chemicals, etc. The government has retaliated with a campaign of violence. Assassinations of peasants' leaders have become daily occurrences, as has the introduction of a state of siege in areas of rural unrest. The army, national guard and police, assisted by

paramilitary formations of reactionaries, are launching brutal reprisals against members of the peasants' organizations.

Regrettably, the book's analyses and conclusions are not all of equal value. For instance, the chapter on the Salvadoran army is descriptive rather than analytical, and also too short. Yet this institution 'while not a part,' as the author correctly states, 'of either the leading sector, or the bloc wielding power (economic power, we would specify. — *J.B.*) is nevertheless an instrument of domination and control, which has arrogated to itself the power and the privileges of the state' (p. 308). In other words, the army is the armed fist of the bourgeoisie and its role should therefore have been investigated more deeply.

Presented by the author as a thesis for a doctor's degree in history at Paris University, Nanterre, the book contains valuable statistics on El Salvador. These data not only bear out the author's conclusions but provide, like the book as a whole, a better knowledge of Salvadoran reality.

Jaime Barrios

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

FRANK CUNNINGHAM

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 BATHURST STREET (3rd Floor)
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5V 2P6 368-5336

PAPERBACK $4.95



Your questions answered

WHO'S FOR AND WHO'S AGAINST

Readers who write to us show interest in the state of Soviet-Chinese border talks. Referring to contradictory reports in bourgeois and other newspapers, they ask us what are the issues involved; whether it is true that the Soviet Union refuses to pull back its troops from the Chinese frontier; why Peking rejects Soviet proposals aimed at normalizing relations (and what those proposals are); whether the Soviet side has really gone back on the agreement said to have been reached earlier by the heads of government; whether it is true that the Soviet Union torpedoes border talks, and so on.

These and other questions concerning Soviet-Chinese relations are answered by *Lev Nikitin,* Cand. Hist. (USSR).

Let us begin with the more general question of Soviet-Chinese relations. The record indicates that in 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1973 the Soviet Union proposed that the two countries should conclude agreements normalizing relations and restoring the atmosphere of mutual confidence and good-neighborliness.[1] The Soviet side also proposed reaffirming the validity of the 1950 Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.[2] The 25th CPSU Congress authoritatively stressed the Soviet Union's readiness 'to normalize relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence.'[3]

Mention should also be made of the latest Soviet initiative. On February 24, 1978 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (highest state authority in between sessions of the Soviet parliament) sent the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress a message expressing the goodwill of the Soviet Union and its desire to normalize relations with China. The Soviet side proposed that the two countries should make a joint statement on the principles of their mutual relations.[4] It called for relations based on peaceful, coexistence and firmly adhering to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in

each other's internal affairs, and non-use of force. In other words, the proposed conditions, if respected, would undoubtedly have made for progress toward normal Soviet-Chinese relations.

Thus the facts show that the Soviet side cannot be accused of lacking goodwill.

What about the Chinese side?

In reply to the Soviet proposals to normalize relations between the two countries, including a border settlement, the Chinese side declared that before any talks on a settlement were begun, the Soviet side must accept certain 'preliminary conditions.' This means, in particular, that the Soviet Union is expected to recognize the existence of 'disputed areas' on its territory skirting the Chinese frontier and withdraw its armed forces from these areas. Besides, China insists that Soviet troops be also withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic.

Any unbiased observer will see the essential difference between the two approaches. While the Soviet Union puts forward without any preliminary conditions specific proposals conducive to normalization, China insists on 'preliminary conditions.' These conditions need to be examined in greater detail.

First of all, what reasons does the Chinese side give for its demand that the Soviet side recognize the existence of 'disputed areas'? The history of international relations suggests that disputed territories (if they are really disputed) do not appear unexpectedly like a geographical discovery. Disputability normally goes back to formulations contained in various documents.

Let us look into the record of Soviet-Chinese relations.

In February 1950, a mere four and a half months after the People's Republic of China was founded, the Soviet Union and China signed a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. The parties to the treaty declared that they would build relations between themselves on the principles of 'mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity.'[5] In 1952 the Soviet Union made available to China complete sets of topographical maps showing the border line. Did the Chinese authorities 'dispute' anything at the time? No — on studying the maps, they made no remarks about the frontier.

Throughout the first decade of the PRC's existence, the Soviet-Chinese border was called a friendship border. China made no territorial claims on the Soviet Union. Its Communist Party leaders and government members stressed on more than one occasion that the Soviet state based its relations with China on the principles of equality and respect for the Chinese people's sovereign rights. In 1945 Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Seventh CPC Congress, said that 'the Soviet Union was the first to renounce inequitable treaties and to

conclude new, equitable treaties with China. He said so again during his Moscow visit in 1949.[6]

In 1964 Soviet-Chinese consultations were held on Soviet initiative to verify various sectors of the boundary line. The two sides exchanged topographical maps. Only then did it transpire that the Chinese maps showed a number of Soviet areas as belongong to China, with the frontier marked as lying deep in Soviet territory. It was these parts of Soviet territory (totally nearly 33,000 sq. km.) that the Chinese side saw as 'disputed.' Why? China had made no objection to the mapped boundary line in 1952, as we have said. Furthermore, the new boundary shown on Chinese maps is at variance with even the provisions of Russian-Chinese treaties. So what happened? What legal grounds are there for the claim?

The Soviet side has never refused to verify certain sectors of the frontier indicated in the treaty documents. But whenever it calls for a businesslike approach to the matter China replied that the Soviet Union must first recognize the 'disputed' areas and then it will be told why they are 'disputed.' The Soviet side rejected this strange condition. Surely any sober-minded politician of any country would have done as much in the circumstances, all the more since, judging by some publications, the Chinese claim involves an area of 1.5 million square kilometres (see, for example, the *World Atlas* published by the Chinese *Titu Chupansho* publishers in February 1972). One has only to do a little arithmetic to discover that the territory in question exceeds that of Spain, Italy and France put together. This certainly has nothing to do with verifying the frontier.

Now for China's demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its armed forces from the Chinese frontier. To put it bluntly, the Soviet Union is being told to leave its border area unprotected just when this area is threatened, for China is engaged in full-scale military preparations directed primarily against the Soviet Union.

There is sufficient evidence of that.

In an interview to Claude Roussel, head of France-Presse, in October 1977, Teng Hsiao-ping, deputy Chairman of the CC CPC, called the Soviet Union the 'chief enemy' of China.[7]Recent years have seen numerous other official statements and Chinese press comments to the same effect.

Nor is that all. China has actually encroached on Soviet territory in more than one case. There was, for example, the armed provocation carried out by Chinese troops in the border area in March 1969; on March 2, 1969 alone, it resulted in the killing of several dozen Soviet citizens. The same year saw further attempts at an armed invasion of Soviet territory. How could the Soviet side — or any other state for that matter — have discounted facts of this nature?

There are other facts speaking of the actual trend of China's foreign policy. A note from the Mongolian to the Chinese government dated April 12, 1978 states: 'The open military preparations of China, which are gaining in intensity from year to year, pose a direct threat to the security of the MPR. In areas directly adjoining the state frontier of the MPR there continues the concentration of enormous numbers of Chinese troops, the construction of projects of military strategic importance and the conduct of war games, and various sabotage sorties are organized against the MPR.'[8]

This background should give the reader an idea of the actual meaning of the Chinese demand that the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia be pulled out. The Mongolian note quoted above goes on to say: 'Faced with so real a threat, the government of the MPR was compelled to adopt appropriate measures in order to strengthen the defense capacity of the country and safeguard its security. To this end, Soviet troops were moved into Mongolia at the request of the government of the MPR, troops which in common with the Mongolian People's Army stand on guard of the state independence and territorial integrity of the MPR. Thus the presence of Soviet troops in the MPR is a forced measure prompted solely by the desire to safeguard its security.'[9] As for China's insistence on withdrawing the troops, here is a comment of *Ünen:* 'The Peking leadership's demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the MPR is an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such ultimatums on the part of Chinese leaders have never led, and never will lead, to normal relations between states.'[10]

To understand the aggressive nature of the foreign policy ambitions of the present Chinese leadership, one does not have to live in a country neighboring on China. It is evident to unbiased observers all over the world. Early this year the Cuban newspaper *Granma* noted that 'China's militarist designs are backed by certain Western circles, particularly within NATO.'[11] Western reactionaries and militarists, the paper went on to say, readily help the present PRC leadership to militarize the country. Among the Western military leaders who have lately visited China, *Granma* listed Manfred Werner, chairman of the West German Bundestag's defense committee, General Johannes Steinhoff, former chairman of the NATO military committee, General Johann Adolf von Vilmannsegg, former commander-in-chief of the combined forces of NATO in the central zone of Europe, and Heinrich Trettner, an air landing expert, who in 1937 took part in the bombing of Guernica. 'Inspection' trips to China have been made by reactionary political leaders of some capitalist countries, such as Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the West German revanchists, U.S. Senator Henry M. Jackson, another 'hawk.'

Why does the Chinese leadership establish links with the world's most rabid reactionaries? Peking needs allies from the imperialist camp to carry out its plans, which are aimed at incorporating parts of the territory of its socialist neighbors — the Soviet Union, Mongolia and Vietnam — in a future 'great and powerful China.' NATO is willing to supply China with the most up-to-date arms, including weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, it plainly expects these weapons to be used against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These plans are an open secret now — the West comments freely on them.[12]

Surely the Soviet Union and other socialist countries cannot shut their eyes to something that is today clearly implied in China's foreign policy.

And now for the question whether the Soviet Union respects its earlier agreements with China or has gone back on them, as some commentators allege.

Let us stick to the facts in this case as well. Soviet initiatives intended to normalize relations with China include a meeting between the two countries' heads of government on September 11, 1969. On that occasion it was agreed that the two countries would take steps to normalize relations.[13] Such an agreement was indeed reached. However, even during the meeting there emerged problems on which the two sides differed. No agreement or consensus on the 'disputed areas' or the withdrawal of troops was recorded either during the meeting, or in the subsequent correspondence. There is no reason, therefore, to claim that the Soviet Union has departed unilaterally from the agreement.

Thus anyone who considers the situation without bias will see who really wants Soviet-Chinese relations to be normalized, including a border settlement, and who raises obstacles to this. The facts reveal the Chinese stand on these issues. As regards the Soviet side, it constantly takes the initiative and shows a desire to improve relations between the USSR and the PRC. The Soviet Union has never been against a constructive exchange of opinions, against settling the problems on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It considers that the cause of peace would score a substantial gain if the tension existing in relations with China were ended. Readers will be able to judge from the facts cited above that it is now up to the Chinese side to show goodwill.

1. *Pravda,* April 28, 1976.
2. *Pravda,* October 1, 1976.
3. *Materialy XXV syezda KPSS.* Moscow, Politizdat, 1976, p. 11.
4. *Pravda,* April 1, 1978.

5. *Sovetsko-kitaiskiye otnoshenia 1917-1957.* Sbornik dokumentov. Moscow, 1959, p. 220.
6. See *Pravda,* March 30, 1969.
7. *L'Humanité,* October 22, 1977.
8. *Ünen,* April 5, 1978.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Ünen, April 5, 1978.
11. *Granma,* January 18, 1978.
12. See, e.g., *Norskensflamman* (Sweden), April 4, 1978.
13. See *Izvestia,* September 12, 1969.

The condition of women in the GDR and FRG

One of the world's pressing problems is that of equal rights for women. Women in all non-socialist countries are fighting for equality with men in every sphere of life. This is understandable, for over one-third of all material and cultural values on our planet today is produced by women. Sex equality is an everyday reality in the socialist countries. In the capitalist world, it is generally declared time and again but discrimination against women persists.

The White Book on the condition of working women published by the European Trade Union Confederation in 1976 shows this very well. 'What leading women trade unionists from affiliated organizations tell on 180 pages of the book is appalling,' commented a West German newspaper. 'Constitutions, laws and declarations of human rights do not seem to be worth the paper they are printed on. In practice working women are as disadvantaged as they have been from time immemorial. . . .

'There is little change in the plight of employed women. Most of them are still what they have always been — a reserve army of labor drawn on when there is a need for its labor and shoved aside when hard times set in.'[1]

The following facts about the condition of women in two neighbor states belonging to opposed social systems, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, show that only a socialist society can provide truly equal rights for women.

Women in the GDR participate in social production on an equal

Survey prepared by Ralf Wahner, reswarch worker at the GDR Institute of International Politics and Economics.

footing with men. They account for 49.9 per cent, or 3,990,000 of the republic's work force. In other words, every other job holder is a woman.

Table 1
Women in the GDR economy, 1976

	Total (thousands)	Women	Per Cent
All employees	8.018	3,999	49.9
in the production sphere	6,470	2,874	44.4
outside the production sphere	1,548	1,125	72.7
Members of production cooperatives	761	317	41.6

Most women work in industry — their proportion is 1,340,000, or 43.6 per cent. In construction the respective figures are 87,000, or 15.4 per cent, in agriculture and forestry 378,000, or 43 per cent, and in trade 611,000, or 72 per cent. These data show that women in the GDR enjoy a real right to work.

The situation in West Germany is entirely different. There women slightly exceed one-third of the employed work force but unemployment among them is nearly twice as high as among men. Indeed, the situation is steadily deteriorating. While unemployment in 1970 stood at 0.7 per cent among men and at 0.8 per cent among women, in 1977 the respective figures were 3.7 and 6.1. The gap between the proportion of unemployed women and that of jobless men is widening as unemployment grows. Early in 1977 women accounted for 52 per cent of the 516,000 jobless in West Germany.

This discrimination hits primarily women over 40 whom long years of exhausting work have prevented from raising their qualifications, women who lack a profession or have failed to take apprentice training, and women dismissed as a result of 'rationalization' — their work is now done by less expensive and highly efficient machines. Last year this affected mostly the employees of the service industry and trade.

In the GDR, the right to equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by the Constitution and is exercised. Today working women earn as much as men. Nor are there any distinctions between men and women as to old age pensions.

In the Federal Republic female labor is still a source of superprofit. Women are also discriminated against in pay, which is roughly 30 per cent below men's.

In North Rhine-Westphalia the average hourly pay of women in industry is 29.3 per cent below men's, and with female office workers in industry and trade the difference is 38.2 per cent, a figure which speaks for itself. Throughout the country, unskilled male workers generally earn more than skilled female workers.

In the GDR the state helps women to improve their education and skills. Late in 1976, 425,900 people employed in the economic sphere had received a higher education and 137,700 of them, or 32.2 per cent, were women. Those with a secondary specialized education numbered 772,500, including 405,600 women.

The proportion of women with a higher or secondary specialized education is growing in the GDR. In 1976/77 secondary specialized schools had 159,955 students, and higher schools, 130,201 students; women accounted for 69 and 47.7 per cent, respectively.

Women also have ample opportunities to receive vocational training in industry or agriculture. Nearly 60 per cent of working women (70.2 per cent in the case of Berlin) have had complete secondary vocational training. In farming the proportion of women with complete vocational training averages 76 per cent.

Anyone who has finished a ten-year school is guaranteed vocational training,[2] which he (or she) can take in two or three-year classes. Those who have finished these classes become skilled workers, and those who have done the full three years are entitled to enter a higher school. Young women and men have equal opportunities to learn any trade.

In West Germany there are far fewer women with a higher or secondary specialized education than men. A striking proof of this obvious discrimination against women is that the higher the level of an educational institution, the fewer female students it has. Whereas girls in secondary schools still add up to 45.7 per cent, the proportion of female students in higher and secondary specialized schools is 36.4 per cent and that of female post-graduates, a meager 15.4 per cent.

Among working women, only about six per cent have received complete vocational training. The rest lack such training, or acquired the necessary skills on the job. As many as 90.2 per cent of these women have only attended a public (primary) school, and most of them never finish it. These schools gear effort from the outset to so-called female occupations. The West German press admits that women in the FRG have almost no choice of profession.

The bourgeois press often gives women's lower standard of education as the reason for the higher rate of unemployment among them and for the fact that they have fewer opportunities than men to improve their qualifications or get promotion. This is merely an attempt to conceal the real reasons, which are social, for even when a

women has the same education and qualifications as a man her chances of promotion are much smaller than his. Young women who in 1977 applied for apprentices' jobs were treated by the employers with open hostility. 'Even good marks and excellent references were of little use. Applicants were dropped in advance even if they ... were willing to learn only the traditionally "female trades" ... of hairdresser, bank clerk, and so on. The procedure of selection and screening is directed against girls.'[3]

Women in the GDR are guaranteed not only employment but opportunities to develop as individuals, learn a trade, raise their qualifications, join in political life and fulfill their family duties. The social and political program adopted by the SUPG puts special emphasis on this.

In the GDR, pregnant women and mothers of infants cannot be dismissed; after the birth of a child its mother can look after it for a year without losing her job; expectant or nursing mothers may switch to an easier job if they wish; throughout maternity leave, or for 26 weeks, working women are paid their average monthly wages; working women and men are relieved of work to look after sick children; women with two or more children work an incomplete day but get full pay; they are entitled to longer holidays and with each succeeding child they are granted a paid leave until the child is one year old; of the more than 1.2 million children under six, 925,000 go to a nursery or kindergarten. In 1977 alone accommodations were provided for a further 9,909 children in nurseries and 18,198 in kindergartens. Kindergartens charge parents less than nine marks a month per child.

As a result of these measures, the birth rate in the GDR went up in 1977; in the first eight months of that year 21,000 more children were born than in the same period of 1976. Added to this, savings banks granted in 94,000 cases of birth of a child credits totalling 112 million marks, and upwards of 80,000 newlyweds were granted so-called matrimonial credits.

By contrast, recent years have seen West Germany's employers and government substantially curtail social rights or refuse women's legitimate demands on the pretext of the economic crisis. In particular, the government has ignored an earnest call from the Federation of German Trade Unions (FGTU) for a complete ban on the employment of expectant mothers on piecework or at the conveyor belt, and for a longer maternity leave, etc.

Many West German employers disregard maternity protection regulations. A check-up has revealed that nearly one in four employers openly violates the relevant law. More and more women conceal their pregnancy as long as they can for fear of losing their jobs. Women must beware of falling ill, for 'those who have been ill for a long time

or want to take a course of treatment are the first to be thrown out.'[4]

No wonder that the FRG holds second place in Europe for mortality among mothers and newborn infants. In 1975 roughly 20 babies in 1,000 died.

West Germany trails far behind in Europe for nurseries and kindergartens. The FGTU estimates the shortage of accommodations at 44,400 in nurseries and 1,256,000 in kindergartens. Kindergartens charge parents from 100 to 250 West German marks per child.

And now for women's participation in government. Whereas women in the GDR participate extensively and actively in management and government, West German women have hardly any share in government and are barred almost completely from public activity.

Table 2
Women in government and public bodies
(per cent)

		GDR	FRG
Share of women in the population		53.9	52
Women in parliament	1972	31.8	5.8
	1976	33.6	7.5
Women in local government			
Bezirke and *Länder*		36.0	7.2
Gebiete and *Gemeinden*		40.0	8.3*

*Where the population exceeds 20,000.

Table 3
Women according to office or profession
(per cent)

	GDR	FRG
Mayors	20.0	8.3
Judges	33.3	9.1
Doctors	46.0	20.0
Industrial executives	25.0	6.0
Lecturecs in higher educational institutions	7.0	0.6

1. *Welt der Arbeit*, Nov. 26, 1976.
2. Those who wish to enter a higher school must study for another two years.
3. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Sept. 5, 1977.
4. *Stern*, No. 13, 1975, p. 86.

Editions of the journal

'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM'

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

(World Marxist Review)
Central Books Ltd., 37 Gray's Inn Road, London, WCIX 8PS, England.

Progress Subscription Service
71 Bathurst St., 3rd floor,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6 Canada

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Illinois, 60610, USA.

Problems of Peace and Socialism,
5 Rani Jhansi Rd., New Delhi 55, India.

New Horizon Publications
14 Tamaklos Street,
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria.

FRENCH EDITIONS:

Librairie Nouvelles Frontières
185 rue Ontario est
Montréal, Québec, H2X 1H5, Canada

ARABIC EDITIONS:

Al-Wakt, P.O.B. 6247, Beirut, Lebanon.

AL-Thakafah Al-Jadidah, Al-Saadoon St., Al-Rawaaf 15/3/1, Bagdad, Iraq.

BENGALI EDITION: Manisha Granthalay Private Ltd., 4/3 B. Bankim, Chatterjee St., Calcutta 12, India.

BULGARIAN EDITION: 'Russki' 6, 'Hemus', Sofia, Bulgaria.

CZECH EDITION: Artia, Praha 2, Nové Mesto, Ve smeckach 30, CSSR.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Brodgade 37, 1260 Kobenhavn K, Denmark.

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakauslehti Kommunisti, Kotkankatu 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

'Buckexport' Volkseigener Aussenhandelsbetrieb der DDR, 701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, DDR.

'Globus', Vertrieb ausländischer Zeitschriften 1200 Wien, Hochstädtplatz 3, Austria.

Brücken-Verlag GmbH, Literaturvertrieb, Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf, Ackerstrasse 3, FRG.

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papajanis Stephanos,
Emanuil Benaki 25-6⁰ Athens, Greece.

People's Agency,
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus.

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of Peace and Socialism, P.O.B. 9525, Haifa, Israel.

HINDI EDITION: Bihar State Council CPI, Ajay Bhawan, Patna 4, India.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura, Könyv-és Hirlap Külkereskedelmi Vallalat, Budapest 1, Fö u 32, Hungary.

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita, Via della Botteghe, Oscura 4, 001 86 Roma, Italy.

MALAYALAM EDITION:
5 Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 55, India.

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Ulaanbatar Mongol Ulsyn Namyn, Khudaldaany Gazar V.I. Leninii Gudamzh 41, Mongolia.

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Boks 3715, Oslo 1, Norway.

PERSIAN EDITION:
P.B. 49034. 10028.
Stockholm 49, Sweden.

POLISH EDITION: RSW. 'Prasa-ksiazka-ruch' BWKZ, Warszawa ul. Wronia 23, Poland.

PORTUGUESE EDITION: Revista Internacional, Av. Santos Dumont, 57, 30 Lisboa-1, Portugal.

PUNJABI EDITION: Punjab Book Centre, 1038 Sector 22-B, opp. General Bus Stand, Chandigarh, India.

RUMANIAN EDITION: Ilexim, Calea Grivitei 64-66, P0B 2001, Bucaresti, Rumania.

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Smolenskaya-Sennaya 32/34, Moscow 121200, USSR.

SINHALESE EDITION:
91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8, Sri Lanka.

SPANISH EDITIONS:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Aereo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia.

Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A. Filosofia y Letras 34, Copilco Universidad, Mexico 20, D.F. Mexico.

Ideologia y Politica, Fr Rufino Torrico N 671-Of. 401, Lima, Peru.

Edificio Cantaclaro, Esquina San Pedro, Parroquia San Juan, Caracas, Venezuela.

Libreria Internacional, Apdo 758, San José, Costa Rica.

Revista Internacional, Calle 46 Este, No. 16, Panamá, Rep. de Panamá.

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa, 16616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR.

SWEDISH EDITION: Förlagsaktiebolaget Internationell Revy, Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden.

TAMIL EDITION: Marxia Oli, 32 Broadway, Madras-1, India.

TURKISH EDITION: 1 Berlin 10, Postfach 100 229, West Berlin.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'o xuât nhâp khâu Sách bào 32, Hai Bà Tru'ng, Há-nôi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam.