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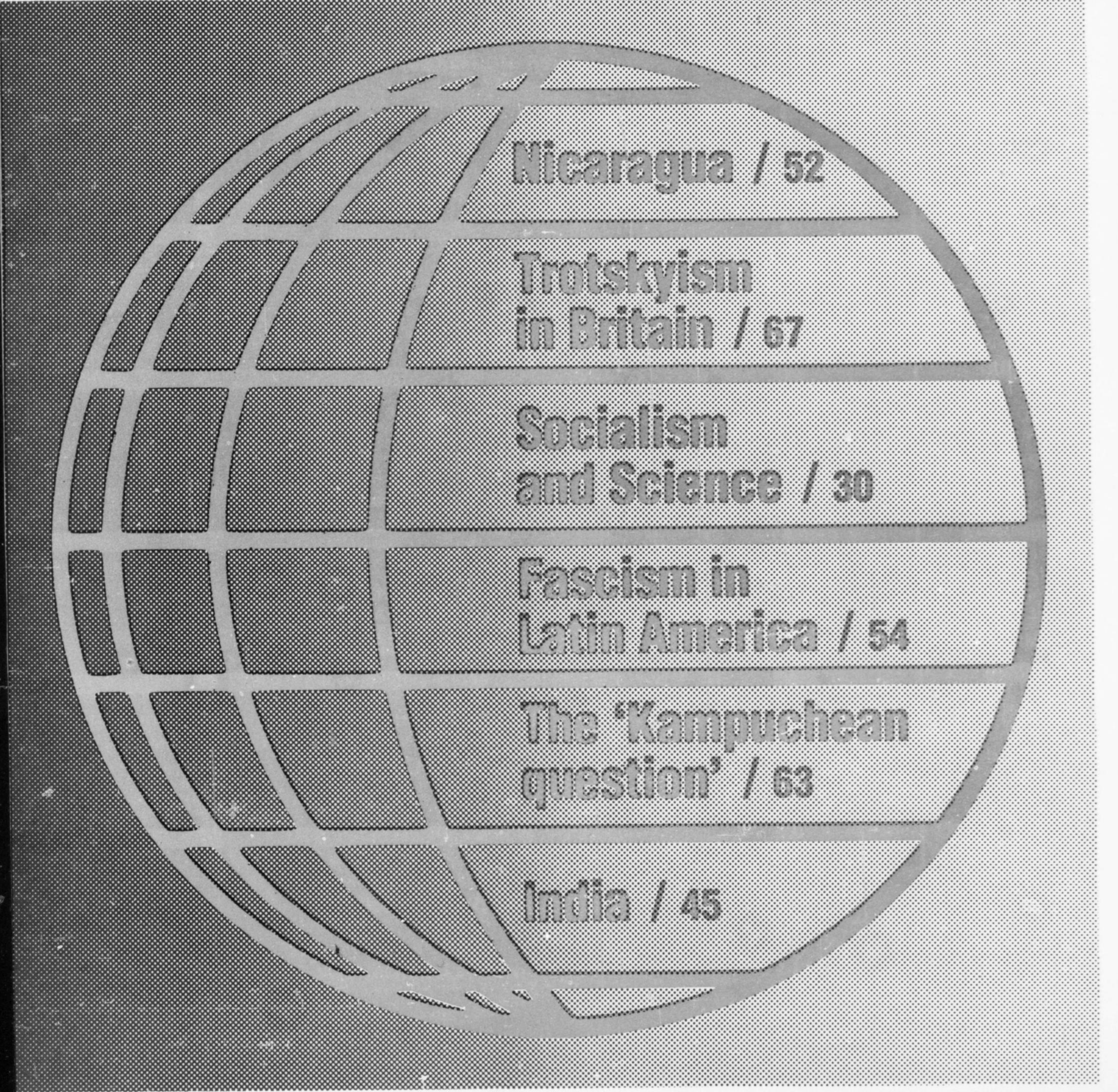
Problems of

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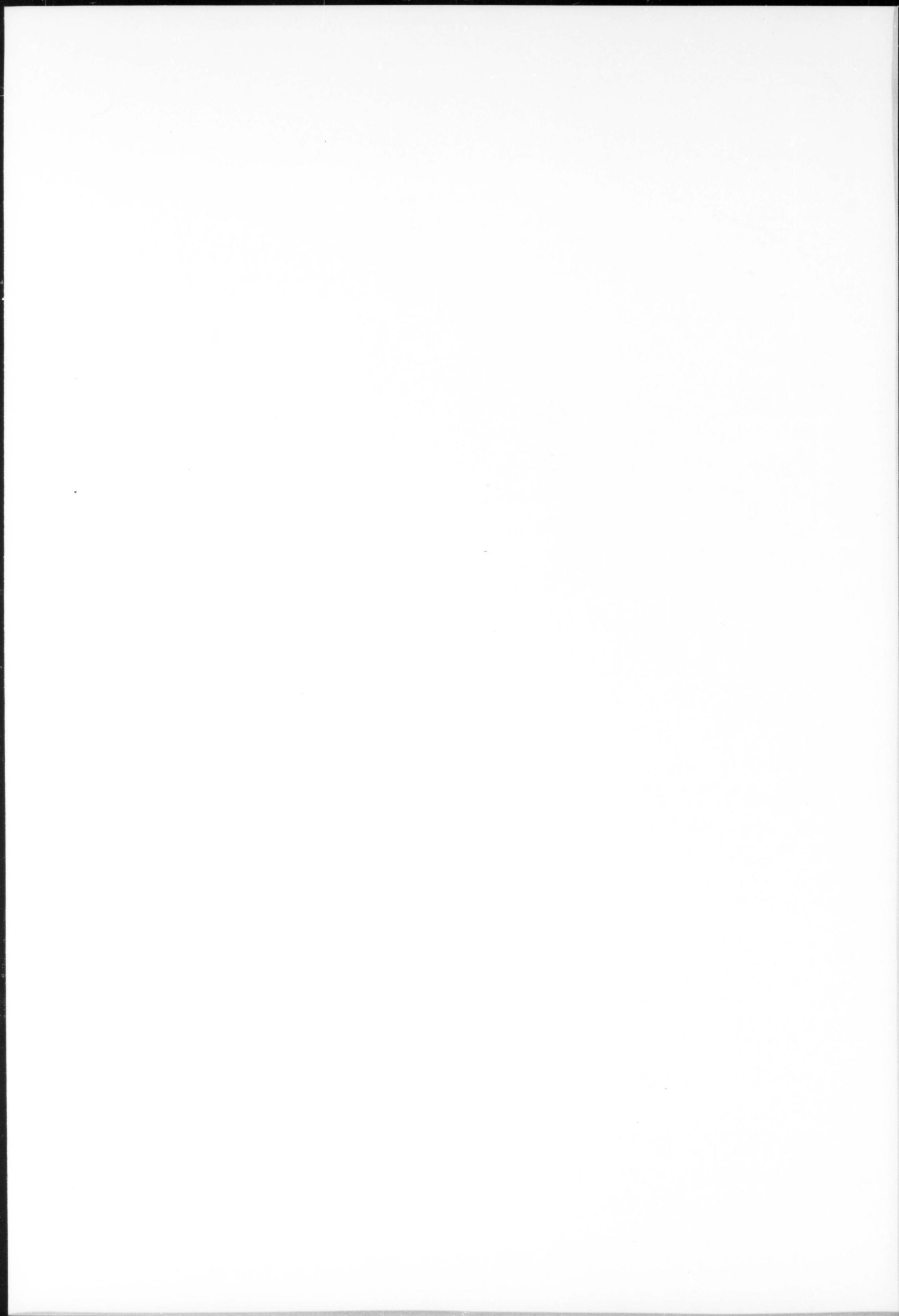
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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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To our readers

Dear friends,

The Editorial Board, the Editorial Council and the entire multinational staff of *World Marxist Review* wish you a Happy New Year, peace, good fortune, health and further successes in work and struggle.

The year 1980 will see the 35th anniversary of the end of World War II, of the defeat of fascism. The efforts to consolidate peace, crystallize détente, and complement political with military détente are an imperative of the times, and our journal will continue giving its closest attention to this orientation of the work of communist and workers' parties.

The year 1980 will witness regular congresses of many parties, and we hope our readers will draw much of interest from the experience of communists of many countries for their own work. The journal will continue to deal with the course and key problems of socialist construction, acquaint readers with the life of the people under socialism, tell of the class struggle of the working people in developed capitalist countries, and analyze the experience of the struggle waged by developing nations against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for a system of new international economic relations,

and for genuine sovereignty and social progress.

The world is entering the year 1980, the year of the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In order to help people understand the challenging problems of our time and the topicality of Marxist-Leninist teaching, the editorial staff of *World Marxist Review* plans to devote special attention in the next few issues to Lenin's theoretical heritage, to the role played by Lenin as the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the leader of the first victorious socialist revolution, and the head of the world's first socialist state.

As always, in the coming year we count on your participation in the work of our journal. We welcome your articles, letters, advice and recommendations. They will help to improve the work of the journal and reach more readers. We hope that by the common effort of contributors, readers, distributors and publishers of the journal we shall make a further contribution to the triumph of the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to the consolidation of the internationalist solidarity of communists and all other forces of progress. *Happy new year, comrades!*

110th anniversary of Lenin's birth

Lenin was the great continuer of the work of Marx and Engels, his whole doctrine is based on and springs directly from the theory of Marxism. An outstanding follower of Marx and Engels, he comprehensively and creatively developed the science they elaborated: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of socialist revolution and construction of a communist society. His evaluations of Marxism and its historical achievements and fundamental features, which show the sources of the insuperable power of the scientific worldview of the working class, are of abiding importance.

WMR believes that on the eve of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth, which falls in April 1980, it is important once again to draw readers' attention to these evaluations. We present Lenin's article, 'The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism,' written to mark the 30th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx and published in the March 1913 issue of *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment), a Bolshevik theoretical legal journal.

In subsequent issues, WMR intends to publish statements about Lenin and his teaching by prominent Marxists, who played an important part in the history of the international communist and working-class movement, and also items on Lenin's style of work.

We also intend to hold a correspondence roundtable on the importance of Lenin's legacy in present-day conditions, and invite readers to take part in it.

THE THREE SOURCES AND THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM *V.I. Lenin*

Throughout the civilized world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of 'pernicious sect.' And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no 'impartial' social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and

liberal science defends wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages ought not to be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose away from the high road of the development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in his having furnished answers to questions already raised by the foremost minds of mankind. His doctrine emerged as the direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

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 form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the 19th century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

It is these three sources of Marxism, which are also its component parts, that we shall outline in brief.

I

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the 18th century in France, where a resolute struggle was conducted against every kind of medieval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy have, therefore, always exerted all their efforts to 'refute,' undermine and defame materialism, and have advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to the defense or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained how profoundly erroneous is every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach and Anti-Dühring, which, like the Communist Manifesto, are handbooks for every class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at 18th-century materialism: he developed philosophy to a higher level. He enriched it with the achievements of German classical philosophy, especially of Hegel's system, which in its turn had led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The main achievement was *dialectics*, i.e., the doctrine of development in its fullest, deepest and most comprehensive form, the doctrine of the relativity of the human knowledge that pro-

vides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. The latest discoveries of natural science — radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements — have been a remarkable confirmation of Marx's *dialectical materialism* despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their 'new' reversions to old and decadent idealism.

Marx deepened and developed philosophical materialism to the full, and extended the cognition of nature to include the cognition of *human society*. His *historical materialism* was a great achievement in scientific thinking. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops — how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., his various views and doctrines — philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the economic system of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is a consummate philosophical materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted his greatest attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e., capitalist, society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the *labor theory of value*. Marx continued their work; he provided a proof of the theory and developed it consistently. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labor time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a *relation between people*. The exchange of commodities expresses the connection between individual producers through the market. Money signifies that the connection is becoming closer and closer, inseparably uniting the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further development of this connection: man's labor power becomes a commodity. The wage worker sells his labor power to the owner of land, factories and instruments of labor. The worker spends one part of

the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day he works without remuneration, creating for the capitalist *surplus value*, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labor of the worker, crushes the worker, ruining small proprietors and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is immediately apparent, but the same phenomenon is also to be observed in agriculture, where the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture is enhanced, the use of machinery increases and the peasant economy, trapped by money-capital, declines and falls into ruin under the burden of its backward technique. The decline of small-scale production assumes different forms in agriculture, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labor and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social — hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a regular economic organism — but the product of this collective labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. Anarchy of production, crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population are intensified.

By increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of united labor.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from embryonic commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, year by year demonstrates clearly the truth of this Marxian doctrine to increasing numbers of workers.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labor over capital.

III

When serfdom was overthrown, and 'free' capitalist society appeared in the world, it at once became

apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the working people. Various socialist doctrines immediately emerged as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. Early socialism, however, was utopian socialism. It criticized capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it had visions of a better order and endeavored to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not indicate the real solution. It could not explain the real nature of wage slavery under capitalism, it could not reveal the laws of capitalist development, or show what social force is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the driving force of all development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life-and-death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lies in his having been the first to deduce from this the lesson world history teaches and to apply that lesson consistently. The deduction he made is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learned to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is only one way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can — and, owing to their social position, must — constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organize those forces for the struggle.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly.

(V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 23-28)

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The CPSU's nationalities policy in the period of developed socialism

Eduard Shevardnadze

CC Political Bureau alternate member, CPSU,
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The 25th Congress of the CPSU gave much attention to the further development of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, the working people's internationalist education, and the correlation of the national and the international at the stage of developed socialism.

Our party, its Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary, CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet, attach immense significance to the solution of these problems in the course of communist construction, constantly developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on national relations and on proletarian, socialist internationalism, and the forms and methods of realizing it in practice.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution 'On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work,' which was adopted in April 1979, and the recent USSR Conference of Ideological Workers have provided a new and important impulse to the party's whole activity in educating the working people in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

In the period of mature socialism, the party's nationalities policy and the internationalist education of the masses acquire a number of new features, which the Communist Party of Georgia, one of the CPSU's militant contingents, constantly takes into account in carrying out the party's Leninist nationalities policy. What are these features?

First, at the present stage the USSR economy has risen to a qualitatively new level of development as an integrated economic complex which comprises the economies of all the union and autonomous republics, including the Georgian Republic and its autonomous entities, and which develops under a common state plan for the benefit of the whole country and of each individual republic. This also determines the new and higher level of economic development of all the big and small nations, and this is reflected in the economic aspects of the party's nationalities policy, above all its line of further consolidating the identity of the Soviet peoples' economic interests.

Second, in the period of developed socialism, when the Soviet people as a whole and each Soviet nation, big and small, including the Georgian nation, have the same type of social structure encompassing the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the working intelligentsia, the social aspects of the CPSU's nationalities policy are increasingly de-

termined by the objective trend toward the social homogeneity of society.

Third, under mature socialism there is a deepening of the organic unity of the state system of the union and the national state systems of the republics, including the Georgian Republic, on the principles of socialist democracy, democratic centralism and socialist federalism, which determine the main lines along which the state system of each republic and of the union as a whole develop, a fact written into the new Constitution of the USSR.

Fourth, at the stage of developed socialism the necessary conditions have been created for active participation by the working people of all nationalities of the Georgian Republic and of the Soviet Union as a whole in the development of science, technology and culture. The flourishing, integration and mutual enrichment of the cultures of the socialist nations both within the Georgian Republic and on the scale of the USSR as a whole have become uniformities of spiritual life. This predetermines the basic trends in the spiritual and cultural development of the socialist nations.

Fifth, at the present stage, under the growing impact of the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and the friendship of nations, there are ever more intensive exchanges of material and spiritual values and cadres, and growing internationalization of the whole way of life of the nations; today, the working people of Georgia, and of the other union republics, are multinational collectives, in which national features are organically blended with international, socialist social features and traditions. This predetermines the international cohesion of the socialist nations.

In the epoch of mature socialism, when the CPSU, a working-class party, has become the party of the whole people, when the USSR's big and small nations have been integrated into a new historical entity — the Soviet people — when the proletarian dictatorship state has developed into a state of the whole people, and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies into People's Soviets, when the distinctions between town and country, between mental and manual labor tend increasingly to be obliterated, and society's social homogeneity grows, the problems of the Leninist nationalities policy and of the education of the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism are regarded in a new way, in the light of the tremendous changes that have taken place in the economic,

social, political and cultural spheres of society and the prospects over the foreseeable future.

At the same time, Soviet Georgia — one of the 15 full-fledged fraternal republics of the land of Soviets, and a founding member of the USSR — has, like all the other republics, its own specific features and history in solving the nationalities problem.

Let us recall that the Soviet Union has more than 100 nations and ethnic groups, 15 union and 20 autonomous Soviet socialist republics, 8 autonomous regions, and 10 autonomous areas.

Like all the other Soviet republics, Soviet Georgia is multinational, with nearly 70 nations and ethnic groups living side by side and building communism together. Georgia ranks second to the RSFSR in the number of autonomous state entities. The Abkhassian and Adzhar Autonomous Republics and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region are component parts of the Georgian Republic, with people of dozens of nationalities living in each. This alone shows how specific and complex the correlation between the national and international is in our republic.

We carry on the work of realizing Lenin's nationalities policy and the working people's internationalist education with an eye to both the specific features of the stage of mature socialism and the national features and nuances with which local experience and specifics enrich the experience of the CPSU.

The communists of Georgia carry on their organizational and political activity in this area on the basis of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and the 25th congress of the CP Georgia, with regard for the requirements of the CPSU Program, and the Constitutions of the USSR, the Georgian Republic and the autonomous entities which are a part of the Georgian Republic, namely, the Abkhassian and Adzhar Autonomous Republic.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the organizational and political work of the Tbilisi City Committee of the CP Georgia, the further development of Soviet Georgia's economy, the work of the Georgian party organizations, measures to increase the production of southern and subtropical crops and accelerated development of Georgia's agriculture, the continued development of the economy and culture of the Abkhassian ASSR, and other decisions that are of historic importance for Georgia, have contributed greatly to improve the internationalist education of the people and strengthen the Leninist friendship among nations.

Practice shows that the resolutions of the Central Committee of the CP Georgia and the Council of Ministers of the Republic on the comprehensive development of the economy and culture of the Abkhassian Autonomous Republic and the Adzhar Autonomous Republic, the South Ossetian Autonomous Region, and their regions, cities, districts and sectors of the economy are furthering the flowering and integration of all the nationalities living in Georgia.

The solution of the nationalities problem in the USSR and the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy

demonstrate the profoundly democratic nature of our social system, for it is under socialism that the peoples have acquired, for the first time in history, genuine democratic rights and freedoms and that true democracy has been established.

In the epoch of mature socialism, the dialectics of the nationalities question is manifested in the flowering and integration of nations, two trends which appear as general uniformities of socialism in the development of nations and national relations. The nations flourish as they draw closer together, and they draw closer together on the basis of each nation's thriving economy and culture.

Such is the historical result of the successful implementation by the CPSU of its Leninist nationalities policy in Soviet Georgia and of all the other fraternal republics and autonomous entities of the USSR. It is in the light of these uniformities that the CP Georgia gives effect to the Leninist nationalities policy in the autonomous entities and on the scale of the Republic as a whole.

Internationalism is our banner, our credo, the symbol of our faith in the future; internationalism is our way of life. At the same time, we are patriots. There is no contradiction in this statement. Internationalism and patriotism in the Soviet society are indissoluble.

Addressing a meeting in Georgia, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'The very nature of the socialist social system and the party's consistent realization of the Leninist nationalities policy have united the peoples of our country and transformed their friendship into the motive force of Soviet society's development and an inexhaustible source of energy and creativity of all the nationalities in the Soviet Union. It is perhaps hard to find a person without an eradicable feeling of affection for and attachment to the land of his forefathers, to his native culture, to his language, and to traditions and customs. But in socialist society this feeling — the feeling of patriotism — transcends the boundaries of nationality and has a new content.

'Whatever the Republic we live in, we are all Soviet patriots, children of one socialist Motherland. Our native land, our Motherland lies over the vast expanses from the Pacific to the Baltic Sea, from the Arctic Ocean to the Pamirs and the Caucasus.'

The fact that the Soviet people, a new historical entity, has taken shape in the struggle of the peoples of the USSR for socialism and communism is a historic achievement of the CPSU and the main result of its Leninist nationalities policy.

United by their common economic and socio-political life and by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, all the nations of the Soviet Union constitute one multinational collective which is characterized by an organic blend of national features and common Soviet features, which are socialist and international.

Modern Marxist-Leninist thinking emphasizes that the Soviet people is a new historical, social and international entity of men which has taken shape as a result of socialist transformations and the inte-

gration of classes and social strata, of nations and nationalities with one Motherland, a common territory, economy, culture which is socialist in content and multinational in form, a Federal people's state, and a common goal, which is the construction of communism.

Our ill-wishers abroad ignore the dialectics of the formation of the Soviet people and claim that the development of this new historical entity has allegedly involved the disappearance of nations and nationalities in the USSR, and that the CPSU's nationalities policy is aimed at suppressing national specifics.

The facts tell a different story.

In his report on the draft of the new USSR Constitution and on the results of its nationwide discussion, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: 'The Soviet people's socio-political unity does not at all imply that national distinctions have disappeared. Thanks to the consistent pursuit of the Leninist nationalities policy we have, simultaneously with the construction of socialism, successfully solved the nationalities question — for the first time in history. The friendship of the Soviet peoples is indissoluble and in the process of building communism they are being steadily drawn ever closer together and are being mutually enriched in their spiritual life. But we would be taking a dangerous path if we were artificially to step up this objective process of integration of nations. That is something against which Lenin persistently warned, and we shall not depart from his precepts.'

The CPSU, guiding Soviet society, constantly takes into account the national interests and specific features of each people, of each republic in organic unity with the Soviet peoples' common interests as they build communism. This is a fundamentally important feature of the Leninist nationalities policy. The party takes a class approach to national problems and solves these in accordance with the tasks of progress of Soviet society as a whole. The dialectics of the Leninist approach to national and international questions does not imply any contrast between the national and the common Soviet aspects, but their correct fusion.

Marx and Engels emphasized that international cooperation 'is possible only among equals.'

In the epoch of mature socialism, there is not only a juridical but also an actual equality of nations. That is the result of the unprecedented economic and cultural development in the Soviet period of the backward areas of the former tsarist empire.

That is precisely the historical road which the Georgian nation has travelled in the 20th century, the road of nations which inhabited a backward area of the former empire, of nations which won juridical equality with the other nations as a result of the Great October Revolution, and actual equality with them as a result of the building of developed socialism.

The same applies to the other nations and nationalities in the Georgian Republic, which in the Soviet period have built up their own states as autonomous entities.

This is a truly momentous achievement of socialism. It is a miracle performed by the October Revolution, by the CPSU and its Leninist nationalities policy. That is something we cherish and take pride in, and we regard our mission as safeguarding and multiplying the gains of socialism in this important sphere of civilization. The contribution which socialism has made to the solution of the nationalities problem has no precedent — and, in fact, could not have any precedent — in world history.

Marxism-Leninism says that a nation is a stable historical entity of people, a form of social development taking shape on the basis of a common economic life together with a common language, territory and specific features of culture, consciousness and way of thinking.

In the Soviet period, the Georgian nation, like the other nations of our Republic and the whole Soviet Union, has retained its national and ethnic features but has become a totally different social type, a socialist nation in economic, class and political structure and spiritual physiognomy.

The new features of nations since the October Revolution are determined by their socialist and international life.

Economic progress, which stems from the radical transformations carried out in the course of socialist construction, provides the material basis for their formation. Industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution have created the conditions for the all-round flourishing of nations and nationalities in our Republic and the country as a whole.

Suffice it to say that in the Soviet period agricultural output in Georgia has multiplied nearly 8-fold, and industrial output — 161-fold.

In the epoch of mature socialism, the increase of each nation's, each union republic's contribution to the all-union economy is an objective uniformity. By working to increase its contribution, each nation helps to strengthen the socialist economy, the foundation of its progress. That is one of the basic guarantees of the continued flourishing of all nations, which is, consequently, inseparable from their joint creative activity within the framework of the integrated economic complex of the USSR.

The Georgian Republic is successfully involved in the USSR division of labor. Virtually every product-unit in the economy of the Republic is the result of joint work by people of dozens of nationalities of the Soviet Union, for each crystallizes the labor of work collectives in the Republic, which are international in spirit and make-up, and also of work collectives in many other fraternal republics.

Taking part in the USSR division of labor, Georgia supplies the RSFSR, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and other union republics with machine-tools, plant, equipment, manganese, ferro-alloys, tea, citrus fruits, wine, cognac, tinned foods and many other commodities. For their part, the union republics supply Georgia with ferrous and nonferrous metals,

machinery and equipment, oil, gas, cotton, textiles, mineral fertilizers, timber, cereals, sugar and other goods.

Our ill-wishers and class enemies abroad spread lies about Soviet Georgia and the other union republics, about their economy and culture, asserting that in the USSR the economic interests of individual republics and nations are being ignored.

Once again, the facts tell a totally different story.

For instance, in the first three years of the tenth five-year plan period, the national income going into consumption and accumulation on the scale of the USSR increased by 4.3 per cent a year, and in Georgia, by 5.3 per cent; similarly, industrial output for the Union increased by 5.2 per cent, and in Georgia by 6.7 per cent. We find the same picture in gross farm output (respectively, 4.8 per cent and 5.6 per cent) and in capital construction (4.6 per cent and 12.4 per cent).

These priority growth rates in Georgia are the result of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy. Under the USSR division of labor, the party's concern for one union republic inevitably has a positive effect on the development of other republics, because our economy is an integral whole.

Georgia is now a highly industrialized republic.

Among the major items turned out by its economy are aircraft, electric locomotives, motor vehicles, metal-working machine-tools, pig iron, steel, rolled stock, steel tubes, mineral fertilizers, man-made fiber, etc. Our power industry, especially electric power industry, coal, oil and gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry are developing.

Georgia exports goods to 80 countries, including the United States, Britain, Belgium and Switzerland.

Soviet Georgia's successes in building the material and technical basis of communism are eloquently illustrated by the fact that in the past several years the Republic has been awarded the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the YCL Central Committee for the sixth time running for showing the highest achievements in the countrywide socialist emulation movement.

Socialist emulation has become a good school of internationalism and patriotism. It ranges over all the republics of Transcaucasia and the whole USSR. Thus, the emulation and friendship of the working people of the capitals of the Transcaucasian Republics — Baku, Tbilisi and Erevan — have remarkable internationalist traditions.

In its nationalities policy, the CPSU devotes much attention to the development of the languages of the USSR. The CPSU Program and the USSR Constitution proclaim and guarantee their equality and development, ensuring full freedom for every Soviet citizen to speak, educate and train his children in any language, without allowing any privileges, limitations or coercion in the use of this or that language.

Party, state, political, juridical and ideological

documents, and aesthetic and cultural values are created in the languages of the USSR, and they also serve as a basis for the development of sociopolitical, technical and scientific thought, etc.

The Central Committee of the CP Georgia and the Council of Ministers of the Republic have adopted a resolution on improving the teaching of the mother tongue in the schools of Soviet Georgia. This means not only Georgian, but all the other national languages in which children are taught in the schools of the Republic: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Abkhazian, Ossetian and Kurdish.

The Republic has 4,379 general-education schools, among them 2,829 Georgian day schools; 276 Russian, 60 Abkhazian, 94 Ossetian, 175 Azerbaijani, and 218 Armenian schools; 227 schools where children are taught in two languages, 67, in three languages, and 4, in four or more languages.

While improving the teaching of the mother tongue, much attention is being given to the Russian language which is the language of communication among nations in the USSR. Far from clashing with each other, the teaching and study of the native tongue and the Russian language, in effect, harmonize with and complement each other.

Without a knowledge of Russian, it is evidently hard to become a highly skilled specialist and to obtain access to world sources of knowledge and culture.

Among the languages taught in the secondary and higher schools of the Republic are English, Spanish, French, German, Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

All of this promotes the cause of internationalism and the friendship of nations.

Like the whole of the USSR, the Georgian Republic is the home of many nations, and we take pride in this fact.

It is a great pleasure for us to hear the sounds of many languages and dialects. They blend into a polyphonic hymn to the Leninist friendship of nations and to socialist internationalism.

Community of territory is a key feature of the nation. It engenders feelings for one's native land, love for one's Motherland, Soviet patriotism and internationalism, a sense of history and involvement in one's nation's historical destinies and accomplishments.

Community of territory is closely bound up with national sovereignty.

The Georgian people has been living and working in the foothills of the Caucasus and on the Black Sea coast for more than a millenium, but only in the Soviet period did it succeed in realizing its age-old urge to unite all the Georgian lands in a flourishing state, serving the national and international interests of the Georgian people and of all the other peoples in the Republic.

The Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, the Adzhar Autonomous Republic, and the South-Ossetian Autonomous Region were established only in the Soviet period.

In 1983, it will be 200 years since the signing of the first manifesto of friendship and brotherhood

between the Russian and the Georgian peoples, the 1783 Treaty of Georgiyevsk, which inaugurated Georgia's unification with Russia, and this became a historical fact in 1801.

The Republic is already preparing for these jubilee celebrations. This will be a festival not only of the Russian and the Georgian peoples but of all the other peoples of the USSR. Such is the law of international brotherhood of our peoples, such is our 'sense of family.'

The logic of history has shown that Georgia was saved from physical and spiritual annihilation precisely because of its unification with Russia. It was the arrival of the Russian brothers in the Caucasus that marked the establishment of peace and tranquility in the area, and an end to the plunder and brigandage which the Iran of the shahs and the Turkey of the sultans had carried on with impunity for centuries.

We take a class approach to tsarism. In celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, we shall be marking a jubilee of friendship and brotherhood between the Russian and the Georgian peoples, and not the union of two dynasties. It is not tsars but peoples who make history. This will be a festival of internationalism, and of the friendship of nations forged in the crucible of history.

Anti-Soviet propaganda, which seeks to distort and denigrate the Russian people's relations with the other peoples of the USSR, asserts that these relations are based on the principles of domination and subordination, and that they strip the non-Russian peoples of their national traditions and features. But our historical experience, like that of the other nations of the USSR, shows strikingly that friendship with the Russian people has been an important factor in the flourishing of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

We Georgians, like the other nations of the Soviet Union, are deeply grateful to our brothers — the great Russian people — for their selfless assistance and support, and for friendship that has no parallel in the history of mankind.

The spiritual and cultural burgeoning of nations is a distinctive feature of national development under socialism.

The cultures of the peoples of the USSR are national in form and socialist, which means international, in content. But form does not lack content, nor is content an amorphous phenomenon. The international is not a nation-less phenomenon. That is why both form and content acquire international features.

'Today,' Leonid Brezhnev has said, 'we have every right to say: our culture is socialist in content, in the main line of its development, is diverse in national form, and internationalist in spirit and character. It is, consequently, an organic blend of the spiritual values created by all the nations.'

The dialectics of the socialist nations' spiritual development is well demonstrated by the Georgian people's cultural life, which is permeated with internationalism and patriotism.

In our Republic, books, journals and newspapers are published in many languages of the USSR and the world: Georgian, Russian, Abkhasian, Ossetian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, etc.

A 55-volume edition of the *Collected Works* of V.I. Lenin is being published in Georgian, and all the fundamental works of Marx and Engels, the writings of Brezhnev, of other outstanding leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the international communist and working-class movement have been published in Georgian.

The first few volumes of the *Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia*, of an 80-volume edition of a *Library of World Literature* in a Georgian translation and works by the national classics in 20 volumes have already appeared, and a large series of documents reflecting the history of the friendship of the Russian and Georgian peoples is being prepared for the press, and so on.

Every year, Soviet Georgia publishes 130 textbooks with a total printing of 5 million copies, in Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Abkhasian, Ossetian and other languages of the USSR.

In 1978, the number of books and other publications in the Republic topped 2,000 titles. Over 1,400 publications have appeared in Georgian, and the rest in other languages of the USSR.

In the Republic, journals and newspapers are being published and regular radio and TV broadcasts are carried in Abkhasian, Ossetian, Azerbaijani and Armenian. In Abkhasia, Adzharia and South Ossetia there are unions of writers, composers, artists, architects, and journalists, dramatic societies or branches of these, and national sections at the Union of Writers of Georgia; almanacs and collections are published in Armenian, Azerbaijani, Kurdish and many other languages of the peoples living in the Republic.

Georgian has completed the switch to universal secondary education for children of all nationalities; 99.9 per cent of Georgia's population are people who can read and write. It has 19 institutions of higher learning, and a body of nearly 90,000 students, or 168 per 10,000 of the population, a higher proportion than in any foreign country.

Georgia's institutions of higher learning have 29 academicians, 557 doctors of science, and 569 professors of more than 20 nationalities. The students belong to 42 nationalities, among them Georgians, Abkhasians, Ossetians, Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Kurds, and young people from many foreign countries.

In the Soviet period, a Georgian Academy of Sciences with nearly 40 research institutions and establishments has been set up. Altogether, Georgia has almost 200 research centers.

We have 23 theatres. Alongside the national Paliashvili Opera House, the Shota Rustaveli Dramatic Theatre, the Mardjanishvili Theatre, the Metekhi Youth Theatre and many others, we also have the Griboyedov Russian Dramatic Theatre, a Russian theatre for children, the Shaumyan State

Armenian Theatre in Tbilisi, the Chant Abkhazian Dramatic Theatre in Sukhumi, the Khetagurov Tskhinvali State Dramatic Theatre in South Ossetia.

Existing socialism ensures the all-round development of every nation and nationality, including those which have no autonomous statehood because of the scattered nature of their population.

Thus, the CP Georgia Central Committee and the Georgian Council of Ministers have adopted a number of resolutions on improving the work among the Kurdish population of the Republic for the purpose of further raising their cultural and economic levels, providing jobs, improvement of teaching in Kurdish in secondary schools, improvement of the system of enrolment of Kurdish young people at institutions of higher learning, publication of the works of Kurdish writers living in Georgia, radio broadcasts in Kurdish, encouragement of Kurdish cultural activity, the international and patriotic education of the the Kurdish population, and the strengthening of its friendship and brotherhood with all the peoples of the USSR and with Kurds living in other countries.

National isolation is alien to our nations' internationalist, patriotic spirit. Internationalism has opened up such broad horizons for national life that isolation has become an anachronism, a phenomenon that has outlived its age, a relic of the past.

In the epoch of mature socialism, it is not only that which was established as truly national over the centuries that is regarded as national, but also that which has been introduced in the consciousness and way of thinking of the people by the Marxist-Leninist world view, by the Soviet way of life and by socialist reality. That is why, in mature socialist society people are not only distinguished but are largely united by national features. Such is the new nature of the national under socialism.

In this way, the national develops into the international, while the international becomes a national asset.

Whereas the pre-socialist way of life tended to divide the nations of our country, the socialist way of life, the socialist consciousness and way of thinking tend to unite them.

The art and science of party guidance consists precisely in comprehending this process and enriching and developing it in every way.

What are the main trends in the development of nations in Soviet Georgia in this epoch of mature, developed socialism? What are the basic lessons of history to be learned from the national relations in our Republic?

The Communist Party of Georgia takes into account that:

- socialism does not predetermine spontaneous development of national relations but their conscious direction on the part of the working class and its party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science;

- in the course of socialist construction, there are substantial social changes which add up to a process of transition to a classless society;

- the development of socialist social relations helps to draw the nations and nationalities closer

together, to strengthen the Leninist friendship of nations, constantly deepening their cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance for the great goal of building socialism and communism;

- existing socialism, having eliminated the legacy of actual inequality between all peoples, goes on steadily to level up their economic and cultural development;

- under socialism, proletarian, socialist internationalism provides the ideological, moral and psychological foundation for national relations, for it ensures the observance of national interests, respect for the national feelings of all peoples, and harmonizes the interests of each with the common interests of Soviet society;

- the development of nations and national relations under socialism helps to overcome the elements of great-power chauvinism, bourgeois nationalism, national nihilism and national isolation, which are alien to socialist society;

- existing socialism eliminates the social causes of national inequality, and creates the conditions for developing the peoples' economy and national statehood, for the mutual influence and enrichment of their cultures, helps to overcome national barriers and draws nations and nationalities closer.

The construction of the material and technical basis of communism, the further improvement of socialist social relations through their gradual development into communist relations, and the education of the new man, a builder of communism, all of which are the CPSU's programmatic tasks, exert the crucial influence on the flourishing and integration of the socialist nations.

The growth of the party's leading role is a guarantee of fresh successes of the Leninist nationalities policy and of fresh victories for the ideas of socialist internationalism.

The Georgian communists' struggle against survivals of the past, against elements of nationalism and chauvinism, against bureaucratic practices and formalism, and for the establishment of a sound moral and psychological climate in the Republic, consistent observance of the Leninist norms of party life and the principles of party leadership, correct selection, education and appointment of cadres to key sectors of communist construction and the carrying on by our party organization of its work in the light of the requirements of the CPSU's 25th Congress, all of these have been major prerequisites for successful implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy.

We Soviet communists are dedicated internationalists.

We do not stand aloof from the socialist world system, the international communist and working-class movement, and all the other forces fighting for peace, democracy and social progress.

Our experience in the struggle to strengthen the Leninist friendship of nations has reaffirmed again and again that proletarian internationalism has been and remains the key factor in the revolutionary renewal of society.

New dimensions of international solidarity

Yusuf Dadoo

Chairman, South African Communist Party

In the recent period, the struggle to liberate the last strongholds of racism and colonialism on the African continent has reached new and higher levels. In response to this, the imperialists and racists have stepped up their aggression and conspiracies in order to retard the revolutionary process and, if possible, to impose a neo-colonialist solution. In this mortal combat between the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy, and those of imperialism, racism and reaction, proletarian internationalist support for the oppressed and downtrodden in Southern Africa assumes ever greater significance.

It is well known that proletarian internationalism made a great contribution to epochal victories like the October Revolution in Russia, the rout of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, the formation of the socialist world system, and the collapse of colonialism. Proletarian internationalism has shown itself to be a truly effective force which has stood the test of time.

Every major swing in the development of the modern world produces new forms of the working people's international unity and enriches the content of proletarian internationalism, the objective need for which was discovered and first practised by Marx and Engels. This was most vividly confirmed by the experience of the Great October Revolution in Russia. The post-October period, profoundly influenced by Lenin's thinking, was marked by the emergence of new forms, types and manifestations of the international brotherhood of the working class and of all the other oppressed and exploited. This was because the world's first proletarian state became for the oppressed and exploited a reliable friend and ally always prepared — to the best of its potentialities and resources — to come to their assistance. Moreover, the epoch itself had changed, ushering in the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, making the revolutionary movement worldwide, and involving new national contingents of the working class and the colonized peoples in the fight against capitalism and imperialism. These historical changes, at the center of which was the world proletariat and the parties of the Third International, gave international solidarity the scale which was inconceivable under the exploiters' undivided rule.

But does this necessarily lead to the automatic assertion of proletarian internationalism as the main principle guiding the theory and practice of the international working-class movement? After all, every historical era makes its own demands on

proletarian internationalism, and confronts the various national contingents of the working class with definite tasks, which in turn influences the concrete content and forms of internationalism, while its substance is preserved. Let us first examine — in the light of internationalist tasks — the specifics of the present world situation.

Objective necessity

The present stage of social development is characterized by the unprecedented gains of the forces of national and social liberation. There is the existence of the powerful socialist community and the tremendous potential of the national-liberation movement and the growing strength and influence of the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist world and the developing countries. However, the fulfillment of revolutionary and general democratic tasks nationally and internationally has become much more complicated. The dialectics of the revolutionary process consists precisely in that imperialism, hemmed in along many lines, has not only ever more desperately resisted the advance of socialism and the movement for national liberation and social emancipation, but has counter-attacked and gone over to an offensive in many sectors. The present period is marked by an exceptionally acute confrontation between the jointly acting forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace, on the one hand, and the increasingly cohesive forces of imperialism, of right-wing and ultra-leftist reaction, on the other. Moreover, Maoist China, pursuing the dangerous policy of anti-Sovietism, great-power chauvinism and expansionism, is on the same side of the barricades as the most aggressive and war-mongering circles of monopoly capital.

It is above all the growing aggressiveness of the imperialist circles that maintains the hotbeds of tension in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa. It is a fact that the imperialist powers do not at all seek to pursue consistently the policy of détente, a policy that was initiated and consistently implemented by the socialist community. Another example of the extremely sharp reaction of the imperialists to their many retreats of the past is the highly intense anti-Soviet campaigns which they seek to make worldwide. Thus, the preservation and extension of the revolutionary and democratic gains demand the type of unity of communists and other revolutionaries which would enable them to act as a cohesive unit.

Indeed, how can we communists and rev-

olutionaries counter the concerted campaigns of imperialism and Peking and their intelligence services against the people of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Palestine, Chile, Angola, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa? Naturally, by displaying our proletarian solidarity. The peoples of these countries need such solidarity as they do air and bread. The address of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East held in Soviet Baku in 1920 to the workers of Europe, America and Japan, which urged them to support the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, as a part of the world revolutionary process, has an exceptionally meaningful ring to this very day. In our day, growing importance attaches to the proletarian internationalist support of the international working class to the liberation movement of the developing countries.

Proletarian internationalism becomes increasingly relevant as new contingents of the international working-class and liberation movement bring to the fore the tasks of immediate revolutionary transformations and advance to socialism. The process of the further deepening of the social content of the national-liberation movement is exemplified by Angola and Mozambique. FRELIMO and the MPLA — Party of Labor have adopted the science of Marxism-Leninism and characterize their countries as popular democracies. Together with Ethiopia, Congo, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Afghanistan, among others, they have taken the path of socialist orientation with socialism as their goal. The communist movement has the duty to help them consolidate their victories.

Today, the problem appears to be an even broader one: it entails the arrangement of ties between the progressive and the socialist countries, between the ruling revolutionary-democratic and Marxist parties of Asia and Africa with the ruling and non-ruling communist parties, ties based on proletarian internationalism. This is a promising process, and a successful start has already been made on it. We may here mention the Treaties of Friendship signed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the PDRY. There is inter-party cooperation between communist parties of socialist and non-socialist countries and revolutionary parties and organizations on the basis of a common ideology: Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Their common vital tasks and ideological views constitute the basis for their cooperation.

Furthermore, proletarian internationalism acquires a growing importance also because communists, revolutionary democrats and all the other forward-looking revolutionaries feel a need for a mutual support and mutual assistance. This helps more effectively to rebuff the imperialist subversions against the progressive governments of the developing countries, and the anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet and other campaigns hostile to socialism.

In the period of tackling the constructive tasks of

the revolution, it is of exceptional importance to make use of the accumulated experience of the international revolutionary working-class movement, especially the experience of existing socialism. The sharing and assimilation of experience in socialist construction has been yet another manifestation of proletarian internationalism since the emergence of the world's first homeland of workers and peasants. The present advance of some countries to socialism, despite their great diversity and peculiarities, cannot but rest on the rich international experience in laying the foundations of socialism in the Soviet Union, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Cuba, and in putting through non-capitalist transformations in the fringe areas of former tsarist Russia, Mongolia and Vietnam.

Finally, the viability of proletarian internationalism has been proved by the international solidarity given to the broad liberation battles waged in our day, primarily in the citadels of racism and colonialism in Southern Africa, and also on the economic front of struggle with imperialism.

While the communists' attitude to revolutionary democrats taking the approach of scientific socialism is permeated to a growing extent with the spirit of the famous call of the international working-class movement — 'Workers of All Countries, Unite!' — the well-known call — 'Proletarians of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!' — is equally valid today.

The latter call epitomizes the substance of the epoch of transition to socialism. Today, we find a steady extension of the range of the general democratic liberation struggle of countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It involves various forces: proletarian and non-proletarian revolutionaries, the middle strata, some circles representing national capital, and secular and clerical political forces. This struggle is aimed at abolishing the racist-colonialist rule and establishing people's power, to strengthen political sovereignty and national statehood, to resist the policy of diktat, violence and great-power chauvinism in international affairs, to secure equality and mutually beneficial and fair economic relations among all countries, a world without wars, and political and military détente.

Correlation of types of solidarity

The question of the correlation of the internationalism of the working class and the broader general democratic type of solidarity is important methodologically and politically. The latter is usually characterized by an alignment of forces of differing social and ideological orientation in pursuit of tasks which are common to them.

General democratic solidarity is effected in different forms in the zone of the national-liberation struggle and beyond it. The horrific nature of apartheid and the vital importance of the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle have produced internationally a broad cohesion of communists, progressive and democratic forces round anti-apartheid, anti-racist positions and slogans.

Another example is the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity, which sprang from the need to purge these continents of colonial and neo-colonial domination, a movement which has been increasingly acquiring a progressive social content. Among the democratic types of solidarity are also the various movements in the struggle for peace, which, for their part, are rallied in the global peace movement, notably, the World Peace Council. The non-aligned movement, which is a form of unity of countries that are not members of military-political blocs, has made a notable contribution to the struggle against colonialism, racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, and has a most influential role to play in international affairs.

International imperialism and reactionaries of every stripe are hostile to the solidarity of communists and any genuine opponents of oppression, whether social, national or racial. Their efforts are concentrated on ranging democratic against revolutionary movements, and those who hold other ideological views against the communists. Here is, for instance, what the bourgeois newspaper *The Financial Times* said before the Sixth Non-Aligned Conference in Havana: that the Cubans 'would like to see it place more reliance on the Soviet Union's view of the world. This would involve accepting the Russian view that the future, in particular in the developing countries, belongs to Marxism-Leninism.' The reader will understand why this statement has been made, from the following: 'This stand has brought into question whether Cuba would be an acceptable host for the summit.' This was another run-of-the-mill attempt to influence public opinion against holding the non-aligned conference in socialist Cuba, which nevertheless took place there and adopted important decisions.

What then characterizes the solidarity of the proletariat and how does it correlate with the other forms of solidarity? First, proletarian internationalism presumes an identity of *vital class* interests, so that solidarity should have a common and *coherent social* basis. Secondly, this concept implies the capability of the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, to act on a national and international scale for the radical revolutionary transformation of society. That is not supported by all the working-class contingents, to say nothing of the democratic movement. However, the existence of an ultimate goal does not prevent the advanced contingents of the working class from carrying on the most consistent struggle for the fulfillment of general democratic tasks.

The assertion of the proletarian character of internationalism in no way minimizes the importance of the general type of democratic solidarity. There is nevertheless a difference between these two main types of solidarity. Was the struggle of the international working-class and communist movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and its fraternal assistance to that long-suffering country identical — in class substance — with action by the pacifists and religious circles, which also condemned the U.S. aggression? No, it was not, for it

was the embodiment of something much larger, namely, of proletarian solidarity with a people standing up not only for its national independence, but also for its socialist future.

All-round international solidarity action and assistance were given to help the people of Angola win their freedom. First, there was the support of the socialist community, the most resolute and on the largest scale. It was an embodiment of the proletarian internationalism of the Soviet Union, Cuba, the GDR and other socialist countries. Second, there was the campaign of solidarity with the Angolan revolution in the capitalist and developing countries involving people of the most diverse views and convictions who acted both from proletarian and from general democratic positions. Third, there was the assistance of the broad movement of Afro-Asian solidarity.

While the movement of solidarity with fighting Angola was as a whole broad and international, it became decisive only because it involved working-class forces and states acting not just from the positions of sympathy and democracy, but precisely from the positions of consistent, proletarian internationalism.

These examples show that proletarian internationalism and the general democratic types of solidarity are not separated by a great wall. The forces of imperialism and reaction demagogically allege that the participation of socialist states and communists in broad international democratic movements is designed to 'establish communist control' and to seek to impose the Marxist-Leninist world view on them. Nothing could be further from the truth. The contribution made by the communist parties of various countries to the struggle to establish peace and security, to assert the principles of independence and sovereignty in the international arena, and establish just international economic relations testifies to the fact that the communist and working-class movement cherishes humane ideals, is opposed to any injustice and to the policy of imperialist violence and war. It is quite natural that the socialist-community countries taking part in the non-aligned movement urge a deepening of its anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist content, and more vigorous efforts in the struggle for peace and détente. This cannot in any way distort the original character of the movement. On the contrary, it helps to enhance its authority and influence.

Basis for interconnection

The power of proletarian and democratic solidarity is determined by the extent to which it becomes a way of life for the international working-class and democratic movement.

The principle of proletarian internationalism has become the bedrock governing relations among states within the framework of the socialist community.

With the emergence of socialist Cuba, united Vietnam and free Laos, new states have begun to live in accordance with the laws of international brother-

hood, and the internationalism of the victorious socialist revolutions began to serve new socialist revolutions. We have witnessed once again the dedicated, noble and disinterested internationalism of the ruling working class and its party. An example is the policy of Vietnam, a country ravaged by foreign — U.S. and Peking — aggressions and economically poor, but which has for many years been giving effective fraternal assistance to Laos and Kampuchea.

It is significant that proletarian internationalism is now being ever more frequently adopted by the most radical forces of non-proletarian origin. A large section of revolutionary and popular democracy seeks to act from these positions. This is expressed in the consistent solidarity of the socialism-oriented countries — Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen, Afghanistan and other countries — with Vietnam, in their solidarity with the socialist-community countries, which are being subjected to slanderous attacks and provocations by imperialism and China. Ruling communist, Marxist and revolutionary-democratic parties have reached agreement on a very high level on fundamental issues such as the need to struggle against imperialism, to effect deep-going social transformations, a consistent policy of support for liberation revolutions, anti-racist, anti-fascist solidarity, and so on. An example is the internationalist help given by Cuba to Ethiopia and Angola in order to defend and consolidate their revolutionary gains.

Consequently, the social base of proletarian internationalism is being extended. It emerged in the 19th century as an instrument of the working-class struggle against exploitation and for the emancipation of labor, and in our own century it is being increasingly adopted as their own by other social sections and groups. Many communists in Asian, African and Latin American countries joined the revolutionary movement through radical patriotic organizations, and only later adopted a scientific class stand. But in contrast to the period when internationalist ideas spread mainly through the emergence of new contingents of the progressive working-class and communist movement, in our day efforts to realize these ideas in practice are also being made by unprecedentedly numerous contingents of revolutionaries of non-proletarian origin, above all in Africa, Asia and also on other continents. They have moved closer to the positions of the working class, and some of them accept its ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

However, we must keep in touch with reality when considering the acceptance of the principles of proletarian internationalism by new millions of revolutionaries and progressives in the non-socialist zone of the world. At present, only the most forward-looking of them have consciously adopted proletarian internationalism, and for the time being these processes are not universal and are even limited. There are many reasons for this, such as the heterogeneous nature of the working-class movement itself, for a sizable part of it is under the

influence of social-reformism, and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. Even now, in many sectors of the world revolutionary movement, the emphasis is on the national and the specific rather than the general and the international. In the developing countries, national societies have an extremely checkered social makeup, a conglomerate of social forces with dissimilar interests operating in them, a fact which objectively creates obstacles for the spread of proletarian internationalist ideals.

General democratic solidarity is different. Like other types of cohesion on a democratic platform in the developing countries, it has become truly universal. The roots of this phenomenon will be found in the specifics of the existing socio-economic situation, in the same type or similarity of the problems produced by colonial domination and imperialist exploitation. While this is differently interpreted by the various classes, there is, nevertheless, a common approach: this is expressed in the recognition by almost everyone of the need to overcome backwardness, dependence, and their subordinate status in the world capitalist economy. These goals are advocated both by some sections of the national bourgeoisie, which propose their own methods for solving these problems, and by other social groups which suggest fundamentally different alternatives. In the external economic sphere, this is reflected in their program for a new international economic order, and in the numerous forms of economic associations of countries exporting various commodities and raw materials.

The developing countries share common political interests in ensuring favorable international conditions for their existence and in establishing on the international scene the principles of independence, equality and non-interference in domestic affairs. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries support the policy of détente and disarmament, and accept the principles of peaceful coexistence.

What is more, there is an organic connection between the developing countries' democratic positions and the foreign-policy line of the socialist countries and the communist parties. This is anti-imperialism. The communists' struggle in the international arena is permeated with anti-imperialism, and the anti-imperialist content is objectively present in the developing countries' struggle for peace, just and equitable international relations, including relations in the economic sphere.

However, one reservation needs to be made: anti-imperialism cannot be regarded as an inherent feature of the developing countries' international posture and behavior. Not every economic or political struggle carried on by them is anti-imperialist.

The anti-imperialist tenor of the developing countries' struggle is also undoubtedly undermined when an effort is made to interpret it in terms of 'equidistance' from the imperialist and the socialist world, from Maoist China and the socialist community. This tends to narrow down the poten-

tialities of solidarity, whose power lies not only in the developing countries' capability of independently carrying on a struggle against imperialism, but also in the existence of reliable support from the socialist-community countries. Indeed the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, is the natural ally of those countries pursuing socially progressive policies.

Life shows that the best results in the anti-imperialist battles are obtained when action against imperialism by the socialist countries and the world revolutionary forces is mutually backed up with a drive against the interests of monopoly capital by developing countries nationalizing their national resources and cutting short the foreign monopolies' exploitation of their peoples.

Support by the socialist and non-aligned countries of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, which is characterized by the brilliant victories of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, the rapidly mounting struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in my own country, South Africa, and also assistance in consolidating the revolution in Ethiopia, is a major contribution to anti-imperialist solidarity. Nowadays, support of the Afghan revolution and Heng Samrin's legitimate government in Kampuchea by socialist states and by broad democratic public opinion in many countries, especially the countries of South and Southeast Asia, is of profound significance.

One could list many areas of accord on political and economic problems between the socialist and non-aligned countries, between the communists and other social forces in developing countries. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, recently declared: 'Because the non-aligned movement and the socialist countries have common aims in the struggle for freedom, equality, peace, prosperity, justice and democracy, it is quite natural that they must support each other. That is why the non-aligned countries and the socialist-community countries have similar views and frequently take the same positions on important vital problems in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.'*

All of this shows the strength of the anti-imperialist solidarity of the socialist countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As in the past, it continues to be fully relevant as a broad platform for joint struggle, which is supported by progressive forces and, above all, by the world communist movement. It is clear that as the world revolutionary process deepens and the imperialist powers use their formidable resources to attempt to distort or reverse it, the role of proletarian internationalism is becoming even more decisive.

*Pravda, August 29, 1979 (unofficial translation).

The peaceful coexistence policy today

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The start of a new decade is always an occasion for reflecting on the past and future. We now have behind us yet another, the eighth, decade of our century, of which we have every right to say that it will be remembered as an important landmark in history. In that period, the fraternal socialist countries and all the other peace forces achieved outstanding successes in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and détente. It saw the conclusion of highly important bilateral agreements which brought relations between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe into accord with the realities of postwar development; it also saw the signing of the first Soviet-American agreements on limiting strategic arms and on principles of relations. There was the historic conference of the top leaders of 35 states at Helsinki, where the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were established as a norm of international relations.

Over the past decade, a great deal changed on the political map of the world: reactionary dictator-

ships in Portugal, Greece, Spain and Nicaragua collapsed, the peoples of Indochina won an historic victory over local reaction and U.S. imperialism, the peoples of Afghanistan and Ethiopia took the road of independent development, the pro-imperialist monarchy in Iran was toppled, and former Portuguese colonies won independence and took the path of progressive development.

Why do we accentuate détente and peaceful coexistence, its basis, from among the broad range of socio-political phenomena in the eighth decade of the century? It is because the alternative to peace and security is preparation for a world thermonuclear war. And also because as détente materialized in the 1970s, millions of people came to feel that international relations can pose not only dangers and threats of conflict and war, as they did in the cold war of the 1950s and 1960s, but also the prospects for a life in greater tranquility and greater certainty of the future. Although the advance of détente did somewhat slow down in the second half of the past decade, the introduction of the princi-

ples of peaceful coexistence into relations between states continues to be the dominant trend at the present stage of international relations.

Peaceful coexistence and *détente* are key constituent elements of socialist foreign policy. Its basic principles were worked out by the founder of the world's first socialist state, Lenin, the 110th anniversary of whose birth the whole of progressive mankind will be marking this year. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist-community countries is based on the solid foundation of Lenin's theoretical principles and practical approaches, the decisions of congresses of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the results of exchanges of views in the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, and decisions of other conferences of fraternal countries.

The communist and workers' parties, which shape the socialist countries' foreign policy, assume that the introduction of the basic principles of peaceful coexistence into the practice of international relations is not a short process — it takes an entire historical epoch — and that the success of this policy depends not only on socialist but also on capitalist countries. For a long time, the leading capitalist countries rejected the idea of world peace and the principles of peaceful coexistence, and refused to establish extensive ties with the world's first socialist country. Only in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as a result of the persevering struggle of all the peace-loving peoples, and chiefly as a result of the Soviet Union's growing economic, political and military strength and of the new balance of strength between the two systems in the world, notably the military balance, did inter-state relations enter into a qualitatively new period. Today, the imperative of peaceful coexistence is the point of departure not only of the socialist countries; the same tendency is, at long last, beginning to be observed in the capitalist countries. Although the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, the progressive forces are now able to make it accept international relations under which each social system must demonstrate its advantages in peaceful coexistence, instead of nuclear war.

The communists have always emphasized that by its very nature socialism has no need of war to prove its superiority over capitalism. On the contrary, experience shows that its achievements are especially impressive in time of peace. Thus, from 1950 to 1976, the socialist countries' industrial output multiplied 11.5-fold, and that of the capitalist world system, only 3.4-fold.

At the same time, the peaceful coexistence policy now no longer boils down to a mere absence of war or the establishment of conventional diplomatic relations between socialist and capitalist states. Today it is vital to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust among states belonging to the two social systems and develop economic, political, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation among them. The emphasis on these tasks in the 1970s meant a further enrichment and development of Lenin's policy of peaceful co-

existence. The term '*détente*' was firmly established in political usage in the past decade.

In an interview with *Time* magazine, Leonid Brezhnev defined this term. He said: 'When we say "relaxation of tension," or simply "*détente*" for short, we mean a state of international relations opposite to a state which is commonly termed "cold war" and which was characterized by permanent tension threatening to develop at any moment into open conflict. In other words, *détente* means, above all, the overcoming of the cold war and transition to normal, smooth relations among states. *Détente* means a willingness to resolve differences and disputes not by force, by threats or saber rattling, but by peaceful means, at the negotiation table. *Détente* means a certain degree of trust and ability to reckon with each other's legitimate interests.'

The main elements of *détente*, its chief component parts are as follows: first, the existence of voluntary commitments constituting a kind of code of equitable relations among countries. This includes, in particular, important principles like respect for sovereignty and equality, settlement of outstanding international issues by political means, recognition of the inviolability of borders, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the right of all nations freely to choose their socio-economic and political system. Second, the development on the basis of these principles of a ramified network of bilateral and multilateral agreements covering many areas of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, and the extension and concretization of acts partially formalized in international law. These include major diplomatic actions and advances in international law over the past decade like the Moscow treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in three environments, the non-proliferation treaty, the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet-U.S. agreement on preventing nuclear war, SALT-1 and SALT-2, and so on.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the idea for which was put forward by socialist countries, and SALT-2 have a place apart in the development of peaceful coexistence between states belonging to the two systems, and in limiting and halting the arms race and strengthening peace. Just as the Helsinki Conference marked an important stage in the development of peaceful coexistence, SALT-2 is an essential element in the process of complementing political *détente* with military *détente*. The signing of this treaty is convincing evidence that, given good will and a readiness to reckon with each other's legitimate interests, an understanding can be reached on the most intricate issues. Both these outstanding events — Helsinki and SALT-2 — are similar also in that they are essentially only the start of a multifaceted process aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world. SALT-2, in particular, erects a bridge leading to a further limitation and reduction of strategic weapons, and could have a beneficial effect on other negotiations on limiting the arms race and on disarmament.

The restructuring of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence has effected Europe in the first place, because it is the chief arena of confrontation between the two social systems and their military alignments. Stable political relations have now taken shape in Europe between states with different social systems, and a mechanism for translating the policy of détente into practice has been put together and is being improved. This includes multilateral and bilateral negotiations, especially summit negotiations and meetings, regular political consultations between various countries, and the work of bilateral mixed commissions. This process was inaugurated back in the mid-1960s by the policy of accord and cooperation between the USSR and France. The next step in transforming Europe into a continent of peace was the normalization of relations of the USSR and other socialist countries with the FRG and the United States. The outcome of these positive changes in the 1970s was a radical swing in Europe's political life from dangerous confrontation to peaceful cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and recognition of the territorial and political realities resulting from the Second World War and postwar development. There is evidence of an urge in government circles of the FRG, France and some other NATO countries to extend political relations and cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis of the signed treaties and the Helsinki Final Act.

The trend toward broader economic, scientific and technical cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries is gradually making headway as the material basis for détente and peaceful coexistence. The Western governments and business circles are showing a growing interest in expanding economic ties with the socialist countries. These ties cover extensive trade, cooperation on industrial projects, joint research and development, etc.

The socialist-community countries, basing their relations with developed capitalist countries on the principle of mutual advantage, invariably advocate the elimination of any obstacles and limitations which hamper the deepening of this cooperation. One result of this, in particular, is the rapid growth of trade between the CMEA and the EEC countries: in 1977, it was 3.1 times the 1970 figure. Let me emphasize that, contrary to bourgeois propaganda inventions, the development of trade between the CMEA and the EEC countries is not in any way of unilateral interest to the socialist countries. What is more, with the prospect of instability in the world markets, the Western countries' trade with the socialist world tends to become a factor of their economic stability. FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt admitted as much, when he declared that the advantages of the FRG's trade with socialist countries were never so obvious as they were during the recent crisis.² He said that under no circumstances should 'Eastern trade' be regarded as a political battlefield.

An analysis of East-West trade shows that the CMEA countries account for between 20 and 25 per cent of the EEC countries' total exports of many

engineering, metallurgical and other products. For their part, the socialist countries are also important suppliers of some manufactures and raw materials to the West.

The 1975 Helsinki Conference gave a strong impetus to a further extension of economic ties between East and West. This will be seen from the number of treaties and agreements concluded between socialist and capitalist countries before and after the adoption of the Final Act: 168 and 600 in 1968 and 1973, and 1,000 and 1,300 in 1976 and 1977 respectively. Of the utmost importance here are the 10-year agreements on economic, industrial and technical cooperation concluded on the CMEA countries' initiative, and the inter-governmental agreements and enterprise-level contracts on industrial cooperation with developed capitalist countries. Altogether, according to the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the number of such agreements in Europe alone comes to more than 1,300, which is nearly one-half of the agreements on industrial, scientific and technical cooperation recorded by the United Nations.

In the 1970s, cooperation in the sphere of culture became a generally recognized element of interstate relations alongside economic, scientific and technical cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries. Based on cultural agreements covering an ever wider field and going beyond traditional areas, cultural cooperation now embraces radio, television and the cinema, museums and archives, exhibits and theatrical companies. Ties between the two social systems in science, education and information, and contacts between people are becoming ever more diverse.

Throughout the whole of its 35-year socialist development, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has pursued a consistently peaceful foreign policy and has taken an active part, alongside the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, of which it is a member, in the struggle to realize Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and President of Bulgaria's Council of State, says: 'As a Communist Party, as a socialist country, as a nation confidently looking to its communist future, we have a host of reasons for wanting peace and for working for world peace, and we do not have a single reason for wanting international tensions, mistrust, hostility or cold and hot wars among nations! That is why we stand for détente, and work, to the best of our abilities and potentialities, to strengthen and develop it, and to make it an irreversible process. That is why we stand for real progress in disarmament, and for the development of mutually advantageous international cooperation.'³

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has consistently worked to implement an extensive program for strengthening peace, limiting the arms race, and for disarmament. Our country has worked vigorously to establish and develop mutually beneficial relations with all the capitalist

countries that took part in the Helsinki Conference. In the past several years, Bulgaria has had summit meetings with the FRG, Italy, Austria and other countries. Let us also note the recent negotiations with France on the Foreign Minister level. All of these have yielded positive results for improving the European climate and bilateral relations.

'In our history,' Zhivkov says, 'there is no other period in which we have maintained such diverse and mutually beneficial ties with developed capitalist states in the economic, scientific and technical spheres. These ties cover extensive trade, joint economic and technical projects, and industrial cooperation with big companies in the FRG, France, Italy and other countries.'⁴

Our country is making a substantial contribution to consolidating détente in the Balkans and establishing friendship and broad cooperation among the Balkan nations. Our goal is to overcome the bleak reputation of the Balkans as the powder keg of Europe, and to transform it into a zone and factor of peace in Europe and the rest of the world. The declarations on the principles of good neighborly relations, mutual understanding and cooperation, signed with our southern neighbors — Greece and Turkey — and also the many treaties and agreements on active cooperation in various spheres — industry, transport, energy, water, agriculture, science and technology — help to realize the decisions of the Helsinki Conference.

Bulgaria's relations with developing countries are steadily expanding. Bulgaria is a welcome economic and trade partner in the Arab world, in Africa and Latin America. Over the past five years, 42 treaties and agreements have been signed in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres in Latin America alone, not counting the treaties and agreements with Cuba.

Economic cooperation, the scope for which has been broadened by détente, helps to develop the world's productive forces and may benefit mankind as a whole. Humanity also stands to gain from extensive exchanges of genuine cultural values.

The socialist foreign policy aimed at peaceful coexistence and détente reflects an objective trend in world development, which, for its part, directly meets the interests and needs of all countries, of all humanity. As I have said, the relatively short historical period of détente has enabled the socialist world community to demonstrate its superiority over capitalism more strikingly than ever. The swing toward détente and the establishment of peaceful coexistence has given the working people in the capitalist countries more opportunities to overcome the negative effects of the cold war on the class struggle. Under détente, imperialism finds it ever harder to use undisguised forms of oppression, with the result that the working people of the capitalist countries have broader opportunities for carrying on the struggle for their political, social and economic rights. It was in the new conditions of the past decade that the fascist dictatorships in Greece, Portugal and Spain went out of existence, while these countries' communist parties were able to carry on

their political work in the open. In the 1970s, the number of communists in the non-socialist part of the world increased by one million. In elections they command nearly 40 million votes. In 27 countries the communists are represented on supreme legislative bodies. The deepening of détente in the 1970s created the external conditions for delivering final blows at colonialism, resulting in the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial empire, and also an atmosphere allowing Asian, African and Latin American countries to achieve greater national independence and social progress. The revolutionary changes in a number of countries long regarded as a buttress of international imperialism have carried them out of the orbit of the capitalist system.

While noting the outstanding successes of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence over the past decade, the communists take a realistic and sober view of the present situation. They are aware that objective conditions alone — changes in the balance of strength in favor of socialism, democracy and peace — do not of themselves, automatically, lead to the establishment of the fundamental principles of this policy, and that, despite these successes, a hard struggle still lies ahead against the opponents of lasting peace, national liberation and social emancipation. Reactionary imperialist circles are loath to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence and seek by every means to resist their establishment in interstate relations, including the use of instruments of ideological pressure. They try to hamper the cause of national liberation and social emancipation, and to return the world to the period of the cold war and balancing on the brink of nuclear disaster. These forces keep alive the hotbeds of war, seeking to pit states and nations against each other. Concerned with their social positions, the advocates of imperialism would also like to foist on the world their interpretation of détente as a 'status quo,' with the suggestion that the national-liberation struggle and the struggle for social transformations run counter to détente. They allege that the communists have been using détente to give revolution a 'push,' so distorting the very content of détente and seeking unilateral advantages for themselves.

In this context, let us recall an elementary truth: Marxists do not regard détente as a means for giving revolution a 'push.' Our theory — scientific socialism — is generally opposed to giving such 'pushes.' We believe that the class and liberation struggles develop in accordance with their own laws. Wherever there is oppression and injustice, the masses have always fought against them, and will continue to do so. There can be no peaceful coexistence between oppressed and oppressors, between exploited and exploiters, between imperialist powers and their colonies. We regard that as an infeasible law of social development.

A direct threat to détente and peaceful coexistence also comes from the continued arms race, NATO's steps to build up the Western powers' military potential despite the approximate equilibrium of military forces that has taken shape on the conti-

ment, and the NATO strategists' plans to build so-called Euro-strategic nuclear missile weapons and to move them up to the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries. The deployment in Western Europe of longer-range and more efficient nuclear systems will introduce into the world situation a dangerous element of destabilization and will increase the threat of war.

World peace is seriously jeopardized by Peking's more openly expansionist policy toward its neighbors. The Chinese hegemonists' military preparations, encouraged by the NATO strategists, and the readiness of some West European NATO countries to supply China with modern weapons show that the deal between the imperialists and Maoist circles is fraught with the most serious consequences.

In these conditions, the primary task is to relax — in a historically short period — the military confrontation, consolidate political détente, and go on to military détente. Considerable possibilities for this are offered by the proposals contained in the November 1978 Moscow Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee and the May 1979 Budapest Communiqué of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of that body. This is above all the idea that the Helsinki signatories should conclude a treaty renouncing the first use of nuclear and conventional weapons against each other, on measures to strengthen trust among states, etc. Military détente in Europe could also be largely promoted by the acceptance of the socialist-community countries' proposal for a conference with the participation of all the European countries and the United States and Canada on strengthening trust among states, relaxing the military confrontation and a subsequent reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. Another key prerequisite for achieving military détente on the European continent is the successful completion of the Vienna talks on troop and arms cuts in Central Europe, and progress in the Disarmament Committee at Geneva. A great deal depends on success in the negotiations between the USSR, the United States and Britain on a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests in all environments and other negotiations on limiting armaments and on disarmament. We believe that it is quite possible to create a reliable collective security system on the continent involving all the states, regardless of their social system, size of territory and population, and economic potential. It is an imperative of the times to make détente an irreversible process.

The proposals in Leonid Brezhnev's speech in Berlin on October 5, 1979, are an unquestionable contribution to the cause of peace and security. The USSR has decided unilaterally to withdraw up to 20,000 Soviet troops, 1,000 tanks and other military hardware from the GDR, and also its readiness to reduce the number of its nuclear medium-range missiles deployed in the western regions of the Soviet Union, provided no additional missiles of similar range are deployed in Western Europe. It is now up to the Western powers.

Europe's experience in the past decade, which

can be used on other continents as well, shows that, for all the difficulties and differences, and given the good will and concern of the parties, it is possible to reach mutually acceptable decisions which benefit all countries and serve to strengthen peace and advance the processes of détente and peaceful coexistence. Success in achieving these goals largely depends on our parties' activity, on concerted efforts by the fraternal countries, and on united action by the communist movement, the vanguard in the struggle for peace, democracy, independence and social progress.

1. *Time*, January 22, 1979, p. 19.

2. The 1974-1975 economic crisis which hit every sphere of the capitalist world economy. — Ed.

3. Todor Zhivkov, Speech at the Tenth Session of the Seventh National Assembly on the Internal and Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. *Rabotnichesko Delo*, April 28, 1979.

4. *Ibid.*

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Left unity: earnest of success

Interview with *Gordon McLennan*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Q. The British communists held their 36th Congress last November. The Party Executive Committee is going to sum up the results of Congress at its coming meeting. Could you say now what new issues Congress dealt with and what new elements it brought into party life?

A. Our Congress took place six months after the election of a Tory government, the most reactionary government seen in Britain in decades. From immediately it took government office, it launched an offensive against working people's living standards and democratic rights. Acting on behalf of Britain's giant monopolies and multinational corporations, the Tory government aims to tackle capitalism's crisis, expressed in its most acute form in Britain, at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the people. Our Congress marked that not only did Tory policies threaten working people but that they would deepen every aspect of Britain's crisis.

Therefore Congress discussed the fight for an alternative economic and political strategy from that of the government in the context of the tremendous mass movement that has developed in Britain since the general election in opposition to government policies. The rapidity and scope of this mass movement of struggle, embracing not only the labor movement but millions of people and their organizations not usually associated with the labor movement, have been inspiring. They give confidence that, given leadership by the working class, this movement could create conditions for a new general election and the return of a Labour government of a new type — one that will carry out the agreed policies of the labor movement. How to win that leadership in unity with others on the left was a central theme of our Congress, which took place just a month after the Labour Party Conference which was notable for the left victories on policy and party democracy.

Undoubtedly, 1980 is going to witness great battles in Britain around a wide range of issues — from defense of jobs and living standards, through the great democratic questions of women's rights and opposition to racism, to the major international question of peace, disarmament and national liberation.

The concern of our Congress was to discuss not only the development of our policy on all these issues, including new technology, which was the subject of a special Congress resolution, and on

participation in the mass movement, but how we could improve the democratic life of our party and build the party, *YCL* and *Morning Star* circulation, so that our contribution to the left struggle could be lifted to new levels in response to the challenging British situation in which Congress met.

Q. In what social strata of British society is the communist influence strongest? What strata are least affected by this influence and why?

A. We campaign for support for our immediate policy and longer-term program for fundamental socialist change amongst those strata of society which constitute the overwhelming majority of the British people. The composition of our party, however, is overwhelmingly working class, and in terms of its history and present-day organization the main strength of the party is amongst sections of the working class in the main cities and in other areas of the country where basic industries are situated. The workers in these industries form the core of the working class. Their mass organizations, the trades unions, are at the heart of the working class and labor movement. Broadly speaking, support for policies advocated by the communist party is greater among this section of the British people and their organizations than amongst sections of other workers.

But that does not mean that we are satisfied with this level of support. The British labor movement, of which these workers and their organizations form a decisive part, is one of the best organized and potentially most powerful in the capitalist world. It has engaged in repeated struggles against the effects of capitalism. Yet its power has not been fully used in these struggles and still less in a struggle to end capitalism and build socialism.

This situation can only be changed if the organized political party of the working class, the communist party, not only displays its support for the struggle of these workers, but effectively relates these struggles to the wider policies needed to tackle capitalist crisis and open up a road for fundamental political and social change in Britain. Only in this way can new levels of class and socialist consciousness be won among key sections of workers.

Understanding this, our party campaigns among them with the daily paper of the left, the *Morning Star*, which editorially conveys the policies of the communist party, and through distribution of its leaflets, sales of pamphlets, conduct of public meetings and other activity. Wherever we do this to the degree necessary and with a creative and imagina-

tive approach, we can and do win a positive response among many industrial workers and their families.

We can also win a good response to our policies and activities from other workers who, while not having, overall, the same degree of experience, organization and level of class consciousness of workers in the basic industries, are increasingly joining the trade union movement and developing militant struggle for defense and advance of their interests. Some of these workers, for example in the public services, in the health service, in local and national government offices, come into this category. During the past year in Britain, hundreds of thousands of them took strike action in opposition to government policies. Where they did and wherever the communist party made quite clear its support for their action and the relationship of this action to the policy of the communist party for tackling Britain's crisis, there was interest and a preparedness to discuss communist policy.

There is in recent years among these sections of workers, sometimes described as 'white-collar' workers, a dramatic advance in trade union and political consciousness, and it is a responsibility of our party to assist the deepening of this understanding so that socialist consciousness becomes more widespread among them and they become an even more powerful force for radical social change in Britain.

The appreciation that exists amongst many workers of the contribution of communist party members to the trade union and working-class movement is reflected in the election of many hundreds of them to positions of responsibility in their mass organizations. As shop stewards, pit delegates, trade union branch officials, trades council delegates and officials, full-time officers and members of National Executive Committees and as national officials of trade unions, our comrades have the confidence of large numbers of workers, and in these positions repay that confidence by their outstanding activity on behalf of their organization and the entire labor movement.

For many years there has been important support for communist policy amongst those most active in student politics within the very large student population. There are now nearly a million young people in higher education in Britain and in the National Union of Students. Many communists have been elected to leading positions at university and college levels among the students and at national level and we have communist party branches in 50 universities and colleges throughout the country.

These, then, very briefly, are sections of Britain's population in which we have some support for our policy and among whom we constantly strive to extend that support.

Amongst other workers — for example, the workers in rural areas and particularly in agriculture — we do not have a similar measure of support, not because these workers will not respond to our policy, but primarily because of the nature of agriculture and the widespread distances between the

main cities and rural communities in which agricultural workers live. It is not so easy for us to conduct our propaganda effectively in these parts of the country as we do in the big cities, big factories, the pits and in major concentrations of population.

Nor do we have much support among those sections of the people engaged in small businesses. They tend to see themselves as being allied to the employer class and do not see that their interests are inseparably bound up with the interests of the working class and the kind of solution of Britain's crisis advocated by the communists. It is of vital importance for the future struggle of the labor movement that this section of the population be won to the side of the movement and the communist party will do everything it can to assist that political process.

Q. What are the social mainsprings activating neo-nazi and racist elements in Great Britain? How are the communists fighting the threat from the right?

A. The British ruling class and the mass media which it controls have always propagandized the British people with reactionary ideas associated with Britain's imperial heritage. This propaganda continues today, for while Britain is no longer the major imperialist power it was, its policies and actions in foreign affairs continue to be those of imperialism. This may be seen particularly in relation to Southern Africa. Accompanying these policies is apologia for apartheid and racism in Southern Africa and elsewhere, which has an impact on the thinking of sections of the British people. Therefore, there is a long-standing and existing ideological basis among some of the British people, including some working people, for some reactionary ideas which have a racist connotation.

But the development on a wider scale than previously of neo-nazi and racist elements and their organizations in Britain has a new breeding ground in the deterioration of social and economic conditions in our country. These conditions are an expression of Britain's profound crisis. One and a half million workers are unemployed, and areas of social, economic and cultural deprivation exist in society. There are very sharp feelings of frustration among many working people about these conditions. In such circumstances, the propaganda of the racist and ultra-right forces in society can find fertile soil. So, an essential part of the struggle against racism and fascism in Britain is to tackle these economic and social problems and to improve the working people's living standards and perspectives for social advance.

Nor can the growth of organizations like the National Front* be separated from the authoritarian tendencies in society and government legislation that limits democracy. For example, the passing by Parliament of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, said to be necessary for dealing with actions stemming

* The largest neo-fascist alignment in Britain (formed in 1967). The ideological foundations of its activity are racism and anti-communism. — Ed.

from Northern Ireland's crisis, can be used in a way that is a threat to democratic rights. Of course, the intensive and continuous propaganda of the mass media against trade unionism and its organizations, against the right of workers to picket while in dispute with their employers and against workers wherever they are in struggle, encourages right-wing forces and right-wing ideas in society. This kind of mass ideological indoctrination of millions is a breeding ground for reactionary and racist thinking. From this it is but a step to the violently anti-communist propaganda of the racists and the National Front.

The tremendously positive thing in the past two years in this area of British politics is the growth of anti-racist activities of the democratic forces and the mass mobilization, particularly of young people, against the National Front.

The results of the last general election in which over 300 National Front candidates polled less than 200,000 votes between them (out of a total poll of 31 million) are in part a tribute to the Anti-Nazi League in which the Communist Party makes a contribution along with other labor and democratic organizations and individuals. The work of the Anti-Racist Committee and organizations like the Anti-Nazi League builds on the sure foundations laid by the communist party and other organizations who have conducted anti-fascist and anti-racist action in Britain for over half a century.

The continuing responsibility of communists is to participate in all broad-ranging anti-racist committees, including the Anti-Nazi League, all the time explaining the source and nature of racism and fascism, and to strive to increasingly bring into united action with and as part of this movement the working class and its mass organizations. This is absolutely essential if the anti-racist and anti-nazi movement in Britain is to have the full power that it needs to have. We believe, therefore, that the decisions of British Trades Union Congresses in recent years and their progressive approach to these questions are a very important element in the growing struggle against the racists and the nazis in Britain and an encouraging and optimistic augury for the future.

Q. The main political resolution adopted by your 36th Congress stresses the need for a broad democratic alliance of the left. What are the specific issues in Great Britain that could today be the foundation for joint action by democratic forces as a step toward a broad democratic alliance? What are the fundamental difficulties in organizing such co-operation, in particular with Labour Party members?

A. The first basis for the creation of a broad democratic alliance in Britain is the struggle against the policies of the Tory government. Even in the few months that have passed since this government came into power, the actions it has taken in the interests of big business and the multinational corporations have drawn protests from much wider sections of the British people than those who would normally take an anti-Tory government position.

The cuts in social and public services; the slashing of government economic aid to regions of the country; support for reactionary legislation on abortion; the attack on public owned industry; threats to carry through anti-trade union laws and apply even greater discrimination against the Black people in Britain, along with tax changes which blatantly favor the rich at the expense of the poorer section of the people, produced a great deal of anger and apprehension even among many of the 13.7 million people in Britain who voted Tory in the government election.

To bring all those sections of the people adversely affected by Tory policy into action against Tory policies and to forge a broad democratic alliance of struggle of these people and their organizations under the leadership of the working class and its mass organizations is a central task of the labor movement, particularly of the left forces, including the communists.

One of the strongest elements of the anti-Tory struggle and a powerful stream of the broad democratic alliance will be the struggle for democratic rights and the establishment of democratic control by working people in every area of life. Monopoly domination in Britain has been steadily increasing over recent years at the expense of the economic and social interests of the mass of the people and this domination has been intensified by British membership in the EEC. Hand in hand with this extension and intensification of monopoly domination have gone authoritarian tendencies in society.

These developments associated with extension of monopoly domination have not gone unchallenged. Traditional organizations of the working class and progressive movement have extended the range of their activities, and many new organizations have developed and taken initiatives that involve many people in discussion and action. As *The British Road to Socialism* says, the thread that connects all the actions and initiatives of these movements is the struggle for democracy. This struggle is objectively against monopoly domination though those involved may not necessarily recognize that monopoly capital is the enemy of the cause for which they fight.

Because this struggle for democracy is so wide-ranging and embraces, for example, trade unions faced with anti-trade union legislation; organizations of the women's movement campaigning for equal rights for women; Black people's organizations acting against discrimination; youths and students demanding jobs and educational opportunities; the national movements in Scotland and Wales demanding the establishment of Scottish and Welsh parliaments, its potential power if welded together in a broad democratic alliance of struggle is enormous and could counter and defeat all anti-democratic and authoritarian trends in Britain and win great new democratic advances.

So, the broad alliance of democratic forces, as we conceive it in *The British Road to Socialism*, is also based on the fact that wide sections of the British people are in struggle for the preservation and ex-

tension of democratic rights as well as for social and economic demands and needs. But more than that. Our conception is that the broad alliance as it develops must encompass all the political, social and economic demands of all its forces and movements and in fighting for them create conditions that make it possible to put Britain on a new course.

In all of these fields I have mentioned, the communists, in one way or another, are actively cooperating with Labour Party members, with religious people, Black people's organizations, youth organizations, national movements. In the course of such democratic and class struggle, a broad alliance is already being built in embryonic form although, of course, it has no formal expression in the sense of an organization. In the recent devolution campaigns for the establishment of parliaments in Scotland and Wales, there were broadly based committees in which the communists participated. This was also true in the 1975 referendum on British membership in the EEC. And in the struggle against racism and fascism there are many broad organizations of which the communists are active members.

While there are no fundamental difficulties in winning cooperation between the communists and other progressive forces, there are some very practical difficulties for formal Labour-Communist cooperation arising mainly from the policies and attitudes of the dominant leadership of the Labour Party. For example, in 1978, we published an appeal to the labor movement suggesting that there needed to be joint activity between members and organizations of the labor movement, and wherever possible between members of our two parties, to prevent the return of a Tory government. The national leadership of the Labour Party through its General Secretary responded with a public declaration that they would have no cooperation with the communists.

Of course, the Labour Party does not usually cooperate with other political organizations in campaigns or other activities. It does not only apply this approach to the communist party. Nonetheless, this

attitude of hostility of the Labour Party leadership to any form of united action with the communist party is a very real practical difficulty in political campaigning in Britain, but not one that rules out active cooperation in struggle between Labour Party and communist party members.

Communist Party and Labour Party members can and do work together on a whole range of activities related to the real questions facing the people of Britain. For example, it was only because such cooperation existed amongst workers in industry and in the trade union movement regardless of political affiliation that the disastrous social contract policies of the Labour government were defeated in the autumn of 1978.

Not only on social and economic questions but also in relation to international questions active cooperation exists between Labour Party and Communist Party members. Clearly, it must be extended to strengthen the fight for peace and disarmament, to increase support in the struggle against apartheid and racism in Southern Africa and for the victory of all national-liberation forces throughout the world.

I would say that the present situation is characterized by growing cooperation and appreciation among Labour Party and communist party members of the contribution we all can make to the struggle to change Britain's course. The need for greater left unity is also apparent to many if we are to ensure that, when the Tory government is defeated, we win a new type of government in Britain, a Labour government that will carry out the left policies decided by the labor movement.

Unity of the left and the wider unity needed in the working-class and labor movement is not only vital in itself in pursuit of the aims and aspirations of the working-class movement, it is the crucial factor in the construction of a broad democratic alliance of struggle to take Britain out of capitalist crisis and open up the revolutionary process of fundamental political change now necessary for Britain's future.

London, November 1979

New experience

This year *WMR* will continue publishing information on communist forms and methods of work. The experience accumulated through day-to-day party work will be reflected in interviews, excerpts from documents, press reports, readers' letters and brief notes.

OUR INTERVIEWS

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLE

Antonis Ambatjelos

Political Bureau member, CC Communist Party of Greece

Q. The latest plenary meeting of the Communist

Party of Greece Central Committee analyzed the international situation, discussed problems of Greek foreign and home policy and defined the party's tasks. In the wake of the CC meeting, how would you describe the connection between your party's internal and external policy? Would you say a few words about the principles on which that policy is based?

A. In Greece the military fascist dictatorship fell more than five years ago. Operating during these years under the 'disciplined' bourgeois democracy of rightist governments, whose chief characteristic is austerity and authoritarianism, our party has made organizational and political headway in spite of roadblocks and thanks to the selfless devotion of

its membership and to increasingly close and strong links with the masses. This has turned the CPG into a major national political force, which both the class enemy and the leadership of other democratic forces must reckon with. Social problems, big and small, demand that we act promptly by taking the initiative in solving them or by charting the path ultimately leading to the necessary results.

On the home front the CPG, proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and an in-depth study of the objective and subjective conditions determining the trend of the Greek revolutionary movement, decided on its strategy and tactics at its Tenth Congress (May 1978) and subsequent meetings of its leading bodies. Its strategic goal is to win the majority of the people in order to ensure the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic forces, establish democracy for the masses, and pave the way for socialism.

Today our party has steered toward cooperation among democratic forces whose aim is to remove the right and assume power so as to accomplish a number of immediate democratic tasks. It works continuously to unite the forces of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution. Also to this end we seek unity among left-wing forces that are still small, disunited, and either politically apathetic or have taken temporary refuge in various democratic organizations.

We consider that the impasse into which the sterile policy of foreign dependence is taking Greece can only be ended if there is a strong, properly oriented mass communist party forming the core of all the progressive, democratic forces. We are doing our utmost to build up such a party and bring about the unity of left-wing, democratic and anti-monopoly forces so as to solve immediate and longer-term problems posed by the nation's evolution.

Needless to say, the CPG could not follow a correct policy at home unless it did so abroad.

Historically, it would be no exaggeration to say that the CPG has always been guided by proletarian internationalism. This has always been an inviolable principle of our party's theory and practice. 'The struggle to solve the nation's urgent problems,' says the political resolution of the 10th Party Congress, 'is linked more than ever to the struggle of other peoples; it is closely connected with the course of the international communist and working-class movement and with international developments in general.' This is the keynote of the CPG's entire policy. The historical conditions in which Greece has been developing have brought this truth closer and made it more understandable to the masses. Our country's greatest misfortune was foreign dependence, both economic and political. In the 150 years of free statehood, Greece has been repeatedly an object of 'tutelage,' military intervention under various pretexts, plunder by foreign capital, and, in our epoch, undisguised imperialist interference with the accompanying huge loss of life and material damage. In their

struggle to cast off foreign economic, political, and military dependence our people have always had the solidarity of the world communist movement and all progressive forces and received inestimable assistance from them. The communists of Greece know from their own experience how true the Marxist thesis is that solidarity as a fundamental principle is indispensable to the proletarian movement.

In the difficult 60 years since our party was founded we have repeatedly enjoyed internationalist revolutionary solidarity and done our best to reciprocate. However, neither the bitter lessons of history nor the recent obvious proofs of the disastrous consequences of foreign dependence are enough in themselves for a party of the working class to shape its relations with the world communist movement correctly and take a correct stand in the worldwide class struggle.

The communists' confidence in the ultimate victory of the forces of progress and socialism is certainly not wishful thinking. They are not voluntarists as they are sometimes made out to be. Their confidence is based on knowledge of objective truths substantiated by the classics of scientific socialism and verified by the 130-year history of the revolutionary movement of the international working class. Now that the alignment of social forces is more definite than ever before, staying 'at an equal distance' from both world systems is unthinkable. As for us, we have made our choice.

A well-known achievement of the progressive forces of our time is that thanks to their power and its proper, humane use, especially on the part of the Soviet Union, they are preventing a world nuclear confrontation, which would have untold and terrible consequences for mankind. Imperialism has not yet downed arms, of course. Indeed, the more ground it loses, the more brutal and dangerous it becomes, as documents of international communist conferences point out. It is only unfailing vigilance on the part of the peoples and their constant mobilization to preserve that great blessing, peace and peaceful coexistence, that can safeguard mankind against a disaster like that.

This is why the forces of progress must resist imperialist aggressiveness. By virtue of the place it holds in the world, the Soviet Union is the decisive factor of world progress and we consider it important to stress this. In common with the other socialist countries, it defends the great cause of peace and the rights of peoples fighting for national independence and social progress. Hence the continuing relevance of the struggle against anti-Sovietism and of resistance to the attacks of bourgeois ideology and policy on the countries of existing socialism. We are carrying on this struggle in our country to bring the truth about socialism's achievements home to the masses, prevent the poisoning of the minds of the working class and other working people, dissuade them from renouncing the realistic prospects offered by our movement, spare them disillusionment and defeat attempts by the bourgeoisie to reduce them to apathy and indifference.

World relations are clearly more complex today and it takes deep analysis to ascertain the objective truth. However, there are definite principles substantiated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and serving as a dependable guide for millions of communists the world over. We know that in spite of internal contradictions in their camp, the imperialists always try to take a common stand when it comes to resisting the countries of the socialist community, the world revolutionary movement, or the national-liberation movement. Since the enemies of progress contrive to come to terms on how to hold back the march of history, it is all the more natural for the communists, who are leading mankind's titanic fight for social progress and fundamental change, to strengthen their mutual solidarity and unity of action and raise it to a new plane meeting the current exigencies of the struggle.

The CPG does its best to contribute as tangibly as possible to the fulfillment of this task. Bilateral, multilateral, and regional conferences of fraternal parties are a common practice now. Our party attends them and contributes its share to the drafting of final documents. It maintains its relations with fraternal parties on the immutable principles of proletarian internationalism, equality, non-interference, mutual assistance and militant revolutionary solidarity with fraternal parties and peoples fighting for peace, democracy, progress and socialism.

The communists of Greece consider that each revolutionary party adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism frames its line on its own, according to the conditions in its country. We believe, however, that exchanges of experience between fraternal parties, study of the legacy of the classics and the findings of theoretical research by present-day Marxist centres are a prerequisite for the correct strategic and tactical application of Marxist-Leninist theory by any communist party.

These changes are necessary and certainly do not conflict with the principles of proletarian internationalism. We Greek communists learn from both our own experience and the experience of the movement. Of course, we formulate our position on various national or international problems by ourselves, as we have always done, and also assume full responsibility for it.

The people's growing confidence in our party is proof that we are on the right path. We will stay on this path because we are convinced that we not only do what present-day conditions in our country and our people's national interests objectively require but contribute to the best of our ability to mankind's law-governed advance to socialism.

EARNED CONFIDENCE

Roger Dafflon

Political Bureau member, Swiss Party of Labor

Q: 1979 was a noteworthy year for you: you, a communist, became mayor of Geneva, a big city and

an important international center. What is your assessment of this?

A: First of all, I regard it as a sign of the confidence which the people of Geneva have in the Swiss Party of Labor. A communist was elected to a municipal post for the first time in the 1970 by-elections, in which he defeated the joint candidate of the right. But in the past the office of mayor was assigned, contrary to tradition, to persons who had polled a minority vote. This was due solely to the municipal councilors' anti-communist syndrome. These decisions were deplored by the people almost unanimously, and they made their view known in no uncertain terms during the latest elections.

I think the election of a communist mayor is primarily a result of the party's correct policy, specifically or above all on the issue of left unity and defense of the working people's interests.

Our victory is a fruit of joint action that has been solidifying slowly. We had carried on this action ever since the end of World War II in common with socialist workers, members of the biggest labor center, the Federation of Swiss Trade Unions, Christian workers and uncommitted people. It was always our belief that the communists, socialists, and Catholics should act together at factory level, during demonstrations and in the press. We circulated leaflets and posters in defense of the interests of the working class, for a better life, in defense of democratic freedoms in Switzerland and other countries, for the release of political prisoners, against dictatorial regimes and colonial wars, for cooperation among nations, for peaceful co-existence and peace. This joint struggle did not always produce the results we hoped for, nor was it properly appreciated on every occasion, but then it made for the rise and growth of progressive sentiment and a spirit of unity.

Q: We know that you personally made a large contribution notably to that struggle. Could you tell our readers about yourself and your work?

A: I first knew the meaning of unemployment at the age of 18. This was during the crisis of the 1930s. To curb the workers who had put forward various demands, the employers hired during strikes inexperienced young people, whom they paid low wages. This exploitation of the jobless ran against my grain. That was when I joined the Socialist Youth Organization and subsequently the most progressive section of the Socialist Party, the French. The banning of all left-wing organizations at the beginning of the war induced me to go underground and participate in 1943 in the founding of the Workers' Party, which became the Swiss Party of Labor a year later.

In that grim period of our democracy, the police persecuted party members and jailed many of them. I was put behind bars twice for printing illegal newspapers and helping political refugees to cross the frontier.

In the new, postwar situation the Swiss Party of Labor regained its rights and emerged from clandestinity to continue the fight in legal conditions. In

Geneva many people trusted our party already and backed its candidates. By now 18 per cent of the electorate of Geneva Canton and from 20 to 22 per cent of the electorate of the City of Geneva vote for the SPL. Altogether left-wing candidates poll about 45 per cent of the vote.

I've always behaved as a communist. I must say that life has taught me a good deal, thanks above all to contact with workers, whose troubles and difficulties I think I know well. This is probably what enabled me and my fellow communists to defend their interests all the better.* I believe that is why they trust us.

A mayor can, of course, do little by himself. But he can and should take an open-minded approach to all big problems, and try to make people see that peace, which all nations need so badly and without which progress is out of the question, requires an effort, a contribution from everybody.

In accordance with regulations, general decisions on the management of municipal affairs are adopted by plenary meetings. It is at these meetings that left-wingers seek approval for decisions proposed by them (or considerably influence decision-making) with the support of not only their own group (33 councilors out of 80) but the population. This prompted a Geneva businessman to remark that a left policy is being pursued even under a right-wing leadership. Speaking generally, this is true. We have made some gains in this respect over the past six months and we have set ourselves a bigger task in the next year.

DOCUMENTS

INDONESIA

Reply to falsifiers

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia has issued a statement in connection with the publication of a white paper headed 'The September 30 Movement.' It characterizes the publication as an attempt by the reactionary military regime to start a new wave of anti-communism and exposes the COPCANTIB military secret service which has distorted the actual facts.

'Fear of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,' the document says, 'has induced the reactionaries to slander the CP Indonesia in the futile hope of isolating it from the people. They assert that the communists preach the cult of violence. The fact is that we have never absolutized violence, a method fraught with suffering and bloodshed for the ordinary people. This "new order" clique of generals has instituted a cult of force under the pretext of

establishing stability, thereby denying the working people of Indonesia any possibility of satisfying their vital interests by peaceful means.'

In 1965 the CP Indonesia, together with other progressives and the whole Indonesian people, fell victim to a plot and provocation by the right-wing army generals, the statement says. The Indonesian revolution was retarded for many years, and the people of Indonesia and its political vanguard — the communist movement — suffered immense losses as a result of the reign of terror by the armed counter-revolution. The plot and the subsequent terror were class vengeance on the part of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and other exploiter pro-imperialist classes, who were in mortal fear of the Indonesian revolution and its rise to the anti-capitalist stage.

The CP Indonesia has been and continues to be the only political party in the country, the document says, which has honestly and resolutely exposed before the whole people the mistakes of the democratic forces, which, having weakened the revolutionary movement, facilitated the victory of reaction. Maoism, the counter-revolutionary theory and practice imposed by Peking on some CPI leaders, was a direct accomplice of reaction.

'But we can say with equal resolve: the CPI has been and continues to be the party that articulates and protects the interests of the working people of Indonesia,' the statement emphasizes. The communists' goals and slogans are already winning growing support among the masses. The CPI believes that its duty is to tell the people the truth about the policy of the ruling circles and to present a realistic alternative to that pernicious policy.

'The Communist Party once again urges all the patriotic forces of the country to unite on a platform of nationwide democratic demands,' the document says. 'The salvation of our country consists in carrying out urgent democratic and social reforms for the freedom and well-being of the majority of the people, and in returning to a genuinely independent and active anti-imperialist policy.'

PORTUGAL

Trade union act passed on the communists' initiative

The parliamentary group of the Portuguese Communist Party in the Assembly of the Republic drew up a bill on the protection of trade union leaders and members of trade union commissions against arbitrary acts by employers. Such a law is needed because at many enterprises in the private sector, employers and managements seek to get rid of trade unionists, who are fired first, under any pretext, and without any explanation.

The PCP parliamentary group's bill has now been enacted into law. Under it, trade union leaders and members of trade union commissions in industry can be dismissed only by a court ruling. The new law also provides that if a trade union leader is dismissed under a court ruling, he is still free to enter the enterprise where he had worked until the

* Roger Dafflon did much to form an association for the defense of aged and disabled people, widows and orphans, and was elected its national chairman. He won roughly 3,000 additional votes on the list of the Union for the Protection of Tenants, although housing construction was not his responsibility on the Municipal Council. — Ed.

expiry of his trade union mandate to enable him to fulfill his social assignments. Thus, the law makes it hard for employers to dismiss trade unionists they do not like.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

L'HUMANITE

New level

The central organ of the FCP, *L'Humanité*, says that in accordance with the proposals expressed at the 23rd Congress of the French communists, a decision has been taken to set up a new Institute of Marxist Studies through the merging of the Maurice Thorez Institute with the Marxist Studies Center. But, the newspaper emphasizes, this is not just a simple reorganization, but the establishment of a center which will help to take a new approach to key current problems and to map out the long-term line for the party's research activity.

The first few measures connected with the opening of the new institute have been set out, its immediate and long-term tasks discussed, and topics for research proposed. It is intended, in particular, to hold symposia on questions like capitalist rationalization and the CP's place in French society. The leadership of the institute also intends to publish more extensively the results of studies. Alongside with the authoritative journals *Pensée* and *Cahiers d'histoire*, the various sectors of the institute will publish *Cahiers periodique* (*Periodical Notebooks*).

Anyone who intends to take a Marxist approach to the key problems of our day, *L'Humanité* writes, can expect support from the institute, whose task is to raise the party's theoretical work to a higher level.

ESTUDIOS

In the underground

The journal *Estudios*, organ of the CP Uruguay, has carried an article on the publication of the Uruguayan resistance. One will note, the journal says, that a large number of underground anti-fascist publications are being issued in the country. These are not only CP publications, which are fairly numerous despite the difficult situation, but also a broad spectrum of trade union, student, and other publications carrying exposures and programmatic material, dealing with problems vital for the country, and reporting on experience in the anti-fascist struggle. They explain the purposes of and ways to unity, a more vigorous anti-fascist struggle, and a campaign of international solidarity, so providing the country's democratic movement with reliable guidelines. The journal names some of these publications: over the past year, which was marked by a new wave of repression, the circulation continued of *Carta semanal* (CP publication), *Liberarce* (publication of the Young Communist League), *Jornada* (publication of the University Students' Federation), an information bulletin of the National Working People's Convent, bulletins of the textile,

chemical and dock workers' unions, handbills of the Broad Front, of the Commission for the Defense of Imprisoned Political and Trade Union Leaders and Missing Persons, etc. *Estudios* has carried reprints of some of these publications.

Following the 1973 coup in Uruguay, 26 national and five local papers and many other publications were closed down. But despite fascism's drive to do away with opposition media, new publications are being distributed among the people.

Thousands of Uruguayans risk imprisonment and horrible tortures merely for putting such a publication in their pockets or passing it on to a neighbor, yet they regard this press as their own. Its items are read and discussed in the most trying conditions, but they have a large audience because they are based on a profound knowledge of the given subject and because their conclusions follow from concrete facts.

All of this shows, the journal says, that the people are resisting and fighting fascism, that there is an organized working class, which acts as a vanguard, that there is a communist party working in the interests of the masses and that the people see and respect its efforts. At the same time, the journal emphasizes, there are traditions of the underground workers' and democratic press which enable it even today to be equal to current demands and remain independent in analyzing reality.

'It is safe to say,' the journal says, 'that without this propaganda work, the Uruguayan working people's struggle would not have been so conscious, so united and courageous.'

BEHIND THE FACTS

The full text of a document issued by the CP Chile, 'Our Democratic Project,' signed by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the party, is being circulated clandestinely in Chile. (From the press)

THE CHIEF FORCE IN THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

In 1979 the Chilean people's struggle against the fascist dictatorship was clearly on the rise. An important step forward has been taken, marking a turning point from the protracted stage in which the main efforts are aimed at protecting the people's rights against the terrorist offensive, at going over to the next stage characterized by more vigorous popular initiatives and acts, which have become not only much broader but also richer in form and content.

The main role in this process belongs to the working class. Their joint struggle for concrete demands has been growing. At the same time, their action and demands for an end to the dictatorial regime are growing ever more vigorous. In the closing months of 1979, thousands of factory and office workers staged strikes in defense of their petitions, so going, in practice, beyond the framework of the repressive curbs on the right to negotiate and the right to strike, which the dictatorship seeks to maintain. At the same time, a broad movement of university stu-

dents, members of the liberal professions, and the middle strata has become active. The struggle to find out what happened to missing political prisoners and to investigate the crimes of the dictatorship has not ceased.

The most impressive massive action was taken on the occasion of International Women's Day, May Day, and in September, when demonstrations were held in Santiago and other cities under one and the same slogan: 'Democracy now!'. This slogan was adopted by all the main forces coming out against the dictatorship. In September, the relatives of missing political prisoners repeatedly staged hunger strikes, demanding to know what happened to these people. Various protest actions and numerous street demonstrations have helped to create conditions for action on a qualitatively new basis. This struggle also reflects the level of coordination and unity of action achieved by the communist party and Popular Unity with the Christian-Democrats and other forces coming out against the dictatorship in the course of an intricate and frequently zigzagging process.

The nature of the fascist regime has not changed. It has continued its acts of terrorism. But, despite the terrorism, the people have a growing sense of their strength. At the same time, the dictatorship finds it increasingly harder to operate in the old way.

The communist party has played a primary role in this upswing of the mass struggle. Luis Corvalan writes: 'One could say without undue complacency and without disparaging others, that the party is the most organized, united, and active political force among the other forces in this country. Its structure, its experience in underground struggle, which has been enriched over the past several years, and its militant spirit, which is based on ideological convictions, enable it not only to survive but also to re-establish its ranks after the blows it has been dealt and to remain the crucial factor in the organization and growth of the people's struggle. The party cannot be destroyed. Its ties with the working class and other sections of the people are deep and unbreakable.'*

The dictatorship has failed to attain the goal it had set itself from the first, namely, to destroy the communist party. In its efforts to do so, it has struck heavy blows to the CP Chile: thousands of communists were killed and hundreds of party leaders, among them Victor Diaz, Deputy General Secretary, and other members of the Central Committee, are on the list of missing political prisoners. Many communists have been forced out of their jobs. Ultimately, this is an attempt, at least, to break the party's bonds with the masses, above all with the main working-class centers. But this the dictatorship has also failed to achieve.

'By September 11, 1973,' Corvalan writes, 'a total of 280,000 persons were in our party and young communist ranks. It would be bragging to assert

that the repression has not caused us any harm. . . . Murders, arrests, dismissals, forced migration across the country, deportation and, of course, terrorism reduced the number of party cells and the number of party members. But, for all that, the party organization has been preserved from top to bottom and exists throughout the country. The number of communists now constantly and actively working in the party ranks has reached a figure (which I cannot now reveal) that makes it the nation's strongest numerically.'

The young communists have also resumed their work and were in the front ranks of the mass struggle in 1979. All of this was made possible by the close ties between the party and the masses, which go back to the time of Luis Emilio Recabarren, the first decades of the present century, when the communist party emerged in the major proletarian centers. The numerous dictatorships which have ruled our country were unable to obliterate this distinctive feature.

Imperialism and internal reaction have failed to destroy the party, which is why they are now trying to isolate it. Their purpose is to split or localize the proletarian class organizations. For that purpose, they are making use of the whole range of their instruments. But the mounting struggle of the masses last year and the degree of coordination achieved by the democratic forces, which, in effect, made such an upswing possible, show that here again events tend to run a different course. The communists' policy is aimed precisely at strengthening unity in every sphere, above all the unity of the working-class movement. The communists oppose any stand that could exclude anti-fascist or non-fascist forces from the common and main struggle, whose chief purpose is to end the dictatorship. This purpose is being and will be served by the growing mass struggle and the mutual understanding established both on the level of grass-roots organizations and of the leading organs, as will be seen from the expanding contacts between the leaders of the various forces. Luis Corvalan writes: 'In coming out against fascism, the people's organizations, leaders and members of various parties, anti-fascist and non-fascist groups find points of contact, identify the common enemy, and establish new relations with each other, which ultimately result in joint action. From day to day, this process acquires an ever greater dimension.'

In its efforts to undermine the party's influence, the dictatorship has also resorted to formulas usually used by fascist propaganda in an effort to portray the party as an unpatriotic and undemocratic force dependent on 'foreign countries.' This contradicts the long history of the CP Chile. The party's patriotism is measured chiefly by its consistent anti-imperialist stand and defense of national values and the country's interests. Its democratic line is connected with a tireless struggle for the rights and freedoms of the working class and the rest of the people. The government of President Salvador Allende, which included communists, was the most democratic in Chile's history. Today,

* Luis Corvalan. 'Nuestro Proyecto Democrático,' *Boletín del Exterior*, No. 37.

under the fascist regime, the communists present a profoundly democratic political alternative, which marks a step forward compared with what Chile had in the past. This alternative is aimed at eradicating fascism for good and establishing a society of justice.

Some circles believe that it will be easier to attain unity if the communists abandon some of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and turn away from the Soviet Union, allegedly in order to demonstrate their independence. That would be a fatal mistake. The party's strength and, consequently, its active role in the struggle against fascism depend on its fidelity to its principles. Experience shows that to act in any other manner would weaken not only the party but all the other democratic forces as well.

'All the communist parties are autonomous and independent,' Luis Corvalan emphasizes. 'We would not have had any success, had we acted

otherwise. Life demands that we should be such as we are. We must not submit to the enemies' demands. We must attain sufficient maturity to overcome the difficulties of the present and to go on from general formulations to an objective analysis and concrete solutions so as to pave the way for the victory of each of our peoples. At the same time, we have to fuse with the masses, and to act with the revolutionary élan and the practical knowledge of which Lenin spoke. Far from denying, this implies cohesion around our Marxist-Leninist ideology and the practice of proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with all the people fighting imperialism.'

Those are the tasks facing the Communist Party of Chile. Their successful solution will increase the communists' contribution to the struggle of all the anti-fascist and non-fascist forces against the dictatorship, and for the establishment of a democracy superior to anything our country has known in the past.

Hugo Fazio



In the interests of labor or capital?

In continuing the discussion of 'Mankind's Prospects and Science,'¹ *WMR* offers conclusions by a large research team consisting of Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists. The members of the team are: from the Soviet side — Academician *D.M. Gvishiani*, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences *S.R. Mikulinsky* (head) and *I.T. Frolov*, Doctors of Philosophical Sciences *V.Z. Kelle* and *V.A. Lektorsky*, Doctor of Psychological Sciences *M.G. Yaroshevsky*, Candidates of Technical Sciences *Y.S. Voronkov* and *N.I. Makeshin*, Candidate of Chemical Sciences *S.G. Kara-Murza*, and Candidate of Economic Sciences *V.I. Maslennikov*; from the Czechoslovak side — Academician *Radavan Richta* (head), Doctor of Philosophical Sciences *Jindrich Zeleny*, Candidates of Philosophical Sciences *Karel Berka*, *Miroslav Pittner*, and *Zdenek Javurek*, Candidate of Psychological Sciences *J. Janousek*, and Candidates of Economic Sciences *Jaroslav Jirasek* and *Karel Muller*.

At present this team is completing a joint study devoted to various aspects of the important, topical problem of the development of science in a socialist society.

Under the same theme we publish an article by the Marxist economist *Heinz Jung* (FRG) on rationalization carried forward by capitalist

monopolies with the broad use of scientific and technological achievements in order to intensify the exploitation of the working people and make higher profits.

SOCIALISM AND SCIENCE

Cognitive and social aspects

Marxism-Leninism has evolved an integral theory of the development of science, a theory which is the natural outcome and an inalienable component of the entire system of its views. In keeping with the progressive cultural-historical tradition in the interpretation of science and using the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism, the classics of Marxism-Leninism laid the foundations for a scientific approach to science itself as a most complex phenomenon of social life.

Science is a social phenomenon. It is the creation of society, which determines the conditions and potentialities for producing new knowledge and the social aims, functions and orientation of that branch of knowledge. An incalculable number of threads links the scientist with society, with the forms and materials of culture worked out in the course of its development; and in his work the scientist realizes definite social requirements. Society in the broadest sense is the subject of cogni-

tion, while a result of its activity — science — does not conflict with it but is, on the contrary, one of its indispensable components.

For that reason Marxism-Leninism rejects as one-sided and a misconceived extremity any notion that science is a socially neutral product of the human spirit, a result of the self-expression of a scientist or a professional scientific community. Notions of this kind spring up when no account is taken of the social conditionality and nature of human knowledge, when no account is taken of the fact that science assimilates the social factors of its development, converting them into an inner prerequisite of the process of knowledge. As practice accumulated it grew obvious that the categories, means, and procedure of scientific research were closely linked to historical, material and technical conditions.

At the same time, science is relatively independent. The actual character and direction of its development are determined by a complex interaction between social conditions and the inner logic of science itself. A specific feature of science is that the active cognitive activity of a subject using the colossal technical and intellectual armory developed by science is aimed at obtaining knowledge whose content does not depend on the subject and represents objective truth. The latter is precisely the value that society expects from science and which science gives it. Considered in this context, science is an international, worldwide phenomenon. A scientific discovery is an event regardless of who made it and where. We must differentiate between the quest for a truth and the result of that quest that can be included in the system of expanding scientific knowledge. They must be distinguished but not separated, for science embraces both the one and the other. The fact that science has this objective content, from which the conditions and features of its origin are 'removed,' gives grounds for rejecting as primitive and vulgar notions about 'class' mathematics or biology, about a 'national' physics or chemistry, about a 'bourgeois' or 'socialist' natural science, and so forth. The case is somewhat more complicated with the social sciences, especially where the content of some specific scientific knowledge carries a definite ideological connotation to which class characteristics and assessments are applicable. But even here the content of scientific knowledge, if it is indeed scientific, is oriented on objective truth. It is another matter that it is not accepted by social groups with whose interests this truth comes into conflict.

Thus, the concrete social system, its economic and political conditions, the cultural and spiritual atmosphere in society, and so forth create the environment in which scientific knowledge is produced, the social institution of science functions, and which directly or indirectly shapes the image of that institution. The classics of Marxism noted that to a decisive extent the development of science depends on material production. This is all the more true of our times, when the scientific and technological revolution has turned science into

the basic factor of technological progress, the mainspring of new industries. This progress modifies the interaction between science and production, when the development of science, which outstrips existing technology, and the quest for new ways of satisfying society's vital requirements become a social need of material production itself. More, science is increasingly posed with the task of foreseeing the consequences of man's material-practical transformative activity for the natural processes on our planet, and also the social consequences of scientific and technological progress. Of course, these processes bring about changes in the social functions of science, intensifying its influence on production and other aspects of society's life. Far-reaching changes take place in science's relationship with politics and ideology. Its influence on society's spiritual life grows steadily. The very place held by science in society changes. The attitude to it becomes one of the key social problems.

New orientations

Modern science bears the imprint of the influence that had been exercised on it by capitalist society in the course of nearly four centuries. Initially, as Frederick Engels noted, natural science developed in an atmosphere of struggle against feudalism, was 'thoroughly revolutionary'² and, along with progressive philosophy, asserted a new view on nature and man. With the development of capitalist commodity production, science began to be used by capital to improve production on the basis of machine technology. But on account of the bourgeois form of this process science came forward not as a productive force of labor but as a productive force of capital. Capital drew science into its system of 'universal exploitation of natural and human properties' (Karl Marx),³ seeing it as a powerful means for the extraction of profits. While helping to develop science, capitalism deformed it, monopolizing and alienating it from the working people, trying to give it narrow pragmatic aims and orientations, and tearing it away from the revolutionary transformation of social relations and the emancipation of humanity.

The contradictions of science's development under capitalism grew particularly glaring in our times, when its swift progress brings mankind not blessings but evil, when from a creative force it is becoming a destructive force producing monstrous means of mass annihilation and the destruction of the values mankind has itself created, into a means of mass manipulation.

This is evidence that capitalism cannot ensure further scientific development in the interests of mankind, that this development has come into conflict with the capitalist system. The highroad and prospects for the development of science are linked to socialism.

For science the transition to socialism was of immense significance. This new social system relies on science for the fulfillment of technical, economic, socio-political and, partially, cultural

tasks and is therefore interested in having a comprehensive and fuller objective knowledge of reality. It is the first social system that has put an end to the situation in which the development of some individuals proceeded at the expense of others, a system whose conscious aim is to ensure the all-sided, harmonious development of the individual, a system vitally interested in achieving unity of the technico-economic and social effect of the use of scientific achievements.

All this changes the social aims, orientation, and functions of science. Under socialism the purpose of society — the development of man — becomes the social orientation of science. For the first time in the history of civilization a system of social relations is being created that excludes the utilization of scientific achievements against man, against the people. The interests of the exploiting class are no longer the mediating link between science and the social conditions of its development and of the application of its achievements in practice. This specific feature of the new system was noted by Lenin at the dawn of socialism: 'From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-82). Socialism gives the people incomparably broader access to knowledge, to science and technology than capitalism. However, this is not the only reason that under socialism scientific and technological progress has become of interest to the whole people. Of course, where specialization has reached a high level not every person can understand the problems of one science or another; they can only be understood by those who take the trouble to study and master the given science and to develop a scientific world outlook. In a socialist society the people have a stake in mastering and comprehensively utilizing science chiefly because the building of the new society, including the all-sided development of the working individual, is made possible only with the use of the highest achievements of science and technology, in other words, with the rapid development and application of science in order to promote the productive forces, improve social relations and correspondingly change the people's way of life. This means that under socialism science is becoming a universal transformative social force.

The term 'universal' should not be taken to mean that science replaces everything. It cannot replace art, morals, or any other non-scientific sphere of culture. The term 'universal' is only used in the sense that under socialism all essential aspects of society's life are transformed on the basis of scientific knowledge, with the participation of science. The interaction between science and society is thereby raised to a qualitatively new level. Naturally, the surmounting of the predominating role of the mechanism of spontaneity in the socio-economic sphere fundamentally changes the place and role of 'collective wisdom', of science in society's life.

Science's conversion into a direct productive

force commenced with the development of industrial capitalism. The scientific and technological revolution is a new stage of that process, which in capitalist countries is accompanied by painful contradictions. Socialism, on the other hand, preserves and deepens science's function as a direct productive force. But science becomes a universal transformative social force only in a developed socialist society, whose nature requires the fullest unfolding of science's social functions and the spread of its influence to ever broader sections of society.

Science becomes a powerful creative factor of society's revolutionary transformation along socialist lines, an instrument and means of purposeful social development. It also becomes the theoretical foundation of a purposeful management of social processes, the formation of society's and the individual's new requirements and aims. In turn, scientifically formulated social aims and tasks become the prerequisite for the management of scientific development itself. And since this also requires scientific substantiation, science itself becomes an object of cognition — self-cognition, the study of sciences, takes shape.

Scientific strategy for the development of socialist society, including the basic social orientations of the development of science itself, is worked out by the communist party, which determines the overall orientation of society's further advance toward communism. Thereby, under socialism a long-standing contradiction, which capitalism has been unable to resolve, is removed, and dialectical unity is achieved between science and politics, between science and social practice, a unity which provides the foundation not only for society's rational and balanced advance toward the aims set by the Marxist-Leninist party, but also for strengthening society's social unity and the alliance of science and labor.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin was emphatic on the point 'that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase . . . that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p.489). This proposition is a scientific prevision, formulates a strategic aim and is a direct guide for action.

The change of science's status and role in a socialist society evokes the corresponding changes in the breadth and growth rates of research and of the utilization of its results, and gives the corresponding direction to scientific work. More importantly, science becomes part and parcel of production and of the entire social system; it becomes a necessary condition and powerful means of the creative activity of the people.

Science joins in the life of socialist society not only through the cognitive and practical functions performed by it. In turn, the system of social links and relations intertwines with science's inner life, conditioning the aims of scientific knowledge, the relations between scientists and their inner guide-

lines, and the mechanism through which science is realized as a social process. Under socialism the inner criteria of scientific activity and the guidelines of scientists coincide with the aims, requirements, and criteria of socialist society, and this is one of the key expressions of science's new status. The danger of the spread of technocratic, scientific delusions, that so adversely affect science in bourgeois society, is thus eliminated. Under socialism the development of science is determined chiefly by the realization of its social functions. Science ceases to be merely a means of achieving aims external to it. It is drawn into the process of society's life as an inner dynamic element, while its development is mediated by socialist social relations, in the same way that the development of the latter is necessarily mediated by science. Since the social aims reflecting objective social requirements are from the very beginning built in scientific activity as a whole and since science is a constituent element of social development, social orientations become essential inner factors of science itself. Thus, social requirements and aims are seen by the scientist as his own, while moral responsibility to society, to the people, and not only to the scientific community, acquires decisive significance.

Requirements of cognition and the social system

However, society has to make an enormous effort to bring science's new opportunities to materialization. Without a more or less full satisfaction of science's demands on society, the former cannot develop successfully and yield the necessary returns.

Of course, it would be naive to believe that exceptionally favorable conditions are automatically created for scientific development as soon as a socialist society emerges. Socialism is a historically developing social system and its positive potentialities, including those which it places at the disposal of science, unfold gradually, from stage to stage, from phase to phase. Moreover, the realization of socialist society's potentialities depends not only on the level of its maturity but also on the international conditions in which it develops.

Similarly, it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that capitalism, too, despite its contradictory role in the development of science, has not entirely lost its ability to stimulate progress at least in some fields of knowledge. Seeking to make capital on this fact and also on some events that had taken place in socialist countries in the past, the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie assert that capitalism creates the most adequate conditions for the development of knowledge while socialism slows down its progress by ideologizing science.

This specious contention has been criticized time and again. But the most argued reply is, of course, to make a comprehensive analysis of how the requirements of modern knowledge are met in a socialist society and then compare this with the situation in bourgeois society.

These requirements are enormous.

First, in material means, in highly trained re-

searchers and personnel servicing them, in sophisticated scientific equipment, in large quantities of energy for experimentation and so forth.

Second, in planning, organizing and managing research and scientific and technological progress on a nationwide scale.

Third, in a long-term strategy of scientific development ensuring the selection of rational priorities and in the use of science for promoting the potentialities and capabilities of all the people. This strategy allows for the elimination of imbalances and contradictions that restrict science or turn it into a destructive force.

All these requirements spring from the complex character of most present-day major problems of science and technology; from the need for a transition to team-work, the creation of large research centers, and coordination of efforts for the solution of problems of this kind; from the close link between scientific and technological research and between science and production.

Satisfaction of the first group of requirements depends largely on the level reached by production, the state of technology, and society's material and scientific potentials. In this area individual capitalist countries that have a considerable economic potential and developed productive forces still have in some cases better indicators than socialist countries (for a number of historical reasons the latter began their development from a much lower technological and economic level than the industrial capitalist nations). But in view of the fact that socialization of the conditions of production and reproduction of all aspects of society's life is an indispensable element for the full satisfaction of these requirements, the socialist countries acquire the possibility for giving science, as they are now doing, broader opportunities for development in proportion to the growth of their material possibilities, of their economic and scientific potentialities.

In the satisfaction of the second group of requirements socialism is clearly demonstrating its advantages. These are planning scientific development on a nationwide scale and coordinating the efforts of scientists of socialist countries; the system of selecting priority orientations of research; a democratic system of training scientific cadres, and so forth. Planned economic development, and the concentration of all funds and resources in the hands of society, which creates the possibility of mobilizing financial and manpower resources in the main orientations, are a universally recognized advantage of socialism. This has been confirmed by the creation of an unbroken front of research in the USSR by the late 1930s, the solution of the nuclear problem and progress in space exploration, the successes of the Soviet system of training scientists and engineers, and the unprecedented growth of the scale and rate of scientific research in all basic, promising areas. These basic advantages of the socialist system have made it possible to plan scientific work. Planning scientific research has now become a means of the purposeful

development of science and technology in the entire socialist community, including the framework of the comprehensive program for economic, scientific and technological integration. The results of planned scientific development were seen quickly in the rapid growth of the scientific and technological potential of all the countries of the socialist community. This fact cannot be disputed even by socialism's adversaries.

The aforesaid does not imply that socialist countries have resolved all the problems of organization, planning, and management. But it is beyond question that socialism has given rise to principles and social forms of scientific development which meet with the latter's inner requirements and modern trends most fully. Little wonder that in capitalist countries (true, in a truncated, partial form) they are more and more frequently trying to apply socialism's experience of planned economic and scientific development in the hope of extricating themselves from the economic crisis and the crisis in science generated by the so-called American model of scientific policy borrowed by many developed capitalist countries.

Lastly, capitalism has no possibilities whatever for meeting the third group of science's requirements. The conditions for meeting these requirements are created only by socialist relations. Socialist collectivism, which ensures the needed social, moral, and psychological environment, makes it possible to develop team-work in scientific activity. But the main thing is unquestionably that only under socialism does society as a whole become a subject capable of using science consciously and meaningfully in the interests of man, and in the social and moral respect reach the level of maturity consonant with modern science's tremendous potentialities and guarantee its use for the benefit of man. This guarantee becomes one of the conditions of science's own development, because it is only under these conditions that scientific and technological progress acquires a conscious and humanitarian purpose and is not turned into an irrational force hostile to man.

By establishing harmony between the inner requirements of science and social relations, socialism resolves the problem set by the entire course of social advance. However, society has to make an unflagging effort to maintain this harmony, to surmount any contradictions that may arise.

The contradictions between the requirements of science and society's potentialities are, on account of various reasons, rooted in science itself and in diverse factors of social development. For instance, in sciences, scientific tendencies may arise that lead to separation from society's requirements (for instance, the priority development of certain branches of research when resources are limited, the establishment of a monopoly, even a temporary one, by some group of scientists, and so on). Contradictions may arise when for various reasons society does not ensure the needed material and technical resources for scientific research and the proper number of skilled cadres. Science is ad-

versely affected by manifestations of bureaucracy in its organization and errors in scientific policy. Note must also be made of the still constant contradiction generated by external factors: since socialist society develops in a situation in which the threat of imperialist aggression exists, it is compelled to use science not only for its own development but also for its defense.

The inner requirements of scientific development are fundamentally in harmony with the requirements of socialist society, which creates an adequate social basis for the settlement of contradictions in the interest of development, society, the individual and science. Only socialism can, in the social sense, take science to a new spiral of social progress.

Prospects

The deep-going changes taking place in science and in its relationship with society allow raising the question of an incipient process of the birth of a new type of science. The conditions for this are appearing in the most diverse areas of knowledge and activity, and the process itself evidently has a very broad basis.

The fundamental changes in the character of science affecting its essential features are spreading out over an entire revolutionary epoch. Today we are witnessing a worldwide revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism initiated in October 1917. Simultaneously the scientific and technological revolution started by the revolution in 20th-century natural science is making headway.

The first of the essential factors behind the new system of science is the scientific revolution itself. It has already led to a fundamental rearrangement of the whole structure of modern scientific knowledge as a result of the multiform and extremely complex and turbulent processes that have been taking place in science in the course of the 20th century. The transition from classical to non-classical science, the development of inter-disciplinary alongside disciplinary comprehensive research linked to the integration of various fields of knowledge, the emergence of diverse general scientific methods, the development of models of notions and a new 'intellectual technology' — all this has introduced essential corrections in our notions about the character, basic parameters, standards, features and structure of scientific knowledge.

Scientific progress and the break-up of old concepts and notions have stimulated a new wave of interests in the theoretical and methodological foundations of scientific knowledge. These foundations have been substantially restructured during the past few decades. Lenin's teaching that as a consequence of its own development modern science finds it necessary to apply the methodology of dialectical materialism (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, pp. 303-04) has been borne out completely. Precisely this methodology is becoming the core of the new type of scientific thought. The circumstance that the building of the new, socialist world is based on the application of Marxist-Leninist science, of

which materialist dialectics is the living soul, corresponds entirely with this need of science.

A hallmark of the present scientific revolution is its organic fusion with the revolution in technology, which has brought about a qualitative change in the productive forces. A progressive phenomenon, this change has accentuated the global antagonism between society and nature, an antagonism generated by unplanned, predatory capitalist management and wasteful technology, for whose development modern science also bears some responsibility.

It has now been proved that if society does not want to undermine the natural conditions of its existence it must change the character of its links to nature, harmonize these links. This requires not only new technology but also new social relations and a new world outlook, including a sense of responsibility for the state of the natural environment. This task can only be carried out with the help of science, of a system of knowledge in which there is unity between the natural, technical, and social sciences. This unity is not a wish but an insistent requirement.

Moreover, the need for unity between the natural, technical, and social sciences springs from the requirements of planned economic management and, particularly, from the requirements of man's own all-sided development, which must rest on unity of all scientific knowledge, the highest achievements of scientific progress and the further development of socialist social relations and socialist culture. This must be a unity not in words but in deeds. Permeating the entire practice of planning, organizing and managing scientific research, the entire practice of social production and all programs for economic and social development, this unity is one of the forms organically linking the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to the advantages of socialism.

The establishment of inner unity between the natural, social and technical sciences oriented on the development of man is an indisputable indicator of the formation of a new type of science.

The tendency toward the creation of the new type of science can be realized only where the scientific and technological revolution fuses in dialectical unity with the social revolution, where the new, non-antagonistic social relations have been established and reached a high level of maturity. The new type of science will come into its own under communism. Under capitalism the revolutionary processes in science are partial and one-sided and require further development in directions that can only be opened through society's socialist transformation, through a link-up of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The strategy, practice and tendency of scientific development in socialist countries constantly make an ever more clear-cut imprint on the development of science and technology worldwide and stimulate the formation of elements of the new type of science oriented on a new system of values. This is one of

the expressions of the international historical significance of scientific and technological progress in socialist countries.

Of course, today it is still early to speak of a new system of science as an existing reality. One must rather speak of the existence of objective and subjective foundations, of the existence of points of departure for movement. And as the revolutionary processes of the modern epoch deepen, this will lead to a new qualitative change in the entire system of scientific knowledge, in its foundations, organization and functions.

From the standpoint of dialectics, when we analyze this change it is important to take both the continuity and the qualitative features of the new type of science into account. This emerging type relies on the results of preceding development, on the entire range of knowledge accumulated earlier. Further, the change of the type of science is expressed in the development of its social functions and orientation, in surmounting the apartness of various aspects of scientific activity. This integration, the trend toward which is already now seen in the socialist-community states, gives science the character of a powerful transformative force of society — the theoretical foundation for building the new, communist civilization.

1. WMR, August and September 1979.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 20, p. 347 (Russian translation).
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part I, p.386 (Russian translation).

RATIONALIZATION IN THE SERVICE OF CAPITAL

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Nowadays the term 'rationalization' has highly distasteful implications for the working people of economically developed capitalist countries, including the FRG. Semantically, it should mean something that promotes social and economic progress, but the whole point is that here *ratio* serves mainly to increase the profits of the capitalist entrepreneurs, whose rationalization entails the application in production and management of a system of diverse automated devices and organizational measures designed to achieve their aim through the utmost use of the achievements of the STR.¹

Because a reduction in labor inputs is an essential component of this system, rationalization, whatever its form, is aimed against the workers and employees engaged in the labor process, and eliminates many jobs. But it turns working people into its victims even when the immediate purpose of rationalization is not to economize on labor inputs, but on the instruments and objects of labor. In that

case, it intensifies the exploitation of industrial and office workers.

Consequently, the effects of rationalization under capitalism epitomizes the two-fold application of STR achievements when it caters for the exploiter minority. For the exploited majority of the population, the semantics of 'rationalization' comes into conflict with its actual socio-economic content, and that is what determines the working people's attitude to it in the FRG and other capitalist countries.

The new stage of rationalization, which began in the 1970s, is marked by the use in technological processes of governing, control, regulating and information instruments and devices. There is ever broader use of electronic equipment, based on semi-conductors, optical electronics, and storage and sensor devices. Here, microelectronics plays the crucial role.

Sophisticated technological processes make it possible to transfer the physical and mental functions of living labor power to these new instruments of labor. Of course, technology has had such potentialities for some time, but their use for practical purposes and on a mass scale began just recently mainly because of the unprecedented miniaturization at ever lower cost. Thus, the cost of silicon chips, the key element of the new technology which helps to make extremely compact computers, is now a thousandth of what it was 15 years ago.

Considering that the development of new technology involves extensive use of modern achievements not only in electronics but also in many other fields of science, one will realize the scale of the impact of the new technology on the economy as a whole. Indeed, there is a virtual possibility of universally applying it in every sphere of production, management, trade and the services industry. For the capitalist entrepreneur, it is the main instrument of rationalization.

Any concrete description of the effects of this process goes beyond the framework of this article, but I shall cite a few facts to give an idea of its scope. Thus, the introduction of electronic elements in the West German watch industry reduced its labor force from 32,000 in 1970 to 18,000 in 1977. The introduction of photo-typesetting machines in the printing industry (in the FRG their number increased from 78 in 1969 to 1,671 in 1976) in effect started the windup of the traditional skilled trade of typesetter (from 1970 to 1979, 30,000 persons of the 200,000 employed in the printing industry lost their jobs).

New technology is also being introduced into design and development offices, where most of the work could be done by machines in the near future. Rationalization based on the use of microelectronics has spread to office work and management, marketing and the services industry. The introduction of new technology in these areas is now perhaps more intensive than it is in material production (from 1970 to 1976, the number of computers used in those areas in the FRG multiplied nearly 20 times, to a total of 114,000 units).

Let us try to analyze the nature of this process in the light of the potentialities which the new

technology holds for capitalist businessmen, on the one hand, and of its consequences for the working people, on the other. Evidence of the fact that such potentialities are large will be found in the qualitative change of monopoly investment in the FRG in the 1970s, where the center of gravity has shifted to programs for rationalizing production, in some cases affecting whole industries. In the recent period, roughly 75 per cent of all investment in West German industry has gone into the rationalization of production and renewal of fixed assets.

This reorientation has removed the material basis underlying government plans for livening up the market by stimulating investments designed to increase existing jobs and create new ones. In fact, the state of the labor market has become even more acute. Bonn's official dogma — 'today's profit is tomorrow's investment and new jobs' — has turned out to have essentially the following meaning for the working class: 'Today's profits and subsidies are tomorrow's investments in production rationalization and future unemployment.'

Of course, at the present stage new technology is being introduced in various spheres of material production, management and the service industry with differing intensity, which is why it is fairly hard to gain an overall statistical picture of the long-term consequences of rationalization from the standpoint of employment. It is indicative that from 1970 to 1978, net output in industries like mining and processing went up by 15.2 per cent, while the number of jobs dropped by 19.3 per cent. At the same time, output per person employed went up by 48.2 per cent, and per man-hour by 57.2 per cent.

Data made public by the companies themselves help to bring out the development trends. Thus, market research by Siemens designed to bring out the potentialities for rationalizing office work with an eye to 1990 involved 2.7 million jobs and showed that 25-30 per cent of these could be automated. Considering that there were 10.6 million office jobs in the FRG in 1975, the tremendous benefit of such rationalization for the capitalists is obvious.

Is it not right to assume, therefore, that the use of scientific and technical advances for the benefit of monopoly capital enables it to intensify the exploitation of the working people? Capitalist rationalization gives the law of surplus value qualitatively new parameters.

Nor should one forget that the sharp increase of investments into rationalization has not unaffected the economy as a whole, because there is an interdependence between the effects of new technology and crisis processes. First of all, the marked growth in production capacities is not attended by a corresponding growth in the number of jobs. As a result, the growth of the commodity mass is not attended by a growth of effective demand, and this tends to sharpen capitalism's old malaise, the contradiction between production and the market.

The present scale of modernization and rationalization of production is a relatively new phenomenon, which is why its impact on the condition of the

working people has yet to be fully studied. Still, FRG experience already makes it possible to establish the following trends with a sufficient degree of certainty:

— the reduction in the number of jobs has not been attended by the creation of a corresponding number of new ones;²

— the tightening-up of work schedules intensifies labor and exhausts the working people physically, while the transfer of fragmented repetitive operations to machines, far from eliminating the monotony of work, in effect further increases it and so causes serious mental stress;

— there is a threat of loss of skills for those in the traditional groups of highly-skilled workers and the middle-echelon groups of office workers; in the technically most advanced industries there is a declining demand for lower-skilled manpower; many working people are transferred to lower wage-rate groups;³

— the emergence of new skill structures tends to polarize the levels of occupational training.

— there is a visible slackening of the trend toward higher general-knowledge standards and broader skills engendered by the overall development of the productive forces, which could promote more diverse use of factory and office workers.

These phenomena suggest a question formulated by Heinz Oskar Vetter, Chairman of the Association of German Trade Unions, who said: 'Under whose management and for what purpose is the new technology being designed, developed and used? It is developed and used above all under the management of entrepreneurs and for their economic interests. It is not man that is central but primarily private enterprise profitability, profit.'

Assurances by businessmen and 'social-partnership' committed trade unionists that technical progress helps to humanize labor have proved to be hollow. The working class and all the other working people have learned at first hand that such assurances are mostly at odds with the facts. The actual potentialities which the new technology would seem to create to meet their requirements turn into their opposite when put in the service of capital.

The advocates of monopoly capital argue that the negative consequences of rationalization for the working people are inevitable side effects of technological development, which on the whole is progressive. They cover up their self-seeking interests with talk about the 'objective requirements' of technological development generally, and specifically about the need to adapt the West German economy to the international competition being intensified by the crisis.

Whatever the employers discuss — be it rationalization or the closure of factories and workshops, changes in wage rates or working conditions — their keynote is invariably that jobs can be preserved only by making West German goods more competitive on the world market, and one way to do this is to use more and more modern technology.

Such are the workings of the political economy of big business in practice.

The federal government's policy on science and technology is also based on a similar conception. Accordingly, companies are given large subsidies to rationalize production. But the government has abandoned its attempts to influence these processes by a policy of structural reforms and by control. Under pressure from industrialists' unions in particular, it has withdrawn its widely discussed proposal for setting up 'centers for registering new ideas' to collect information for assessing the orientations and intensity of the use of new technology."

On the other hand, the government has not responded in any way to the trade unions' demand that state subsidies to monopolies should be made contingent on certain restrictions aimed at preserving jobs and ensuring satisfactory working conditions. Instead, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has argued that the consequences of rationalization are 'a psychological rather than an economic burden.'

It is true that, when faced with the facts, the leader of the West German Social Democrats complained of the difficulty he and his associates face when trying to explain to a worker ousted by electronics that he had been fired 'in the interests of society, which means in his own interests.' Indeed, what kind of 'common interests' can the worker and society have where technology and technical innovation, as Eugen Loderer, Chairman of the Board of the Metal Workers' Union said 'serve a privileged minority in satisfying its acquisitive urge for profit?'

Consequently, the true meaning of 'rationalization' in the lexicon of political economy of the exploiter class spells out as follows: new contingents joining the army of reserve labor; labor intensification inflicting physical and mental harm on industrial and office workers; falling incomes. That is the effect of intellectual achievements in a society geared to the self-seeking interests of monopoly capital.

By contrast, Marxist political economy, the political economy of the working class asserts the highest form of rationality, which emphasizes social benefit and social inputs, which is why it is aimed at creating the conditions for man's all-round development. Its chief concern is social production for economic and social progress.

Of course, the Marxists argue, this theory, which is designed for economic and social progress, can be fully realized only outside the framework of the capitalist market economy, outside the framework, as Marx put it, of the rule 'of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class.'⁴ But Marxists also act on the assumption that even in capitalist society the working people are not defenseless in face of the logic of capital. The working class has the strength to restrict the operation of this logic. But, they add, to do so, it must not only declare its interests, but also resolutely stand up for them.

This fully applies to the struggle against the cap-

italist approach to the use of new technology.

Of course, this problem is not a new one for the working class. Since the origin of capitalism, technology has always been used by capital to fight wage labor. Let us recall that in our own time, Taylorism and other forms of scientific labor organization have largely helped the capitalists to economize on the means of production and variable capital at the expense of the wage worker, thus helping them to increase their profits.

Some recall that the initial stage in the development of capitalism was marked by a workers' rebellion against machines. Indeed, Engels emphasized, that as a class, the workers 'first manifested opposition to the bourgeoisie when they resisted the introduction of machinery.'⁵ But even in that remote period, when the working-class movement was spontaneous, the proletarians did not believe that the evil lay in machines as such. Marx said that because they had no knowledge of other methods of fighting for their rights, they revolted against the machines 'as being the material basis of the capitalist mode of production.'⁶ Marx said: 'It took both time and experience before the workpeople learnt to distinguish between machinery and its employment by capital, and to direct their attacks not against the material instruments of production, but against the mode in which they are used.'⁷

The modern wagedworker comes to understand Marx's idea. He learns from the Marxists to formulate his interests in a scientific way, and, on the strength of his own experience, to decide on the forms and methods of struggle in accordance with the concrete situation. A good example of this is the attitude of the working-class movement to the problems of technical progress.

The rapid development of science and technology in the postwar period opened up before mankind broad horizons for society's material development, and created new prospects for its cultural growth, and tantalizing possibilities for mastering the spontaneous forces of nature and eliminating disease. At the same time, up until the early 1970s (the consequences of the 1966-1967 crisis apart) rationalization of production and structural changes in the economy, as the experience of the FRG has demonstrated, did not cause any reduction in employment in economically developed capitalist countries. On the contrary, the newly created jobs more than compensated for those eliminated in the course of rationalization. Meanwhile, the trend to a lowering of skill standards among the working people was being compensated by the rapid growth of new sectors in the economy calling for relatively high skills.

The combination of these two factors produced in the working-class movement a one-sided and, one could say, uncritical approach to the phenomena arising from scientific and technological development, when the objectively inherent positive features and the prospects it opened up were brought to the fore, while the possible negative socio-economic consequences of scientific and technical progress for the working people's living and work-

ing conditions under capitalism were virtually ignored.

However, as the process of rationalization gained in breadth and depth, the error of this one-sided approach became ever more obvious. There was a growing understanding that in the economic and social conditions of the capitalist society there was no automatic connection between scientific and technical development and social progress, and that the use of modern machinery and technology for the benefit of capital seriously jeopardized the condition of wagedworkers. A direct outcome of this was that in the recent period the problem of establishing social control over scientific and technical development has become one of the key issues in the class confrontation between labor and capital in many capitalist countries.

In a broader context, one should speak of a growing understanding of the need to regard the problems of the scientific and technical revolution as a whole, and of rationalization in particular, through the prism of the social conditions in which scientific and technical achievements are used. So only when social interests are paramount in a society, which means the interests of the laboring majority, is it realistic to predict a beneficial effect from scientific and technical achievements on the social and economic conditions of life of broad masses of people, their cultural emancipation, and an end to the plunder of natural resources, and protection of the environment.

However, the social order in capitalist societies makes for the preservation and consolidation of the power of big capital and so stands in the way of the free and full development and application of science and technology for the benefit of man, today and tomorrow. Consequently, the important thing is not scientific and technical progress as such, but control over the use of its results. The task of the working class and all the other working people is therefore to establish control over social relations or, as Marx formulated it, 'social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class.'⁸

The FRG's experience shows that in future the problems of new technology and rationalization will become even more important for the working class, as will be seen from the ongoing discussions in the trade unions, which center on the ways and means by which the working class could control the processes of capitalist rationalization, so as to reduce its negative socio-economic effects. Interest attaches, for instance, to the demand, now being discussed, for an 'early warning' system to monitor the social consequences of rationalization. To realize this and other similar demands there must be movement in support of them, a movement uniting all the victims of the monopoly drive for profit.

There are no 'minor' problems in this struggle. Take the discussion of wage rate contracts. As soon as the trade unions include the demand that these should take into account the effects of new technology, there is at once a sharp confrontation between the working people and their organizations, on the

one hand, and monopoly capital and the government, defending its interests, on the other — a much sharper confrontation than is the case when traditional wage rate problems are discussed. That is why, at the present stage, socio-critical alternatives to the ideology and practices of the monopoly bourgeoisie tend to crystallize much faster in the crucible of the trade union struggle and new possibilities arise in the struggle for their realization.

The German Communist Party, its programmatic documents emphasize, starts from the assumption that objectively scientific and technical progress is a positive phenomenon. What is more, the communists regard it as a necessary prerequisite for mankind's social and economic progress and its advance toward a society without poverty and exploitation. They take this view because, being a working-class party, they are the most progressive force of our day, and believe that their supreme duty is to renew the world, one of the main conditions of which is to master the forces of nature and bring about a fresh upswing of the productive forces.

That is not to say, of course, that the communists ignore the problems which may and already do spring from the practical use of scientific and technological achievements under capitalist relations of production. The German Communist Party became quickly aware of the socio-economic and political importance of the struggle against the negative effects of rationalization and the use of new machinery and technology for the benefit of capitalism. The communists believe that the earnest of success is resolute struggle against the domination of monopoly capital.

Discussion of this problem was central to the GCP's Mannheim Congress in 1978. Formulating its substance in the report to the Congress, GCP Chairman Herbert Mies posed a number of key questions: 'Who owns the means of scientific and technical progress? In whose interests are they being used? Who commands?' These questions spring from life itself, and the answer helps to determine the role and importance of scientific and technical progress and the nature of its consequences in the concrete conditions of each country. Here is the answer suggested by the Congress for the FRG, a capitalist country: 'The evil consists precisely in the fact that the political and economic power of monopoly capital in society converts science and technology into a curse on the working people.'⁹

The GCP Program approved by the Mannheim Congress formulated the party's stand on this question, which is so important for the future of socio-economic progress, and emphasized: 'One of the major conflicts of the capitalist society in the FRG is the contradiction between the people's demands that scientific and technical progress should be used to improve their living conditions and protect the environment on the one hand, and the abuse of science and technology by monopoly capital in eliminating jobs, developing new weapons systems and destroying the environment, on the other.' Together with all the other progressive forces, the communists have been doing their utmost to re-

solve this conflict in favor of the working people and social progress.

1. The author considers mainly the problem of the impact of scientific and technical progress on working conditions and employment. He considers only in passing — or not at all — the effects of the STR on the economics and politics of imperialism, and also the STR's state-monopoly stimulation. — Ed.

2. The BASF management, for instance, says that the DM 1.3 billion investments planned for 1979 will result in the creation of only 60 new jobs.

3. The Metal-Workers' Union has estimated that 40 per cent of the metal workers in the North Württemberg — North Baden wage rate district face the threat of wage rate group demotion and loss of skills.

4. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

5. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 503.

6. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 427.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

8. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

9. *Protokoll des Mannheims Parteitages der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*; Düsseldorf, 1978, pp. 61-62.

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The science of politics and politics in science

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First Vice-President, International Political Science Association

The 11th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, attended by some 1,600 political analysts from 58 countries, was held in Moscow last year. Its agenda consisted of the following items: 'Peace Policy', 'Policy of Development and Changes in Systems', and 'Accumulation of Political Knowledge Since 1949'. This forum had wide repercussions throughout the world: innumerable scientific and journalistic publications have substantively dealt with its course and results. However, its significance should be linked not only to the actual content of the presented papers or the nature of the debate. It also identified the fundamental characteristics of present-day politology, its contradictions, trends, and orientations. Moreover, it brought into bold relief the question of the link between political science and political practice, of the complex forms in which social knowledge interacts with social reality.

Present-day political theory has its roots, as everybody knows, in the works of Plato, Aristotle, and other great philosophers of Ancient Greece, who were the first to systematize and classify the state forms known to them and establish some regularities that govern the operation of power in a country and also relative to other countries. Already then the first steps were taken toward empirically analyzing political reality. From their observations of diverse forms of rule and administration, Ancient theorists laid the foundation of a conceptual apparatus — the basis of modern political science — introducing concepts such as state, law, ethics, power, politics, republic, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and so forth.

A huge advance in the development of political theory was made by a numerous galaxy of philosophers, economists, historians and jurists of the Renaissance and Enlightenment epochs, including Niccolo Machiavelli (whom Marx called the first political writer of a new age), Baron de Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Francis Bacon, John Locke, Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Frederick Hegel. While ancient philosophers could only draw upon the experience of ancient despotisms and city-states, the philosophers of the epoch of bourgeois revolutions could use the experience of autocratic monarchies and parliamentary republics. Their greatest contribution to political knowledge was their substantiation of the natural inalienable rights of the human being, the slogans of freedom, equality and fraternity, the concept of people's sovereignty and

legality and the idea of lasting peace founded on international cooperation and having a progressive social system in all countries as its prerequisite.

The next historical stage in the development of political thought was linked to the ideas of socialism. A tremendous contribution toward understanding the nature of political institutions, the forms and methods of organizing state power and, most importantly, just principles underlying a political system, the relationship between society and the individual, between the citizen and the state was made by the utopian socialists from Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella to Charles Fourier, Claude Henri Saint-Simon and Robert Owen. Equally great services were rendered by the revolutionary-democratic school represented by thinkers like Nikolai Chernyshevsky in Russia and Sun Yat-sen in China.

There remained the final step — to generalize the results of this quest covering many centuries, to sift out delusions and preserve elements of truth, to arrange the accumulated knowledge into a system, to reappraise it in the light of the achievements of kindred social and also the natural sciences, and thereby turn it into a science in the true sense of the word. This mammoth task was accomplished by the founders of the revolutionary world outlook of the working class — Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

One of the greatest achievements of the creators of the theory of scientific communism was that they were able to consider politics and political relations not in isolation from but in relation to the entire sum of social relations — economic, social and ideological. This was the approach that made it possible to bring the main thing to light, namely, the class essence of the state, of society's political system, and on that basis to trace its genesis, show the law-governed character of the replacement of one type of state by another depending on the changes in the mode of production and the structure of class rule, and show the content and forms of the organization and functioning of the state mechanism, political parties and social movements.

In the 20th century the cause of Marx and Engels was continued by Lenin. He amplified many of the ideas of his great predecessors and made a conspicuous contribution also to the teaching on politics, on the state. Heading the party that led the working class, the masses of Russia in the first victorious proletarian revolution, he evolved the theory of the socialist state, substantiated the aims

of that state's home and foreign policy, democratic forms of organization and the principles of construction. The leader of the October Revolution elaborated the theory of international relations in the transitional epoch of revolution, advancing the idea of peaceful coexistence, which underlies these relations. Lenin's teaching, developed and enriched by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, is a dependable theoretical foundation for a scientific analysis of all phenomena of society's life linked to politics in one way or another.

He defined politics in the broad sense as a 'struggle between classes' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 371), as the 'organization of the state', 'as participation in affairs of state'. These definitions provide the point of departure for understanding the spectrum of political studies. Their basic subject may be described approximately as follows:

- society's political system, the role and relationship of the state, the party, and public organizations; the content of political power, the ways and means of working out and implementing state policy, the forms and methods of administration;

- participation of different social classes and strata in politics, the political consciousness of people and the moulding of this consciousness; regulation of socio-political relations, the status of the individual and questions of democracy (power of the people, equality, freedom);

- foreign policy of states, activities of various international movements and associations; international relations, the political and ideological struggle on the world scene.

This entire range of problems is studied in the USSR and other socialist countries by the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law, philosophy, sociology, political economy, political geography and other disciplines. Increasing significance is also attached to a comprehensive study of politics. In his message of greetings to the participants in the 11th World Congress of the International Political Science Association Leonid Brezhnev underscored the importance of the latter trend, writing: 'Science plays an immense role in the historical destinies of mankind, and bears a huge responsibility for the future. This concerns the natural and technical sciences much as it concerns the social sciences. Perhaps a special responsibility devolves on that branch of scientific knowledge which studies political problems and structures and their role in social development and international politics, in the relations between states on the world scene.'

However, let us go back roughly one hundred years, to the period when a great split occurred in political theory.

The cause of that split is well known. Marxism was a revolution in people's views about society, the conditions of their existence, and the aims and purposes of their activity. While it was received with enormous enthusiasm by all advanced, democratic forces, the new scientific world outlook was given a hostile reception by bourgeois ideology. In the course of several decades the latter made desperate attempts to strangle the revolutionary theory

of the working class, to prevent its wide dissemination. When this failed, the high priests of capitalism turned to creating their own political theory.

Obviously, the very conditions in which this theory was evolved and the aims it pursued predetermined its overall orientation. It was essentially not only anti-revolutionary (since its purpose was to present an alternative to Marxism) but also anti-democratic, for while asserting its fidelity to the traditions of the classics of political thought, bourgeois politology in fact rejected the progressive legacy of many of its predecessors, including the enlighteners of the 18th century.

Further, this theory, as any other, could not be based entirely on negations. Modern bourgeois politology, which began to take shape at the close of the 19th century, was based on positivism, which is associated chiefly with Auguste Comte and Max Weber. This school styled itself as the philosophy of practical reason studying social reality after the example of the natural sciences and opposing the introduction into the process of cognition of any ideological element, including utopianism, which it alleges is implicit in the communist theory. Actually, as soon became apparent, bourgeois politology set a clear-cut ideological course toward defending capitalism, toward theoretically substantiating the political domination of the capitalist class.

Naturally, it did not remain indifferent to the winds of the times. While at the turn of the century bourgeois politologists stressed that capitalist orders were everlasting, after the October Socialist Revolution and particularly, after the Second World War and the formation of the socialist world system reformist concepts and theories of convergence began to occupy a growing place in the politological output of U.S. and West European universities and research centres.

Alongside attempts to prolong capitalism's existence by patching the senile organism of the old society or even giving it infusions of energy-loaded ferments of a socialist character, a numerous body of present-day bourgeois politologists is engaged in the decisive sectors of the ideological struggle with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. Both these tasks — substantiation of various kinds of 'renewed' capitalism and negation of existing socialism — are carried out within the framework of schools typical of modern bourgeois politology such as the theory of conflicts, the theory of the élite and the technocracy, pluralism, the power concept of the development of international relations and so on.

Particularly noteworthy changes have been taking place in the politology of capitalist countries in recent years. Today even this perhaps most ideologized field of social theory has in some way to respond to realities, chiefly to the growth and consolidation of socialism, the successes of the liberation movement and the mounting influence of Marxism-Leninism. As a result, apart from fanatical anti-communists, there is a growing body of bourgeois politologists, especially young people, who are trying to assess the tendencies of present-

day social development more or less objectively and are prepared to conduct a dialogue with proponents of other schools, including the Marxists.

However, this is not as simple as it sounds. Since the split, the two trends in political thought have drifted apart not only in world outlook but also in method (dialectical materialism, on the one hand, and positivism, on the other), not only in the range of problems we are considering but also in terminology. In fact, they have moved so far apart that their proponents can no longer understand each other as though they are people speaking different languages or people of different civilizations. This was seen strikingly at the previous Congress of the International Political Science Association in Edinburgh, where the discussion in many sections had a strange ring — it was reminiscent of a conversation between deaf-mutes or the plays of Samuel Beckett and Eugene Ionesco about the absurd, in which the personages have nothing to do with each other.

The split in the technology of scientific thinking, the dissimilarity of the ideological postures of the proponents of different trends and schools in politology, and also to no lesser degree the undisguised hostility of conservative forces in science, the various prejudices that have struck root under the impact of anti-communist propaganda and so forth, have caused some doubt also about the success of the congress in Moscow. However, a week of impassioned debates at Moscow University refuted these apprehensions. They showed that the urge for international cooperation is now stronger than all the factors countering it. The principal lesson to be drawn from the Moscow congress is precisely that it confirmed the indefeasibility of détente, that détente is benefiting all aspects of society's life. Further, the meetings of the different congress sections clearly brought out the fundamental distinction between ideological struggle and psychological warfare. Despite the inventions of the anti-communists, it was proved once more that there can and must be a dialogue on any issue, including the most acute issues, without turning the battle of ideas into a fistfight.

As we have noted earlier, present-day political science covers a very wide range of questions. However, when we characterize its general state we can draw attention to two or three pivotal problems. One of them is the problem of peace.

If we say that it is possible and, let me add, useful to compare views on any present-day issue, this primarily concerns the spectrum of problems bearing on international relations. World politics is now being formulated as a complex result of the confrontation and cooperation of different states and social movements. The settlement of urgent problems confronting mankind depends on the course and outcome of these processes. Many of these problems can only be resolved by the concerted efforts of nations, by coordinated actions of states with different social systems. One will appreciate that here a role of no little importance can be played by cooperation among scientists, particularly among students of politics, who are often drawn into the elaboration of political doctrines and

into concrete political actions of one or another nation on the international scene, and in varying degree influence the political process with their ideas and views.

A large group of participants in the Moscow congress focussed on issues linked to peaceful coexistence and détente. It was acknowledged almost unanimously that maximum efforts had to be made to promote and deepen the processes that have commenced on the international scene in recent years and further improve the international climate and strengthen confidence between countries with different socio-political systems. Further, the watershed between scientists of different schools was seen distinctly. This was expressed in disparate interpretations of the character and significance of détente: whether it should cover only the political and military spheres or whether renunciation of the ideological confrontation, a sort of 'ideological disarmament', should be a mandatory element of the process?

By making this a condition for the settlement of the issue (it is in fact made only relative to socialist states), bourgeois politologists and politicians erect a practically insuperable barrier to détente. This stand is perhaps most strikingly expressed in the pronouncements of the U.S. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, who is regarded as an expert on international relations. As he sees it, political détente can at best lead to a redistribution of tension from the technological to the ideological sector. A reduction of expenditures on military technology, he says, would be accompanied by a growth of expenditures on ideological warfare, to which the communists, he claims, attach similar importance and accord no less attention. An easing of tension in one sphere, he holds, would more or less automatically aggravate the conflict in another.²

Curiously enough, as an example of such 'redistribution' of energy Moynihan gave the UN resolution proclaiming Zionism a form of racism. Where is the logic? One might think that had there been no détente that resolution would have had no chance of being adopted and that Zionism would not have been qualified for what it actually is.

Moynihan's arguments lay bare the inclination of bourgeois theorists to ignore the fundamental distinction between political and ideological means of struggle. Professor N. Naidu of Canada bluntly writes that one cannot speak of an end to the cold war as long as ideological differences remain. That war, he says, is merely moving from one phase to another, changing its forms, methods, and means.³ With this approach to international relations one cannot explain why in some cases, even where there are serious ideological differences, a long and stable peace is possible between nations, and also why endless brutal wars have been fought without any ideological dispute, when there was total ideological harmony.

With rare exceptions, the interpretations of peaceful coexistence by Western politologists boil down to the following: (a) a struggle between superpowers (blocs, power centers) is to be observed in the world; (b) communism, i.e., the Soviet Union, is the aggressive side, while the West, i.e., the USA, is on the defensive. Fitted into this model, any action by

socialist states acquires the character of an 'encroachment' upon peace, while any action by imperialist countries must automatically be assessed as defense of peace and other values of civilization, notably freedom, even if this action is U.S. aggression against Vietnam or a CIA-orchestrated coup in Chile.

The evolution of Henry Kissinger's views exemplifies how these artificial conceptions, dictated by class bias, can capture the minds even of knowledgeable persons. This politician, who in the West is called one of the architects of détente, enunciated quite a few reasonable judgments when he was the U.S. Secretary of State. In reply to a provocative question by one of his interviewers, namely, 'How can you reconcile what the Russians have done in Vietnam, the Mideast and Portugal with détente?' Kissinger replied that 'Vietnam was not caused by the Russians. The situation in Portugal was not caused by the Soviets', that it sprang from the nation's internal development.⁴

But four years later Kissinger was no longer the Secretary of State, and when an American correspondent asked him what sparked the developments in Iran, he replied without a grain of embarrassment that there certainly was some Soviet interference.⁵ This statement was totally unsubstantiated, so much so that in the case of Iran even the most enterprising of American analysts did not venture to use the tested fable about the 'hand of Moscow.'

What lies behind all this? Do not the above-mentioned and many other politologists in the capitalist countries understand the vulnerability of assessments of this kind? Regrettably, they do not. The reason for this is their slanted class interpretation of the policies of the sides taking part in the process of détente and in the realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Some may say: this is not to be wondered at because each side pursues its own class aims. Indeed, it would be naive to expect a different approach from the champions of capitalism, especially as the proponents of socialism do not conceal their intentions to continue disseminating their ideas and establish the new social system everywhere in the world.

A fundamental distinction between them is, however, that the advocates of capitalism regard détente not only as means of consolidating peace but also a means of achieving their class objectives (their minimum program calls for a social status quo, and their maximum program for a 'creeping' counter-revolution and the restoration of capitalist relations in the socialist countries). By contrast, the communists pin their hopes on the law-governed historical process, which sooner or later will inevitably lead to socialism's triumph throughout the world. This confidence, based on Marxist-Leninist theory and historical experience, underlies their approach to détente solely as a means of asserting peaceful coexistence and preventing a nuclear shambles.

These different attitudes are the basis of the worldwide debate over the correlation (mutual influence) of détente and social progress. Does détente influence social progress? If it does, then in what direction? If it helps such progress, then how

effective is this assistance? On the other hand, does social progress influence détente? If it does, then in what direction? If it promotes détente, then how effectively? The answers to these questions, which depend on political views and on the ability of theorists to understand the complex dialectics of present-day social development, comprise a very wide spectrum. Moreover, there now is a fairly well-defined camp of opponents of détente in which proponents of antithetical views have found common ground.

Those on the extreme right maintain that détente benefits only the socialist countries and constitutes a maneuver, merely another invention of the communists designed to lull the vigilance of the so-called free world and begin subversion against it. The ultra-'lefts', in their turn, hold that détente benefits only capitalism and signifies surrender to the class adversary, a renunciation of the aims of revolution. Between these two poles there are many other interpretations, which, however, do not become truer only because they avoid extremes.

A closer look will show that the problem of the correlation between détente and social progress is none other than today's refraction of the cardinal issue of the relationship between revolution and peace. As given by Lenin, the solution of this problem may be put as follows. The communists do not advocate the spread of revolution by war because revolution is an objective process that cannot be imposed from without, a process that must mature out of the conditions of the class struggle in each given country, and because war brings the masses incalculable suffering. Recognizing that it is the sacred right of each people to determine its destiny independently, the communists condemn the export of both revolution and counter-revolution. Accordingly, peaceful coexistence is the only reasonable principle of international relations in the revolutionary epoch of transition, when socialist and capitalist states exist side by side.

From the very first days of its existence Soviet Russia proclaimed a policy of peace and has been pursuing it unswervingly. Such was the case when socialism was weak (when, as a matter of fact, its adversaries declared that the Bolsheviks wanted peaceful coexistence for tactical purposes, by virtue of the 'striving to survive, to gather strength, and then overthrow capitalism by war'). Such is the case today, when socialism has consolidated its position immeasurably, become a world system and exercises an immense influence on the course of world developments. That is why when we speak of peaceful coexistence we lean on the philosophy of the working class — its confidence that the laws of social development are inexorable and that there is a historical need for the triumph of the new system and its humanism.

This orientation of the revolutionary working-class movement and the corresponding policy of the socialist states are obviously fundamental to understanding the question of the relationship between peace and revolution. This orientation and this policy knock the ground from under the allegations of the capitalist soothsayers that the communists have the

sinister intention of using peaceful coexistence as a screen for stealthily creeping up to the 'free world' and swallowing it.

It is another matter that the world situation, the state of international relations always affects the development of internal processes in one way or another. Social progress has never been accomplished in laboratories, and this applies to all stages of the socialist revolution, beginning with the mustering of the forces of the working-class movement, the struggle to win over other working strata, for the assumption of power and the implementation of basic socio-economic transformations and ending with different stages of the establishment, improvement, and development of the socialist mode of production and the transition to higher phases of maturity. Needless to say, the degree of international influence or, to be more exact, its consequences are dissimilar at the different levels of the revolutionary struggle.

The scientific and technological revolution creates particularly favorable prerequisites for an intensification of the role played by international conditions. It 'squeezes' and 'condenses' political space, gives a powerful impetus to economic and cultural relations, and ensures the conditions for the swift dissemination of information. However, we should focus on prerequisites, for the extent to which all these factors come into operation depends enormously on the state of international relations.

How do international tension and détente concretely affect internal development? When this question is answered, the basic, qualitative distinctions between the two social systems must be taken into account.

For socialism international tension and the accompanying threat of imperialist aggression, constant economic and political pressure and subversion from without signify a compelling need for using a large proportion of resources for defense and additional measures to safeguard revolutionary gains. Peaceful coexistence, on the contrary, is a natural environment assuring broader and fuller operation of socialism's objective laws, the concentration of social production on the satisfaction of the people's requirements, the creation of the conditions for the harmonious development of the individual and so on.

As for capitalism, international tension allows imperialist reaction to use the pretext that there is an external 'communist' threat to give full reign to militarism, more ruthlessly and openly suppress the working-class movement and introduce a state of emergency in order to deal summarily with opponents. But this is not all. By proclaiming that they are the sole staunch champions of national interests and that all lefts are covert accomplices of 'foreign aggressors', and by playing on the patriotic feelings of the working people, the conservative parties use international tension as a lever for pressurizing the mass voter and artificially changing the balance of political strength in their favor. Moreover, international tension is an ideal camouflage for imperialism's most brutal, forcible ways of suppressing the national-liberation movement. During the past few

decades all colonial wars and acts of imperialist aggression were justified with references to a need to defend 'distant frontiers of freedom', counter 'communist infiltration' and so forth.

Peaceful coexistence, on the other hand, deprives reaction of its main argument for 'putting on the screws' and deceiving the working people, gives the national-liberation movement considerably greater possibilities for repulsing imperialist pressure and utilizing its growing political potential to establish fairer conditions of trade and adopt other measures to close the existing gap in economic and cultural development.

The question of disarmament, which had the close attention of many sections and study groups of the Moscow congress, is likewise inseparably linked to the problem of peace and development. In this respect the overwhelming majority of the participants in the debates, regardless of their political views, agreed on the main thing, namely, that the arms race has to be stopped.

As we all know, there is today a new and, one may say, historic possibility for resolving this question — I have in mind the proposals on measures for military détente made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in Berlin on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. The USSR and other socialist countries not only show their readiness to negotiate on the widest possible range of disarmament issues. The Soviet Union is setting the capitalist world an example of good will by withdrawing, on its own initiative, part of its troops and armaments from the center of Europe.

We know what the response of the NATO nations' ruling circles was to this new Soviet peace initiative. Despite their recognition of its significance, they reiterated their intention of continuing their former line and, succumbing to pressure from U.S. imperialism, turning West European countries into a testing ground for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles. However, I do not believe that the struggle has ended. Much depends on European public opinion, on the working people, on political parties and movements that have begun to campaign against the militarization of Western Europe, for the development of the Helsinki spirit, for the consolidation of peace and security on the continent.

The exponents of modern political sciences, too, must make a tangible contribution to the peaceful development of international relations. The palpable differences and struggle between bourgeois politology and Marxist-Leninist political theory, which we have dealt with, cannot hinder the objective trend toward cooperation between representatives of the different schools. In any case, the Moscow Congress has given good grounds for this line of reasoning.

1. *Pravda*, August 13, 1979.
2. *Center Magazine*, Santa Barbara, March-April 1976, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 7.
3. N. Naidu, *Alliances and Balance of Power*, London, 1975, p. 222.
4. *US News and World Report*, June 23, 1975, p. 22.
5. *Time*, January 15, 1979, p. 8.

The liberation movement and ideology

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I

The comprehensive and thorough development of the national-democratic and the socialist revolutionary movements requires that the working class, in particular, and the popular masses, in general, are imbued with the materialist, scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism.

The materialist outlook is the foundation of all science and Marxism-Leninism is the most advanced, revolutionary science of our age. This is as true for India as for any other country. And yet history proceeds through zigzags and contradictions in which basic truths, while asserting themselves in the longer run, are not necessarily borne out in relatively shorter periods.

The overall philosophical outlook of the Indian national freedom movement and its outstanding leaders, prior to Nehru, was not materialism but idealism, or, to use the word most commonly used in India, spiritualism. Tilak and Gandhi were fervent believers in spiritualism; they derived their inspiration from what they called the spiritual values of Hinduism. Even the anti-imperialist terrorist revolutionaries in India, up to the first quarter of this century, derived their faith from spiritualism. No doubt there were exceptions, but they only prove the rule.

How was it that radical political thought in India flowed into idealist channels? An answer to the question requires that we understand the backward, agrarian, culturally semi-medieval India of the 19th century.

What our freedom fighters of the 19th and even the first quarter of the 20th century saw in British rule was vile plunder and sordid greed for material gains backed by bestial brutality. This is what they called 'Western materialism'. As against it, to rouse the patriotic self-respect, pride and self-confidence of the Indian masses, they pitted the cultural and spiritual values of ancient India, by which they understood selfless suffering, sacrifice and service, even to the point of death. 'The human body is mortal, the soul is immortal' — that was the inspiration and faith with which they went among the people to rouse them to the struggle against imperialist domination and for national liberation.

It cannot be denied, at least after our post-independence experience, that this outlook carried within it the germs of future reaction. Nonetheless, it is true that for well-nigh a hundred years, it served as the philosophical basis of our anti-imperialist freedom movement.

The other side of the same contradiction was that many of the social reformers in India, who saw in the rigidities and ignorant superstitions of the caste sys-

tem the root cause of our degeneration and subjection to foreign rule, considered 'Western philosophy and liberalism' as a welcome ideological weapon for ridding Indian society of its hidebound inequalities and backwardness. But they considered British rule itself to be the harbinger of a modern, scientific, equalitarian society in the country, which definitely was not the role of British imperialism. So the dichotomy of political radicals, who were socially and ideologically conservative, and social radicals, who were politically 'moderate' (or pro-British), continued here for a long time.

Politically and ideologically, Gandhi was in a class by himself. While claiming to be a devout Hindu, he made the planks of Hindu-Muslim unity and the eradication of untouchability integral parts of the national freedom movement. The orthodox, i.e., reactionary and feudal Hindu social forces bitterly attacked him for his liberal views on social questions and ultimately it was at the hands of a Muslim-hating Hindu youth that Gandhi met his death.

Among the towering leaders of the country, Nehru was the first to insist that an all-round scientific outlook was necessary for the social, economic and political emancipation of India and its emergence as a free, forward-looking, technologically developed nation. In fact, from the late 1920s to the late 1930s, he boldly campaigned, even among the masses, for the acceptance of a teaching of socialism as the ideological basis of the freedom movement and as the guide for building a free, prosperous and modern India.

Nehru's championing of science and technology did not slacken even after independence. He also continued to be intolerant of religious superstition, customs and beliefs. But all along, he did harbor a mystical faith in India's ancient civilization and its 'unique' mission in the modern world, because of which he made constant ideological concessions to Gandhism. In post-independence India, he clearly watered down his socio-economic radicalism, so that his socialism came down to efforts to build an independent Indian economy on capitalist lines.

It was the communists who were consistent exponents of materialism, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, in our freedom movement. It was they who boldly explained to the working class and the peasantry (though the movement of the peasantry was not as widespread as that of the workers) that their present misery and future emancipation were absolutely not a question of supernatural predestination but one of an inevitable historical process based on the economic development of society. In practice, this meant the abandonment of the fatalistic, other-world outlook of the workers and peasants, and the development of faith in

their own class organization and struggles. Salvation was freedom and emancipation from exploitation and oppression in this very world, not the 'next.' That always is the beginning of the materialist, scientific outlook among the toiling people.

Education and propaganda in the sphere of philosophical theory, i.e., an exposition of the conflict between idealism and materialism, between idealism and dialectical and historical materialism, was, however, limited to members of the communist party and a handful of sympathetic intellectuals. The communists did not take up a powerful campaign for the popularization of the ideas of dialectical and historical materialism directed particularly against theism, religious obscurantism and superstition as ideological weapons of the reactionary, vested interests.

In part, this was due to the rather oversimplified notion that the economic and occasionally political struggles of the masses would emancipate them from the hold of medieval, religious ideology. In part, it was due to an exaggerated fear of hurting the religious sentiments of the common people. This was clearly wrong because, in any case, political reactionaries of all hues were constantly attacking us as godless and enemies of religion. Communists did point out that there was genuine religious freedom in the Soviet Union. But a philosophical struggle against idealism and its practical expression, viz., religion, and the defense of the materialist, scientific outlook both in the natural and social sciences were not taken up on any substantial scale.

II

Rapid and substantial changes have taken place in independent India in the sphere of the ideological struggle as in the spheres of politics and the economy.

On the one hand, the development of industry, science and the working class; the growing class differentiation in the rural areas; the consequent sharpening of the class struggle on a nationwide scale; the growth of left forces; the rapid expansion of education and the growth of the intelligentsia; and, of course, the worldwide victories of socialism and Marxism-Leninism have made a substantial contribution to the spread of scientific thought in the country.

On the other hand, the growth of monopoly capital, and worse still, the immense increase in the volume of black money and black market profits, together with the collusion of these forces with foreign private capital and 'American culture' have strengthened ideological and social reaction all along the line.

Our working-class movement now, besides fighting for the day-to-day economic demands of workers, is directed more and more toward basic structural changes in the economy. It would be too much to claim that it has reached a high level of ideological clarity and unity. There are divisions, conflicts and plenty of ideological confusion in the movement. But the question of what is genuine (scientific) socialism as against the bogus, illusion-mongering socialism preached and practised by various bourgeois parties since independence, has undoubtedly become an

issue of serious discussion in the working-class movement. The writings of Marx and Lenin are now studied far more widely by trade union activists of various political persuasions than before. Mass agitation on the question of India's path to socialism is far greater now than at any time in the past.

In academic circles, in the colleges and universities, the number of avowed Marxist teachers has grown, as also among students and youth. The fact that on the question of 'What is Marxism today?' there are different and conflicting views (a transitional, historical inevitability when people turn to Marxism in large numbers), cannot detract an iota from the truth that the attraction of Marxism has grown immensely both among teachers and students.

Apart from avowed Marxists, teachers who take a rationalist, scientific view of history, economics, politics, literature, religion, and so on, have also increased in number. Even in the post-independence period, Indian history continues to be a live issue in current Indian politics, for current politics was a preserve either of those who indulged in a blind glorification of the past ('the glory that was India!'), or of pro-imperialist historians who denigrated our past. We have now a large number of historians who have produced valuable books on Indian history written from an objective standpoint, bringing out both the progressive and retrogressive elements in our historical development. And during the last 20 years, Professor Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya has pioneered a Marxist analysis of the contending schools in the history of Indian philosophy. That has been a most valuable contribution to materialist, scientific thinking in the sphere of philosophy which also, it needs to be underlined, is very much a part of current Indian politics.

This is the bright side of the picture. It has to be realized that there is a dark side which is quite formidable and menacing.

As stated earlier, the revivalist idealistic outlook in the pre-independence period was dominantly harnessed to the cause of anti-imperialism and national freedom. Since independence, however, its role has been reversed. Now it is dominantly and increasingly used as the ideological weapon of reaction directed not only against all democratic mass movements but also against all progressive, rationalist, materialist, scientific thinking. Never before have we experienced such a vicious, massive and multi-faceted utilization of ancient Indian culture, idealist philosophy and religion for reactionary, chauvinist political purposes as now.

In India the exploitation of religion and caste, and a glorification of past history for reactionary political purposes is called communalism. The spearhead of this communalist offensive is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Hindu chauvinistic, fascist organization of Indian reaction.

The RSS is anti-Muslim, anti-Christian, anti all the lower castes of the Hindu social structure. It is anti-democratic, anti-communist, anti-Soviet. It is against all scientific and rational thought. It is brazenly revivalist and chauvinistic. It goes without saying that

the RSS is pro-landlord, pro-big business and pro-American.

Here we are mainly dealing with the sphere of ideology. It is very significant that more and more the RSS attacks progressive, scientific thinking and activities, not so much on the ground of their being irreligious and godless, as on the ground of being 'foreign' and 'alien' to Indian culture, civilization and traditions.

In March 1977, the Janata Party, dominated by the RSS, came to power in India (it has now lost power).

One of the first things the Janata government did on coming to power was to practically break up the Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) founded by Nehru which had spearheaded scientific and technological research in India after independence. It reduced the Planning Commission to utter impotence (due also to its opposition to the public sector). It 'reorganized' the Indian Council of Historical Research and packed it with RSS stooges unfit to be considered as academicians by any standard. It de-recognized the old and established institution of the professors of Indian history called the Indian History Association, and floated a rival body called the Indian History and Culture Society. A number of progressive, liberal professors and also some vice-chancellors of universities were replaced by communalist tub-thumpers of the RSS.

The purpose of all these 'patriotic' measures could not remain hidden for long, for the government also banned textbooks of Indian history written not only by Marxist writers but by other progressive, patriotic academicians as well. And what was their 'crime'? The 'crime' was that they did not paint ancient Indian civilization as the highest peak of civilization ever attained by mankind; that they published evidence that the Vedic Aryans ate beef (which is an unchallengeable fact) which, of course, later Hinduism denounced as the most unforgiveable sin; that they did not 'bring out' that ancient Indian physicians, astronomers and mathematicians (whose achievements were undoubtedly creditable) had made all the discoveries of modern sciences; that these discoveries were made on the strength of some mysterious intuition and deep meditation; that all the discoveries of Greek, Arab and other scientists were first made in India; that intuition is superior to sense perception and reason as the instrument of knowledge; that Marxism and communism are 'alien' to India; that the medieval Muslim rulers of India were 'alien' and bigoted persecutors of Hindus and demolishers of Hindu temples; and so on, and so forth.

The Janata government also attempted to introduce new textbooks to 'rectify' the 'wrong' interpretation of Indian history propounded by these 'communist and Marxist' professors, meaning every teacher with a modern, scientific and progressive outlook who refused to knuckle under to the arrogant and illiterate demands of Hindu communalism. (Meanwhile, the Janata government has disintegrated and gone out of office.)

Readers can easily imagine that all this muck is now being daily served out by all our mass media, the big

business newspapers, the pictorial weeklies and the yellow press, the radio, television, the cinema, et al. A systematic effort is made particularly to poison the mind of youth and students with superstition, faith in incantations and charms, in miracle-working God-men, and so on.

It has got to be noted that all this championship of ancient spiritual values has no compunction in degrading itself to the level of utter sexual vulgarity. A number of 'saints' and 'hermits' have sprung up in the post-independence period who have built vast, secluded, luxurious estates with palaces and gardens, where occult cults of sexual orgies are practised under the shameless claim that they lead to the spiritual salvation of those who participate in them. These 'hermits' own their own airplanes. To end the story, a number of CIA agents have been discovered in these ashrams (as these dens of vice are called) and there is not the remotest doubt that they are financed by the CIA.

Such is the degeneration to which philosophical idealism has come down in practice.

The struggle against reaction is grim. It has to be fought basically in the field of economics and politics. But the deeper the crisis of the world capitalist system, the more seriously do foreign and internal reactionaries invade the realm of culture, religion, philosophy and history to disarm the masses in the sphere of ideology.

We communists, all scientific and rational thinkers, have to intensify and broaden our ideological counter-offensive. Idealist philosophy has to be fought right from the depths of its vulgar and chauvinistic manifestations to what are called its 'pure and ethereal' spiritual heights. The invincible weapon of this counter-offensive can only be the materialist, scientific outlook and its supreme expression, Marxism-Leninism.

In memory of a comrade

The death has occurred after a serious illness of Comrade Michele Rossi, member of the WMR Editorial Board and representative of the Italian Communist Party on the Journal.

Michele Rossi was born in Tunis on May 10, 1917. At the age of 18 he joined the Tunisian Communist Party, then headed the Tunis Young Communist Organization, and became a member of the TCP Political Bureau. From 1937 to 1940 he was Secretary of the Association of Italian Youth in France. For his anti-fascist activity he was sentenced in absentia by a special tribunal in Tunis to 20 years of hard labor.

After the war Michele Rossi dedicated himself to party work in Italy, as a leader of the Youth Front, Secretary of the communist federation in Salerno, a member of the CC apparatus, and then a member of the Central Committee. From 1961 Michele Rossi represented the Italian Communist Party on our Journal, and was active in its diverse activity.

The bright memory of Michele Rossi will always be cherished by his associates and comrades.



Workers' self-management in Poland

Wladyslaw Kruczek

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The idea of workers' all-sided participation in the management of enterprises and the economy as a whole began to be put into practice in Poland more than 35 years ago. It was prompted by the key Marxist-Leninist thesis about the historic mission of the working class and its role in a society building socialism and communism.

'In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism,' Lenin wrote, 'the proletariat must . . . lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people, as well as all the petty-bourgeois groups, on to the road of new economic development, toward the creation of a new social bond, a new labor discipline, a new organization of labor, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist industry' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 423). With the victory of the socialist revolution, growing participation of the democratic mass of workers in the performance of the functions of the proletarian dictatorship — 'the dictatorship of the advanced class, which raises to a new democracy and to independent participation in the administration of the state tens upon tens of millions of working and exploited people' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol 27, p. 265) — becomes an objective social necessity.

Hence, it is an inherent feature of the socialist state that it not only can but has steadily to democratize economic management and promote what is occasionally called economic democracy.

Real participation of the working people in the management of society and the economy is a major achievement of existing socialism. It would have been unthinkable without social ownership of the means of production and without the genuine equality which the socialist system provides for everyone.

The workers' party is the core of socialist democracy. It is the principal political factor of socialist society and guides the activity of the state and the various institutions and organizations forming the people's representative system under socialism. We see a decisive earnest of efficiency of our people's rule, our socialist democratic system, in strengthening the Polish United Workers' Party ideologically, organizationally, and politically, unfailingly applying Leninist standards and principles of party building and inner-party life and enhancing the party's leading role in society and the state.

On the initiative and under the leadership of the PUWP, we have lately been carrying out a com-

prehensive program of perfecting the operation of the socialist state. The program includes measures to improve the organizational mechanism of people's rule, raise the efficiency of the state apparatus and strengthen socialist legality and state discipline.

Alongside and in inseparable connection with this, the democratic process is increasingly spreading to the economic sphere, without which people's rule could not be complete and hence effective. At every enterprise, the party organization is the leading force which draws work collectives into co-management.

'What we consider a most important aspect of socialist democracy and the chief criterion of its progress,' Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, said, 'is active participation of the working people, above all the working class, in government and economic management, decision-making and production organization, as well as in the fulfillment of social and economic tasks and control in the broad sense of the word.'*

Lenin's idea of workers' participation in economic management began to materialize in Polish social practice as far back as the early period of people's rule i.e., more than 35 years ago, when our workers and people set out to rehabilitate a war-ravaged economy and build a socialist state. The transfer of enterprises in the areas freed from the nazi invaders to the workers and the often spontaneous formation of factory committees or councils, which virtually managed many factories at the time, were evidence of a new social status of the working class and marked the incipient formation in work collectives of a sense of collective responsibility for the enterprises.

In later years, workers' participation in the management of enterprises and the entire economy increased continuously. It expressed itself not only in the exercise of the right to control and to collective decision-making granted to the workers but in a vast social movement for conscientious and efficient work and, more particularly, in widespread socialist emulation and industrial innovation. This growing activity of the working class in labor and politics is the best proof of its social consciousness, enthusiasm and socialist patriotism. It has always been the most effective method of influencing social and economic reality and fostering socialist social relations. Now, as in

* Trybuna Ludu, April 8, 1977.

the past, it is an indispensable condition for raising the people's standard of living. The social movement for conscientious and efficient work, which arose at the early stage of the formation of our socialist state and has been steadfastly carried forward, is a vivid, immensely important indication of the democracy of Polish socio-economic life.

The main factors taken into account in evolving forms of co-management were: growth of the productive forces resulting from the rapid advance and modernization of industry; the consolidation of socialist production and social relations; the workers' assimilation of socialist ideals, and their rising educational and professional standards, growing experience, and capacity for management.

The evolution of these forms finds adequate reflection in systematically perfecting legal regulation. In the process, constitutional formalization of the rights and duties of work collectives is of paramount importance. Article 13 of the Polish Constitution reads: 'Enterprise collectives shall participate in the management of the enterprises.'

It may be useful to stress this because the increasing complexity of social and economic problems, which is due to present-day world realities, confronts our factories and other economic units with ever more difficult tasks. Co-management, worker control, and steps to raise efficiency are gaining in scope, with the current efforts of every enterprise linking up with those of the economy as a whole.

The trade unions play a big role in the solution of these problems. Being the largest organization of working people, they encompass over 96 per cent of those employed in the socialized sector. The principles of everyday trade union activity contain qualitatively new aspects of socio-economic practice typical of only the socialist system. Noteworthy among these aspects is the effort to consider problems relating to production, the standard of living, and the education of working people as interconnected, and to solve them on a comprehensive basis, as well as the ability to discern the dialectical unity of the rights and duties of every worker and every citizen.

In line with these principles, we formulate the more general tasks of our trade union movement as follows:

- encourage, mobilize, and organize the working people's public activity in order to advance the socialist economy, which also implies the provision of scientific and technological facilities, and to consolidate socialist statehood;

- concern for the workers' working and living conditions; ensure that they can meet their social and cultural requirements as fully as possible and exercise their extensive rights without hindrance, primarily in the production sphere;

- organize co-management by work collectives. Our invariable principle is that the trade unions are a school for the socialist education of the working people.

Workers' self-management is the chief form of economic democracy in Poland. Its structure, powers, and functions, and its role at the enterprise are

defined by a law passed on December 20, 1958.

Under the law, the work collective, having the right to self-management, handles all important affairs of the enterprise and exercises control over its performance. This general principle is specified by granting each self-management body extensive powers in regard to discussing and making decisions and to verifying their implementation.

Self-management bodies (a) cooperate with the management in defining the main development lines of the enterprise, drafting production plans, and deciding on the best ways to carry them out; (b) exercise control over every activity of the enterprise; (c) participate in measures to perfect the operation of the enterprise and help raise its efficiency and improve the quality of output.

Drawing the workers into management makes it possible to find the shortest way to optimal solutions, coordinate national economic plan indices with the potentialities of the enterprise, decide on key targets requiring collective effort and encourage highly productive work. It makes for a more fruitful organization of labor, higher production discipline, and better utilization of the technical and technological potential, of machines, plant and materials, helps utilize untapped resources, and contributes to dynamic production and a higher standard of management.

The achievements of a factory, mine, or building project in production and economy form the material basis for meeting the employees' manifold requirements; in turn, maximum effort by the employees is the primary condition for accomplishing all economic, social, and educational tasks facing the enterprise and its staff.

Self-management bodies concentrate on key economic problems, labor and working and living conditions, or problems bearing on the workers' interests, including the encouragement of their initiative on the job and their public activity. We consider that adherence to the principle of approaching production, living conditions, and education as interconnected problems to be solved comprehensively is a decisive condition if self-management is to perform its principal functions and if the work collective is to really influence the course of production.

Largely as a result of the effort of self-management bodies, labor safety and hygiene and health protection are steadily improving at our enterprises. Effective steps are taken to solve the housing problem; more and more workers move into modern homes. We provide public catering for the population, primarily job-holders, in a variety of forms. The leisure of the working people and their families and summer and winter facilities for the rest and recreation of children and youth are organized ever more effectively. A growing number of enterprises have their own health centers, holiday homes, and cultural and sports facilities.

Now that we have considerable experience of self-management, it is safe to say that self-management helps appreciably in perfecting socialist relations of production and moulding a

new type of individual. Labor humanization programs, drawn up on the initiative of self-management bodies and carried out under their control, help noticeably to increase the social commitment of work collectives, educating their members as patriots aware of their civic duties, and introducing models of socialist life.

It is very important for the self-management system to keep in touch with the workers and lean on them for support, using their knowledge, ingenuity, and experience. We consider it particularly important to have a thorough knowledge of the requirements and sentiments of every collective and to fully take their opinion, suggestions and demands into account. Self-management is also geared to establishing socialist moral standards and asserting Marxist-Leninist principles of social justice. The close and unfailing connection between self-management and work collectives accounts largely for the high level of the workers' socialist consciousness, their devotion to the common cause, and the fact that they combine co-management with collective responsibility for the execution of decisions. To quote Edward Gierek, 'only a democracy under which collective decision-making combines with collective responsibility can be real. We must learn constantly to apply such democracy in its every aspect and every manifestation and at all levels.'*

The role of self-management at the enterprise also depends on the extent of its interaction with the economic management system, that is, on the relationship between the forms and methods used by self-management bodies and those used by the management.

The steady development of self-management, which is part and parcel of our socialist democracy, and the consolidation of economic agencies go hand in hand. The unity of the fundamental interests and aims of all working people, which is predetermined by the domination of social property, creates at the enterprise a real basis on which to perfect the principle of one-man responsibility while at the same time extending co-management.

How does this actually work?

It takes the most diverse forms. For instance, the law allows none but the manager to issue orders. However, he may make no decisions of major importance involving the interests of the staff and the enterprise without securing support from workers' self-management. We mean such matters as socio-economic plans and provisions regulating labor, wages and the bonus system. One of the manager's duties is to prepare accounts and other material concerning the performance of the enterprise and submit them to the self-management body. He must also carry out decisions taken by this body. This relationship enables the management to run the enterprise flexibly and efficiently; as for the staff, it participates directly and fruitfully in management and in socialist accounting and control.

The growing role and prestige of self-

management at this stage, the stage of building a developed socialist society, are determined by the policy of our party, specifically by the measures it has been taking since its Seventh Congress. It should be noted that in April 1977 a joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee, the Council of State, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions concerned itself expressly with self-management. The Second All-Poland Party Conference (January 1978), for its part, devoted much attention to self-management and its social, political and economic role in our country. In May 1978, the Political Bureau of the CC approved the development lines of this form of workers' public activity. In July 1978 and in January and June 1979, self-managers held nationwide conferences.

Implementation of the party's guidelines has helped strengthen self-management, increase its role, raise its prestige, carry the content of its work deeper and make it more effective. The groups in charge of workers' self-management set up under provincial party committees and headed by the first secretaries of these committees are a factor of fundamental importance in democratizing the economy.

Self-management has been introduced at all state enterprises and now covers roughly 15,000 factories and combines.

The leading self-management body is the Workers' Self-Management Conference. It comprises members of PUWP factory committees, the trade union, and Polish Socialist Youth League, as well as workers elected by staffs in the main production departments and members of scientific and technological societies. The factory manager is not a member of the Workers' Self-Management Conference but must attend its meetings.

According to regulations, workers from the shop floor must make up at least one-third of the Conference's membership. They are elected for a term of one year, which helps, in our view, bring the greatest number of workers into self-management, encourages them to participate in management, and fosters their initiative. At present nearly two-thirds of the Workers' Self-Management Conference members are workers from the shop floor.

Functioning in production combines and similar organizations are delegates' conferences of workers' self-management. These are convened by the trade union leadership by agreement with the management at least once a year. Their work involves, in addition to Workers' Self-Management Conference representatives of the enterprises of the given industry, the first secretary of the party organization, and the chairman of the trade union committee, as well as leading officials and staff members of the combine and leading functionaries of the respective trade union.

All this provides a sound basis for the direct interaction of economic agencies of the given type with the Workers' Self-Management Conferences

* Trybuna Ludu, July 4, 1978.

and eliminates many causes for misunderstanding and conflict.

Self-management presidiums, the standing bodies which were set up recently and direct the self-management in the interim between meetings of the Workers' Self-Management Conference, play a growing role. A presidium comprises the first secretary of the factory party committee, the chairman and secretary of the factory trade union committee, the chairman of the youth league committee, and workers elected by the Workers' Self-Management Conference.

It is important to note that the Conference forms problem committees of self-managers and other spokesmen of the work collective from among the workers and specialists. These committees study and work out social production problems, prepare material for the Conference and submit draft decisions and proposals for collective discussion by the Conference.

In working on the next production plan, self-management bodies consult the work collective; before the Conference meets to adopt the plan, its draft is presented to the whole staff of the enterprise for discussion. Along with economic plans, staffs collectively discuss plans to improve working and living conditions and ideological education plans. Consulting the workers on every aspect of a draft plan helps use their knowledge and experience, win their support for the plan, and heighten the collective's interest in it. After all, it is on this that plan fulfillment, productivity, proper utilization of production capacities, and satisfaction of the interests of society and its every member depend in the final analysis.

The principal method of ascertaining the workers' collective opinion is public reviews. During these, workers and other employees make various suggestions and demands concerning working and living conditions, production technology, the saving of materials, fuel and energy, the organization of labor and other aspects of production.

We see opportunities for the advancement of self-management primarily in making direct forms of co-management and control by the workers more effective. The experience of both Poland and other socialist countries shows that one of these forms is the production conference, the meeting of leaders of socialist work teams or the general meeting of staffs. Incidentally, these forms are part of self-management.

Improving public control is an important way of furthering self-management. It implies actions carried out once (such as a public review of the state of an enterprise and working conditions there) and recurrent multipurpose campaigns and other actions involving the whole staff. Public control by the workers, which makes for thrifty management and a proper attitude to socialist property, helps educate the workers. Its efficiency depends above all else on how promptly and wisely managing bodies respond to workers' criticisms and suggestions. Self-managing bodies today concentrate on raising economic efficiency. This implies such im-

portant aspects of production as fulfillment of plan assignments, production rhythm, the quality of output, the organization of labor and management, cooperation, judicious utilization of equipment, materials and energy, and proper application of the technology of production processes and the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work. It also extends to implementation of programs of improving working and living conditions and recreational facilities.

The workers see to the proper use of housing and social resources by the enterprise, to the provision of inducements for advanced workers, and the solution of personnel problems, which include promotion, relations between superior and subordinate, vocational training, adaptation to one's job, and the distribution of housing. The social, political, and economic importance of all this is obvious.

Public control helps tangibly to strengthen the foundations of social justice, implement socialist civic rights and duties and promote socialist democracy.

The progress made by People's Poland in socialist construction over the past period shows that workers' self-management has become a lasting factor in our socialist democratic system and the main form of co-management by work collectives. Self-management is inseparable from growing economic efficiency, closer socialist social relations, and greater socialist democracy. It is also a means of drawing the workers into the solution of problems of the country's social and economic development in the course of which the tasks facing each collective assume new dimensions.

The process of democratizing our economy is based on collective responsibility for the operation of the enterprise, the aggregate result of national economic development and increasing satisfaction of vitally important requirements and aspirations. We regard this joint responsibility as an inexhaustible incentive for the working people's growing commitment in labor and public life, initiative and greater effort aimed both at achieving personal well-being and at assuring the prosperity of the country and building a developed socialist society on Polish soil.

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

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Nicaragua: from armed struggle to construction

Alvaro Ramirez
General Secretary, Nicaraguan Socialist Party

The Nicaraguan revolution triumphed in a situation witnessing a deepening of capitalism's crisis, mounting popular support for socialist ideas and growing unity among Latin America's consistent democrats and revolutionaries. Hence the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship must be seen not merely as a local event due to a concurrence of circumstances and isolated from world developments. What made it possible was the new world balance in favor of the revolutionary process.

It is a further setback for imperialism that has, moreover, affected a most sensitive area traditionally regarded by imperialism as its most dependable hinterland. This event is bound to have repercussions far beyond our country and the sooner we succeed in consolidating the victory and establishing a truly independent society free from exploiters and exploited, the stronger these repercussions will be.

Following the Cuban revolution, the revolution in Nicaragua exploded the myths, based on geographical fatalism, that power cannot be won by revolutionary means in one Latin American country, taken separately. It showed that nowadays victory over fascist regimes and seemingly supersolid and unshakable tyrannies depends more and more on the resolve of the people, on how ardent their desire is to bring them down. It bore out once again the conclusion that the principal weapon of those who 'storm the skies' is unity and cohesion releasing and channelling the tremendous energy of the people.

The increasing role of the subjective factor in the revolutionary process is manifest now in Nicaragua as well. The importance of this factor was repeatedly stressed by Lenin, who pointed out that the existence of objective prerequisites of revolution must always be backed by the ability of advanced forces to use them. Today the responsibility of revolutionaries is greater than ever, for they cannot merely pin their hopes on the fact that 'time is working for progress' or that 'the march of history is inexorable.'

Nicaragua's revolutionaries, primarily the Sandinistas, proved equal to the situation. But surely no one could have predicted the victorious outcome of the epic of armed struggle confidently enough in the 1960s, when it was only beginning. This is why I would like to describe, if only in rough outline, the road that led to the overthrow of the hated dynasty, and to show the conditions in which the struggle against the dictatorship gained in scope.

The 1960s are memorable to us in many respects. In those years, numerous Nicaraguans, including communists — members of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (NSP) — fell fighting in urban and rural areas. However, more and more segments of society joined in the movement against Somoza. The ferment affected even the regime's sanctum sanctorum — the ruling Liberal Nationalist Party and the National Guard. Nevertheless, opposition to the dictatorship was disunited on the whole, the more so since a substantial part of the population was influenced by a bourgeoisie which, while being opposed to Somoza's despotic rule, could not as yet bring itself to challenge it openly, preferring to share crumbs from the government table.

After the 1972 earthquake, which destroyed a large part of the capital and killed thousands, social contradictions went from bad to worse. Economic dislocation and hunger gave rise to unprecedented popular protests. A wave of strikes, including general ones, engulfed the country. The strikers demanded higher pay and better working conditions. The role of the working class and its communist vanguard, the NSP, grew. The proletariat, represented by the General Confederation of Labor (Independent), and some sections of the bourgeoisie were enabled to form an anti-Somoza coalition.

Late in 1974, joint efforts resulted in forming the Democratic Liberation Union, which the communists joined along with other opposition parties and trade unions. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a prominent opposition leader, publisher of *La Prensa*, a major national daily, and a representative of one of the country's most influential economic groups, became chairman of the Union. The DLU program stressed the necessity for a really democratic society, social change and national independence. At the same time, the Sandinista National-Liberation Front stepped up its armed operations against the dictatorship. After one of these operations, the government declared martial law. However, Somoza could not curb the popular movement, let alone destroy it. The Fifth Plenum of the NSP Central Committee (December 1975) pointed out that Sandinista activity was one of the important factors determining the domestic political situation and that the NSP had always considered it an important revolutionary force with which it was possible and necessary to come to terms in order to carry on a joint struggle.

Growing mass resistance and armed operations by the SNLF shook the pillars of the regime slowly

but surely. Moreover, the dictatorship found itself in growing difficulties politically. The National Guard was the only force still backing it. When, in September 1977, martial law was abolished the struggle of the masses rose to a qualitatively new level. Discontent caused by abuses extended to virtually all population groups, ranging from big employers to parish priests. Chaos set in. Inflation rose to 35 per cent against 13 per cent the year before. The balance of foreign trade and payments showed a large deficit. The banks suspended loans. The flow of foreign capital stopped, while the outflow increased. The exchange rate of the cordoba dropped by 50 per cent. Unemployment affected up to 40 per cent of the able-bodied population.

In these circumstances, the murder on January 10, 1978 of Chamorro, who had been campaigning in the columns of *La Prensa* against corruption, smuggling, tax evasion, the distribution of lands among the military and the enrichment of Somoza's flunkies at government expense, shook the country. The people took to the streets to demand justice. Major private proprietors' organizations called openly for resistance to the dictatorship. A general strike of workers, peasants, employers, bank employees and clergymen broke out. It lasted two weeks.

These events were the beginning of the formation of a left alliance that gradually took shape among the people, in the course of street demonstrations and strikes involving many thousands. It was in the streets and enterprises that the left-wing forces contested the claims of the bourgeois opposition to leadership of the mass struggle. And it was in those days that united left-wing organizations sprang up: the Commission for Human Rights and the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners. Somewhat later, the United People Movement was formed. It comprised over 20 revolutionary mass organizations, including the SNLF and NSP. We took vigorous steps to strengthen links with the SNLF. To this end, we set about forming a People's Military Organization.

It was not only through left-wing alliances that the NSP sought to influence developments. The party played an active role in the formation (on the extended basis of the DLU) of a Broad Opposition Front in which it upheld revolutionary principles in regard to forms of struggle and links with the masses. The BOF program adopted with our support pointed out that the priority task of the Front was to remove Somoza from power and form a provisional government.

In the second half of 1970 the revolutionary struggle reached an unprecedented high, primarily as a result of operations by SNLF insurgents in all big cities and a strike movement that swept virtually across the whole country. As a consequence, differences in the BOF intensified and rightist tendencies won the upper hand, specifically over the issue of going over from the tactic of sit-down strikes insisted upon by the bourgeoisie to militant strikes advocated by the masses.

The imperialist forces realized that the dictator-

ship was doomed. This prompted them to maneuver feverishly in an attempt to impose a regime meeting their interests. They were backed in this by the BOF leadership, which did its utmost to slacken the people's struggle. In the end, after the suppression of the September rising, the BOF agreed to imperialist-imposed 'mediation' by the Organization of American States. The purpose of the 'mediation' was to prevent the people from winning and set up a system aptly called 'Somozism without Somoza.' The imperialists followed two lines: they promised the opposition that Somoza would be dropped and on the other hand, shored up the dictatorship by granting it loans and increasing the flow of military supplies via Israel and other countries ruled by reactionary regimes. The BOF policy of conciliation compelled the NSP and some other organizations to withdraw from it. This paved the way for the formation of a National Patriotic Front comprising United People and the group which had stepped out of the BOF.

This led to an intensification of the people's struggle. Civil bodies for the defense of the masses were set up everywhere and the workers formed defense committees at the enterprises. In spite of the most savage repressive measures that angered the peoples of the world and prompted them to identify themselves with the Nicaraguan people as they had with the Vietnamese, the prerequisites of a victorious rising matured rapidly.

In 1979, the Sandinista Front launched a decisive offensive and the people rose in response to its call. Our People's Military Organization fell in line with the Front's military strategy, thereby contributing substantially to victory. But even when the days of the dictatorship were numbered imperialism went on maneuvering in an effort to preserve the National Guard and ensure the participation of Somoza's party in any future government. The BOF, for its part, tried with the help of the international social-democratic movement and Latin American social-Christian organizations to snatch the initiative from the true revolutionaries and put its men in key posts in the new leadership.

However, all those maneuvers failed. The National Guard was defeated and the revolutionary forces came to power. This was made possible by the firm and clear-cut revolutionary stand of the SNLF, which had rallied around itself the overwhelming majority of the people of Nicaragua and won the support of the progressive and democratic forces of Latin America and the world.

The formation of a Provisional Democratic Government of National Renaissance opened a new stage in the revolutionary process, the stage of carrying forward the people's gains and guaranteeing democratic rights. A far-reaching agrarian reform is being carried out. The country is regaining its sovereignty, with the state assuming control of natural resources. It has committed itself to an independent foreign policy meeting the best interests of the nation. This was stated in no uncertain terms at the Havana Summit of Non-Aligned Countries.

However, there are numerous obstacles and dan-

gers on Nicaragua's new road. In an effort to strangle the revolution, local and foreign reactionaries operate along two lines — organize armed aggression, on the one hand, and try to gain control of the process going on in the country so as to put it on the road of bourgeois reformism, on the other. The former line is typical of the forces that were removed from power and have fled the country, as well as of aggressive imperialist circles and Latin American fascist puppets. The latter line has been chosen by some major parties oriented on social democracy that have long been on the right side of the barricade. The same objectives are pursued by the U.S. State Department, which would like to control developments in Nicaragua, and by the local bourgeoisie, which has broken with Somoza. (However, some members of the bourgeoisie declare that they realize the necessity and inevitability of the revolutionary process following its course.)

In this situation, in view of the danger of the revolutionary process being reversed, we think it is an historic task brooking no delay to move on prudently and steadily, without undue haste, to the fulfillment of the tasks of the agrarian, anti-imperialist and popular revolution. To do this, it is necessary, first and foremost, to unite all left-wing patriotic forces behind the SNLF, fully support its struggle for unity, form a united Sandinista trade union center, a united Sandinista youth league, and

a united federation of Sandinista women, strengthen the Sandinista defense committees and found a party of the revolution that would be united ideologically and organizationally and have a collective leadership.

We are emphatically against those who have begun to falsely accuse the SNLF from allegedly socialist positions of being influenced by the bourgeoisie, using much too circumspect methods and resorting to mediation. Their attitude has nothing in common with socialism. They disregard the actual situation and, more often than not, help create a situation favorable to counter-revolution. They are far from working for the goals they talk about. This estimation also applies to sectarians, who underrate the Sandinistas' ideological training and political competence and deny their moral right to lead the revolution.

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party, while admitting the likelihood of the rise of trends running counter to the spirit of the revolution and distorting its substance, regards the line of the SNLF as correct, reasonable and effective. We explicitly declare therefore that we support it and will do our best to direct the people's efforts toward accomplishing the more pressing tasks: consolidating and defending the revolutionary power, developing it qualitatively, advancing the economy, and improving the people's standard of living.

Your letters answered

ONCE MORE ON THE NATURE OF FASCISM IN LATIN AMERICA

A letter from one of our readers, S.A. Gotselyuk (USSR), asks a number of questions about fascism today. In particular: the forms in which it manifests itself in the developing world and the countries in which it operates; the political and socio-economic nature of fascism (neofascism) and what distinguishes it from other types of reaction, chiefly right-wing dictatorships; whether it may be regarded solely as an 'exported' phenomenon, and has the definition of fascism, given by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, grown out-dated?

Present-day fascism has been dealt with at length in *WMR*.¹ This letter is answered by the Chilean publicist *Fernando Romero*:

Dear Comrade Gotselyuk,

You have asked about individual aspects of fascism in the developing world, but I shall deal only with the emergence of fascist regimes in countries, which, like Chile, have attained a medium level of capitalist development and are entangled in webs of dependence. My reason for this is due to an important circumstance. The concept 'developing country' in fact applies to more than a hundred nations which have reached different levels of

social-economic evolution and traversed different historical paths. This, I feel, does not allow drawing conclusions that can apply to all of them.

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that fascism is making itself felt only in those Asian, African, and Latin American nations where, as Eberhardt Hackethal of the GDR notes, 'there is a large local bourgeoisie closely linked to the multinational monopolies and the system of imperialist domination is seriously threatened by a strong popular movement.'²

'The fascist regimes established in Latin America in recent years,' wrote Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, 'are the result of counter-revolutionary coups . . . orchestrated with the object of cutting short anti-imperialist and democratic processes of continental significance . . . in order to prevent the growth of anti-imperialist and working-class forces leading to the triumph of advanced democracy.'³

The installation of fascist regimes was mainly the response of the counter-revolution to the growth of the struggle of the working class and the entire people that had weakened the positions of imperialism and local big capital. These regimes sprang up because imperialism and reaction still had the strength to impose forms of administration that en-

abled them not only to safeguard but also to expand their positions, while the working class was still inadequately organized to be able to prevent the triumph of the counter-revolution. Georgi Dimitrov noted that the victory of fascism 'on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat . . . and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.'⁴

The rise of fascism thus coincides in time with the upswing of the class struggle, the intensification of the confrontation between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, the growth of the consciousness and activity of large sections of the population, and a counter-offensive by internal and external reaction.

In Chile the fascist coup was accomplished in order to halt fundamental revolutionary transformations, a process that continued to expand while undermining the positions of imperialism, the finance oligarchy, and the big landowners. Under these conditions, naturally, the reactionaries could not rest content with the overthrow of the Popular Unity government. It was vital to them to reverse the entire process of transformations and impose a new mechanism of rule. None of these aims could be achieved without installing a terrorist regime that would deprive the masses of their gains. On the other hand, without the use of force as a basic element of power it would have been impossible to introduce the economic model that operates in the country to this day against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, who prior to the coup had achieved a high level of participation in the administration of the state. 'Pinochet and his camarilla,' said Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, 'could not have achieved these aims by means of traditional methods, by employing some more or less democratic form of the expression of popular will. They only had one way, and they took it: this was the way of war against the people.'⁵

In analyzing Italian fascism and answering the question whether an analogous form of terrorist dictatorship could appear in other countries, Palmiro Togliatti stressed that it was important 'to make a close study of the capitalist system of the given country, as well as of the predominant relations of production and class relations.'⁶ If we take this premise for our starting point, we shall find that fascism of the Chilean type appears in countries undergoing a particularly grave structural crisis generated by imperialist domination, a high level of monopolization of the economy, and the preservation of the landed estates.

The Popular Unity government made a huge effort to lead the nation out of the crisis. Motivated by their own interests, imperialism and the local finance oligarchy likewise endeavored to find a way out of the situation. They tried to do this by making the nation more dependent, stimulating the cen-

tralization of finance and the concentration of production, restoring the big landed estates, and, in particular, setting up a mechanism of power that under conditions of dependence would have facilitated the formation of state-monopoly capitalism. They thereby counted on stepping up the accumulation rate, which, they believed, would have made it possible to speed up new investments, use foreign capital as the determining factor of development, and attract the most powerful groups of the local bourgeoisie, which would thus have grown stronger. The expansion of foreign and local monopolies was regarded by them as a condition for advancement and a way out of stagnation.

On the other hand, facts showed that for Latin America, particularly for countries of the southern cone, international, chiefly U.S., finance capital had worked out a global strategy, within whose framework attempts are being made to change the status of individual nations in the capitalist international division of labor, control their domestic markets, and orient them on the production of export commodities required by the three centers of modern capitalism (the USA, Western Europe, and Japan). This was strikingly demonstrated by imperialism's policy relative to our region, in particular, by the course set by the so-called Trilateral Commission.

Thus, as a result of changes in its economic structure Chile is gradually becoming a producer of goods it does not consume itself but which are required by the imperialist centers, and into a consumer of goods which it does not produce but which are forced upon it by the multinational corporations. This hamstringing all-round economic development, promoting the growth solely of industries that can create an external market or are needed to ensure domestic supplies. We are thus witnessing a regressive modification of the nation's production structure. Generally speaking, export industries, which are encouraged by the government, bring insignificant revenues. At the same time, the abolition of restrictive, protective barriers facilitates an invasion by imported goods, and this leads to the ousting of local industries.

The establishment of fascist regimes in the southern cone of the Latin American continent is not a fortuitous phenomenon (and neither is it inevitable). The nations of that region have a relatively high level of capitalist development and a strong monopoly bourgeoisie with which imperialism maintains a new type of relations. 'In recent years,' wrote Luis Corvalan, 'we have been witnessing qualitative changes in the forms of the dependence of Latin American nations on imperialism. Despite the contradictions between them, the big bourgeoisie of our countries and imperialist capital have formed an alliance, with the result that a section of the local bourgeoisie, chiefly the finance bourgeoisie, has become an element of the system of imperialist exploitation, while imperialism is increasingly becoming an "internal" factor in many countries of the continent. Thus, a new class basis has taken shape for fascism in Latin American, namely, the

alliance of imperialist monopoly capital with the local clans.⁷

However, fascism is unable to cope with the structural crisis. In Chile it only compounded that crisis. 'The Pinochet strategy,' the Communist Party of Chile noted, 'is aimed solely at reducing the purchasing power of factory and office workers, raising the surplus value rate, impoverishing the working class, dooming a large segment of the people to starvation, paralyzing a huge sector of production, ruining the middle segments of the population, concentrating capital, and centralizing the economic power. However, instead of capital accumulation, the nation continued to be pillaged, new industries were not developed, and traditional industries cut back on output. As a result, the nation found itself thrown back a whole decade behind the rest of Latin America.'⁸ Brazilian and Uruguayan communists come to the same conclusion after analyzing the situation in their own countries.

The basic distinction between fascism and other stripes of reaction must be sought in the composition of the social forces supporting them. Whereas the present fascist regimes rely on the alliance between imperialist capital and the big local bourgeoisie, the so-called traditional dictatorships exist where the bourgeois elite has not yet fused with finance capital or has not reached the monopolization level typical of countries with fascist regimes. But the main thing is not the degree of repressions or military participation or non-participation in the exercise of power but in the social basis of imperialist domination.

To qualify the regimes in some Latin American countries as military-fascist, as some researchers do, means to ignore their class basis and inaccurately assess the role that imperialism and reaction accord to the armed forces, namely, that of serving their interests. An analysis of these regimes, regardless of whether the military have the decisive say, shows that control of key levers, particularly economic levers, always remain in the hands of foreign capital, which acts through innumerable agents and influential local economic groups.

As we have already noted, our experience is that fascist regimes are a special state form of domination by foreign and local finance capital. Therefore, an analysis of this form of domination entails a profound study of the specific features acquired by a terrorist dictatorship of finance capital in countries differing from each other only in the extent of dependence.

In my view, the Latin American states where fascism has appeared and been consolidated are in some ways similar to Eastern and Southern European countries, where fascist regimes existed — both before and after the Second World War. These, in my view, included Bulgaria, Hungary, the Baltic states, Portugal, Greece, and also Italy, which in the 1930s, as Togliatti said, was a 'very poor country, where despite having achieved a level of considerable development capitalism is torn by contradictions inherent in imperialism and has a weak, undeveloped structure.'⁹ It is a mistake to identify

fascism with its most reactionary variety, e.g., the German model.¹⁰

Hence it is vital to study the specifics of fascism in each concrete case, and not in the developing world generally. Here the determining fact is, as V. Sheynes, the Soviet researcher, has correctly stressed, that the conversion of 'capitalism into the predominant mode of production (although this has occurred at different times in European states with a medium level of development, and in Latin American states with an "older" capitalism — Argentina, Uruguay, Chile — and a "younger" capitalism, like Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela) makes a deep imprint on all areas of social life.'¹¹ A role of no little significance is also played by the circumstance that 'in socio-economic characteristics, even more distinctly than in indicators characterizing the development of the productive forces, a number of medium-developed countries have "torn away" from the bulk of the Third World.'¹²

Our experience, Palmiro Togliatti noted in his study of fascism in Italy, had also borne out that the 'social basis of a political movement should not be defined with account solely of the social category to which its supporters belong, but chiefly by analyzing its aims and actions and the forces dominating and directing it.'¹³

In Chile those segments of the population that were distrustful of the Popular Unity and went so far as to support the fascist coup soon saw that the Pinochet dictatorship had no intention of taking their interests into account. For instance, what happened to the truck owners, whose part in overthrowing the Allende government is known worldwide, is seen not only as a social aberration. They suffered serious material losses as a result of the economic policy now being followed. Matters reached a point where Leon Villarin, Chairman of the Association of Truck Owners and the chief organizer of the anti-government strikes that sped the assumption of power by the military junta, declared: 'Unemployment among truck owners has embraced at least 30 per cent of the members of our association. Many thousands of them have no work at all. The trade union is in a pitiful state. And if I'm asked to characterize the regime, I would say that we are living under an administrative-economic dictatorship exercised by a handful of civilians supported by the armed forces.'¹⁴

As classified by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, fascism in power is 'open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital.'¹⁵ This definition has not lost its significance and value to this day. It mirrors the essence also of those fascist regimes that appeared in the recent period in Latin America. Documents of the Seventh Comintern Congress thus continue to be of invaluable assistance in the revolutionary struggle, giving us a better idea of day-to-day reality.

Of course, this definition should be used with account of the changes that have since taken place and the specific features of the countries where

fascist dictatorships have been established. In Latin America they have appeared at a time when a different balance of power exists in the world mainly on account of the enhanced influence of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community and also on account of the growth of the international working class, the downfall of the colonial system, and the emergence of socialism-oriented regimes in former colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It may therefore be said that Latin American fascism operates in an international climate unfavorable to it. Concretely, this is expressed in the widespread condemnation of fascist dictatorships and, in many cases, their isolation, a vivid example being the attitude to the Pinochet dictatorship.

During the more than 40 years since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International imperialism, while on the whole remaining unchanged, has undergone some modifications, this being mirrored, as I have already noted, also in its Latin American policy. Precisely this policy gives the fascist dictatorships on the continent their distinctive features, predicating their dependence. It therefore seems to me that the concept 'dependent fascism' is more accurate since we are concerned with a specific form of imperialist domination and not with dictatorships imposed from without, as some people believe. This is why I preferred to speak, as you may have noted, specifically of fascism and not of neofascism.

It is an open secret that imperialism takes a most direct part in setting up fascist regimes. Facts pointing, for instance, to its participation in the Chilean coup are known to the whole world. The same may be said of other Latin American states. Nevertheless, to consider fascism as a purely 'exported' phenomenon would mean to ignore the distinctive form of external imperialist domination in one country or another, and also the actions of the internal forces that exercise power jointly with imperialism. In this case it would be hard to assess the role played in Chile, for example, by the local finance oligarchy. Although it is subordinate to imperialist capital, which unquestionably possesses immense power, it acts autonomously to a certain extent and looks after its own interests. This is happening because there is a new structure of power consisting of the imperialist monopolies entrenched in the country, the local finance oligarchy and the state apparatus. For that reason the struggle to uproot fascism in fact acquires an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic orientation.

Fascist regimes draw their strength from the support they get from imperialism and the armed forces and also from the influence and weight of the most powerful economic groups. At the same time, their

weakness comes to the fore in proportion to the deepening of the structural crisis and the intensification of the contradictions between the ruling minority and the huge majority of the population, that includes large segments of the bourgeoisie being ousted from their positions by the expanding monopoly associations. Our country's experience bears out Dimitrov's conclusion that while fascism 'undertakes to overcome the differences and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp it makes these antagonisms more acute.'¹⁶

The circumstances I have listed create the objective foundation for setting up an alliance — in the course of the struggle against fascism — of large sections of the population, from the working class to individual groups of the bourgeoisie, whose interests are impinged by the imposed model of domination.

Our policy of alliances springs from the basic principle formulated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, a principle that is of immense significance for unity of action in the struggle against fascist dictatorships. This unity should presuppose 'no conditions except one, and at that an elementary condition acceptable to all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism.'¹⁷

This is precisely the direction in which we are working.

1. See materials of an international symposium in WMR April and May 1973; and also articles published in July, August, November and December 1974; November 1975; January, March, April, November, December 1976; January and December 1977; and January, April, May, August, and December 1978. — Ed.

2. *Neuva Poaitica*, No. 1, 1976, p. 182.

3. *Algunas reflexiones sobre el fascismo en la hora actual de America Latino*, 1976, p. 13.

4. Georgi Dimitrov, *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism*, Foreign Languages Press, Sofia, 1967, p. 562.

5. *Pleno de Agosto de 1977 del CC del PCCH*, edic. Colo-Colo, 1978, p. 42.

6. *Principios*, No. 152, 1973, p. 143.

7. *Pleno de Agosto*, p. 44.

8. *Partido Comunista de Chile, Boletín del exterior*, No. 34, 1979, p. 4.

9. *Principios*, No. 152, 1973, p. 142.

10. Georgi Dimitrov, *Op. cit.*, p. 563.

11. V. Sheynes, 'Los países capitalistas de desarrollo medio,' *Economía Mundial y Relaciones Internacionales*, Moscow, No. 9, 1977.

12. *Ibid.*,

13. *Principios*, No. 152, 1973, p. 146.

14. *Hoy*, September 13, 1978.

15. Georgi Dimitrov, *Op. cit.*, p. 562.

16. Georgi Dimitrov, *Op. cit.*, p. 576.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 582.

Report at first hand

BENEFITS OF COOPERATIVE FARMING IN MONGOLIA

Twenty years ago the Mongolian People's Republic completed the introduction of cooperative farming. Agricultural production was reorganized along the fraternal parties' general principles of drawing the peasantry into socialist construction. However, the process had certain peculiarities, some of which were unique. Their analysis may be useful to economic executives of socialism-oriented countries where agricultural cooperatives are being set up en masse. For all the social, economic and natural distinctions between these countries, they have a very important characteristic which Mongolia once shared: a relatively low economic level at which socialist changes begin in agriculture.

'A lie and the truth are four fingers apart,' says a Mongolian proverb. If you put your palm to your temple, between your ear and your eye, you will realize that this proverb is akin to "Seeing is better than hearing." Nobody in Mongolia tried to mislead me with pompous talk. Indeed, I was struck by the restraint of party officials and economic executives in assessing things and by the frankness with which they spoke of their country's economic problems. Even so, anyone who wants to understand the peculiarities of Mongolian farming and the association of arats (stockbreeders) in cooperatives should not only hear or read about this but see the land on which the arats farm.

'The greater part of Mongolia, a mountainous country,' wrote V. Shubin, who explored Mongolia's soils, 'is in the category of absolute pastures on which . . . crop farming is out of the question.' Except for some central and eastern areas, where there are excellent grasslands, the rest of the country is made up of 'absolute pastures': the wastelands of the Gobi and the endless hills and valleys of Khangai covered with the greyish bristle of dry grass that is so low you cannot mow it. These tracts can only be used by constantly moving livestock from one place to another for the Gobi and steppe pastures are only usable once a year, for five to seven days. Depending on the natural environment and the weather, arats migrate from two to 15 times a year, cover distances ranging between 10 and 150 kilometers. If you mass large numbers of stock near population centers for a more or less long time the overcrowded grasslands will quickly lose their productivity — a loss very hard to make good afterwards. The grass layer is loose and a strip of grassland over which a truck passes three or four times turns into a track that stays bare for 10 to 15 years.

The land is hard on the arat. When you see Mongolia's pastures, you realize that nomadic stockbreeding in these conditions is neither a survival of the past, nor a sign of economic backwardness, as

people used to intensive stockbreeding may imagine, but the only possible and economically expedient form of using most of Mongolia's lands. Mongolian farming should not be gauged with a yardstick fit for, say, the Netherlands or Czechoslovakia.

It is also important to see how few and far between the arat's yurts (circular tents) are. That helps you gain a clearer insight into the problems which a figure cited in statistics — 0.99 inhabitant per square kilometer — implies in terms of transport, communications, electricity, public education and culture.

In 1919 Academician Ivan Maisky made a rough estimate of the arat's family budget. He set its spare cash at 10.10 rubles per year (roughly 3.5 sheep at prices prevailing at the time). However, he added that 'as this surplus is extremely small, it would be more conservative to consider that the family under survey barely made ends meet.' More often than not, arat farms effected simple reproduction and stagnated for centuries, without giving any spur whatever to the country's economic development. Besides, they were economically unstable. It generally snows little in Mongolia and animals graze in the open the year round. A reasonably heavy snowfall threatens dearth of fodder and stock losses. In the past, a snowy winter spelled disaster for stockbreeders and two severe winters in a row almost inevitably reduced the arat to the condition of a lumpen.

Feudal farming, too, was carried on by routine methods. There was no primitive accumulation of capital; the feudal lords, both laymen and lamas, amassed wealth in the form of treasures, only to waste it. When, in 1921, the revolution came Outer Mongolia turned out to have no state funds. Labor resources were used just as wastefully: in a country badly short of labor, about 100,000 men — lamas — were excluded from socially useful labor.

To end the lag, greatly improve the condition of the arats and supply a growing urban population with adequate quantities of food it was necessary to advance farming. A condition for the creation of internal economic growth factors was to reshape property relations and farming by setting up large, highly efficient production units. The overall state of farming called for large meaningful investments over a long period. None but government measures could contribute tangibly to the development of this key branch of economy.

In its agrarian policy the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was, from the outset, prompted by the necessity and advisability of forming state farms in parallel with cooperatives. The party established the priority tasks on which the state concentrated its efforts, material resources, machinery and labor. These were grain farming, fodder

production, the irrigation of pastures, veterinary service, and selection. Large state farms¹ were set up which were given priority in the receipt of funds and machinery. This by no means implies that the party gave state property preference over cooperative property. The fact that two sectors took shape in Mongolia was objectively due to the general state of the economy and made it possible to direct the development of agricultural production more flexibly, solving urgent problems (such as developing virgin lands and increasing marketable grain production rapidly) while at the same time working systematically and purposefully to advance stockbreeding.

With regard to this traditional branch of the economy, the party adopted important decisions at its 12th and 13th congresses (November 1954 and March 1958), setting its sights on the establishment of cooperatives nationwide.

Drawing the arats into cooperatives was a long and complex process. In an interview granted after I had toured the country, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural of the MPR, said that 'it was far more difficult to unite the peasants in cooperatives than to win a battle at the front. It was tantamount to accomplishing a revolution in their minds.' In reorganizing Mongolia's agriculture on socialist lines, such factors as the arats' changing views and habits or the elimination of traditions based on very definite economic realities were still to be reckoned with.

Agricultural associations — socialist-type producer cooperatives — were not set up until 40 years after the people's revolution. 'We had to convince the arats of the advantages of association through the example of specific farms,' Tsedenbal said. 'But we couldn't demonstrate those advantages overnight; this required years.'

The economic advantages of cooperation are beyond doubt. The arats themselves are probably more aware of it than outsiders used to other forms of farming. But due to their nature, these advantages did not become obvious until after a fairly long time. Due to Mongolian agriculture's inadequate material and technical resources at the time, production could not be expected to grow quickly, which would have convinced the arats of the advantages of joint farming.

The inevitable difficulties of putting agriculture on a socialist basis were not taken into account by the 'left'-wing group of MPRP leaders, who in the late 1920s and early 1930s began to set up collective farms and communes without giving the matter much thought. 'The peasants did not understand either the word commune, or the meaning of the campaign under way,' Tsedenbal reminisced, 'but they were made to associate. Those hasty measures led to a sharp drop in the livestock population and to economic difficulties. This was promptly exploited by internal and external enemies, who helped build up political tension. The party con-

demned the deviation, and the communes were disbanded.'

The excesses of the early 1930s rankled in the arats' minds for a long time and delayed the solution of the already difficult problem of introducing the cooperative system. And when, on the threshold of the 1960s, the party resumed the organization of cooperatives, it was 'very circumspect in choosing methods,' to quote Tsedenbal. 'We coined a new, Mongolian term for cooperative,' he said, 'namely, *negdel*, which means *association*.' The arats understood it better. 'We publicized the idea extensively,' Tsedenbal said. 'First among the poor arats, whom we urged to associate and demonstrate the benefits of collective farming. Afterwards we appealed to the well-to-do arats, whom we had for years rewarded morally and materially for increasing the livestock population. Later this entitled us to tell those who hesitated to join a cooperative: "What is this, now? We help and reward you but you refuse to join the association".'

The cooperative system was introduced on a large scale in a relatively short time — two or three years — without complicating the social and political situation too much. One reason for this was the arats' distinctive social composition after the 1921 revolution. The division of livestock owned by feudal lords and lamaseres turned stockbreeders into middle peasants. There was nothing like the Russian kulak on the Mongolian socio-political scene on the threshold of the 1960s. This made it possible to bring well-to-do arats into agricultural associations by peaceful means.

But the distinctive social class structure of Mongolian society and the party's publicity campaign in the late 1950s were not the only factor for the success of agricultural associations. Account should be taken of the overall historical background of the nation's development after 1921. The social atmosphere of the years when cooperatives were set up is described by Owen Lattimore, an American expert on Mongolia, in *Nomads and Commissars*. Lattimore visited the MPR in 1960, which means that his evidence is that of an eyewitness. The Mongolians, he wrote, 'have great confidence in their own party and government; they think that their country is on the right course; they like it the way it is; they think that the present is much better than the past; and there is a buoyant optimism about the future — as in America in the late 19th century.'²

This atmosphere of optimism and confidence in the party — an atmosphere created by the communists through persevering and devoted effort over many years and by the impact of the people's impressive social achievements — was unquestionably a major factor of the successful socialist reorganization of Mongolian agriculture.

Another important factor was the assistance of fraternal socialist countries. The fruits of this cooperation can be seen at every turn. Whenever your hosts show you a new stock farm, a well, an irrigation system or a state farm, they gratefully give credit to those who helped them create these facilities. Above all, they stress the immense and

varied assistance which People's Mongolia has been given by the Soviet Union at every stage of its nearly 60-year history. Support from true friends, the countries of the socialist community, helped the republic solve formidable social and economic problems.

The agricultural associations enabled their members to buy machinery, sink wells, and solve many other production problems. But appreciating the advantages of association was far from enough. Money, of which the agricultural associations at first had none, was needed to purchase machines, build premises for livestock, and so on. The vicious circle of the natural economy was not easy to break. Comrade Shizhee, one of the organizers of an agricultural association in Khurzhirt Somon,³ told me how difficult it had been at first to get the agricultural association going due to lack of funds, or what might be called 'initial capital.' The members of the new agricultural association found a way — they began to store up wood and sell it in town. They used the money made in this way to buy their first truck and seeders. This seemingly exceptional case was most typical of the early years of the cooperative movement, when money for the simplest equipment was derived from various kinds of subsidiary enterprises. It was only the formation of agricultural associations that made it possible to organize this extra activity, set aside the requisite workforce and, as a result, take an important step toward establishing farms producing for the market.

As regards tractors and other farm machinery, the lack of funds was not the only problem. The state solved it by setting up machine and tractor stations. A more serious problem was that in the early years the agricultural associations simply had no use for such machinery. They raised no crops and sowed no grass. As for storing up hay, grasslands are either lacking where most agricultural associations are situated, or so scattered that the use of costly machinery often proves uneconomical. This prompts them to give preference to horse haulage.

It took the agricultural associations considerable time to really find their feet. The period of their organizational and economic formation lasted into roughly the mid-1960s and, in some cases, even longer. The state attached immense importance to their consolidation. In those years, it raised purchasing prices for farm produce time and again and did much to train specialists for the associations. Z. Ukhna, First Secretary of the Ubur-Khangai Aimak Committee of the MPRP, told me that in 1959 the aimak⁴ had two livestock experts who had received a higher education and another five who had finished specialized secondary schools. It now has 37 specialists; every agricultural association has one or two livestock experts trained at institutions of higher learning. S. Zhadamb, head of the Agricultural Department of the MPRP Central Committee, said that each agricultural association now has about 10 (and some up to 20) specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education. Virtually all have doctors and livestock experts, but they

are still short of agronomists and engineers.

As a result of these measures, most agricultural associations became large production units in the second half of the 1960s, said L. Rinchin, Minister of Agriculture. In 1977 there were 257 agricultural associations. Each has an average of 64,200 head of livestock, and its fixed assets are worth approximately 9,300,000 tugriks. Together they own 72 per cent of the nation's livestock and contribute 60 per cent of the gross agricultural product. Their share toward state procurements is correspondingly high: three-fourths of the meat and wool and half of the milk.

When you see the yurts standing by themselves or in small clusters you cannot help wondering in what way cooperation has benefited the arats, since forms of farming and living strongly resembling old times persist.

The dependence of Mongolian stockbreeding on distant pastures necessarily sets rather narrow limits to electrification and mechanization. Machines and other equipment can only be used in fodder production, shearing and other auxiliary operations. Milking, for instance, is done entirely by hand. This means that the economic returns of cooperative farming depend primarily on the effect which simple cooperation, that is, the association and better organization of labor, can produce.

This effect is quite obvious. In the past, individual households could not use natural and labor resources judiciously enough. As a rule, arats owned several kinds of animal — sheep, horses, cows, etc., each of which prefers definite fodders and hence pastures. Yet the limitations of individual farming ruled out specialization, or the massing of animals of this or that kind in large flocks or herds and grazing them in optimal conditions. The result was, according to a survey made in the late 1950s, that roughly one-fourth of working time was wasted. The agricultural associations began to specialize in the maintenance of stock and achieved a more rational utilization of pastures, making labor much easier.

With regard to the effect of simple cooperation, it should be remembered that it can vary according to conditions. In other words, the effect can be more tangible where population density is greater and less tangible in a country like Mongolia, where the nomadic way of life, with individual households or small groups of households moving about, prevents the utilization of all potential advantages of labor division. However, the important thing is that simple cooperation does not mean adopting intensive production forms. Its effect, while substantial, is limited from the point of view of increasing productivity and so does not last long.

An important aspect of the cooperative system is that it was introduced at a time when traditional forms of manual labor persisted and the material and technical basis was underdeveloped. Indeed, Mongolia builds no motor vehicles or farm machines; it obtains them from the Soviet Union. L. Rinchin said that with the exception of the war years, when no tractors or motor vehicles could be

delivered for obvious reasons, the Soviet Union has always helped Mongolia greatly in providing agriculture with the most up-to-date machinery. Whereas in 1960 Mongolia had only 3,600 tractors, in 1977 there were as many as 21,900 (in terms of 15 hp units). In the same period, the tractor fleet of the agricultural associations increased from 100 to 7,900, so that each now has an average of 31 tractors and eight motor vehicles. The total capacity of the engines used in agriculture went up in the same years from 304,000 to 1,500,000 hp, or fivefold. It follows that the lack of mechanical engineering in Mongolia did not restrict the mechanization of agriculture.

What the 'underdeveloped material and technical basis of agricultural production' means is not so much that the agricultural associations had few technical facilities at first as that, now as in the past, these facilities are not supplied mainly to basic, traditional production branches but branches that are new to Mongolia, first of all to crop farming. However, the agricultural associations still specialize chiefly in stockbreeding and not grain growing or vegetable farming for the market. Grain farming plays an accessory role and is intended to produce fodder. The degree of mechanization in the agricultural associations depends therefore on the scale of fodder production in general and grain farming in particular. Increasing fodder production in agricultural associations is important if their material basis is to expand, and so mechanization has an indirect effect on stockbreeding as well.

I saw fields cultivated by agricultural associations. These are quite big tracts of land, but, from what I heard, any enlargement of the crop area is checked by the extent of the risk involved in growing grain or grasses on non-irrigated land. In the Khangai area, the annual rainfall averages 250 mm, which means that crops may fail or be negligible. To avoid large losses, the agricultural associations keep the sown area within reasonable bounds.

But it is growing, and today it averages 500 hectares per agricultural association. This benefits stockbreeding. Winter and spring pastures are poor, and from December to early May animals must be fed additionally to sustain their weight and strength. Unless this is done livestock numbers may dwindle. At present Mongolia produces from 750,000 to 800,000 tons of fodder units per year⁵, I was told by L. Tovuu, Director of the Pasture and Fodder Research Institute. To guarantee additional feeding of the whole livestock population, the country has to produce about three million tons of fodder. This problem will evidently take many years to solve, for current forecasts indicate that by 1990 the country will be producing only about two million tons. N. Damdinpurev, chairman of the Tsatsral agricultural association, said that if all animals were fed additionally the fodder produced by his agricultural association⁶ would only last two weeks. Figures show very clearly how much more has yet to be done to put the fodder supply on a solid basis. However, the agricultural association has made big advances: winter losses of stock, which in

1970 were rather serious, have now dropped to between 1 and 1.5 per cent.

During the past two decades the material basis of the agricultural associations has been enlarged also along other important lines. To give an example: many *hashans* have been built. These are structures in which the animals spend the night and take shelter when the weather is bad. The state helps agricultural associations to build livestock premises by extending credits, supplying building materials and in other ways.

Water conveyance to pastures is a further method of expanding the material and technical basis of the agricultural associations. Of course, the arats have been sinking wells from old to provide animals with water. But in many pastures water lies at a depth of from 70 to 80 meters; in the past it was out of the question to sink wells as deep as this. Boring wells and building irrigation systems under these conditions would be a heavy financial burden even to the agricultural associations. This is why water conveyance to pastures is financed by the state.

The question whether cooperatives are profitable may be answered roughly as follows: as a result of the formation of agricultural associations and the party's implementation of its agrarian policy over the past 20 years, arat labor is organized more rationally now and production has gained noticeably in stability. Fast-growing marketability has made it possible to supply an increasing population, including the urban population, with animal products and meet added demands for meat, milk and other items due to an increase in per capita food consumption by all population groups.

In describing Mongolia's progress in agriculture, I must point out, however, that production owes its expansion over the past 20 years to extensive factors, for the material resources the country commands make it impossible for the time being to remove the major limitations imposed by climatic and other natural conditions.

Talks in yurts led me to the conclusion that ordinary arats fully realize the tremendous effect of the social changes carried out in Mongolia. They speak of their social achievements with pride. A country where the first public school (40 pupils) opened only in 1921 now has a ramified and effective public education system. In Ubur-Khangai Aimak, for instance, there are three 10-year and 18 eight-year boarding schools for the children of stockbreeders. In the Tsatsral agricultural association I was shown a complex built by the association — a well-equipped nursery for 30 children and a kindergarten for 50. In the late 1950s only aimak capitals had medical centers but now these exist in every somon. In 1977, Mongolia had 20.5 doctors per 10,000 people.

Some may ask whether the Mongolian people's social gains should all be directly associated with the cooperative system. The fact is that in Mongolia you sometimes find it hard to say whether credit for an achievement is due to the agricultural associations or the state. Ever since 1959, the boundaries of agricultural associations and somons have coin-

cided and the head of an agricultural association also heads the local people's organs of power. This is why, at the somon level, the activities of agricultural associations and local government bodies largely merge, above all in the social sphere.

The social effect of the changes that have occurred in the life of Mongolia's stockbreeders is perhaps illustrated best of all by the sharply increased birth rate and a drop in infant mortality. Before the 1921 revolution, one, two or, rarely, three children survived in a family. Today a family with six to nine children is common. You should see those healthy, ruddy-cheeked boys and girls and those handsome young men and women (many of them much taller than their parents) to realize that the demographic explosion in Mongolia is not burdened by the big problems which plague developing countries. There is no problem of undernourishment or poverty in Mongolia. The steep rise in the birth rate is indicative of the atmosphere of security and optimism prevailing in that country.

The economic condition of stockbreeders has improved very noticeably since the agricultural associations came into being. Average earnings per worker have increased by 430 per cent. Of course, it would be inappropriate to assess the arats' standard of living in terms of TV sets, refrigerators or cars per family. These durables, which are common in other socialist countries and serve as one of the criteria of prosperity, are lacking in the household of a nomadic stockbreeder for the simple reason that it generally lacks electricity. But half of the somon capitals have now been hooked up with the national power grid, the rest have small power stations, and workteams use mobile stations. The aimaks communicate with all somons by radio or telephone while large agricultural associations and state farms maintain communication with all teams in the same way. The arat's household is no longer cut off from the world. Electricity means not only mechanized production but lighting in the yurt; it means clubs, cinemas and service establishments. The Tsatsral agricultural association for one, has built a club seating 300 and equipped with a wide-screen cinema unit. The Kharkhorin state farm has two clubs, seven recreation and reading rooms and portable film projectors, in addition to a stationary projection unit. I dropped into the library of an agricultural association. A townsman might think it small — it has 8,000 volumes. But this library has 560 subscribers, who in the past had not the slightest idea of Cervantes, Zola, Stendhal, Flaubert, Mann, Tagore, Tolstoy or other authors whose books they now find in the library.

A new generation of stockbreeders has grown up in Mongolia. I was introduced to a young couple, L. Nyamdorzh and S. Tsetsgee. Their yurt impressed

me by its tidiness, cosiness and comfortable furniture, as well as by the numerous photographs of sports events adorning its walls. I was told that Nyamdorzh is a master of sports in cycling, had taken part in many national contests and had recently competed in an international race in Warsaw. In 1977, his wife won the title of stockbreeding champion of the republic. For three years running, not one of the animals in her care was lost. She was rewarded for her performance with a tour that took her to Moscow, Leningrad and Irkutsk. Both husband and wife have finished a 10-year school. They have collected a small library and often go to the somon capital to see a film or a concert or borrow books from the public library. Last year Tsetsgee was admitted to an agricultural school. Her husband, for his part, was offered a job as secondary school teacher in the somon capital but turned down the offer because he wants to receive a higher education first.

This is just a glimpse of the new life of a young family of Mongolian stockbreeders. But it is very typical in view of the fact that 62 per cent of Mongolia's population are young people below 25 who live by new standards. Neither Nyamdorzh nor Tsetsgee thinks there is anything unusual about their lives. But when talking with older people, you are not surprised by the fact that they put such emphasis on changes in the people's cultural life.

The history of every country includes events which stamp the subsequent development of its people for decades or even centuries. As far as Mongolia is concerned, the association of arats in cooperatives was 'a change tantamount in significance to the people's revolution of 1921,' as Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal put it. By taking that decisive and difficult step under the party's leadership, the arats, who had lived for centuries in an atmosphere of economic and spiritual inertia and stagnation, opened up the prospect of dynamic progress in every sphere of public life for themselves and for future generations of Mongolians.

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1. In 1977 there were 48 state farms, each of which had on the average 8,500 hectares of arable land, 24,800 head of livestock and 229 tractors.

2. Owen Lattimore, *Nomads and Commissars: Mongolia Revisited*, New York, 1962, p. 196.

3. District.

4. Region.

5. One fodder unit equals the nutrient substance contained in a kilogram of oats. In these terms, one kilogram of hay equals 0.45 fodder unit.

6. The agricultural associations are also supplied with substantial amounts of feed by the state.

Who wants to fan the 'Kampuchean question' and why?

During the closing months of 1979 Washington and Peking acted in close harmony in a vocal propaganda campaign with long-suffering People's Kampuchea and its lawful government headed by the Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council Heng Samrin as its target. West European nations contributed to this campaign, into which some Southeast Asian countries were also drawn. Regrettably, its participants also included some progressive forces of individual countries who were evidently deafened by the propaganda hullabaloo.

West European and United States media are filled with photographs of starving Kampuchean refugees in camps in Thailand. A picture of Rosalynn Carter, the U.S. President's wife, in one of these camps is making the rounds of newspapers. Statesmen of the USA, West European countries, and some other nations are almost daily 'sounding the alarm' that at least two million Kampucheans will 'inevitably' die of starvation if no help comes to them from the capitalist West.

What is behind all this? What gave the imperialist aggressors, chiefly of the USA, who laid waste to a once flourishing nation, this 'fit of humanism?' Perhaps their gnawing conscience is making them really want to help the Kampuchean people stave off the threat of starvation and disease? Or perhaps the Peking clique, whose bayonets had propped up the bloodthirsty Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime for nearly four years, a regime that exterminated nearly three million people and in effect condemned the Kampuchean nation to extinction, is now repentant and prepared to acknowledge its — enormous — responsibility for what it had done?

No, the facts belie this. They indicate that Washington and Peking are motivated by an urge to avenge the failure of their policy in Indochina at all costs, regain domination of Kampuchea, and strike a new blow at Vietnam.

This underlies their attempts to put the blame for the difficult situation in Kampuchea on Vietnam, on the Vietnamese military presence in Kampuchea, a presence sanctioned by the treaty on peace, friendship, and cooperation between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. To follow the logic of the Washington and Peking propagandists, seven years of heavy U.S. bombing and five years of war unleashed by the U.S. aggression in Cambodia in 1970, and then almost four years of atrocities by the Pol Pot butchers left a thriving nation (not counting, of course, the three million murdered citizens), to the people's government, which, you see, within months was ruined by Vietnamese troops defending the people against remnants of the Pol Pot bandits, and by the

Vietnamese advisers, who are helping the people's government to restore an economy completely devastated by the Pol Pot regime. Of course, this sickens common sense, and in order to mute this feeling they have recourse to 'politico-legal arguments.'

It is alleged that in Kampuchea there are two regimes, Pol Pot and Heng Samrin, and, accordingly, two zones of control and two opposing armies. On this 'basis' they are demanding the 'withdrawal of all foreign troops' from Kampuchea and a 'political settlement' of the conflict on an 'international basis.' The culminating point of this approach is the unlawful examination of the Kampuchean question imposed on the UN General Assembly last November by none other than Washington and Peking.

However, the wily idea of 'two regimes' does not stand the test of facts. The Heng Samrin government is in full control of the country, and hardly anybody can associate the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs, which have taken sanctuary in inaccessible mountain areas on the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand, with an existing regime. But this is precisely where a purely propaganda ploy is used. If the Kampuchean people are against Pol Pot and support Heng Samrin, why — the 'slick question' is asked — do the Vietnamese troops not pull out of Kampuchea? The only reason is, it is argued, that they are an occupation force, that the Heng Samrin government cannot exist without their support. Moreover, if it is acknowledged that Pol Pot has the backing of Peking, then, according to this line of reasoning, the Heng Samrin regime is a Vietnamese client.

This 'argument' is swallowed even by many progressives in the world. It is used to railroad resolutions through the United Nations against People's Kampuchea, as was the case following the November debates and earlier, when the question was decided as to who should be Kampuchea's representative in that international organization.

Those caught in the propaganda net spread by Washington and Peking do not or are reluctant to see what is self-evident. According to the selfsame West European and U.S. correspondents the remnants of the Khmer Rouge army along the Thai frontier, numbering some 30,000 effectives, are men bamboozled by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, fanatics fed and armed by Peking. Every single report of these correspondents from the Kampuchean refugee camps mentions the presence there of groups of men who differ strikingly from the rest — they are well-fed and arrogant toward the refugees driven into the camps by want and the Pol Pot thugs. These men do not make a secret of the fact that they belong to the Pol Pot army, that they came

to the camps to rest and would return to the mountains.

It is not hard to imagine what would have happened had there not been the present treaty under which Vietnamese troops are in People's Kampuchea. The country is ruined, a large proportion of the able-bodied population, particularly men, has been massacred during the years of Pol Pot rule. And these 30,000 sleek gunmen, armed and encouraged by Peking, stand poised to invade that country.

This is admitted even by some members of the imperialist press who have been to People's Kampuchea. Henry Kamm, a correspondent of *The New York Times* and a recognized expert on Indochina, who visited Pnom Penh with a group of U.S. congresswomen, could no longer continue writing that the Kampucheans are dreaming of the day the Vietnamese troops pull out. Noting that the authorities of People's Kampuchea raised no obstacles to meeting people, he quotes one of the people he talked to: 'We need the Vietnamese because we have nothing else with which to counter Pol Pot,' otherwise we would have our throats cut. And further: 'The Vietnamese are the army that defends us against our enemy. They (the Vietnamese) help us.'*

Another 'trump' of the propaganda campaign against Kampuchea and Vietnam is the question of food for the starving. Here, too, they strike at sensitive chords of the heart, writing that in Kampuchea two million people are threatened by imminent death from starvation, while the Heng Samrin government, which admits that the food situation is serious, regards that statement as an exaggeration. The 'international community' is prepared to help but the Heng Samrin government and Vietnam are said to be opposed to this. The 'international community' is eager to distribute aid equally in the areas controlled by the Heng Samrin government and Pol Pot, but Heng Samrin and Vietnam disagree, demanding that all aid should be sent through the lawful authorities in Pnom Penh. It is alleged that this demand is tantamount to dooming the Kampuchean people to death from starvation because the 'international community' cannot accept this 'unfair' distribution of aid.

Every word is a lie. The Heng Samrin government objects to aid being sent through Thailand because much of it — as West European and U.S. correspondents themselves report from the refugee camps — falls into the hands of the Pol Pot bandits, who, with the connivance of the Thai authorities, lay down the law in these camps and engage in looting, leaving the refugees a pitiful portion of the received food. They have now been joined by other groups of traitors — extreme rightists, who have long ago been rejected by the Kampuchean people and had become nonentities, but are now being revitalized and supported by Peking. With weapons from Peking they are seizing control of some refugee camps and recruiting new gangs, with which the Pol Pot-

leng Sary clique is prepared to unite against the lawful government of People's Kampuchea.

It is also a lie that without aid from the 'international community' — read the imperialist West — the Kampuchean people are doomed to extinction. Imperialist propaganda is trying to make people believe that these food supplies are the only source sustaining Kampuchea and say nothing about the extensive assistance rendered the Kampuchean people by their true friends — Vietnam and other countries of the socialist community, notably the Soviet Union. By early November of last year the People's Republic of Kampuchea had received from the latter countries more than 200,000 tons of food and hundreds of tons of medical supplies and equipment.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea welcomes humanitarian aid to its people, but not to bandits, aid in deed and not in words, aid on a bilateral basis as well as through international organizations. This was reaffirmed by the participation of a representative of People's Kampuchea at a conference on humanitarian aid to Kampuchea convened in early November in New York by the UN Secretary-General.

However much its organizers wish, they cannot conceal the true purpose of the present anti-Kampuchean and anti-Vietnamese slander campaign, which is very reminiscent of the last year's campaign over the question 'of refugees from Vietnam.'* Its obvious aim is to impede the national rejuvenation of the peoples of Indochina, who in a long struggle against imperialist aggression won the right to build their life independently, without foreign interference. Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea are accused of creating tension in Southeast Asia and menacing their neighbors. The imperialists and their Peking accomplices would like to use this ploy to intimidate some neighboring nations, chiefly the ASEAN states, and set them against those who have chosen the road of independence and social progress. The ASEAN states are told that the victory of the people's revolution in Kampuchea and the Vietnamese military presence in that country are a threat to their security. This is a malicious fabrication. In Southeast Asia tension is fanned by the intrigues of the imperialists and, in particular, the Peking hegemonists. The latter are once again concentrating troops on the frontiers of Vietnam and Laos and using Thai territory for continuing the 'guerrilla war' of the Pol Pot gangs against People's Kampuchea. Instead of condoning Peking's hostile activities against Kampuchea and Vietnam, the ASEAN nations should stop and think whether the Peking politicians, who are now using them in an attempt to 'punish' Vietnam and 'liberate' Kampuchea, will not in the future want to 'punish and liberate' other Southeast Asian states one by one (with the help, incidentally, of the innumerable ethnic Chinese in these countries).

There is little doubt that those who along with Peking and Washington are today indulging de-

**International Herald Tribune*, November 17-18, 1979.

*WMR, February and March 1979.

signs that have nothing in common with the interests of improving the situation in Indochina or with the vital interests of the Kampuchean people will in the long run open their eyes (the earlier the better) and understand that the normalization of the situation in Indochina can only begin with the elimination of the mainsprings of the crisis, in other words, with the termination of imperialist inter-

vention and Peking's expansionist policy. As regards Kampuchea, its people have made their choice, and this choice is irreversible. Having created the People's Republic of Kampuchea they have opened the road to national rejuvenation and social progress. The new Kampuchea is a reality that nobody can wipe from the political map of the world.

Boun Soan



An author presents his book

ETIENNE FAJON:
'NEVER SEPARATE THEORY FROM LIFE'

Editions Socialies Publishers has brought out *A.B.C. des communistes* (A Communist ABC). Following is an interview with the author by WMR.

Q. What prompted you to write this book?

A. The class struggle in France is growing in every sphere. It is particularly sharp in the sphere of ideas. Our 23rd Congress emphasized this in its resolution. 'In the absence of an armed conflict,' the resolution says, 'the capitalist leaders have lent the battle of ideas the character of an ideological war. Innumerable centers commanding enormous funds... orchestrate intensive worldwide campaigns. They attack every progressive idea, above all socialism, which they grossly misrepresent. They try to drive national consciousness from people's minds. They urge renunciation of struggle and self-isolation. They cultivate obscurantism and irrationalism, taking a stand against every possibility of scientific study and every aspiration to manage society's development.'

It is a duty and concern of our party's Central Committee to equip the communists, and more generally all who are fighting for change, with the weapons they need in this ideological war. It was to meet this need that I wrote *A Communist ABC*.

The book does not deal with any specific subject but with our theory as a whole. It sets out the theoretical foundations of our policy as a contribution to our educational work among the people.

Q. Why is it entitled *A Communist ABC*?

A. The French Communist Party, its leaders and prominent communist intellectuals produce many excellent theoretical writings. But the scientific standard of these works sometimes makes them difficult to read for people with inadequate training. In political as in general education, the study of complex problems should be made easier by first acquiring a minimum of knowledge.

It was this that gave me the idea of writing a relatively short book dealing with scientific socialism in its totality in a manner enabling people to assimilate the subject without preliminary training, although some effort on their part is needed, of course.

The *ABC* is by no means a substitute for in-depth theoretical analyses of various problems. But it can, at least I hope so, encourage many communists to read such analyses by giving them a better understanding of these problems.

This book is a beginning — it gives some fundamental elements of knowledge. My primary aim was to set out these elements. Hence the title.

Q. What would you describe as basic in your book?

A. Considering the vastness of the subject and the size of the book, which I deliberately limited to 160 pages, I had to drop everything I felt was inessential. I gave my attention to what I believe are three basic elements.

My aim was to couple simple language (a primary requisite for a book of this kind) with a strictly scientific approach, in other words, I tried to avoid succumbing to simplism on the plea of simplicity.

At the same time, my object was to help the reader grasp our theory, whose fundamentals the book spells out, as the fruitful and living science and not as a set of recipes relieving him of the need to think by himself. In the very first chapter, I refer to Lenin's valuable advice on this point. 'But do not debase our revolutionary science to mere book dogma,' he wrote (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 218).

Furthermore, I made a point throughout the book of never separating theory from life, from social reality, from the struggle of the workers and other people, from communist policy.

Q. Would you say that your own extensive experience as a person active in the communist movement helped you to write this book?

A. Yes. I've been a member of the French Com-

...munist Party for 53 years and a member of its leadership for decades. This means that I've witnessed its progress, the enrichment of its thought in step with the changes in the world, and the deep roots it has struck in national reality. This experience helped me considerably in my work.

My life as a party member, which began more than half a century ago, has enabled me both to study theoretical and political problems over a long period and verify the validity of our principles and ideas by comparing them with the realities and struggles of this vast and eventful period of history.

These problems and principles and ideas are not simple. It should be evident that in my principal effort, which was to put them within easy reach of today's readers, my knowledge and experience were extremely helpful.

Q. You said you addressed your book to a specific readership?

A. Yes, primarily working people, who join our party in their thousands, and also the many party members who since their admission have been taken up by the daily tasks set by a turbulent life and have had no opportunity to attend a party school or devote sufficient time to theoretical training. The book is also meant for those who having been helped by the party to obtain a rudimentary training

had no time to deepen and update this training. Marxism is a science which is continuously enriched by the experience of new struggles and by progress in knowledge.

Besides, the formidable campaign which capitalist forces carry on to weaken our party by misrepresenting its theory and practice arouses among numerous non-communist workers and democrats a strong desire to know the truth about both our theory and our policy.

I hope they, too, will find the book useful.

Q. Did you work out any particular method for your book?

A. Indeed, I did. I illustrated every theoretical concept with concrete examples from people's lives or historical events known to everybody.

As soon as I finished a chapter I showed it to one or more competent communist theorists, not to add anything but to make sure of the accuracy of the work.

Before the book was printed, I asked several young or new, unprepared comrades to read it, and rewrote passages they had difficulty understanding.

Of course, these are only some aspects of my method.

For an agrarian reform

Carlos Dore y Cabral, *Problemas de la Estructura Agraria Dominicana* (Structure Problems of Dominican Farming), Santo Domingo, Ediciones de Taller, 1979. 122 pp.

This is a collection of articles by Carlos Dore y Cabral, member of the Political and Executive Committees, CC, Dominican Communist Party, published in 1974-1977 in the DCP's theoretical periodical *Impacto Socialista*. We are given analyses of official statistics revealing striking social contrasts in Dominican agriculture. On the one pole there are 200 landlords, each owning over 1,000 hectares. They comprise a mere 0.08 per cent of the total number of landowners but possess 23.21 per cent of the nation's arable land. On the other pole are 185,000 peasants with 0.5 to 5 hectares of land. They account for 71.61 per cent of the landowners but have only 12.4 per cent of the arable land (p. 20).

But even these contrasting figures do not give a complete picture of the latifundists' domination and the plight of the peasantry in the Dominican Republic. Dore y Cabral takes a deeper look at the problem. He is the first to cite statistics on small holdings, up to 0.5 hectares, that is, figures which had long been concealed by the state statistical bureau. The large number of tiny plots (some 50,000) widens the gap between big and small landowners. But the most dramatic fact showing

the scale of the tragedy in the Dominican countryside is that 110,000 peasants have no land at all (p. 10).

Therefore, referring to other researchers of the problem, he writes: 'We are sure that if they make an objective analysis of facts and figures in their research, they are bound to arrive at the only correct conclusion: latifundism is the primary and main cause of the backwardness of Dominican agriculture' (p. 12).

These articles were written after President Balaguer's proclamation in 1972 of new agrarian laws by which he intended to give effect to some partial transformations in farming, his strategic goal being a renewal of his own political prestige. The Dominican Communist Party has done much to explain the actual significance of the planned reforms. Jose Israel Cuello, member of the Political and Executive Committees of the DCP Central Committee, said that the party, seeing what the crux of the problem was, dissuaded the peasantry, whose support Balaguer had wanted to win, from supporting the reforms.* Furthermore, the President lost the support of big farmers as well, as they found him too 'radical.' As a result, Balaguer's attempt to bolster up his regime failed and he lost the 1978 election.

**Hablan los Comunistas*, May 18-25, 1979.

In a chapter written specially for the book Carlos Dore y Cabral examines the agrarian policy of the new government headed by the latifundist Antonio Guzman Fernandez. The present regime, he writes, lays stress on minor problems, such as 'fair credit-ing and financial policy,' 'improvement of technical servicing,' and 'supply of prime seeds,' to avoid a cardinal solution, namely, a reshaping of the entire system of land ownership. The author uses convincing arguments to show why all these measures do not amount to an agrarian reform and concludes that the authorities in the Dominican Republic, as in some other Latin American countries, are pre-

pared to 'let go anything but land' (p. 96). He advocates radical agrarian reforms which Dominicans want so much, a change in the landownership system, the establishment of cooperative and state-owned farms in this major economic branch, and active participation by the peasants themselves in carrying out the reform.

All this, the book says, should be followed by a reassessment of policy in this capitalism-oriented country, which is strongly dependent on the USA.

This book is a further contribution of Dominican communists to the people's struggle.

Arsenio Hernandez Fortuna



Combating Trotskyism in Britain today

The heady days of the student revolt of the late 1960s saw the sprouting, in Britain as in other Western capitalist countries, of a multiplicity of ultra-left groups: Trotskyist, Maoist and anarchist. Very many of these have since fragmented, dwindled and in some cases disappeared. The main body of the ultra-left in Britain today is to be found among groups that draw their essential inspiration from Trotsky. There are at least 16 such groups and grouplets at the time of writing, but so rapid is the process of splitting and founding new organizations that any exhaustive study of them is inevitably out of date by the time it is completed. That is why I will consider only the groups which are larger and more firmly established than the rest, and enjoy an influence among certain sections of the left, a fact which the communists cannot ignore. Three of them — the International Marxist Group (IMG), the Militant Tendency, and the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) — see themselves as the only orthodox Trotskyists. The fourth, the Socialist Workers Party, lays no such claim to orthodoxy, although it shares with the others a substantial common heritage.

Despite their mutual hostility, these groups hold similar views on a range of basic questions. The most important of these, to which the communist party stands in fundamental opposition, form part of the well-known position of international Trotskyism, which it will suffice here briefly to list.

Strategy of socialist revolution. The Trotskyist groups start from the strategy of dual power and workers' councils modelled on the Soviet experience of 1917, as if nothing has changed in the world since then. They distort our party's program, *The British Road to Socialism*, presenting it as 'a

parliamentary road to socialism,' and forgetting our emphasis on mass extra-parliamentary struggle and the transformation of the capitalist state by the power of the working people. Significantly, not one of these groups has produced its own long-term program attempting to analyze the path to socialism in the specific historical conditions of Britain today.

Alliances. The Trotskyist groups denounced the CPGB's conception of a broad democratic alliance in society and favor a crude 'class against class' model. In the trade unions, they mechanically counterpose the rank and file to the 'trade union bureaucracy,' underestimating the extent to which important sections of the trade union leadership, elected by the rank and file, can and must be involved in united working-class struggle for militant and left policies today and in the long-term perspective of advance to socialism.

Peaceful coexistence. This is attacked as a betrayal of the cause of world revolution, and negotiations for détente and disarmament are denounced as 'class collaboration on the international plane.'

Attitude to the socialist countries. Trotsky's opposition to socialism in one country is extolled, and it is denied that even today socialism has been built anywhere in the world. Trotsky's conception of the 'political revolution against bureaucracy' is proclaimed as the objective for all socialist countries.

The communist parties. These are denounced as 'agents of the Soviet bureaucracy' and/or props to capitalism holding back the alleged striving for revolution of the masses, to whom alone the Trotskyist 'revolutionary party' (which one is a matter of bitter inter-Trotskyist dispute!) can provide leadership. They allege that our party operates

undemocratically because it does not allow organized tendencies or factions. It is notable, however, that not a single Trotskyist organization holds public congresses and pre-congress discussions as does the Communist Party of Great Britain, which has totally avoided the welter of expulsions in recent years that have characterized the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Despite these fundamental similarities, there exist sharp and fiercely argued differences between these organizations which are very real even though they inevitably become exaggerated in the sectarian struggle between them. Let us consider briefly each of these organizations.

International Marxist Group (IMG). This is the official British section of the largest of the Fourth International groups into which the parent body founded by Trotsky in 1938 has split. Although formed in 1965, it began its public existence only in 1968 and recruited many of its leading cadres from the student movement and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign of the late 1960s. Its claim to a sharp increase in its membership since 1968 looks less impressive when one knows that this represents an increase from only 40 to its present 800 members. However, it produces a lively weekly paper, *Socialist Challenge*, claiming a circulation of 8,500-10,000 copies. It has also been encouraged by votes in recent local elections obtained by some of its candidates.

The IMG's political record has been highly inconsistent. Its initial strategy was to work inside the Labour Party. The student revolt, student vanguardism (the 'new youth vanguard') and the perspective of 'red bases' in the universities changed its earlier orientation upon the Labour Party. In 1972, Tariq Ali, one of its best-known leaders, began to advocate 'a strategy of destroying (the Labour Party), which means, in effect, breaking its links with the trade union movement.' Let us note that that is precisely what the Tories have always wanted, and such an approach would also play straight into the hands of the right-wing Labour leaders deeply concerned over the militant pressure on the Labour Party from the trade unions affiliated with it.

In 1973, when more and more workers moved into struggle against Heath's Tory government, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, to which the IMG is affiliated, declared in its theses on Britain that the 'central strategic project' should now be toward 'the preparation of a general strike to bring down the Tory government and create a situation of dual power in Britain.'¹ In the London demonstration after Pinochet's coup in Chile that autumn, IMG members carried banners declaring 'Armed road — the only road.'

When the revolutionary pipe dream of imminent 'Soviet power' in Britain was dispersed by the cold winds of reality, the IMG reoriented itself upon the Labour left. It recognized that 'the Labour Party is the most immediately decisive political fact in the consciousness of the most important sections of the working class.'² Accordingly, it resolved to send

part of its membership to work inside it. This not having proved very fertile, the group's present orientation is toward unity with other sections of the 'revolutionary left' outside the Labour Party.

Militant Tendency, which has no international affiliation, derives its name from the paper of that title, which has been appearing since 1964. Now a weekly, it claims a circulation of 20,000. It is the only group able to register progress over the last three years. It claims that its supporters number 'thousands.' Their Trotskyist core is, however, certainly not more than a few hundred.

Since the 1950s, the Trotskyist leaders of the Militant Tendency have distinguished themselves from other groups in applying a consistent long-term strategy of 'deep entry' into the Labour Party. They have specially concentrated on the Labour Party Young Socialists, on whose National Committee the group's supporters now occupy all the seats.

MT is firmly in the hands of experienced and deeply committed Trotskyists dedicated to 'educating' their supporters through articles in the *Militant* and their theoretical journal *Militant International Review*, as well as through the publication and sale of the writings of Trotsky and his followers in the Tendency and the organization of classes at schools.

MT argues that the road to socialism lies through a Parliamentary Enabling Act under which the 200 major British monopolies would be nationalized. For this they are condemned as 'reformists' by the other Trotskyist groups, all of which they, in their turn, dismiss as 'the sects.'

They have clearly failed to come to grips with the long and complicated process of changing working-class consciousness, which is especially difficult in such an old bourgeois-democratic and imperialist power as Britain, where reformist ideas have sunk deep root. Thus, a major article in *Militant* develops a perspective of 'the workers (coming) to power "overnight" peacefully' and asserts that 'if the labor and trade union leaders were Marxists and campaigned in the movement to explain the crisis of capitalism and the need for socialism, then capitalism could not last six weeks.'³

Particular attention is devoted to attacking *The British Road to Socialism* as 'permeated with the ideas and approach of Fabian reformism' because it argues for a left-Labour government which, as a first stage, would nationalize 'the key firms amongst the top firms which dominate the economy.' 'Why not propose the nationalization of all monopolies?', asks *Militant* editor, Peter Taaffe. 'Why not propose that the Labour movement should be armed with a program for completely eliminating the power of the capitalists? Such a program, if implemented, would completely undermine the social reserves of capitalism and ensure peaceful change.'⁴

In fact, *The British Road* offers precisely such a program for the elimination of capitalist power — but it is realistic enough to suggest the stages through which it is necessary to pass to achieve this. The MT leaders, in traditional Trotskyist

terms, reject such an approach as a 'revamped . . . Menshevik theory of "stages".' Attacking our whole conception of alliances, they even condemn broadly based campaigns against racism and fascism, like the immensely successful Anti-Nazi League, counterposing 'only the labor movement mobilized on a socialist program.'⁵

The Workers Revolutionary Party takes an equally sectarian approach to broad democratic campaigns. At one time, this notoriously hardline Trotskyist organization was the strongest ultra-left group in Britain. Despite the fact that, with a brief interruption, it has been able since 1969 to bring out a daily paper, its membership and influence have in recent years most markedly declined.

Formed as the Socialist Labor League in 1959, and working in the Labour Party, from which it withdrew in the mid-1960s, it turned itself in 1973 into the Workers Revolutionary Party, presented as 'the revolutionary party.' At the time, along with its youth organization, the Young Socialists (as opposed to the Militant dominated Labour Party Young Socialists), it could, perhaps, count about 5,000 members.

The following facts give an indication of the mood in the WRP in that period. At a press conference before the 1974 general election, WRP General Secretary Gerry Healy declared: 'Capitalism is finished and gone for good, and soon millions of workers will turn to our policies. In a year or two, at the next general elections, the Workers Revolutionary Party will be fielding 500 candidates. Then we will introduce legislation . . .'⁶ That September, its then daily organ, *Workers Press*, announced: 'A revolutionary situation exists in Britain.'⁷

Such groundless statements produced a political crisis within the WRP. On the eve of its annual conference up to 200 members were expelled for voicing criticism. A breakaway 'truly Trotskyist' organization, the Workers Socialist League, was formed, headed by former WRP Central Committee member Alan Thornett. It published a book of documents giving a picture of the incredible internal regime prevailing in the WRP and involving paranoia, cultism and even physical violence.

At a special conference in July 1975, the WRP issued a manifesto entitled: "Force Labour to Resign" (a slogan shared with the Tory party leadership). At the same time, it proclaimed the need to restructure itself so as 'to actually prepare the revolution to take power.'

The WRP is now paying the price for its wild revolutionary expectations accompanied by illusions of grandeur. Dizzy with its small successes, it was convinced that with the onset of economic crisis in the capitalist world its day of glory was at hand. Its membership is now probably down to under 1,000.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is larger than any of the orthodox Trotskyist groups. Its leaders claim a membership of almost 4,000, but the figure is probably nearer to 3,000. The SWP, until 1977 called the International Socialists, originated as a breakaway group from the main stream of the

Trotskyist movement in 1950 disagreeing with the support it had declared for North Korea's struggle against U.S. imperialism. It raised the slogan: 'Neither Washington, nor Moscow, International Socialism.'

After years of working inside the Labour Party, the group concluded in the late 1960s that the former was politically finished and withdrew its members. Proceeding from a very loose form of organization, it has in the 1970s sought to convert itself into a strictly centralized and authoritarian party.

The SWP's greatest asset has no doubt been an extremely well produced weekly paper, *Socialist Worker*. Its anti-capitalist agitation is popular and effective. It consciously avoids the sterile sectarian polemics so much in evidence in the WRP's *News Line*, although the basically Trotskyist outlook is reflected in its articles on home and foreign affairs. A circulation of 27,000 was claimed in 1977, though a realistic estimate of regular paid sale today is probably half that figure.

Since its major recruitment from the student revolt of the late 1960s, the SWP has in the 1970s reoriented its work with a view to building a base in industry. Accordingly, it switched the accent to economic problems and attempted to initiate and control rank and file movements around them. The Right to Work campaign, launched by them outside the structures of the labor movement, has served very much as a vehicle for building the SWP.

An important SWP initiative was the formation of the Anti-Nazi League in the autumn of 1977 to oppose the fascist and racist menace of the National Front. Its marches and carnivals, involving well-known figures in the arts and sport and with popular musical groups performing, have drawn in tens, and even hundreds of thousands of young people, the great majority of whom had never before been involved in any form of political activity.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is represented on its activities at all levels. Even here, however, communists find themselves obliged to argue against incorrect SWP tactics in the fight against fascism, flowing from its leftist strategy. As against the physical confrontation with the fascists, and consequently with the police sent to protect them, advocated by the SWP, we seek to develop the broadest possible campaigns to combat and demolish the National Front's arguments and to secure legal action to ban provocative racist marches and the enforcement of stricter laws against racist propaganda. While having no illusions about the class character of the capitalist state, we believe that it is possible and necessary to mobilize the masses to secure the maximum possible democratization of that state. As a part of this process we are concerned to win members of the police force to our side and drive a wedge between them and the fascists, rather than pushing them together, as the SWP tactics do.

While communists work together with the members of the SWP on various issues on which common action is possible and effective, the divisive character of much of its work in the labor move-

ment, along with its frequently expressed hostility to our party, have led us to reject its proposal for an agreement on united action. It is interesting to note that the SWP has rejected the insistent approaches for unity made to it by the IMG, which is politically much closer to it than the communist party, whose larger size and roots in industry, however, made unity with us a much more interesting proposition for their purposes.

The communist party's struggle against Trotskyism. At the 34th Congress of our party, its General Secretary Gordon McLennan spoke of the 'need to deal in a reasoned and convincing way with the ideas and activities of ultra-leftism.' These, he emphasized, can 'disrupt left struggle and undermine confidence in the labor movement's ability to rid itself of right-wing policies and leadership and fulfil its historic socialist role. This is particularly true among some young people on the left, many of whom ought to be in our party.'

Such a political and ideological struggle cannot be separated from our overall strategy, which sees the main enemy as monopoly capitalism and the Tory and right-wing Labour policies, which seek to make the working people bear the brunt of the capitalist crisis. We certainly do not give our major attention to fighting the ultra-left in the way that some of the ultra-left groups devote the major part of their time and energies to assailing our party.

The discussion and popularization of the strategy outlined in *The British Road to Socialism* and its theoretical underpinning are central to our arguments against Trotskyist policies as they are to all the other fields of our political work. Along with this, we give special attention through pamphlets, articles, classes and discussions to a critique of both the traditional Trotskyist positions and of the policies of individual Trotskyist organizations. Only by acquiring a specific knowledge of the matter can we make our arguments relevant and convincing to their members and supporters; with whom we seek comradely discussions and whom we try to win over. The publication of a series of articles by editors of left-wing journals, including Trotskyist ones, in our party's fortnightly *Comment*, and the debate on them in its columns, can help to arm our comrades for this task.

Above all, we should be confident of our ability to argue the superiority of our analyses and strategy over those of the Trotskyists, as we have done in recent years in public debates with some of their organizations. In the universities, in particular, where in the late 1960s our party was very much overshadowed by ultra-left organizations our ideological work in the 1970s has helped radically to transform the situation.

Many problems, often extremely complex ones, arise in our encounters with Trotskyist organizations. Individual situations need to be considered on their merits in a way that is both undogmatic and flexible, and at the same time firm and principled. Our general approach was defined already ten years ago in an important communist party pamphlet on ultra-leftism by Betty Reid. 'For Marxists

the task is to recognize what actions will move powerful sections into militant action in order to attract and not alienate additional support,' she wrote. 'This is why the constant explanation of why we believe certain policies and theories to be harmful is a duty which is essential for us to carry out, side by side with the efforts to unite on any immediate issues which can help to advance the struggle.'⁸

We believe that these are still the lines along which we can work most effectively to combat disruptive Trotskyist influences and win for the Communist Party and the Young Communist League young people at present attracted into the blind alley of ultra-leftism.

Monty Johnstone
member, Committee on Theory and
Ideology, CP Great Britain

1. *International* (London), Vol. 2, Summer 1973, p. 10.
2. *Red Weekly* (London), June 26, 1975.
3. *Militant* (London), March 4, 1977.
4. *Comment* (London), March 3, 1979.
5. *Militant International Review* (London), No. 15, Autumn 1978, pp. 26, 28.
6. *Workers Press* (London), March 1, 1974.
7. *Workers Press* (London), 28 September 1974.
8. Betty Reid, *Ultra-Leftism in Britain*. CPGB, London, 1969, p. 58.

REPLY TO READERS

Monty Johnstone's article will probably be received with special interest by WMR readers who have, in their letters, variously dealt with the history and present-day ideological and political face of Trotskyism, and who have requested us to analyze them in our journal. But the above article describes the activity of Trotskyists only in one country, Britain. In the capitalist world, however, there is now and again evidence of what might be called a recurrent galvanization of the Trotskyist trend. Bourgeois ideologists keep trying to take Trotskyism out of its state of paralysis caused by the innumerable divisions, desertions and infighting among its diverse groups and sects;* alternately,

* Because of the great fragmentation into factions, ramification and dispersion on the national and international level, the amorphous and short-lived nature of Trotskyist groupings and also the exaggerated assessments of the numerical strength of their groups by the Trotskyists, no more or less authentic overall data about the number of Trotskyist organizations and their numerical make-up are available. There are at least seven main international centers, vying with each other for the right to represent the splinters remaining from the Fourth International, which Trotsky set up in 1938. Among them are the Paris United Secretariat, the Latin American Secretariat, the London International Committee, the International Marxist Revolutionary Tendency, and the International Trotskyist Tendency. These international 'secretariats', 'committees' and 'tendencies' include as sections, various groups, some of which come from the same countries; there are also Trotskyist organizations seeking to cobble together a Fifth International or groups which are not involved in any 'internationals.' The Trotskyists are most active in West European, Latin and North American countries, and also in Australia and some Asian countries.

much is made of a 'true' and a 'reformed' Trotsky, with emphasis on his 'historical achievements,' and efforts are being made to establish his authority, if not in the strategy of present-day revolution, then at least in the critique of the history of the communist movement, and its ideological, organizational and political principles.

Today, the communists need to look at Trotsky and Trotskyism only in order to gain a clearer understanding of what Trotskyists are today and why true revolutionaries consider it their duty to carry on a fight against them. We lay no claim here to presenting a comprehensive characteristic, but only some of the features of the Trotskyist trend and the lessons of struggle against it.

Trotsky's political stand was shot through with adventurism. (He joined the Bolshevik party only in the summer of 1917.) Its ideological basis was his 'absurdly left permanent revolution' theory (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 346). During the tsarist period in Russia, Trotsky used it to propound the idea of leaping over the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution. During the Brest-Litovsk period (1918) he used it to justify the tactics of sabotaging the peace treaty, tactics which led to the consignment of the revolution to demolition; as a result of Trotsky's gamble, which was a violation of the party's directives in the negotiations, the Soviet state got a much harder peace.

Equally adventurist were Trotsky's ideas in the 1930s, after he was expelled from the USSR in 1929 for anti-Soviet activity. First there was his stake on a 'revolutionary occasion' in Europe, then his extremist and misleading pronouncements about it being possible 'to fight fascism only by means of the methods of proletarian revolution,' and finally, his wait for another world war as the moment for a 'proletarian uprising.' Trotsky predicted the USSR's 'inevitable defeat' in that war, and cynically said that it would be no more than a 'short episode.'

To this very day, the refurbished 'permanent revolution' concept is the 'theoretical' basis of the Trotskyists' left-adventurist line of 'propelling' the world revolution.

From the outset, Trotsky displayed lack of principle as an organic feature of his ideological and political make-up. In the revolutionary movement in Russia he expressed the worst type of centrism, a petty-bourgeois trend seeking to use the cover of 'revolutionary' catchwords and compromise with right and 'left' opportunism to subordinate the revolutionary wing of the RSDLP to the Mensheviks, liquidators and social-chauvinists and to hand the party leadership to politicians who were unscrupulous about their methods. In 1910, Lenin wrote: 'Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear, all who are not concerned with the defence of Marxism; all philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think, and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of views . . . It is easy for Trotsky to become the "hero of the hour" and gather all the shabby elements around himself' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 21). After the October Revolution as well,

Trotsky continued to insist on an unprincipled cohabitation of revolutionaries and opportunists within the framework of one organization, so rallying all the spokesmen of right and 'left' petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

The activity of Trotsky and the Trotskyists has always had a large dose of demagoguery designed to win cheap prestige. Here are some of their characteristic methods: attempts to set the mass of party members against the party leadership and the apparatus, attempts to discredit the party by talk about bureaucratic degeneration, efforts to get government agencies away from the party's influence and control, to undermine the authority of the Central Committee, to rely in the struggle against party cadres on students, 'leftist' catchwords on economic policy, and so on.

The question of democracy has always been a central issue in the ideological dispute between the communists and Trotsky and his followers. Anti-democratic attitudes and neglect of the interests and will of the masses run right through Trotsky's political biography and constitute an element of Trotskyism. Trotsky based the tactics of the class struggle in Russia on the 'ignorance and prejudices of the peasantry as the powers that be under a bourgeois regime count and depend on them' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 374). Trotsky's demands for legalizing factionalism in the party had nothing in common with standing up for inner-party democracy. His anti-democratic attitudes were most clearly expressed in his urge to set up a military-bureaucratic system for controlling and commanding the masses, under which the mass of workers was to be transferred, appointed and commanded in the same way as soldiers are. Trotsky advocated not only the idea of militarizing civilian labor, but also of folding up democracy in other spheres of social life and the establishment of an all-pervasive administration by fiat.

In the period after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, Trotsky and his Fourth International came out against the democratic perspective and struggle for anti-fascist democracy, conducted a policy of undermining the idea of a popular front, and attacked both the communists and the democrats who sought to cooperate with them.

Yet another feature — exaltation of his own person — guided Trotsky in his everyday practical activity, in his 'theoretical research' and his memoirs. Trotsky did indeed hold important posts in the early years of the Soviet power. But this fact does not in itself give any ground for presenting Trotsky as one of the 'chief heroes' of the revolution. The circulation of the myth about Trotsky's 'special role' either deliberately distorts the historical truth or plays up to the legends which Trotsky himself strenuously spread.

To this day, for instance, some authors credulously accept the idea, which is a far cry from the historical truth but which Trotsky himself spread far and wide, that the leading core of the proletarian uprising in Russia in 1917 was the Petrograd Soviet headed by Trotsky, instead of the Military Rev-

olutionary Center set up at a conference of the Bolshevik party's Central Committee on October 16, 1917, which was guided directly by Lenin and of which Trotsky was not a member.

Some bourgeois historiographers love to talk about Trotsky as the man who organized Soviet Russia's foreign-policy service, and his 'outstanding contribution' to the build-up of the Red Army. But they forget (deliberately?) about the harm done by Trotsky to the revolution during the period of negotiations with Kaiser Germany. With his attitudinizing and bravado, which he used to cover up his incapacity to understand the reality of the international position of the then young Republic of Soviets, Trotsky formulated his task of head of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as follows: 'I shall issue a few revolutionary proclamations to the peoples of the world and then close the shop.' What is also being forgotten is that Trotsky made active use of his influential post in the leadership of the armed forces of the Republic to implant his own authoritarian power, and for that purpose resisted the party's guidance of the army and broke the class principle of its manning.

There was a time when Trotsky's name, as that of a man closely connected with the proletarian revolution, had an odious ring for the bourgeois ideologists. But they soon saw Trotsky's actual role in the intricate process of emergence of the socialist society and realized the role Trotskyism could generally play in the ideological and political battles in the ongoing revolutionary class struggle of the working people. The bourgeoisie realized that trends adopting the Trotskyist hue were a convenient instrument for achieving its political goals.

The whole history of the 20th century shows that the exploiter classes need adventurists and demagogues who, deliberately or otherwise, provoke the masses to futile action which benefits the bourgeoisie, who fragment the revolutionary forces

and are capable only of slowing down the advance toward the democratic and socialist goals of the working class.

Trotskyism is not an accidental product of the epoch. It has its roots in the class structure of bourgeois society. Having failed to infiltrate the communist parties and the working-class movement, it feeds on the instability, vacillation, immature political worldview, inexperience and impatience of the petty-bourgeois stratum of capitalist society involved in the revolutionary movement. In our day, Trotskyism also finds adherents among the left-wing forces who fail to see the real prospects before the revolutionary movement that the communists present, or are not prepared to accept these. Hence their urge to overrate the role of Trotsky and Trotskyism in the history of the revolutionary movement of our century, which enables them to cover their retreat from revolutionary-class positions with the Trotskyist flag of anti-Leninism.

Not many people in the capitalist countries now have a knowledge of the true substance of Trotskyism. But false interpretations of it are fairly widespread. There is now a situation which is very similar to that of which Lenin wrote in 1914: 'The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 346). One has to discuss Trotskyism to see all the ups and downs through which the social revolution has to make its way, and to help those who seek their own path to the revolution to gain a fuller understanding of its harsh reality and a better ability to distinguish between the genuine proletarian revolutionary approach and the noise and glitter of left-wing verbiage whether of the Trotskyist or any other petty-bourgeois stripe.

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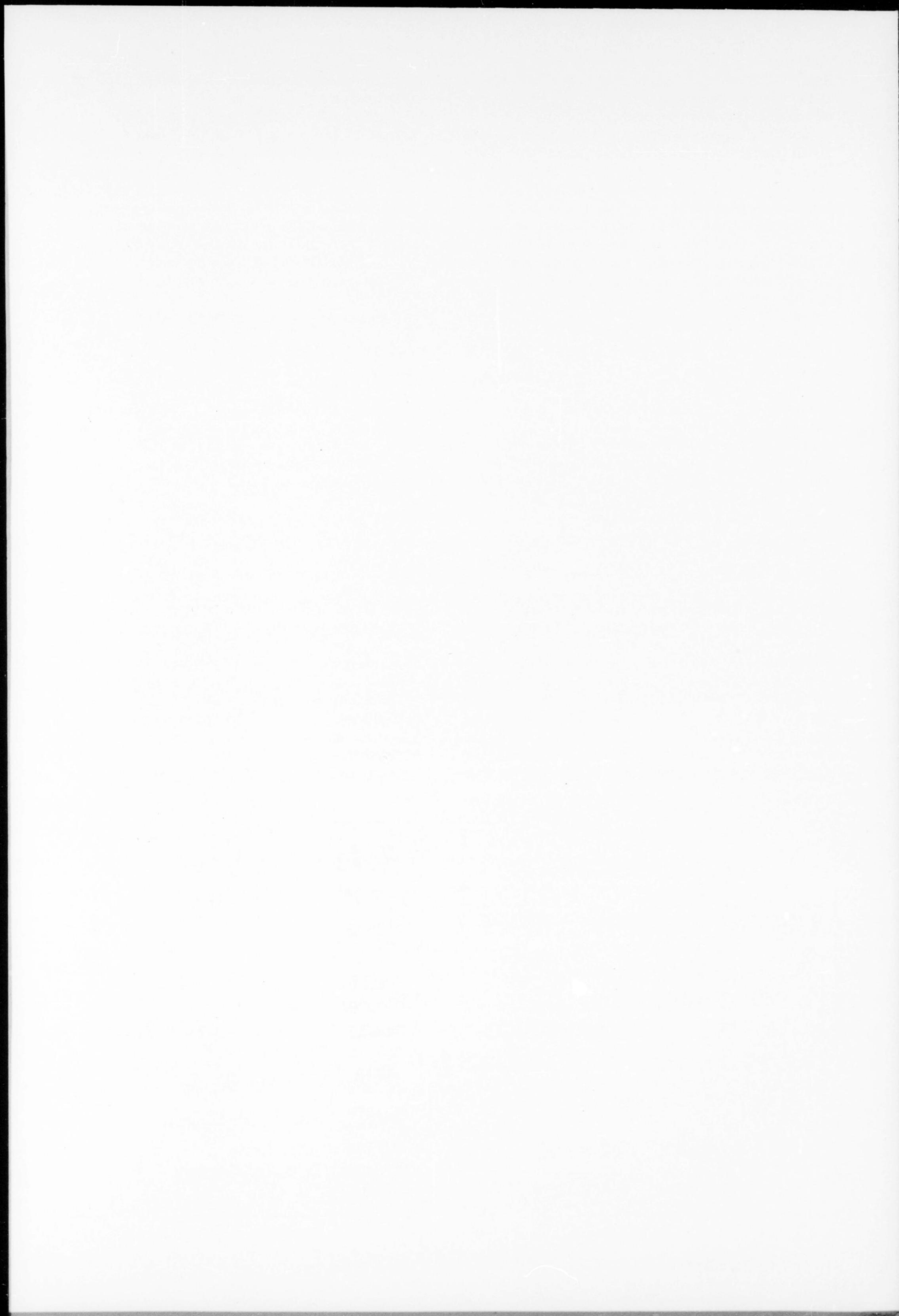
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