

WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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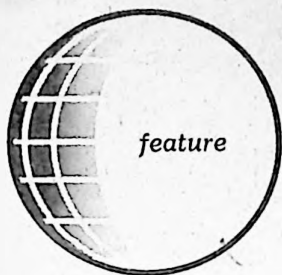
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An alliance tested by history

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As we enter the 60th year from the day when the great Lenin proclaimed the birth of the new social system, the antithesis of capitalist and imperialist exploitation, progressive mankind once more reflects on the world-historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It demolished imperialist domination over one-sixth of the globe, brought into being the world's first socialist state and, in a brief historical span transformed backward Russia into a great socialist power that withstood and emerged victorious in the life-and-death struggle against German fascism; it made possible the vast achievements of the multinational Soviet people in all areas of endeavor. From the very outset the state born of October has been the bulwark and reliable ally of the revolutionary movement in all countries and on all continents, and has given the movement a new impulse. For it was only the October Revolution and the Soviet Union's transformation into a great socialist state that provided the objective opportunities and the necessary conditions for a worldwide transition process to socialism, which is the very content of our era.

I

One of the most significant international results of the October Revolution was the rise and development of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, which has now practically eliminated imperialism's colonial system. The peoples of the newly liberated countries are now exerting all their energies to erase economic backwardness and dependence on imperialism. They are persistently working for equal international economic relations. This lends weight to the relations of solidarity, alliance and interaction against imperialism that exists between the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and the national-liberation movement.

The effectiveness of this interaction has been repeatedly dem-

onstrated. It was manifested in the fight for political liberation of the colonies and semi-colonies. It is manifested today, too, in the support world socialism gives Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples in repelling imperialist aggression, and in the economic sphere, now that the center of the national-liberation movement has shifted to socio-economic development, with the need to change the unequal pattern of economic relations with developed capitalist countries. And this support, increasing in step with the growing economic might of the socialist community and its influence in world affairs, is today a factor of transcendent importance. That is obvious to all, the imperialists included. That is why their strategy and tactics concentrate on actions designed to weaken, or even destroy, the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

There is a definite logic and reason to the behavior of reactionary, right-wing and compromising elements at epochal turning points and crisis periods: they concentrate their ideological and political attacks on issues crucial to the revolutionary movement. We can see that now in our own region, the Eastern Mediterranean. In the tense, explosive situation created over the past few years, the attacks have been centered on the key gain of the national-liberation movement and socialism, namely, their close anti-imperialist unity and historically-tested alliance with the powerful Soviet Union. In the Middle East and on Cyprus a virulent campaign has been launched to propagate views and conceptions alien to our peoples' struggle, and there have been more blatant anti-Soviet sallies. We deem it our duty, the duty of all Communists and patriots, to administer a stern rebuff to all such attacks. The document of the Berlin Conference of 29 European Communist and Workers' Parties calls for struggle against imperialist-instigated attacks on the Communist Parties, the USSR and the socialist countries, the forces of socialism and progress.

A particular danger today is the recently started campaign based on modern forms of anti-Sovietism. Its distinguishing feature is that, outwardly, it seems to take into account the new world realities and the weight of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in international affairs, but gives these phenomena a patently false interpretation. For instance, citing the extension of Soviet-Turkish state-to-state cooperation, the rightists on Cyprus allege that the Soviet Union is not interested in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem, even that it benefits from preserving the present state of affairs. Certain Arab circles interpret the Soviet Union's détente policy as a compromise with imperialism, an attempt to come to terms with the U.S. at the expense of Arab interests. Arab reactionaries have come out with the wholly false charge against the USSR that any

delay in a Middle East settlement and the absence of stability in the region is to the advantage of 'international communism.'

The common denominator of many of these attacks is — no more and no less — an attempt to prove that Soviet foreign policy is premised on egoistic pragmatism, that its internationalism is merely window dressing, and that its main impulse is the lust for world domination. Let it be said in passing that this ill-intentioned interpretation of Soviet policy is not new — reactionary propaganda has long used the thesis of a 'menace of Soviet imperialism,' and today the bugbear of a 'Soviet menace' is being used to frighten and intimidate Afro-Asian countries. The enemies of the great socialist Soviet state are exerting every effort to present it to the Afro-Asian peoples as a 'new imperialist power' allegedly striving for hegemony in the liberation movement.

Everyone with an elementary knowledge of the history of the Soviet foreign policy knows at least of the following two of its fundamental features.

First, since the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has pursued an international policy aimed at demolishing the capitalist system of 'imperial' international relations, with its division into 'weak' and 'strong' nations, with the former politically and economically subjugated by the latter.

The Soviet Union, its very existence, undermined imperialism's global political, economic and ideological monopoly. Whereas before the October Revolution the pattern of international relations was one of domination and subjection, since the Revolution, and more particularly since the emergence of the socialist system, it has increasingly been changing to equality and anti-imperialist solidarity. Whereas in the past world capital oppressed and exploited all the peoples, and especially colonial peoples, Soviet Russia's dropping out of the capitalist orbit not only contracted the sphere of capitalism's domination, but also brought to life a new force which, with the passage of time, was able to challenge the economic and political might of imperialism. Lastly, the Great October Revolution wrote *finis* to the dominance of imperialist ideology. Marxism-Leninism and the national-patriotic ideology became allies in the fight against the inhuman doctrine of colonialism, based on the supposed superiority of one nation over another and designed to justify imperialist oppression and exploitation of hundreds of millions. The overall result of the contraction of imperialism's domination was deep-going changes in international affairs, advantageous to the growth of the national-liberation movement, which acquired immense scope and ability to discharge its historic mission.

Second, Soviet foreign policy has always been directed at convert-

ing the liberation movement into a powerful force in history, at enabling the peoples participating in it fully to exercise their sovereign will.

Soviet policy has always helped to multiply the forces of liberation, strengthen the movement's potential and combat ability. Internationalism is the only explanation for the Soviet Union's truly titanic efforts to bring the formerly oppressed nations into the world arena as real makers of history. And if many former dependent and colonial countries now play a steadily increasing role in world affairs, much of the credit for that must go to the Soviet Union. For it was its fraternal support that helped, for instance, the revolutionary government of Egypt under President Nasser to exercise its national will and gain much influence and authority in our region and the so-called Third World. This support contributed to effective implementation of radical social transformation and to a consistent anti-imperialist policy and non-alignment.

The past ten years have seen the strengthening of the international positions of such Arab countries as Iraq, Syria, Algeria, which have launched an energetic offensive against imperialist positions, notably on the economic front. And in this, too, Soviet support played its part. Saddam Hussein, deputy chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, has said: 'The Arab people's struggle for economic emancipation and all-round development clashes with imperialist policies. This makes economic contacts with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries necessary, natural and in line with the Arabs' urge for progress.'

Experience has shown that anti-Soviet attacks are doomed to failure when they are not ignored and are countered by the facts. The history of Soviet-Arab or Soviet-Egyptian relations can be twisted and falsified, but this will not change the facts. The genuine history of these relations is being written by the Afro-Asian peoples themselves, for they are well aware of the true record of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

II

There are a number of fundamental factors that highlight the importance for the developing countries of contacts with the USSR. What are these factors?

First. From its very early days, the Soviet Union became a powerful bastion of the anti-colonial struggle. People of my generation will always remember such crucial landmarks as the liberation struggle of the 20s and 30s, and especially the Second World War. What cancelled out Churchill's boast, at the height of the war, that he had not become Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British

Empire? What was behind the abrupt changes on the political map of the world when the colonial system was disintegrating? What made the very concept 'colony' an anachronism, and what gave the liberation process immense scope? We will not be sinning against the truth if we say that without the existence of the world's first worker-peasant state these changes would have been inconceivable.

Second. The Afro-Asian peoples remember that it was the USSR which helped them survive in the most critical periods of their history. The proof of that is Vietnam, Cuba and many Arab countries. And the latest vivid example of the Soviet people's genuine internationalism was their assistance to Angola in winning independence. Today, too, notwithstanding the intrigues and pressure of imperialism, which would turn our island into a NATO base, the people of Cyprus know that there is a great power on their side, one that has consistently opposed all procrastination in reaching a settlement and all attempts to solve the problem behind the backs of the Cypriots, in the selfish interests of one or another country or military bloc. That power is the USSR. The TASS statement of June 22, 1976, reaffirmed the Soviet Union's principled stand, which is premised on immediate and full implementation of the UN decisions on Cyprus. The Soviet proposal for a UN-sponsored representative international conference to work out a just solution of the crisis has the unqualified support of our Party and has met with a warm response throughout the island.

Third. Every construction project in developing countries carried out with Soviet economic and technical assistance — not to mention such giants as the Aswan Dam and the Hellwan iron and steel complex in Egypt, the Euphrates Dam in Syria, the Bhilai and Bokaro metallurgical plants in India — is a convincing symbol of national sovereignty. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union helps these countries strengthen their political and economic independence. Soviet military aid serves that purpose too.

Fourth. The Soviet Union has always been on the side of the progressive and patriotic forces, i.e., the overwhelming majority of the nation, in the newly-formed states. The process of social emancipation, now so widespread in many Afro-Asian countries, would hardly have assumed such scope without Soviet support. The exceptional value of such support has repeatedly been stressed by leading revolutionary democrats. And the conversion of the revolutionary democratic movement into a major and influential liberation force is similarly largely due to the support the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have systematically given its revolutionary wing.

Fifth. Soviet policy on such questions as peace and détente is warmly supported in the national-liberation zone. The theses of the AKEL Central Committee on the Party's 50th anniversary emphasize

the vast significance of the 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program. Imbued with humanism and anti-imperialism, it has won the USSR the hearts of millions throughout the world. The 25th CPSU Congress decisions have put the fight for peace and détente on a higher plane. The USSR is consistently working to materialize the agreements reached at the Helsinki Conference and aimed at assuring Europe peace, cooperation and social progress. The final document of the European Conference of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties states that the positive changes in Europe create favorable conditions for the liberation struggle of the peoples, the fight against the war danger, and for extending détente to other areas of the world.

The worldwide trend toward détente is exerting a positive influence on the Cypriots' struggle for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This does not mean, of course, that the aggressive NATO circles have abandoned their plans to turn Cyprus into their base in the Mediterranean. But the Cypriot people are not alone. In the USSR and other countries of the socialist community they have reliable and faithful friends. And they know that with the imperialist powers rejecting all proposals to assure the security of our area, while increasing their naval forces in the Mediterranean, the presence of a Soviet naval detachment in the Mediterranean is a powerful factor for peace and has a sobering effect on certain elements.

To sum up: the Soviet Union has repeatedly proved by its actions its truly fraternal attitude to the peoples of the developing countries and its fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. That is why people are astonished, if not disgusted, by the arguments of those who, wittingly or unwittingly, equate the USSR with the USA, alleging that, in effect, they are pursuing one and the same policy vis-à-vis Asia, Africa and Latin America.

III

A theory that has gained wide currency in our region maintains that the vital problems of the young states can be best solved if they do not enter into permanent international alliances and pragmatically approach the choice of allies. This is the line of reasoning of the right-wingers on Cyprus: if the USSR and the other socialist states cannot help us put an end to the Turkish occupation, and if the non-aligned countries cannot bring enough pressure to bear on Turkey, then we should seek aid from the West. Or this example of a pragmatic approach by certain elements in the Arab countries: once a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, which the USSR favors, is being dragged out, it is only reasonable to consent to partial, half-way measures and make maximum use of America's 'good offices.' The thinking behind that line of argument can be

expressed in a few words: allies come and go, but national interests remain. 'Each side is looking after its own interests regardless of whether or not they coincide with those of the other side or with the common interests of the international community,' that is how the idea is expressed in some Arab quarters.

That approach wholly disregards the class nature of national interests. So much so that it enables outright reactionaries — and this we have seen on Cyprus — to parade as patriots concerned for the well-being of the nation.* The term 'national interests' is differently interpreted in the Arab world by supporters of the socialist orientation and by the compromising and monarchist elements. The former regard anti-imperialism as the cornerstone of their policy; the latter opt for cooperation with imperialism, endeavoring to reconcile national interests with those of the international monopolies. In other words, both approaches are class-motivated. In both cases international sympathy and antipathy are objectively predetermined. That is why these 'pragmatic' arguments carry so little conviction. For, in effect, the identity of national and social interests in international affairs is purely accidental, they maintain.

But there is the record of recent history to prove that international cooperation, political contacts and class alliances are always based on the interests of definite social forces. For instance, whereas the socialist countries base their relations with capitalist countries on peaceful coexistence, their contacts with developing countries are based on anti-imperialism, on the similarity of long-term class aims. That is why state-to-state cooperation can effectively promote social progress. And that has been confirmed by the experience of Soviet-Arab, and in particular Soviet-Egyptian relations. No one is likely to believe that the late President Nasser was guided by temporary expedient in establishing relations of alliance with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, reapproachment between the two countries was based on the community of their long-term interests. What distinguishes outstanding national-liberation leaders is that their policy is premised on the principles of consistent anti-imperialism and the struggle for social progress which provide a firm and durable foundation for relations with the socialist world. Loyalty to these principles is a reliable compass in charting a realistic policy in complex and crisis situations.

That the pragmatists' logic is far removed from political realism is evident from their stand on so cardinal a question as the attitude to the socialist and to the imperialist states. As a rule, they see no difference between the USSR and the USA and suggest steering clear of the 'superpowers' and following an 'equidistant' policy. Incidental-

*The rightists' defeat in the September elections in Cyprus, however, shows that they have not been able to mislead the Cypriot people.

ly, at the recent Colombo Non-Aligned Conference there was an attempt to focus the discussion on the 'hegemonistic propensities of the superpowers' and divert it from the real problems facing the developing countries.* It need hardly be said that counterposing the non-aligned to the socialist countries plays into the hands of the imperialists. Objectively, 'equidistance' can only damage the cause of national liberation. One can well imagine, for instance, what dire consequences this would have had for the Angolan revolution (some in Africa actually tried to impose it on the Angolan patriots).

Lastly — and this is the biggest danger — the pragmatic approach is often used to cover up revision of progressive foreign policy principles. Thus, the right-wingers on Cyprus now demand not only dismantling relations with the USSR and abandoning our traditional policy of non-alignment, but are trying to instill the idea that 'historically, geographically and culturally' Cyprus belongs to Western Europe and hence, they argue, we must closely cooperate with West European economic and political organizations. As for the Cyprus problem, the right-wingers and reactionaries want what amounts to a solution on NATO terms and under NATO auspices, which in practice would mean partition.

In the Middle East, too, there has been talk about the 'key to a settlement' being in the hands of the United States, and, hence, foreign policy should be oriented accordingly. But what of the many years of the Arab struggle against imperialism and Israeli aggression, the suffering and hardship of the Palestinian people, who have lost thousands in the battle for their national rights? If the colonial peoples were to take the view that the key to their independence was in the hands of their masters, we would never have witnessed the collapse of the colonial system. Its collapse, due primarily to the efforts of the Afro-Asian peoples, is proof that all-round alliance with the USSR and the socialist world generally is the correct orientation.

This year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of our working-class party. Summing up its heroic work, the Communists can proudly say that in fulfilling their internationalist duty they have spared no effort in the fight against the enemies of the world's first worker-peasant state, which has grown to become a mighty socialist power; against all opponents of an alliance of socialism and the national-liberation movement. Throughout all these years we knew that in countering anti-Sovietism we were accelerating our own national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign and territorially integrated state of the Cypriots. For every anti-Sovieteer, every enemy of the Land of Soviets, is our enemy,

*See Pieter Keuneman's article elsewhere in this issue.—*Ed.*

personified by the colonialists, anti-communists and reactionaries. That lesson has retained all its validity, for in their campaign against the Communists the reactionaries on Cyprus resort to every manner of slander and insinuation against the Soviet Union. Lastly, the experience of our liberation movement has clearly shown that if the Cypriots did not have strong and faithful friends in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, Cyprus would long ago have ceased to be an independent state.

Genuinely revolutionary class

René Urbany
Deputy Chairman, CP Luxembourg

The dominant feature of capitalist reality is the working people's growing urge for change. The hard economic crisis has made the need for fundamental socio-political change more acute. Today no political party can afford to disregard this mass sentiment, and every party advocates 'reform' of one kind or another. Even the bourgeois parties of the right and employers' associations have assumed a reformist posture. They are at pains to assure the public that they too want 'change,' but with 'law and order,' through 'perfecting' the existing, i.e., capitalist, system and adapting it to the new realities.

In a number of countries the political struggle has reached a point at which the question of which socio-political force is capable of directing and implementing the necessary changes has become a very practical one. Where there are mass Communist Parties, and where significant headway has been made in overcoming the division of the labor movement, the road to fundamental democratic change lies through political unity of all the anti-monopoly forces, through the majority rallying around the working class to fight monopoly power. In such countries there is growing active popular support for the anti-monopoly program of the working-class parties and other progressive, democratic organizations. Even in capitalist countries where the right-wing Social Democrats set the tone, the mass urge for change has widened differentiation within the Social-Democratic parties, activated their left wing and energized unitary processes within the trade unions.

We thus have every reason to say that the urge for change has given

the anti-monopoly struggle a much more pronounced *mass* character than in the past.

The monopolies have retaliated by an ideological counter-offensive in an effort to divert the mounting mass protest into reformist channels. The bourgeoisie is giving the Social Democrats more support and in every way encouraging the spread of the theory and practice of 'social partnership.' Every means of mass propaganda is being employed toward that end. By fomenting anti-communism, big capital hopes to harden the split in the labor movement and prevent the emergence of a broad anti-monopoly political alliance.

But that is becoming increasingly difficult. For there is a new dimension in the situation: the much greater objective opportunities for rallying around the working class all classes and strata subjected — albeit in varying degree — to monopoly oppression.

Let us first take this question; what changes in the social structure of capitalist society are powering these anti-monopoly sentiments and intensifying the working people's desire for deep-going social transformations?

In the days of Marx and Lenin, the chief potential allies of the proletariat in the leading capitalist countries were the independent small producers, the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, artisans, that is, classes and strata which, to a lesser or greater degree, were kindred with the bourgeoisie, though constantly exploited and ruined by it. Today the main allies of the working class in these countries include the vast army of wage and salary earners which accounts for about 70-85 per cent of the gainfully employed population. They have no means of production and no class ties with the bourgeoisie. They include office workers, engineers and technicians, supervisory staffs and other members of the white-collar community (but not top managers and civil servants). Many of these people frequently find themselves in solidarity with the working-class struggle and are gradually turning to the left forces and the Communist Parties.

In particular, the middle and lower categories of white-collar workers are displaying growing activity, and they account for a rapidly increasing share of the population. The very nature of their work brings them closer to the industrial workers. Their social status is steadily declining and their share in decision-making is being drastically cut. Mechanization and automation of office work leads to industrial methods of exploitation. More and more office workers are coming to realize that they are no more than hired and exploited labor. Their demands increasingly coincide with those of the workers, and they are more energetically applying proletarian methods and forms of struggle, including strike action. This process of coming together of the basic mass of white-collar workers and the working

class — even though it does not remove the essential distinctions between them — is bound to have important socio-political consequences for the destinies of capitalist society as a whole.

The intelligentsia plays a much bigger and more important role. It, too, has become a large social stratum. The declining weight of the 'liberal professions' has been accompanied by a sharp increase in the weight of the salary-earning intelligentsia. This conversion of the basic mass of intellectuals into hired labor makes it increasingly sensitive to monopoly oppression and arbitrariness. Large groups of intellectuals are breaking with bourgeois ideology and inclining toward the left forces, toward alliance with the working class.

There has been wider differentiation also among the traditional allies of the working class. In the industrial capitalist countries, the farmers, the urban petty proprietors and producers, are coming to realize that their position is closer to that of the wage worker than to the rich, top crust of society. This, of course, should not be taken to mean that all the threads tying them to the bourgeoisie have been torn, or that they have shed their inherent duality. The process is highly complex and contradictory, for by virtue of his position in capitalist production the small producer, can, in certain situations, find himself on the side of big entrepreneur capital.

The working class will have to wage a persistent struggle to win over these strata. However, its task is lightened by the fact that the development of state-monopoly capitalism constantly increases the instability of these strata, creating an ever-present manace of more intensive monopoly exploitation or outright ruin. The peasants, for instance, despite their drastically reduced numbers, have a clear understanding of their role in society. They have become more organized and united and have evolved their own forms of resistance to monopoly oppression. The same applies to the urban small producers, who are constantly being reproduced by modern capitalism, especially with expansion of the service industry, and at the same time are being mercilessly ruined. Exploited by the big concerns through a contractual system, many small businessmen find themselves in difficult straits and with a very gloomy future. In some cases their income is only slightly above the wages of a skilled worker. We can therefore say that the state-monopoly oligarchy, which today exploits and oppresses not only wage and salary earners, but also small and middle entrepreneurs, is breeding its own enemies.

The preconditions thus exist for these strata supporting the anti-monopoly movement. Experience is teaching these non-proletarian groups to support the political demands of the working-class parties and trade unions. More, they are showing a heightening level of organization and social consciousness. In the advanced capitalist

countries a situation is taking shape in which the tight group of monopolists is opposed not only by the working class but also — though not always consciously or in equal measure — by all the other classes and strata of the laboring population. Their interests are voiced by political and trade union organizations which, in principle, can come together in a majority alliance and win general elections.

However, there is this question: what place does the working class hold in such an alliance? Does it retain its leading, revolutionary role in the new conditions, when all the other laboring strata are likewise energetically pressing for profound democratic change?

A correct answer to that question is all the more important because the reformists maintain that the present radicalization of the non-proletarian strata confirms their theory of the 'declining role of the working class' or, at least, the 'levelling out' of its revolutionary potential with that of other labor categories.

Marxist-Leninists are guided by the scientific theory that at every stage of capitalist development the workers, as a class are, objectively, the most consistent progressive and revolutionary force. Marx emphasized precisely the objective character of the historic role of the working class, regardless of the level of consciousness of one or another worker. He wrote: 'It is not a question of what this or that proletariat, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment *regards* as its aim. It is a question of *what the proletariat is*, and what, in accordance with this *being*, it will historically be compelled to do' (Marx and Engels, *Coll. Works*, vol. 4, p. 37). And history has confirmed the conclusion of the founders of Marxism that the epochal mission of being the 'grave-digger of capitalism' and the builder of socialism falls to the proletariat and its allies. Capitalist reality provides ample evidence that the essential features and qualities of the working class discovered by Marx and Engels, qualities that make it the leading revolutionary class, the hegemon class, have retained all their validity.

In the economic system of state-monopoly capitalism, too, the *main social contradiction* is the one between labor and capital and the working class remains the main antagonist of the bourgeoisie. And though there have been endless attempts to camouflage this, the fact remains that the working class is alienated from the means of production, denied any real function in administration and any part in decision-making; lives only by the sale of its labor power, with wages never exceeding the cost of that labor power. Under capitalism — despite all the gains it has made — it is still the exploited class, the one that creates surplus value and holds a subordinate place in the system of production.

Today, too, the working class is steadily increasing in numbers.

The law of its development is such that at every given stage of history the 'inflow' into the working class is much greater than the 'outflow.' Its ranks are swelled by ruined peasants, office workers, by those employed in material and non-material production, etc. For all their importance, the changes in the structure of the working class do not justify the belief that it is being 'diluted,' 'dissolved,' is 'vanishing.' At the close of the 19th century there were approximately 30 million workers in the world; in the mid-70s of this century there are more than 200 million in the developed capitalist countries alone.

But the strength of the proletariat lies not only in numbers: it is immeasurably greater than its share of the population. And the working class is developing qualitatively, too.

Increasingly concentrated at giant enterprises and creating the bulk of the nation's wealth, the working class of today, by its very position at the center of capitalist production, is in a strong position to exert an increasingly active influence on the general direction of social and economic policy. Nor is it merely a matter of the workers being able to, literally, 'stop the wheels of industry' by using their potent strike weapon. Their strength is determined to a much greater degree by the fact that they can offer their own solutions to the problems facing society. This has been facilitated in this age of the technological revolution by, first, the higher educational and professional standards of the working class and, second, by its having been joined by members of the intellectual professions directly involved in the production process — technicians, engineers, research workers, etc. Because of his higher educational and general cultural level, the modern worker is not only receptive to scientific socialism and capable of understanding complex social, economic and political problems, but capable, also, of taking an active and knowledgeable part in working out alternative solutions to capitalism.

The fact that the working class is not animated by social egoism plays a definite role, too. As it sheds narrow craft-union views, the labor movement begins to see itself as spokesman for, and champion of, the interests of all the laboring strata, of the nation as a whole.

In noting the damage craft narrowness does to the cause of the revolution, Lenin pointed out that 'the proletariat becomes revolutionary only insofar as it does not restrict itself to the narrow framework of craft interests, only when in all matters and spheres of public life, it acts as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 194).

Progressive trade unions no longer confine themselves to getting the highest price for their members' labor power. While upholding their immediate interests, they do not lose sight of the ultimate aims of the working class and of the just demands of other social strata, and

do not make deals at the expense of the potential allies of the working class.

Social and political aims that accord with the aspirations of all working people, of the entire people, are gaining prominence in the demands now being advanced by the proletariat. More and more often it combines its economic demands with the need for fundamental restructuring of society and its adoption of the socialist path.

Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that craft unionism and the craft-union mentality have now been fully overcome in the labor movement. In many countries there is still the division into class and 'social-partnership' unions. Though the bourgeoisie is in principle opposed to craft-union demands, it nevertheless tries to cultivate the craft-union mentality as the lesser of two evils. Besides, it knows that when the workers fight only for their own interests, this tends to isolate them from other groups of the working people.

The more advanced workers are coming to realize that their future, i.e., radical resolution of the labor-capital contradiction, depends on their ability, as a class, to champion the interests of, and give leadership to, other sections of the laboring population. We Communists are doing everything to bring that home to every worker. The document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties (June 1976) stresses that the working class is '*the main force in social development, one that represents the interests of the entire mass of the working people, the interests of social progress and overall national interests.*'

And so, by virtue of its objective position in society, and not because of subjective ambitions, the working class is being brought to the fore as the main revolutionary force of our time. As for the other classes and strata oppressed by the monopolies, for a number of objective reasons none of them can act as leader of the laboring masses in the battle against monopoly rule, and still less in the fundamental restructuring of society. For all the importance of the radicalization process among these strata, we must always bear in mind that they occupy an intermediate position between the main antagonistic classes. Their social heterogeneity, ideological and organizational disunity negatively tell on the forms of their social protest. In many cases their struggle does not go beyond narrow social and professional interests, and hence their inclination toward separate, corporate action. Political duality and instability are still characteristic of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie, making it easy prey to all manner of 'ultra' trends, both right and left.

Another reason why the working class is better prepared to play a leading role is that it has powerful and battle-seasoned trade union and political organizations. Its vanguard, the Communist Parties,

armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, are consistent spokesmen and champions of the interests and will of the working class and unbending fighters for the socialist refashioning of society.

Unity of the labor movement is a prime aim of the Communists. The experience of recent years has shown that the stronger and more effective such unity is, the more favorable are the conditions for the fight for social progress. We have had practical proof of this in Luxembourg as in other countries.

Working-class influence on national affairs in Luxembourg visibly increased after the 1965 merger of the Communist-led and Socialist-led trade union centers. In fact, unity was the key to the successful general strike of October 9, 1973, called on Communist initiative in support of trade union demands for new wage agreements. Without this unity there would not have been the 40,000-strong solidarity demonstration in the capital. The biggest trade union action since the 30s, it was a decisive factor in wresting concessions from big capital. Its political consequences made themselves felt in the 1974 parliamentary elections when, for the first time in half a century, the reactionary Christian-Social People's Party was voted out of office and a left-center government formed of Socialists and Liberals.

Of course, this did not, and could not, produce fundamental political change. Some union leaders linked with the Socialist Party and subscribing to its ideology, still cling to 'social partnership.' And the government itself has used the left-center signboard as a cover for a clearly bourgeois policy, notably on economic issues, that helps big capital. We are far from regarding unity as a kind of magic wand that can solve all problems. Because of some miscalculations on our part, there have been cases of Communist support of unity producing unilateral political advantages for the Socialists, who are less scrupulous in dealing with their allies.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the working class and its organizations are steadily building up influence in the course of the struggle for social progress. The trade unions, in particular, are less inclined to remain within the narrow framework of day-to-day demands. Thus, the last Congress of the Letzeburger Arbretterverband, the united trade union center (whose membership is drawn mainly from Communist and Socialist supporters), approved a resolution trenchantly criticizing the Socialists in government and calling for intensified class struggle and priority action in support of fundamental political, social and public reforms in the interests of *all* working people. One cannot but see in these trends a heartening beginning of a new awareness of the working class of its rôle and potential opportunities. The Communist Party of Luxembourg will do everything it

can to develop this success and overcome shortcomings in its work on this crucial sector of the front.

In this context, we are faced with the all-important question, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, of the leading role of the working class, which is now so vehemently challenged and attacked by the right Socialist and reformist parties.

For these parties and their leaders the be-all and end-all of policy is victory at the polls. Their main aim is to win a maximum number of votes. Accordingly, they have long been trying to cast off the inhibiting name of 'workers' parties' and present themselves to the public as parties of the middle strata as the biggest group of the population. They have jettisoned the Marxist idea of the epochal mission of the working class — there is no place for it in the right Social Democrats' scheme of things.

However, even Socialists who accept the idea of an anti-monopoly alliance tend to underestimate the role of the working class. Their line of reasoning can be reduced to the following: as a result of changes in the structure of capitalist society, other classes and social strata have become just as 'revolutionary' as the working class, and there is therefore no reason to single out the proletariat as the leading force; more, the idea of hegemony of the proletariat, they affirm, contradicts the principle of equality of all participants in the anti-monopoly alliance; singling out the revolutionary working class and its leading role in these new conditions means belittling the role of other anti-monopoly forces; we should simply speak of a 'front of classes' opposed to the monopoly bourgeoisie, without mentioning the proletariat's leading role and, perhaps, also abandon the very concept of a social vanguard, because this would only narrow our social base.

In Luxembourg as in the larger industrial capitalist countries, the Socialists are trying to belittle the role of the working class. They even avoid the very words 'working class' and 'capitalists' in favor of 'employees' and 'employers,' with much accompanying talk about their 'social partnership.' The Socialists do not speak of the 'working class and its allies,' preferring the term 'laboring people.' Objectively, that tends to minimize the role of the working-class movement, opens the door to unprincipled compromises with the bourgeoisie and fosters petty-bourgeois tendencies within the Socialist Party. It is but one step from distorting the real alignment of class forces to obliterating the dividing line between the two antagonistic classes. And it is no accident that the Socialist press describes such an institution as the National Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of the trade unions, the bourgeois state and big capital, as an 'organ of social partnership' and all its participants as the 'vital forces of the nation.'

The Socialists' negation of the front-rank, leading role of the working class in the anti-monopoly struggle factually means playing down its role of motive force of social development, and substituting for the revolutionary ideology of class struggle the ideology of reformism and class collaboration. In short, this concept, we believe, can only divert on to the wrong road the energy of the masses longing for change.

Unlike the Socialists, the Luxembourg Communists believe that there is no contradiction between the principle of equal rights and obligations for all participants in the anti-monopoly alliance, and the leading role of the working class in the mass struggle against monopoly oppression. These are different things. Equality of parties and organizations within a political alliance is both natural and logical. Nor do the Communists demand for themselves any special, leading function in such an alliance; they strictly abide by democratic principles. More, they declare that such equality in cooperation with their partners will continue in the building of the new, socialist society.

But when we speak of the leading role of the working class, we have in mind its objective position in capitalist society, its great historic mission. In the confrontation between the two main antagonistic classes, the working class employs powerful social and economic weapons and forms of struggle, and leads the masses on the road to social progress and resolution of the main contradiction, between labor and capital.

It will thus be seen that, correctly understood, the leading role of the working class is not an idea born of the Communists' lust for 'leadership,' nor an attempt to 'exploit' the allies of the working class for egoistic purposes, as many of our enemies maintain. It is, rather, an expression of the working class's readiness to assume the main burden of the struggle, an expression of its deep belief that in liberating itself, it is liberating others, too. Today, with the radicalization of its allies — which makes political victory of the anti-monopoly majority an increasingly realistic goal — the working class plays a greater, not lesser, revolutionary role. Its allies are coming to see it not merely as the vanguard, but also as the main constructive force. Orientation on the working class, providing the conditions for its hegemony in the popular struggle, are the principal guarantee of the durability and effectiveness of the anti-monopoly alliance. And the Communists make no secret of their hopes that the anti-monopoly struggle will gradually lead the majority of the population to accept socialism.

The experience of all socialist revolutions has demonstrated that the historic function of the working class acquires especial importance at the stage of resolving the main contradiction of capitalism, between labor and capital. Even when the anti-monopoly majority comes to power, the leading role of the working class will still be

necessary, in one form or another and for a more or less lengthy period (depending on national specifics). It will be needed to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie, thwart its attempts to divide the majority and discredit and sabotage the socialist restructuring of society. It will be needed, also, to muster all the strength and ability of the working class and its allies. Otherwise it will be impossible to overcome the social sabotage of the domestic and international bourgeoisie — from the 'flight of capital,' economic blockade, and all manner of subversion, to direct interference in the internal affairs of revolutionary countries on the plea of 're-establishing law and order,' or for 'security' reasons.

Today this function of the working class is made easier by the fact that the international workers' movement and its creation, the socialist world system, having become an essential factor of world development, have brought about détente, strengthened peace and improved international relations. This affords more favorable conditions for the people's struggle for their social demands and rights, enhances the authority of the working-class movement, gives wider scope for united action for social progress and less scope for imperialist maneuver.

The history of the revolutionary working-class movement shows that the proletariat can fulfill its leading role vis-à-vis other social strata in varying circumstances, both in conditions of an armed and peaceful road of the revolution. The latter is now on the agenda in a number of capitalist countries, and few Communists doubt that a peaceful road to socialism is possible. But they are fully aware, also, that it will not be a walk-over nor a 'simple parliamentary game,' as some Socialists would have us believe. The arithmetical total of reforms carried out within the capitalist system does not add up to revolution because it does not resolve the power issue. The peaceful road, too, will involve hard-fought political battles against the forces of the obsolescent system. But we believe that the preconditions for a peaceful advance to socialism exist. They include formation of a close alliance of all laboring classes and strata under working-class leadership, skillful combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, the masses' growing confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class and its ability to safeguard their democratic gains.

At this point in history, the Communists are confronted with complex and responsible tasks in their social, economic, ideological and political struggle. One of these is to enrich the revolutionary theory and practice of the working-class movement. Successful accomplishment of these tasks will, we believe, largely depend on how

consistently the working class discharges its great historic mission as the genuinely revolutionary force of our epoch.

Trends in twentieth-century international relations

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International relations are undergoing fundamental change. Deeper international division of labor, the technological revolution, particularly in transport and communications, have made the world more compact. The development of mass destruction weapons has greatly multiplied international tensions. The armaments burden is becoming increasingly ruinous and is impeding social progress and better conditions of life. It is now obvious that the formidable problem of preserving and improving the environment cannot be solved without international security and cooperation. The march of history has made peace, international security and cooperation the focal point of world development — the lives of hundreds of millions depend on their achievement. In our age international relations play a growing and crucial part in social progress.

Public thinking and feeling on these issues found a clear expression at the World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Détente, which met in Helsinki in the latter part of September. The very fact that some 500 delegates from more than 100 countries, representing the world peace movement and many international organizations, had gathered to examine one of the most pressing problems of our time, is convincing proof of the peoples' longing for enduring peace, and of the readiness of millions of men and women of good will to work for détente and disarmament. We thus have one more confirmation of the view expressed by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties that there are realistic opportunities of making Europe a continent of peace and social progress.

The changes the world has gone through in the past few decades are insolubly linked with the revolutionary process, the confrontation and competition of socialism and capitalism, the growth of the international communist and workers' movement and the upsurge of

the national-liberation struggle. In this context, I propose to discuss the main landmarks in the genesis and prospects of the present system of international relations and evaluate the various stages in implementing Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence.

At the turn of the century, when the world was divided between the 'great' capitalist powers, international relations were entirely dominated by imperialism. Though there was a struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and a national-liberation movement in the colonies, the masses were everywhere oppressed and could not influence international policy. Lenin referred to three main types of international relations as characteristic of imperialism. The first — 'the relation of the oppressed nation to the oppressing'; the second — 'the relation between two oppressing nations on account of the loot, its division, etc.'; the third — 'the relation of a national state which does not oppress others to one which oppresses, to a particularly reactionary state' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 264). Violence, aggression, chronic instability, inevitable military conflicts that grew over into global clashes, were intrinsic to the system of international relations.

All that was changed by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the socialist progress that followed it. *From the very moment the world was split into two systems, socialist and capitalist, there began the historical process of democratic restructuring of international relations.* With the rise of the first socialist state the main contradiction became that between the two socio-economic systems.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia was a qualitative leap in the sense that international relations began to play a much greater part in public life. Now that it was in power, the working class had ways and means of influencing world development to ensure peace, freedom and social progress.

Peaceful coexistence, the principle proclaimed by the October Revolution, followed from the very nature of socialism. Not only did it provide favorable conditions for the internal development of the Soviet republic, but was expressive of the organic tie between its foreign policy and universal peace and security. The aims of its socialist foreign policy accorded with the aspirations and democratic interests of the working people the world over. Nothing could be further from the truth than the allegation that the young Soviet republic was motivated by an urge to 'export revolution.' These allegations are still being made by many bourgeois writers. Even the relatively objective British historian E.H Carr, the author of a voluminous history of the October Revolution, maintains that, up to 1920, peaceful coexistence did not figure in Soviet foreign policy.¹ It is therefore proper to recall some of the facts of history.

From its very first days, the Soviet government, through Lenin's

Decree on Peace, called on all the nations to join in concluding a just and democratic peace. There are no grounds to regard this, as some 'Kremlinologists' do, as a 'tactical move.' It was the logical sequel to the Party's policy of consolidating the victory of socialism in one country.

Already at the time of the First World War, Lenin came to the conclusion that, in the age of imperialism, with its uneven economic and political development, 'the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone' (Vol. 21, p. 342). Of course, socialist revolution in one country required at least an average level of capitalist development territory and resources sufficient to muster the revolutionary forces and withstand imperialist attacks. A long period of coexistence with imperialism was therefore a logical and practical necessity.

But what kind of coexistence? That question was the subject of a sharp discussion in the Bolshevik Party in the early Soviet years. In his polemics with the so-called 'left Communists' in 1918, Lenin wrote: 'Perhaps . . . the interests of the world revolution forbid making any peace at all with imperialists? . . . The incorrectness of this view . . . is as clear as day. A socialist republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from this point of view, conclude any economic treaties, and could not exist at all, without flying to the moon' (Vol. 27, p. 71). Lenin comprehensively sustained the need to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet state was even prepared to 'buy peace' from the foreign capitalists by allowing them certain concessions. 'A durable peace,' Lenin wrote, 'would be such a relief to the working people of Russia that they would undoubtedly agree to certain concessions being granted' (Vol. 30, p. 39).

In fact, during Lenin's life the principle of peaceful coexistence became the official Soviet foreign-policy doctrine, and it has been followed throughout all these years. The world revolutionary process has enriched this principle, giving it a new dimension, a more concrete content.

In the 20s and 30s the Soviet Union worked for a peaceful adjustment with its neighbors by concluding commercial and non-aggression treaties. It repeatedly proposed armaments reduction and disarmament and indicated the ways and means of preventing aggression. With the Second World War looming ahead, Soviet foreign policy concentrated on a system of collective security to repel the aggressor. The Soviet peaceful coexistence and collective security policy presented many opportunities for averting war. And responsibility for it not having been averted rests with the leaders of the capitalist West, Chamberlain and the other Munich men, who followed a policy of condoning aggression.

The victory of the Soviet Union and other members of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War powerfully influenced the course of world development. The defeat of fascism, the changing balance of strength in favor of peace, democracy and socialism, and the emergence of the socialist world system, gave a new impulse to the transformation of international relations. And we can say with full justification that *socialism's advance beyond the bounds of one country imparted a new quality to the process of repatterning the whole system of international relations*. Socialism's revolutionary influence on the course of world events was further enhanced.

For the first time in history, there was a new type of international relations — between sovereign and fully equal socialist states based on all-round cooperation and comradely mutual assistance. That pattern is being constantly perfected through socialist economic integration. The emergence of the socialist world system meant that capitalism's sphere of domination and its material and human resources were substantially reduced.

Throughout the cold war unleashed by the reactionary element in the capitalist West, the Soviet Union consistently pursued its policy of peaceful coexistence and prevention of another world war. In the 50s and 60s its purposeful and sustained efforts, and those of other socialist countries, at times kept the cold warriors in check. But every such period of relaxation was, as a rule, followed by political crises, and there was no radical turn toward international peace and security. For not everyone was prepared to accept the new postwar balance of forces in favor of socialism. In particular, imperialist policy makers still believed they could retain their strategic superiority over the Soviet Union for a long time to come and dictate terms to the socialist world from 'positions of strength.' Even the more realistic-minded leaders of the capitalist world did not realize that there was no alternative to peaceful coexistence, which is not only a historical necessity, but also a practical inevitability.

The turn toward détente came only when the leaders of the capitalist world were finally convinced that socialism could not be 'rolled back,' nor the national-liberation movement suppressed. 'There was only one way to convince them of the futility of their hopes,' Leonid Brezhnev has said, 'by making world socialism and the national-liberation movement an invincible force. And they have become such a force! A force that brings mankind progress, freedom and peace.'

The postwar progress of the socialist community in economic and cultural development and in raising prosperity standards has conclusively demonstrated that socialism is the most dynamic force of our time. The growth of the socialist community's economic, political and

military strength, its achievements in building developed socialism and communism, enable it even more confidently and effectively to pursue its policy of restructuring international relations along democratic lines.

It was against this background that the communist and workers' national-liberation, and non-aligned movements and the popular masses in every part of the world came out in active support of peace. The forces of peace and progress were in an incomparably better position to bar the road to thermonuclear catastrophe, rebuff the forces of aggression and reaction and achieve a decisive turn toward détente.

The 24th CPSU Congress Peace Program indicated concrete ways of resolving pressing international problems that were hampering universal peace and equal and mutually-advantageous cooperation. The Program showed, as Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress, 'the realistic way to end the cold war and set clear objectives in the struggle to replace the danger of wars with peaceful cooperation.' And the chief tasks were to eliminate the seats of war in Southeast Asia and the Middle East; repel all acts of aggression; achieve international renunciation of the threat or use of force; bring about a turn toward détente and peace, and ensure collective security in Europe; activate the struggle to halt the arms race and for disarmament; eliminate colonial regimes; promote mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries.

Fulfillment of this program produced a healthier international climate and positive changes in world affairs. The broad peace offensive of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has made the 70s the most meaningful, dynamic and constructive period of modern history, a period in which the forces of peace and progress scored outstanding successes. Many international disputes which for years had bred tension have now been settled. All this, I think, enables us to say that *we are at the beginning of a new phase in the restructuring of international relations*. This implies that the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures is becoming an essential part of the world system of international relations.

Compared with the early 1900s, the structure and content of international relations have been virtually transformed. There are more opportunities to constrict and curb imperialist actions. Of course, the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, but in the world of today there is less scope for its reactionary proclivities. Socialism is playing an increasingly decisive role in shaping the destinies of the world. The very concept of 'strength' in international relations is no longer determined by armed strength alone, but depends on the achievements of socialism, on the epochal battle between labor and

capital, the national-liberation movement and the peoples' struggle for peace and progress.

What is the substance of the new stage in international relations that we are now witnessing, and what are its characteristic features?

The overall restructuring of international relations continues, but the dominant trend now is peaceful dialogue and constructive joint solutions to problems facing all nations. The turn toward détente is a reality of our day.

The Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation was an event of historic importance. It gave a political summation of the Second World War, it reaffirmed the futility of positions-of-strength policies and opened up new vistas for durable peace and security. The Helsinki Conference was the logical consummation of many years of unremitting effort for peaceful coexistence, of the peace offensive undertaken by the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, and of the worldwide struggle of the Communists and other progressive forces. But it was also the result of an agonizing reappraisal of the situation by the ruling element in the imperialist powers, revision of cold-war shibboleths and assimilation of the new facts of life. Needless to say, in the West there is a good deal of scepticism, even a negative attitude, toward Helsinki. Thus, the Conservative London *Daily Telegraph* commented that 'there was no breakthrough at Helsinki, just hope deferred. . . .' However, there can be little doubt that the Helsinki Conference and the series of East-West bilateral agreements formalized the political realities of our time, contained the arms drive and brought mankind a long way toward solution of its central problem, prevention of a world war and the assurance of lasting peace. In this sense they are irreversible.

We are living at a time when lasting peace has become a precondition for resolving the cardinal problems confronting all nations. The conquest of outer space, exploitation of sea resources, new sources of energy, the demographic explosion, the fight against hunger, environmental protection — these and other vital problems can be solved only by concerted effort of all the nations. The trend toward internationalization of public life, foreseen by Lenin, is gaining ground. The technological revolution provides greater scope for international contacts, trade and the exchange of material and cultural values. This necessitates broad cooperation in many different fields based on peaceful coexistence. 'It is not a matter of learning more subtly to manipulate the so-called balance of strength,' Leonid Brezhnev has said, 'but of precluding the use of force in international relations.'

Peace and détente assert themselves as permanent factors not automatically, but through persevering struggle. Only through sus-

tained effort to consolidate political détente, complement it by military détente and establish all-round cooperation between states, will the principles of peaceful coexistence become the universal norm of international life. International relations are being transformed chiefly by the consistent and purposeful foreign policy of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. The masses in the capitalist countries play an immense role in furthering détente. But it should be clear that this is a two-way process and it would be wrong to underestimate the attitude of the ruling element in the capitalist countries, or the need for their leaders to overcome cold-war inertia and the view that international relations can rest on a 'balance of terror' and the arms drive.

Positive changes in international relations are won by overcoming the stubborn resistance of the reactionary imperialist forces in the diplomatic, political and ideological spheres. The changes in the international climate in the 70s significantly undermined the positions of bourgeois ideologists who maintained that there was no restructuring of international relations along democratic lines and that there would be no 'real coexistence,' only 'absolute' confrontation, between the socialist and the capitalist countries.² Yet there have been more attempts in the capitalist West to play down the new trend in international relations, discredit Soviet foreign policy and ascribe to it entirely alien aims and motives.

Latterly, a theory has won wide currency in the West according to which the present changes in international relations are part of the evolution of every social system. American authors Liska and Hancock argue that all the positive changes in world affairs stem from the 'self-development' of the system of international relations; this obscures the decisive contribution of socialism.³ Other bourgeois writers argue that the changes in relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries are the result of 'both sides,' mindful of the dangers of military-political confrontation, having shifted to more moderate policies. But the record will show that the USSR has consistently followed its policy of peaceful coexistence.

Recently there have been more negative forecasts in the capitalist West about the prospects of détente. Collective security and disarmament, some maintain, are hardly likely in the coming years. Activization of the opponents of détente should not, however, be allowed to inspire pessimism about its future.

Of course, much still has to be done to solve urgent problems. The Soviet people fully support the 25th CPSU Congress Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples. It envisages a bigger joint

and active contribution to the consolidation of peace by the socialist countries as part of their united effort in building the new society.

Integrated measures to halt the arms drive, reduce existing stocks of weapons and restrict strategic weapons are of special importance in the democratic refashioning of international relations. A key aim in disarmament, formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress, is to 'work for a switch from the present continuous growth of the military expenditure of many states to the practice of its systematic reduction.' This is indeed a pressing need, for the military budgets of the capitalist states are increasing from year to year. The U.S. figure for the 1977 fiscal year, 112.7 billion dollars, is an all-time record, as is also the West German 1976 figure, 31.7 billion marks. Military budgets are being considerably increased in Britain, France and Italy. All in all, the armaments drive is costing mankind about 300 billion dollars a year. At the 31st UN General Assembly in September, the Soviet Union took a new initiative in halting the arms drive and banishing the use of force in international relations. Enduring peace largely depends on progress in these two areas.

Political détente can be developed and progress can be made toward military détente, for détente is not a subjective desire of one or another political leader, but a dictate of the times, the result of the fundamental changes in the relation of forces, in the very structure and system of international relations stemming from the revolutionary process in this age of the technological revolution.

The tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress in foreign policy and international relations are designed to resolve the world's most vital problems and ensure international peace, security and progress. The Congress Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, clearly indicates the path to the achievement of these aims.

1. E.H. Carr *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*. Vol. I-III, 1950-1953.
 2. *Peace and War in the Modern Age*. Ed. by F. Barnett, W. Mott, J. Neff. New York, 1965, p. 28.
 3. *Comparative Foreign Policy*. Theoretical Essays, N.Y. 1971, p. 139; *American Foreign Policy in International Perspective*. Prentice Hall, 1971. p. 1.
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Washington's 'new African policy'

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COMMENTARY

The recent moves by U.S. diplomacy in Africa, as expressed in the Secretary of State's visit there in September, are causing concern among the people the world over.

For many years the foreign-policy strategy of the U.S. as of other imperialist states in Southern Africa was based on the assumption that the situation there was unchangeable. Portugal's rule in its colonies seemed incontestable and the situation in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, stable. This was the essence of Henry Kissinger's so-called memorandum 39, which he drew up in 1969 in his capacity of the president's national security adviser. Nothing should be allowed to change, the memorandum said. For the hot spots demanding the increasing attention of U.S. diplomacy at that time were located in other regions — Vietnam, the Middle East.

The collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal and the liberation of its former colonies radically changed the situation in Southern Africa. The colonial-imperialist status quo began rapidly disintegrating. Parties and organizations working consistently for progressive change headed the national-liberation struggle on the basis of clear-cut anti-imperialist programs. The socio-progressive trend in the liberation process was particularly apparent after the victory of the revolutionary patriotic forces rallied around the MPLA in Angola. And it was there that world imperialism, using racist South Africa as a spearhead, first tried to stop such development, and was defeated.

The imperialists' attempts to remedy the negative effects of their defeat in Angola, gain advantages and change the course of events in Southern Africa, explained the sudden burst of diplomatic activity started by Kissinger's first African visit in April and May, 1976. This was followed by America's UN Ambassador Scranton's tour of 11 African countries, the first official visit by U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to Zaire and Kenya (with which the United States made big arms deals), and two meetings between Kissinger and the racist Premier Vorster of South Africa — in the FRG at the end of June and

in Switzerland in September. Then there were 'explanatory' visits to several African countries by Kissinger's special assistant on African affairs, Schaufele. And finally, the new round of Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' which clearly revealed its real purpose.

Kissinger's September visit to Africa was also prompted by tactical reasons, such as a desire to prevent the UN Security Council from endorsing sanctions against South Africa for not complying with the decision on granting independence to Namibia, and also to forestall criticism of the Vorster regime by the 31st UN General Assembly during the debate on the situation in Southern Africa. U.S. diplomacy tried to give Vorster and the self-styled Rhodesian Premier Smith a breather by binding African countries, particularly those on the front-line of the fight against the racist regimes (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana) with a 'joint initiative,' while continuing the search for a long-term solution for Southern Africa in the interest of imperialism.¹

The consensus of world press opinion is that South Africa is now the main seat of tension in the south of the continent. Irrefutable proof of this is the protest actions, now in their fourth month, by the oppressed population of the country, first and foremost the Africans, then the coloreds and persons of Indian extraction, and the blood of unarmed men and women, even children, shed in almost daily clashes with the Vorster-Kruger police. The racist white-minority regime in South Africa is in danger, and this cannot but alarm the U.S. ruling circles, which expresses the interests of the big monopolies. For, according to official figures, their investments in South Africa are exceeding 1.7 billion dollars — more than 40 per cent of all U.S. investments in Africa. And that is why U.S. diplomatic efforts are focused on a 'solution' of South Africa's problem intended to preserve the basic existing situation. The imperialists are desperately seeking to keep South Africa — the richest and most highly developed country in Africa — as an integral part of world capitalism. They would like to perpetuate South African monopoly capital domination and the imperialist-type political power in the southern part of the continent, so that South Africa could continue as the bulwark of counter-revolution and neo-colonialism in Africa.

It is not surprising therefore that Kissinger and Vorster hardly mentioned the tense situation in the country. This fact alone shows just what the State Department's 'peace-making' efforts are worth, efforts which, the imperialist press claims, are like 'manna from heaven' for the South African Premier. At a time when it was obvious that Vorster's policy of 'détente' with Africa was dead, wrote the *International Herald Tribune* on September 17, Kissinger's visit to Pretoria was to get South Africa out of its isolation, and improve

Vorster's image as the central figure holding the key to peace in Southern Africa, indeed to its future.

However, it is no simple matter to preserve the status quo in Africa today. Imperialist logic dictates that in order to save the South African racists, concessions must be made elsewhere. Hence the plans for a 'solution' in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia, around which the Kissinger-Vorster talks were centered.

Just before the last round of this shuttle diplomacy the State Department demagogically declared U.S. support for 'majority rule' in Rhodesia and Namibia. However, reports on the talks showed that the solution proposed is far from the genuine interests of the African majority. The aim is to place imperialist puppets in power there and safeguard the privilege of the oppressing white minority and the interests of imperialist monopolies. More than anything else, imperialism fears a repetition in Zimbabwe and Namibia of the Mozambique and Angolan events where the national-liberation movements headed by progressive forces came to power. This would endanger not only imperialist interests in the south of the continent but the very fate of capitalism itself.

Back in May, when the groundwork for U.S. imperialism's 'new African policy' was being prepared, the Secretary of State told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: 'We have a stake in not having the whole continent become radical and moving in a direction that is incompatible with Western interests' (*The Sunday Times*, September 19, 1976). After the MPLA victory in Angola the main subject of imperialist propaganda in Africa was the so-called threat of 'Soviet imperialism' and the danger of 'Soviet-Cuban interference' in Rhodesia and Namibia. The traditional but outdated bogey of the 'communist menace' was widely used. This propaganda, however, found response only among the Rhodesian and South African racists, who declared that it was the 'natural duty' of the United States to protect them as Africa's 'anti-communist bastions.' And Kissinger's September visit showed that the United States readily assumed the role of coordinator and executor of imperialist policy on this issue.

The plan for 'solving' the Rhodesian problem has officially been presented as an Anglo-American plan. Its essence is to postpone African majority rule for at least two years and to grant two billion dollars as compensation (for colonial plunder) to the white minority. This has naturally evoked strong criticism by Africans in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Characteristically, the talks on this problem (just as on Namibia) were conducted with Vorster and Smith, not with representatives of the Zimbabwe and Namibian African majority, who were, at best, 'informed' of their progress.

Undoubtedly, the aim of the 'new African policy' is to crush the

armed struggle in Southern Africa. And its executors determined to deprive the peoples there, in particular the national-liberation alliance of South Africa headed by the African National Congress, of support from other African states on the pretext that such support, supposedly, could prevent the success of this peace-making mission. What is more, the makers of the 'new African policy' hope to isolate the national-liberation movements in Southern Africa from their natural allies — the socialist states, primarily the Soviet Union. It was not accidental that Kissinger, playing on the 'danger of foreign intervention' and the 'Africa for Africans' slogan and, counting on a favorable response from some African nationalist circles, said: 'The foreign powers, particularly the superpowers, must avoid direct contact with the so-called liberation movements.'² This 'so-called' is eloquent proof of U.S. imperialism's real stand on the liberation struggle in South Africa.

As regards the recent talks with the leaders of some African states, the aim was to present U.S. 'peace-making' efforts as disinterested, prompted by a desire to achieve 'African solutions,' while actually intended to force upon these countries a 'dialogue' with South Africa, localize and split the national-liberation movements so as to undermine the unity of the anti-racist front and make Africans fight Africans. Such maneuvering is a feeble attempt to hide the real intention of finding forces in Africa who would agree to assume 'responsibility for containing communism.' To achieve this, it is especially important for U.S. diplomacy to bring about a rapprochement between racist South Africa and the independent neighboring countries. The latter are promised economic 'aid' and trade benefits. But, in the final analysis, it is Vorster who would stand to gain and this is exactly what the imperialist monopolies want.

And so, the main strategic goal of the U.S. 'new African policy,' as the latest visits to Africa indicate, is to attempt to force a neo-colonialist solution of the South African problem, protect the interests of imperialist monopolies and provide conditions for increased imperialist exploitation of both the south and the continent as a whole. The United States would like to change the course of developments on the continent, arrest the spread of socialist ideas there and direct the liberated countries along the capitalist way. Central to this strategy is bolstering the white minority racist regime in South Africa, which besides being economically important for imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, presents no small military-strategic interest by virtue of its position at the juncture of the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

There are also other, military, plans aimed at achieving these goals. These include the creation, with the blessing of the United States, of a Pretoria-Tel-Aviv axis. Outlines are emerging of a new 'defense pact'

founded on joint ownership of nuclear weapons, delivery of Israeli war material to South Africa and sharing 'experience' in anti-guerrilla and counter-insurgency warfare and marauding raids against neighboring countries. Besides, Washington is not averse to forming a southern military bloc patterned on NATO which would unite certain Latin American countries — Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile and Argentina with South Africa. The very list of potential members indicates that this bloc's aim could only be to protect reactionary regimes in Latin America and Southern Africa and to oppose the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement.

What the authors and executors of this 'autumn African junket' ignore in their calculations are the will and interests of the African peoples who are the motive force behind the decisive changes irreversibly determining the history of the continent today. It is safe to say that the 'latest' neo-colonialist plans are doomed to fail. And not, as certain newspapers point out, because these plans are being carried out through the offices of Kissinger, notorious as 'middleman' in other regions, particularly in the Middle East. For his is a policy of the U.S. imperialist monopolies and it is bound to be followed by any other politician who will fill the post of Secretary of State after the November presidential elections.

The U.S. 'New African policy' is doomed also because, for all of the semblance of dynamism, it is, in effect, a defensive, historically passive policy at variance with the march of history. Their call to 'contain communism in Africa' is an attempt by the imperialists to block the advance of the national-liberation movements and to arrest social progress on the continent, but this is beyond the powers of anyone, even the combined imperialist-racist front.

The 'new African policy' is destined to fail, lastly, because it is founded on the futile and unfeasible plan of 'selling' to free Africa, as Americans would put it, the idea of preserving, in essence, the hated Vorster regime.

Recent events have given the African people much food for thought and comparison. For many months after the MPLA victory in Angola they were fed stories about the 'menace of communist imperialism' in Africa. Today, however, they see that it is U.S. imperialism that has sharply increased its interference in their affairs. The imperialists are seeking to intimidate Africa with the threat of communism. However, as the Tanzanian newspaper *Uhuru* wrote on Kissinger's visit, 'the so-called suppression of communism is an American maneuver to hide the truth about the situation in the south of the continent. Africa has no reason to fight communism. The struggle being waged today is a struggle by the African majority to restore their rights. ...'

Attempts are being made to lure Africans into a 'step-by-step' settlement. Let us first deal with the Rhodesian problem, they are told, then with Namibia — South Africa, in the meantime, can wait. But the African peoples know very well how this policy ended in the Middle East. Progressive Arab circles maintain that the 'partial solutions' policy — the result of a similar 'shuttle diplomacy' culminating in the Sinai agreement — complicated and worsened the situation in the region, split the Arabs and contributed to the Lebanese tragedy.

In view of all this it is only natural that the autumn maneuvers in Southern Africa by American diplomacy which, incidentally, completely disregards UN resolutions denouncing racism and the racist regimes, should evoke suspicion and indignation among the African public.

While the talks are still in progress and positions are yet to be coordinated, the bourgeois press speculates on which problem will be dealt with first, Rhodesia or Namibia, whether or not Smith will accept the Anglo-American plan and if he does, will he not renege on his promises as he did many times before with the tacit blessing of some of his imperialist backers.³

The question, certainly, does not hinge on the personal qualities and emotions of some imperialist henchmen in Africa or their American or South African backers. It is the African peoples who will have the last say. In the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa the national-liberation movements, whether Kissinger and Vorster want it or not, will as always have the solidarity, support and aid of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. The noble principles upon which this support is founded were described by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress: 'Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions.' And this: 'In the developing countries, as everywhere else, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.'

The struggle for Southern African liberation will continue to have the support of the international communist movement. This was stated in the document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. Other contingents of the world anti-imperialist front are likewise demonstrating their solidarity with this struggle. Immediate and full decolonization of Africa was demanded by the recent Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo.

The people in the southern part of the continent and their genuine

representatives — the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party (South Africa), the South-West Africa People's Organization (Namibia) and the African National Council (Zimbabwe) — will continue to step up their struggle at all levels, including, if necessary, armed action. For many years these national-liberation organizations and movements have consistently underscored that they reject all reforms and concessions that would preserve the exploitative socio-economic system that is the very foundation of racism and colonialism. They profit from the wealth of experience of those African nations that have won their emancipation and are instituting profound social reforms.

The defeat of the imperialist-racist alliance is inevitable. The peoples of Southern Africa will be victorious in their national-liberation struggle under the banner of social progress.

1. Kissinger also counted on influencing the November presidential elections, for the 25 million American Blacks oppose, more and more vigorously, the policy of condoning the racist regimes in Southern Africa.

2. *Le Monde*, September 8, 1976.

3. Just before going to press it was learned that Ian Smith accepted the Anglo-U.S. proposals for a negotiated settlement leading to majority rule within two years. But Smith put forward two conditions — the lifting of the UN sanctions against Rhodesia and cessation of armed struggle against his regime and, to be sure, he shall continue to prevaricate and put obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations.

Besides, during the two-year 'period of transition' the main ruling body would be the 'state council' in which 50 per cent of the seats and the chair would be in white minority hands and where decisions would be passed by a two-thirds majority vote. In the transitional government the key posts of Defense and Interior Ministers would also be in white hands.

It is likewise significant that the Anglo-U.S. proposals speak only of majority rule and say nothing about introducing the one-man, one-vote principle, which is the basic demand of the national-liberation movement in Zimbabwe. These proposals are designed to bring into power a 'government' in Zimbabwe over which racist South Africa would exercise considerable economic and political leverage.

So it is not surprising that presidents of the front-line in their statement of September 26, characterized the present plan as envisaged and accepted by Smith as an attempt at 'legalizing colonialist and racist structures of power.' Therefore, the presidents concluded, 'the struggle continues.'



Unity of the Party's economic and social Policy

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Continuing the building of developing socialist society and creating the basic preconditions for gradual transition to communism, was the task set by the Socialist Unity Party Ninth Congress (May 1976). The second Central Committee plenum (September 1976) was able to record that it was being successfully accomplished. The GDR has thus entered a new development stage. The Party's General Secretary, Erich Honecker, told the plenum that 'implementation of the Ninth Congress policy is radically changing the image of the German Democratic Republic and is more saliently demonstrating the humanism of its vast construction effort. Our reality provides increasing evidence that socialism enriches life and gives it a new meaning.'

The new SUPG program approved by the Ninth Congress is based on Marxism-Leninism, the experience accumulated in building socialism, and the theoretical conclusions drawn by the CPSU and other fraternal parties. It gives a clear-cut and comprehensive definition of the essential features of developed socialism as a stage in the advance to communism. The building of developed socialist society, it emphasizes, is a process of deep-going political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural change. 'Developed socialist society,' the program states, 'creates all the material, socio-economic and ideologico-political prerequisites for fuller disclosure of the meaning of socialism, i.e., everything for the people's well-being, in the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other members of our society. In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, the principal task in building a developed socialist society is to assume continuous improvement of material and cultural standards through a high growth rate of socialist production, higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and higher labor productivity.'

Our Party's overall aim, formulated by the Eighth Congress, has been our guide in charting our policy and long-range strategy. We are working to combine the basic goal of socialism, which Lenin formulated as 'the full well-being and free all-round development for all members of society' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54) with the means of its achievement, namely, through quantitative and qualitative growth of socialist production. This fully conforms to the objective laws of the socialist mode of production, in particular to the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, and expresses the identity of social and personal interests, which is the decisive motive force in the development of socialist society.

Attainment of this goal has in recent years come to epitomize unity of the Party's economic and social policy. And this has been a major factor in further strengthening the bonds of trust between the working-class Party and the masses. Our people are more convinced than ever that the SUPG and the socialist state are concerned for the fullest satisfaction of their rising material and cultural requirements. And this stimulates their efforts to enhance the country's economic strength and make a meaningful contribution to implementation of our Party's economic and social policy.

Vivid proof of that will be found in the results of the last five-year economic development plan (1971-75). The people's dedicated effort was translated into a record industrial growth rate. This, in turn, meant a considerable improvement in material and cultural standards, and made possible the biggest expansion of the social services since the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

The figures speak for themselves: overfulfillment of our housing program has meant new or better housing for about 1.8 million, or nearly 11 per cent of the population. Total net incomes rose by 26.6 per cent (from 1970) and real per-capita incomes in blue-collar and white-collar families by as much as 30 per cent (with stable consumer prices, rents, transport and other charges). It has also meant a rise for over 3.9 million old-age pensioners, the biggest since pensions were first introduced.

At a time when the working people in the capitalist world, with its crises, high unemployment, rising inflation and soaring living costs, look to the future with fear, citizens of the socialist GDR have every reason to face the future with confidence. At a time when in many capitalist countries there is grave concern over inadequacies in education, in the GDR already in 1973, nine-tenths of all schoolchildren went through the full ten-year course. To this should be added the very substantial advances in cultural amenities.

The Ninth SUPG Congress decided to dovetail economic and social policy in working toward our main goal. This testifies to the

continuity and stability of our policy. Addressing the Ninth Congress, Comrade Honecker said: 'Our Party will continue to concentrate all its efforts to making our achievements in production and scientific and technological progress serve the working class and all working people, assure a continuous rise in their living standards and enrich their spiritual and cultural life. In this context, we should carefully analyze where and how everything we produce can be best used to raise our people's prosperity standards and improve their working and general conditions.'

In carrying out its economic and socio-political measures, the SUPG is guided by the simple and readily understood idea that society can consume only what it produces. In other words, higher prosperity standards and expansion of production can come only through a higher national income. And socialism, based on public ownership of the means of production and economic planning, assures a steady and rapid growth of national income. In the past five years the average annual growth rate was 5.4 per cent, and a high growth rate will be maintained in the current five-year period, so that by 1980 national income will have risen by 27-30 per cent, and will be in excess of 830 billion marks, or about 200 billion up the previous quinquennium.

Under the current five-year plan industrial output will rise by 34-36 per cent, about the same as under the preceding one. But there is this difference: in 1971-75, one per cent growth of output equalled 2.1 billion marks, in 1976-80 it will be about 2.8 billion. What is more, accretion of national income and industrial output will come almost exclusively from higher productivity, which in industry, for instance, will increase by 30-32 per cent. In this, too, the SUPG is guided by Lenin's idea, now as valid as ever, that labor productivity is, in the final analysis, the main factor in the triumph of the new system. In the new five-year period we shall be spending 240-243 billion marks, or about 60 billion more than under the previous plan, on modernization, reconstruction, renewal and expansion of existing plant.

The plan also envisages significant progress in agriculture, both in crop and cattle farming, with higher crop yields and higher state purchases of meat and dairy products.

The continuous and dynamic development of the economy, expressed in the high growth rates under the present five-year plan, will still further strengthen the economic might of the GDR. It will also provide further proof of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, which in recent years has been going through recession and stagnation. No wonder there is so much talk in the West about 'zero growth.' In the past, the men who speak for capitalism were all for high economic growth rates, even regarding this as a gauge of human progress. Now they are preaching the very opposite: slower

economic development, even 'zero growth,' is being held up as a goal to strive for. And all this is often accompanied by appeals to the workers to 'moderate consumption.'

That all these disquisitions by imperialist-serving ideologists are meant as apologies for capitalism, should be perfectly clear. For economic growth is a major factor in the confrontation of the two socio-economic systems, and it is here that the advantages of socialism stand out ever more strikingly. That is why capitalism's apologists are at such pains to prove that stable economic growth is harmful, even dangerous.

The Communists in the GDR and other countries of the socialist community are consistently working for uninterrupted economic growth. They are not to be misled by those who, for their own purposes, counsel slowing down economic development, or by those who maintain that we have already entered a deceleration phase.

Uninterrupted economic growth and higher industrial efficiency provide a reliable basis for further improvement of living standards. This process, begun by the Eighth Party Congress, is being carried forward in line with the Ninth Congress decisions.

Housing is out top priority. By 1980 we shall have built or reconstructed 750,000 flats, nearly 150,000 more than in the preceding five years. No less than 550,000 flats will be in the new buildings, which will mean better housing for 2.2 million persons. The first to benefit will be worker families, families with many children, and newly-weds. The average floor space of the new flats (excluding kitchen, bathroom, etc.) will increase from 56 to 58 sq.m. Approximately 45 per cent of new housing will be built by workers' cooperatives and will be owned by them.

Socialist society, however, strives for more than good housing. We want our people to live in a congenial environment, in well-planned residential areas, but without disturbing their historical architectural pattern. And to achieve that, we are making generous allocations for the reconstruction of old residential areas. All in all, budgetary appropriations for this will increase by about 70 per cent in the current five-year period.

Rents will remain low. In 1975 household maintenance — rent, electricity, water and heat — averaged only 4.4 per cent of the income of a family of four. By way of comparison, the respective figures for West Germany (cited in *Vorwärts* of Aug. 26, 1976) is 20.8 per cent.

Our intensive housing program and our housing policy are one more weighty proof of the advantages of socialism. Capitalist society — and this was cogently demonstrated by Engels 100 years ago in his '*The Housing Question*' — cannot solve the housing problem in the interests of the majority of the people. The record of the GDR

convincingly shows that socialism is steadily and successfully coping with this social problem, inherited from capitalism.

Another major element in raising living standards is a constantly increasing supply of consumer goods. The Ninth Congress decisions envisage a 20-22 per cent increase in retail trade by 1980. By that year each family will have a refrigerator, 80 per cent will have a washing machine and about 97 per cent a television set. The supply of consumer goods will continue to grow with prices remaining stable.

Inasmuch as prices remain stable and everything is done to give the people confidence in the future, the Ninth Congress decisions on increasing net cash incomes will significantly contribute to higher living standards. We anticipate a 20-22 per cent increase in net incomes by 1980 compared with 1975.

Public consumption funds, i.e., expenditure on education, expansion of the medical and social services, recreation, cultural and sports facilities, which likewise add to real income, will grow at a much faster pace, and by 1980 will have increased by 29-31 per cent.

Our wages policy is based on the immutable principle that the working class must enjoy a constantly increasing share of the national income commensurate with its increasing share, role and responsibilities in the production process. Accordingly, in the current five-year plan wages and salaries will rise at a faster pace than the incomes of other population groups.

Our wages policy rests on the socialist principle 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his labor.' That follows from objective economic laws and will retain its validity in developed socialist society, too, because at that stage it is not replaced or restricted by the communist principles of distribution. Hence, the policy of the SUPG and our socialist state makes remuneration dependent on the labor contribution of each citizen. Wages will increase only where the workers achieve higher production indicators. That policy makes for economic growth, but also for fuller identity of social and personal interests. It effectively stimulates higher productivity and is a cardinal factor in raising the people's material standards. Thus wages are symbolic of the close interconnection of economic and social policy, of the unity of economic and social progress.

Better working and living conditions, as envisaged by the Ninth Party Congress and formalized in the five-year plan, do not imply lower growth rates in production or consumption. The assertions of bourgeois ideologists about 'lagging consumption' and 'continued unbalanced and decelerated growth of consumption' in the GDR and other socialist countries are not supported by objective facts.

Let us take this example. A few days after the Ninth Party Congress, the mass media in the FRG and other capitalist countries were

telling their readers and listeners that the Congress had produced nothing essentially new in the way of welfare services. But at the time when this was being assiduously propagated, the SUPG Central Committee, the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions and the GDR Council of Ministers adopted a joint decision on far-reaching measures to improve working and living conditions, and set a deadline for their implementation.

And they are already being implemented. Thus, on October 1, minimum wages and salaries were increased from 350 to 400 marks a month and there was a differentiated wage rise for the low-income categories. On December 1, there will be a substantial increase in old-age and invalid pensions. In 1977 there will be phased introduction, in line with the Ninth Congress decisions, of a 40-hour work-week, and beginning with 1979 three days will be added to minimum annual paid holidays. Additional privileges for working mothers have already been introduced.

All this will require extra appropriations, as much as 14 billion marks by 1980, in addition to the 36.3 billion under the previous five-year plan. Thus, the total amount invested in improving working and living conditions in the current five-year plan will be 50 billion marks. 'This magnificent social policy program,' Comrade Honecker told the Central Committee plenum, 'is the biggest in the whole history of the German people. Given a matching increase in labor productivity, we should be able to carry out even more social measures.'

Unity of economic and social policy, as expressed in the measures listed above, is approved and supported by the people. For they know from their own experience that the growth of the republic's economic strength translates into a better and fuller life.

The central element in our economic advance is intensification of social production, which, the Party Program emphasizes, 'makes it possible to achieve the higher productivity needed to raise living standards, modernize and expand the material and technical basis of socialism in the GDR and create the main prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.' It will thus be seen that intensification is not a temporary or transitory measure, but a built-in feature of economic policy at the stage of building developed socialism. It implies, above all, socialist rationalization and reconstruction of existing industries and building new production capacities to assure balanced and proportional economic development. The idea is to obtain maximum results at minimum cost, thereby raising the effectiveness of the national economy. One example: the operating time of highly-productive machines and installations will increase by an annual average of 3-4 per cent.

A number of factors go into socialist intensification. Used in their interconnection, in integration, they make for a steady rise in productivity, higher quality and economical use of materials, energy and labor power. But the main factor, one that is decisive for higher economic performance, is scientific and technological progress.

Some bourgeois ideologists maintain that technological progress is driving society into a blind alley. We hold the very opposite view and are doing everything to stimulate technological progress. In the GDR, as in the other fraternal countries, this is greatly facilitated by the fact that technological progress is organically tied with the advantages of socialism, is given full scope and serves social development. The new technology makes the work of man — the chief productive force in society — easier, more productive and more meaningful.

What technological progress means for the dynamic development of the economy can be judged from the fact that it accounts for more than 60 per cent of rise in productivity. And also this fact: improved quality of consumer goods, economical use of materials and improved techniques can result only from purposeful research and development. To quote Comrade Honecker, 'The use of science and technology in production is the starting point in increasing our national income.'

Closer cooperation with fraternal socialist countries in this field, as in the economy as a whole, opens great vistas. Pooling the research potentials of the CMEA countries makes for faster and more effective solution of major economic problems. Among the many joint projects that have produced valuable results are the new techniques evolved jointly by the USSR and GDR for producing polyethelene under high pressure, now internationally known as 'polymer 50'; synthetic fibre, high-protein fodder, and other materials. This year, about 80 per cent of all the technical problems involved in our economic plan are being resolved in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, with more than 15,000 GDR scientists, technicians and engineers engaged in joint research projects.

Continued development of socialist economic integration will by 1980 enable the GDR to solve so important a problem as meeting its growing demands for raw materials and fuel. Cooperation of fraternal countries in the production and supply of consumer goods — still another component of higher living standards — has proved beneficial to all concerned.

The unity of economic and social policy has stimulated our people's labor effort in accomplishing the tasks set by the Party. One impressive indication of that is the socialist emulation movement organized by the trade unions under Party leadership. It is widespread and highly effective and, in the words of the Party program, is the

fullest 'expression of the people's creativity in building developed socialist society.'

Shortly after the Ninth SUPG Congress, factory collectives and trade union branches undertook to surpass the five-year economic targets. The slogan is: 'Every mark, every hour of working time, every gram of raw material shall be used to maximum effect.' That slogan is a true reflection of our people's desire to intensify production, raise quality standards and productivity, and thus increase the economic might of their socialist country.

By taking new initiatives in the emulation drive, work collectives are increasing their contribution to the republic's economic and social growth. In this way, the emulation drive has economic aims — more and better output — and social aims directly or indirectly contributing to higher material and cultural standards.

For example, there has been universal approval of the trade union proposal to build 100,000 flats over and above the plan by 1980. Building workers and collectives in many other industries have made many concrete proposals and suggestions to bring this initiative to reality. The slogan is: '750,000 plus 100,000.' There have been pledges to produce more cement, glass, wallpaper, flooring and many other things. This shows that the trade union initiative has been accepted as a goal by the whole of our society.

The socialist emulation movement is also an important form of worker participation in solving economic and social problems. For the workers have an active share in the planning and management of the economy and in formulating social policy. All draft plans are discussed at meetings organized by the trade unions. This year, for instance, more than 80 per cent of the trade union membership took part in meetings to examine the 1977 plan. And there were many valuable proposals and suggestions, with the result that in a number of cases the original target figures were increased and work collectives pledged over-fulfillment of the plan. At the Schwedt petrochemical combine, for instance, there were 532 proposals which, summarized in a counterplan, envisage a 1.43 per cent increase in output and a 2.3 per cent increase in productivity over and above the state plan.

This mass participation in economic and social planning and management is a convincing demonstration of the viability and effectiveness of our socialist democracy. At no enterprise in any capitalist country do the workers enjoy a similar share in decision-making. In the GDR this is now taken for granted, and this, too, is indicative of the superiority of socialism and socialist democracy over capitalist relations of exploitation. The record of the GDR and of other countries of the socialist community provides irrefutable proof that the

working people can win genuine freedom and democracy only by abolishing exploitation. As Comrade Honecker has emphasized: 'Socialism and freedom form an indissoluble unity — without socialism there is no freedom, without freedom there is no socialism.'

Consistent perfection of socialist democracy and consistent enhancement of the leading role of the working class impose greater responsibilities on the trade unions. They now include practically all blue-collar and white-collar workers and professionals, are successfully discharging their function as a school of socialism and socialist management, and have an important part in formulating and carrying out the republic's economic and social policy. They accomplish their numerous tasks of upholding the interests of the working people under the leadership of the SUPG. Their close alliance with the Marxist-Leninist working-class party is the earnest of their continued successful activities in behalf of the working people.

The sources of strength of a revolutionary party

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Charting the course of the Indian revolution, the Communist Party of India (CPI) has worked out the aim of realizing national democracy as a transition to socialism. The realization of this aim depends, above all, on building up the CPI as a mass revolutionary party, strong in its monolithic unity and conscious discipline, imbued with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, capable of uniting and mobilizing all patriotic and democratic forces around the worker-peasant alliance. The task of building such a Communist Party is particularly complex and complicated in a country like India which is multi-lingual and multi-religious and where various socio-economic formations — from tribalism to monopoly capitalism — exist simultaneously, with hardly 30 per cent of its total population being literate and 80 per cent living in villages.

We continue publication of the series on problems of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party. See *WMR*, April, June and July 1976.

What have we accomplished to date? We have become an important political force in the national life of India, with over half a million members of the Party in almost all the states and five million members of various mass organizations led by it; we win about 10 million votes, have parliamentary representation in 15 states, and share governmental power in a united front with the Indian National Congress and some other parties in the states of Kerala and Manipur.

The Communist Party of India has become the biggest left party and the second biggest national party. It has increased, expanded and grown in uncompromising confrontation with the parties of right reaction which seek to destroy it, and in unity as well as struggle with the ruling Congress party. The growth of the CPI has been particularly fast during the last year, when the forces of internal and external reaction launched a furious drive to bring about 'destabilization' which has been met, controlled and curbed through the imposition of the emergency by Indira Gandhi government in June 1975.

The increasing ideological, political and organizational activities of the CPI in response to the political situation are vividly expressed in the unprecedented growth of its primary membership and organizations, which constitute the mainspring of the Party's life and work. Membership of the Party has grown from 355,526 at the time of the last, 10th, Party Congress (end of January 1975) to 538,870 at the time of the annual registration for 1976 (January 31, 1976). Our primary organizations, which we call branches, have also registered a remarkable growth in size and number from 16,000 to 23,000.

Never before in its whole history had the Party achieved such a big increase in membership. As many new members joined the Party ranks in one year as had joined the Party during the first 35 years of its existence. The number of Party members who have joined only last year is more than the total membership at the time of the Sixth Congress in 1962, before the Party split (134,866). Party membership has increased fivefold during the 12 years since the 1964 split.

The figures show that the Party grows only when it follows a correct political-organizational course. In the past it had stagnated or shrunk whenever it suffered from right or left opportunism.

A comparison with other political parties in India also corroborates the truth that a correct political-organizational line is a precondition for the Party's growth. The rival party of the left opportunist splitters who style themselves the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CP/M/) has suffered a substantial decline in its membership. Numerous old members of the CP(M) have rejoined our Party after having become disillusioned with the left opportunist political course being

pursued by the CP(M) leadership. Many of their primary and local organizations in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and other states have come over to us. As a matter of fact, resignations and desertions have become the fate and feature of not only the CP(M) but also of other opposition parties which have joined the counter-revolutionary 'total revolution' of Jayaprakash Narayan (JP).¹

A correct political line combined with special organizational efforts have contributed to improving the quality of primary members. The overwhelming majority of new recruits belong to the age group of 18 to 30 years. Eighty per cent of the new recruits are industrial and agricultural workers, poor peasants and urban poor. A Party member at present fulfills higher obligations, contributing more to Party work than before.

A member of the Party must, according to our Constitution, work in one of its organizations. Any departure from this Leninist principle dilutes the militant character of the Party and renders it loose, undisciplined and incapable of a united and centralized struggle.

The minimum conditions for admitting a person, first as candidate and then as a full member, are: (i) minimum 18 years of age; (ii) acceptance of Party Program and Constitution; (iii) regular payment of membership fee; (iv) work in one of the Party organizations, and (v) carrying out Party decisions. Previously the rule was: once a Party member, always a Party member unless expelled as a disciplinary measure. Now there is annual registration of all members in the course of which they are assessed as to whether they deserve to continue as Party members. In the course of annual registration, a Party member is refused renewal of membership on the following grounds: non-payment of fee and levy; failure to take part in Party life and activity; and failure to work in some mass organization unless specifically exempted.

The annual registration of members for 1976 showed that about 20 per cent of the 1975 members failed to qualify. The main reason for such a regrettably high percentage is poor work with new members in a large number of branches which are authorized to carry out the work of registration and renewal. Secondly, the proportion of Party members drawn from industrial workers, *adivasis*,² women and religious minorities is still small despite a recent increase in their recruitment. Removal of these two weaknesses is essential in order to ensure the growth of the CPI — the party of the Indian working class.

II

The organizational report approved by the Seventh Congress of the Party (1964) noted: 'It has been a long-standing weakness of our Party

that its organization does not correspond to its mass influence . . . What is meant by this?

Though the CPI had become a major political force with a voting strength of 12 million in 1958, its membership was a mere 229,500 that year, which worked out at 60 votes per member of the Party. Even after the split, when parliamentary votes of the CPI were slashed in the 1971 elections, the figure was still 32 votes per member. During the last five years the CPI has gained political influence and new members. Even so the gap between mass influence and organization of the Party continues though it is much less now than before. This problem has its instructive background.

Building the CPI as a mass party had come on the agenda as early as the 50s, when it emerged as the main opposition party in the Indian Parliament with a large voting strength. It won a single-party majority in the Kerala assembly elections and formed the first ever Communist-led ministry in an Indian state. India witnessed a marked shift to the left in political life with growing prestige of the CPI among the people. Basing itself on these very favorable developments the CPI, at its Fifth Congress held at Amritsar in 1958, advanced the slogan of building a mass Communist Party. It called upon its members to remove the disparity between political influence and organization by giving up the sectarian and passive attitude to recruitment. It also brought about some structural changes in Party organization.

The slogan of building a mass Communist Party advanced by the Fifth Congress was not implemented. On the contrary, membership of the Party declined by nearly 95,000 at the time of the Sixth Party Congress in 1961. Serious ideological-political differences followed by an organizational split overtook the Party. This split was inspired and facilitated by the factionalist activities of extremist elements who, failing to make our Party toe their hegemonistic and chauvinist line, slandered our Party and called for a split. Analyzing the causes of the split, the Seventh Party Congress ascribed it to the failure of the Party to discharge its ideological, political and organizational responsibilities. Thus the CPI has learned through its bitter experience that building a mass Communist Party requires ideological and political unity.

We are building a mass Communist Party by simultaneously carrying out ideological, political and organizational tasks as laid down by our National Council and Party congresses.

III

The Communist Party grows out of broad-based and fruitful mass political struggles. The growth of our Party has been possible because

of its consistent struggles against its class and national enemies. Our struggles in defense of national independence and integrity; for Indo-Soviet friendship, solidarity with Cuba, Vietnam, Angola; against price-rises and layoffs; for nationalization of big business concerns; strengthening of the public sector and workers' participation in management; for land reforms and implementation of the 20-point economic program³; for preserving the unity of the Indian people against the right reactionary secessionist offensive; for defending national independence and democracy against violent fascist onslaughts in Bihar and elsewhere — these are the goals of the CPI's struggle against our class and national enemies, the imperialists, princes, landlords and monopolists.

Our Party units and mass organizations led by us conduct innumerable day-to-day local and partial struggles. But this is not enough. The Party has to lead and organize all-India mass political campaigns making it an effective national political force, the main characteristic of a mass party.

During the last three and a half years the Party has led as many as nine nationwide campaigns, the last of which was the *padayatra* campaign for the implementation of the 20-point economic program. The Central Executive Committee of our Party reviewed this *padayatra* campaign at its meeting held from June 18 to 21, 1976: 'The review showed that the *padayatra* campaign had been a tremendous success beyond all expectations . . .' (*New Age*, June 27, 1976). The entire Party from top to bottom and the mass organizations led by it took up the campaign enthusiastically, the CEC resolution said. For the first time in its history the Party conducted work among the rural masses on such a big scale, extending its activities to many new villages. It was found that 215,000 members and militants actually participated in the campaign besides the hundreds of thousands of people who attended the public meetings and rallies. As many as 44,000 villages in 270 districts were covered by the CPI's *padayatra* campaign. Trade unions also participated in the campaign, and for the first time the trade unions under Party leadership came into direct contact with the rural masses. Thus a basis has been laid for practical unity of the working class with the rural masses, particularly the agricultural workers and *adivasis*, for which our Party has been campaigning.

During the past year the Party has conducted two more nationwide campaigns, anti-fascist conferences, and the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the CPI. While the *padayatra* campaign was anti-feudal in its class character, the campaign of anti-fascist conferences was anti-imperialist and directed against the conspiracies of the dark forces of internal reaction and imperialism. These conferences were

held in almost 80 per cent of India's districts with about five million participating. The 50th anniversary campaign was a campaign of organizational consolidation of the Party and an occasion for mass popularization of the Party's historic role in the political life of our country. In honor of the 50th anniversary, recruitment quotas for the Party, various mass organizations, sales and circulation of Party journals and literature and Party fund collections, were overfulfilled.

The main reason for the tremendous successes in our nationwide campaigns is the ability to evolve suitable forms of class actions with appropriate issues and slogans corresponding with the obtaining political situation. As Lenin taught us, all forms or aspects of social activity without exception should be mastered. During the half a century of its most difficult career, our Party has acquired the rich experience of using varied forms of mass and political actions — legal and illegal, Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, peaceful and non-peaceful. Over the past 20 years our Party has achieved a great deal in effectively combining the traditional forms of struggle evolved during the national movement against British rule (the hunger-strike, *dharnas* and *satyagrah*)⁴ with militant working-class strikes and struggles.

Despite creditable achievements in evolving new forms of mass actions, it is still a long way to mastering all forms of struggle. Violent fascist onslaughts which we have faced during the last two to three years underline the imperative need to build the Party as a militant, dynamic and disciplined force, deep rooted among the toiling masses and capable of facing up to 'all contingencies, to all twists and turns in the political life of the country' as our Party Program enjoins on us.

IV

The building of such a party that is a true leader of the people is inseparably connected with the formation of a united front of all left and democratic forces and with its own clearly defined place in such a front.

In all its mass and political actions the CPI is guided by the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly program of national democratic revolution which envisages 'first and foremost, that the grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy will be completely eliminated. Second, that the state sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis, will be expanded and strengthened as a powerful lever for building a self-reliant national economy. Third, Indian monopoly combines, which have concentrated in their hands economic power in industry, commerce, banking, etc., will be broken up, and any tendency to development of monopoly will be effectively checked. Fourth, the power of landlord

and feudal remnants will be completely eliminated; radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry will be carried out and the grip of usurious, trading and bank capital on our agriculture will be removed' (CPI Program).

Achieving these goals requires a flexible policy and building a national democratic front for national democratic revolution.

The CPI has no over-all programmatic united front with the ruling INC, which is a political organization of the national bourgeoisie, or with any other party. At the same time, it takes a united stand on several issues which are mainly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character. I have already mentioned the CPI's attitude to the 20-point economic program. It is well known that the Congress Party had split in 1969 on the issues of bank nationalization and abolition of privy purses to the princes, for which our Party and other left forces inside and outside the Congress had been campaigning for a long time.⁵ We extended our support to the government against those who were opposing these democratic measures.

Similarly we extended our support to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975, when she proclaimed a national emergency to curb and suppress the right reactionary and fascist forces of 'destabilization,' who had made the destruction of our Party their first target. But, at the same time, we did not hesitate to oppose misuse of the emergency against the democratic forces, or giving concessions to Indian monopolists.

While undeviatingly following a policy of uncompromising struggle against the forces of right reaction, the CPI follows a policy of unity and struggle against the ruling party. In the complicated political situation in India this policy alone helps the unity of all left and democratic forces in building a national-democratic front for national-democratic revolution. Unfortunately, the policy of blind anti-congressism of the CP(M) and Socialist Party which drives them to unite with the forces of right reaction in their fight to oust Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been the biggest stumbling block in the path of left and democratic unity. Objectively, they help the anti-communist elements inside and outside the ruling party.

The policy of forging a united front with all left and democratic forces on an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly basis has been helpful to the CPI in organizing and conducting mass political actions. It has helped the political and organizational growth of the CPI. At the same time, our experience has shown that success in our struggle to build a united front very much depends on the independent mass base and role of the Party. The stronger the Party, the better the possibilities for getting allies who are indispensable in order to realize our political objectives. A united front and independent role comple-

ment each other. Whenever we have counterposed each other or neglected any one of the two it has caused serious damage to our struggle and organization.

Generalizing our experiences in this respect, the political resolution adopted by the 10th Congress of our Party states:

“The Party will have to strengthen itself and considerably sharpen its independent role and initiative in order to be able to meet the twists and turns of the situation. The independent role of the Party embraces the sphere of Party building, the sphere of the building up of mass organizations, the sphere of mass activity, mass movement and political movement, and democratic forces and as a spearhead in the fight against right reaction and in the fight for bringing about a leftward shift in the political life of the country. The focus of the Party’s activities should be the development of united mass actions, mass movement and struggles with the working class, agricultural labor and toiling peasantry in the center and a worker-peasant alliance as the basis.’

V

It would be wrong to think that mass struggles on a local or national plane *automatically* lead to the building and growth of the Party. Our Party has suffered for a long time from this erroneous understanding of automatic Party building which our Ninth Congress (1971) denounced as spontaneity and as ‘failure to realize the supreme importance of Party organization and of building the Party apparatus patiently and perseveringly.’ Mass political activities and struggles are indispensable for building and developing the Party, but the latter cannot be done unless conscious, planned and sustained efforts are made as a specialized line of Party building. In this respect five tasks are of exceptional importance. They are: (i) unified collective leadership at all levels; (ii) organizational apparatus; (iii) Party education; (iv) selection, allocation and education of Party cadres; and (v) effective functioning of primary organizations.

Because these tasks were not implemented in the 50s the Party was overwhelmed by a crisis which ultimately led to its split. In contrast, it is the conscious and sustained struggle to implement these tasks since the Ninth Party Congress that accounts for the rapid growth of the Party organization.

To specialize and undertake the job of Party organization we have decided to set up a department of Party organization at the central, state and district levels. We have succeeded in this regard only in respect of the center and stronger states so far. We have evolved a system of Party education under a separate education department with a permanent Party school at the center followed by five perme-

ment schools in states. Besides, short-term education camps are conducted for the Party membership. Together with oral agitation and propaganda by means of mass meetings (indoor and outdoor), conferences, seminars, symposiums, etc., the Party is bringing out eight dailies (two each in Hindi and Malayalam and one each in Telugu, Bengali, Punjabi and Manipuri), 15 weeklies and a number of monthly magazines. It also runs about a dozen publishing houses in various languages which bring out books and pamphlets on topical issues as well as Marxist classics. They are an important means of propaganda and agitation among the workers and their actual and potential allies, and also of educating the Party membership.

Needless to say, cadres are the backbone of the Party. The fate of a Party depends, above all, on the number and quality of its cadres. Expanding the Party's activities and organization calls for a growing number of cadres with drive and dynamism and with specialized knowledge. Therefore, one of the most important tasks we have been grappling with is the proper selection, allocation and education of cadres. We have about 50,000 functionaries, including branch secretaries and their assistants. Some 5,000 of them are full-time workers in the various bodies at the central, state and district levels. The National Council has adopted a comprehensive document on cadre policy which stipulates that experienced cadres should be retained while continuing to recruit young cadres, mainly from among industrial and agricultural workers.

In view of the remarkable growth in the number of primary members and organizations (branches), problems of their functioning have assumed added importance. The Central Organization Department is trying to help the Party committees at state and district levels to overcome this weakness by building branch leadership and by helping them to bring about suitable changes in the pattern of branch activities.

It is essential to overcome spontaneity in Party organization.

VI

The CPI is a firm detachment of the international communist movement which heads the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Constitution of the CPI states:

'The Communist Party fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. Adhering to the principles of independence and equality among all Communist Parties, it upholds the commonly agreed positions of the world communist movement in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the defense of the achievements of socialism, in the struggle for democracy, social progress and

socialism all over the world. The Party believes that cooperation and common understanding between workers and peoples of socialist and non-socialist countries have a vital role to play in achieving the common aim.¹

The CPI has adopted this basic position because of its rich experience, which shows that the achievements of the international communist movement radicalize the mass of the Indian people, help left, democratic and patriotic forces, blunt the edge of anti-communism and frustrate the designs of imperialism and reaction. The historic achievements of building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the magnificent victory of the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism, the defense and development of the Cuban revolution, the victory of the Angolan people in their national liberation, the growing strength of the Communist Parties in Portugal, Finland, France, Italy and other countries — these and other achievements of the world communist movement facilitate our struggle for national democracy and socialism.

We have lived and advanced through the exhilarating experience of growing friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It has acted as a reliable shield against the onslaught of external and internal reaction. The results of the 1973 visit of CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to India and the recent visits of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the USSR and the GDR, as the CPI Central Executive Committee stressed in a resolution, open up new vistas of 'cooperation on most crucial issues of world affairs on which the struggle between the forces of imperialism, war and reaction on one side, and those of peace, national liberation and socialism on the other, is daily sharpening.'

We have also learned from the struggle against the extremist elements, whose activities helped the right reactionary forces and did much harm to the prestige and unity of the communist movement in India.

These positive and negative experiences of our Party have led it to adopt a consistent policy of defending the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Marching in step with the world communist movement, and drawing on its achievements, the CPI is forging ahead in its sustained struggle to build a mass Communist Party, strong in unity and discipline, mastering all forms of struggle, and capable of uniting all patriotic and democratic forces for a national democratic revolution as a transition to socialism.

1. Jayaprakash Narayan, a Congress left-winger in the past, now heads India's reactionary movement under the motto of 'total revolution' and 'non-party demo-

cracy,' sabotaging the democratic order and demanding a stop to the country's progressive policy.—*Ed.*

2. The names of tribes and nationalities living mainly in the mountain areas.—*Ed.*

3. The 20-point economic program proposed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi a year ago against the socio-economic base of feudal remnants. That is why we support the program. At the same time, we campaign for setting up popular committees at all levels to control its implementation because our experience shows that it cannot be satisfactorily implemented through the existing bureaucratic machinery.

4. Disobedience to law and order as a sign of protest.—*Ed.*

5. The split in the INC caused by the deteriorating economic situation and the people's mounting discontent and resistance led to the most reactionary and pro-imperialist groups leaving the INC and founding the Congress Organization.—*Ed.*

A reliable beacon

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DIMITR BLAGOYEV ON THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The victory of the working class in Russia in October 1917 ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind, causing an unprecedented upsurge of the revolutionary movement in all parts of the world. The example and ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution had a great impact on Bulgaria, too. The Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party, headed by that dedicated revolutionary and consistent Marxist, Dimitr Blagoyev, sought to bring to the people the ideals of October and the ideas of Lenin.

In June, the Communists and people of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries marked Blagoyev's 120th birthday. He was the founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party and an outstanding figure of the Balkan and international revolutionary workers' movement. This article is about his life and work, particularly in the post-October period, when he and the Party he led went over to Leninist positions. We believe that this period in our Party's history has not lost its significance today.

Blagoyev's historic contribution was that he was able to show that socialism was a realistic prospect in Bulgaria, then a backward country. He was able, also, to merge the nascent working-class movement with socialism and found and develop the revolutionary Marxist party

of the Bulgarian proletariat in sharp ideological and political struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

Blagoyev was also a Marxist scholar, the author of many theoretical works on philosophy, economics, history and journalism. Problems of internationalism, working-class unity, the struggle against opportunism and bourgeois ideology, and defense of the cause of the October Revolution, hold a prominent place in his ideological and theoretical legacy.

Blagoyev began his revolutionary activities while still a student in Russia. From there he brought the torch of socialist ideas to Bulgaria and held it aloft to the end of his days. And so, at the dawn of the Russian and Bulgarian workers' movements firm ties were forged between them reflecting the unity of goals and ideals of class brothers, ties that constantly became closer and developed into the inviolable friendship of the two fraternal nations progressing together along the road charted by the October Revolution.

The revolutionary example of October

The socio-economic and political crisis in Bulgaria caused by the First World War and the influence of the October Socialist Revolution, deepened the differentiation of classes and political parties. Three political camps emerged. The most reactionary was composed of the bourgeois parties representing the financiers, reactionary officers and supporters of the monarchy. Petty-bourgeois parties made up the second camp — the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU), Broad Socialists and radicals. The third camp consisted of the working class and poor peasants, led by the BWSDP (Tesnyaki, or Close Socialists).

Naturally, their attitudes differed on the October Revolution, the Soviet government's peace proposals, the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty and the imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia. The bourgeois parties were hostile to the proletarian victory in Russia. The Broad Socialists (right-wing opportunists) were at first hesitant, but later their leaders took an outright anti-Soviet stand and had an active part in combating the revolutionary working-class movement. However, a unity movement developed among the worker members, and in 1920 part of the Broad Socialists went over to the revolutionary workers' party.

The October Revolution had a strong influence also on the peasant movement and helped strengthen the left wing of the Agrarian Union headed by Alexander Stamboliisky, who championed the interests of the poor and middle peasants, and advocated democratic reform, peace with the other Balkan countries and normal relations with Soviet Russia.

But it was the Tesnyaki who defended and carried on the cause of the October Revolution in Bulgaria. Their attitude was a natural extension of their ideological and political convictions as revolutionary Marxists and steadfast fighters against opportunism and social-chauvinism. Their courageous defense of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism earned them Lenin's commendation as 'true internationalists.'

The Close Socialist Party (or Tesnyaki) welcomed the October Revolution's call for a democratic peace and Lenin's idea of the oppressed and exploited masses taking the cause of peace into their own hands. In the National Assembly, their leader, Dimitr Blagoyev, explained the essence of Lenin's Decree on Peace, the Soviet government's peace proposals and their importance for Bulgaria's national interests and her immediate withdrawal from the war. The Party warned that unless Bulgaria's rulers, together with the German imperialists, accepted the Soviet proposals for a universal and just peace, they should not be surprised 'if peace is imposed on them by the revolution.'

These were not just words. The dissatisfaction of the masses, revolutionary sentiments among soldiers at the front and the unrest among the hungry people, the destruction and poverty were transforming the struggle for peace into a mass movement. The revolutionizing example of the Russian soldiers, workers and peasants, the effect of the anti-war propaganda by the Close Socialists culminated in the 1918 Vladai meeting, involving over 30,000 front-line troops.

Though the meeting was crushed, it exerted a tremendous influence on the country's future, for it speeded the end of the war in the Balkans, helped overthrow the monarchy and the Greater Bulgaria bourgeois clique. The BAPU and the Close Socialists became the most influential political parties.

However, the leadership of the Close Socialists failed correctly to appraise the situation and adopt a correct policy toward the soldiers' uprising. Though they accepted the slogans of the October Revolution, the Close Socialists did not fully appreciate the new features Lenin had brought to the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the proletariat's leading role in the struggle for democracy and for socialism. They failed to apply the Leninist tactic of combining the revolutionary struggle for peace with the struggle for the aims of the socialist revolution, and did not head the soldiers' movement. It took time for the Party to fully comprehend and creatively apply the experience of the October Revolution.

To counter the slander campaign against Soviet Russia in the bourgeois and reactionary press, the Close Socialists stepped up their defense of the first socialist state. Blagoyev knew that the mass

movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia was fostering an internationalist outlook among the Bulgarian working people and strengthening the Party and the working class. 'Of course,' he wrote, 'the aid we can give Soviet Russia, will not be too great; it will be but a drop in the bucket. This is not what is important, however. What is important is that this aid, no matter how small, will be an expression of our solidarity with Soviet Russia, our readiness to do what we can to support its revolutionary cause, to give all that we have for the communist revolution, the only revolution which for us means the salvation of the Bulgarian worker and the poor from the dark enslavement forced upon them by the Bulgarian bourgeois groups and their servitors. Such is the significance of our aid.'

The internationalist position of the Close Socialist Party found expression in numerous political campaigns in support of Soviet Russia. Over 500 mass meetings and demonstrations were held in Bulgarian towns and villages in November and December 1918. The solidarity movement thwarted the Allies' plan to reinforce the occupation forces in Bulgaria and invade Ukraine by the end of 1918.

The 1922 campaign aimed at disintegrating Wrangel's 20,000-strong army, which had found refuge in Bulgaria after its defeat by the Red Army, was particularly effective. The Bulgarian Communist Party started a successful 'back home' movement among the troops, disrupting the imperialist plans to use Bulgaria as a springboard for a new intervention, and greatly weakening the positions of the reactionaries, who believed that the Russian White Guards could be used to crush the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria.

Dimitr Blagoyev singled out two factors that led to the victory of the October Revolution — the dedication and heroism of Soviet Russia's working class and working people generally, and the solidarity of the world proletariat. He stressed the international character of the solidarity movement with Soviet Russia and its growing scope and was deeply convinced that the victory of the Russian workers and peasants would powerfully stimulate the world revolutionary process.

The impact of Leninism

A triumph of Leninism, the October Revolution had a tremendous ideological impact on the Close Socialists. It helped them clarify their views on imperialism and the socialist revolution, the strategy and tactics of the communist movement and its unity around the Third, Communist International. They accepted Lenin's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest form of democracy, and of the need for a worker-peasant alliance to carry the revolution to victory.

The Tesnyaki denounced attempts to revive the defunct Second International. They realized that many aspects of the workers'

movement needed to be reappraised, in a creative Marxist-Leninist spirit, in the light of the new realities and the experience of the victorious socialist revolution. 'The theorists and leaders of the Second International,' Blagoyev wrote, 'suffered a fiasco together with the collapse of the Second International, and will never rise to the standing of theorists and leaders of the international proletarian movement. Today it is a revolutionary movement advancing to the communist revolution, to the conquest of political power by the proletariat and to proletarian dictatorship — something the former leaders and theorists of the Second International cannot understand.'

The Close Socialists held their Second Party Conference in September 1918. The resolution on the international situation formalized the Party's new positions. Thus, the victory of the October Revolution was viewed as the result of the contradictions and objective conditions created by the development of world monopoly capitalism; the Russian proletariat was described as the vanguard of the European revolutionary proletariat, and the October Revolution as the forerunner of the European socialist revolution; the establishment of proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia was viewed as the result of the victory won by the alliance of the workers and the rural poor. The resolution stressed that the proletariat must fight to overthrow bourgeois rule in its own country, and endorsed the call for a Third International.

However, along with these correct, Leninist propositions, the resolution also reflected certain doctrinaire views, such as the assertion that the proletarian revolution could not be fully victorious without the victory of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries. Also erroneous was the exclusion of any possible joint action with the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties.

The BWSDP (Close Socialists) not only endorsed the formation of the Third, Communist International, but was one of its founding members. It accepted the principles of the Comintern, and at its Congress in May 1919, it was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Party (Close Socialists). The Congress policy statement said the Party's immediate task was to fight for a socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship in Bulgaria. This document marked the Party's transition to Leninism, a new stage in its development.

In that period the Party intensified its ideological defense of the October Revolution. The *Novo Vreme* journal carried a series of theoretical articles by Blagoyev upholding Lenin's position on imperialism and the maturing of objective conditions for socialist revolution, on the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest form of democracy, and the international character of the struggle for socialism.

The leader of the Bulgarian Communists emphasized the importance of the proletarian revolution in Russia for raising the class consciousness and militancy of the proletariat and all working people. The October revolution, he wrote, 'is awakening the consciousness and stimulating the revolutionary spirit of the proletarians and working peoples enslaved, exploited and oppressed by capitalism, making them different from what they were yesterday.' Dimitr Blagoyev had unshakable faith in the creative abilities of Russia's working class, in the revolutionary influence the building of socialism would have on world development. It was the internationalist duty of Communist parties, of all conscious proletarians, he stressed, to help preserve and strengthen the first proletarian state.

Soviet power is democracy for the people

The October Revolution brought to Bulgaria the idea of the Soviets as organs of people's power, as an expression of genuine democracy, the embodiment of the union between the workers and peasants. Faced with the idealization of bourgeois democracy by Kautsky and other opportunists, who viewed it apart from the class struggle, Dimitr Blagoyev firmly adhered to positions of Lenin and the Third International. The bourgeoisie, he wrote in his article 'Dictatorship or Democracy,' accepts parliamentarism only when it suits its purpose, and resorts to open violence the moment the bourgeois rule is endangered. Even by winning a parliamentary majority, the working people headed by the working class, cannot consider their mission accomplished unless they destroy the bourgeois political structure, the bourgeois state and its machinery of coercion and force the exploiting classes from their economic and political positions.

Writing on the essence of Soviet power as democracy for the working people, for the overwhelming majority of the population, Blagoyev stressed, however, that it cannot be a democracy for all, i.e., for both the exploited and the exploiters; it cannot emancipate labor while preserving bourgeois social relations.

In reply to Kautsky's allegation that the October armed uprising had destroyed democracy and the multi-party system and that the Bolsheviks refused to recognize other socialist parties — the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, Blagoyev wrote that at the beginning Soviet power was not a one-party system, and the government included representatives of the left Socialist Revolutionaries, who excluded themselves from the Soviet government by not recognizing the historic gains of the revolution and by resorting to conspiracies and assassination. 'What should have been the Soviet Republic's reaction to such so-called socialists who, in alliance with the counter-revolutionaries, were attempting to deprive the proletariat of

its power, won at the cost of such heavy sacrifices ...? Do you suggest that, instead of defending itself, it should have pampered and encouraged them?" asks Blagoyev. 'Weeping for such "Socialists" because they were "deprived of their rights" means opposing proletarian power and taking the side of the enemies of socialism.'

Influenced by the experience of the October Revolution, the BCP accepted Lenin's idea of the worker-peasant alliance, which had a particular bearing on the Bulgarian revolutionary movement. At the Third Party Congress in 1921, Blagoyev pointed out that the October Revolution was successful because Soviet power initiated the alliance of the urban working class and the landless peasants. In the countries where the rural population formed a large group, he said, 'the Communist Party would have faced serious difficulties if it did not have the majority of peasants on its side.'

In 1922 the BCP endorsed the Comintern theses on united front tactics and made several attempts to build a united workers' front. The Party was more active among the workers and peasants. Steps were taken toward united action with the BAPU.

Although the Party accepted the united front tactic, it was not consistent in applying it and continued fighting both bourgeois reaction and the petty-bourgeois BAPU government. And it was these survivals of the old doctrinaire and sectarian views that were responsible for the Party's 'neutral' stand on June 9, 1923, for its failure to direct the rising against the fascists who, through a military conspiracy, toppled the lawful BAPU government.

The September 1923 anti-fascist rising was the most vivid manifestation of the October Revolution's influence on Bulgaria. It was a turning point in the Party's Bolshevization. The Party tried to employ the Leninist united front tactic and form a fighting alliance of the workers and peasants. It led the people, now ready to fight fascism. In this way it demonstrated its revolutionary preparedness and fighting spirit, its devotion to the interests of the working class, of all working people, and to the communist aims and ideals. It enhanced its prestige as the sole political force capable of leading the armed people against fascism and inspiring and rallying all the fighters for freedom and a brighter future.

The Bulgarian Communists are proud of their Party's revolutionary past, its internationalist traditions, of the work of Dimitr Blagoyev and his close associates, Vasil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov. They showed in practice how to defend the first proletarian state against social-chauvinists and opportunists, how to uphold and develop, in the new conditions, the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution.



The policy of the non-aligned movement

Pieter Keuneman
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In recent years the developing countries have been increasingly active on the international scene, have contributed extensively to the anti-imperialist struggle, to the restructuring of international relations along democratic lines. They have been fighting more persistently against imperialist aggression, for peace, détente and international security. A significant role in this is played by the non-aligned movement. Although a comparatively recent phenomenon, with a history of only 15 years, this movement has already become an important force which no one can afford to ignore and which has made many positive contributions to the struggles for peace and national liberation. The Fifth Summit Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, which took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka, between August 16 and 19, 1976, marked a further step forward in the development of this important movement.

The Colombo Summit Conference was the most representative meeting of the non-aligned states in their history. The 86 member-states present account for nearly two-thirds of the number of states in the United Nations and include the vast majority of the developing countries. In addition, the Conference was also attended by 22 countries, international organizations and national-liberation movements with observer status, as well as by seven countries invited as guests. The opinions and decisions of so vast a segment of humanity must undoubtedly carry great authority and exercise considerable influence on the course of world affairs. The Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference was the first to be held in Asia. This was a token of the recognition of the great contribution that the peoples of the Asian continent have made to the struggle for peace and national liberation. The people of Sri Lanka were both honored and proud that their capital city, Colombo, was selected as the venue of this important meeting.

In its 15-year history, the non-aligned movement has expanded both rapidly and considerably. There were only 25 members when the

first Non-Aligned Summit met in Belgrade in 1961. But the number of members nearly doubled to reach 47 when the second Summit took place in Cairo in 1964. Membership increased further to 54 at the Third Lusaka Summit in 1970 and to 76 at the fourth Algiers Summit in 1973. Ten more members joined the movement between the Algiers and Colombo Summits. The movement gained strength from conference to conference, and the positive content of the non-aligned countries' struggle has become more accentuated at each successive Summit Conference. This is due to a combination of factors.

The fight for peace and against imperialism has been a basic theme of the non-aligned movement from its inception. In the early formative years, this reflected the determination of the liberated countries, who were emerging to independent statehood from colonial bondage after the victory over fascism in World War II, not to get entangled in one or other of the proliferation of military alliances against the socialist countries that imperialism was constructing at the time as part of its policy of 'cold war' and 'brinkmanship.' Imperialism's naked military aggressions, its policies of political subversion and intensified exploitation of the new states through the mechanisms of the transnational corporations, unequal trade, and other devices, helped to deepen anti-imperialist consciousness in the new states as time went by. The anti-imperialist potential of the non-aligned movement grew in proportion.

The fundamental political, economic and social processes of change taking place in the new states gave the policies of many non-aligned countries a new class character and socio-economic direction; and turned them even more profoundly in an anti-imperialist direction. Among such changes are: (a) the growth of the industrial working class in the developing countries, whose numbers doubled in the two decades after 1950 to reach 62 million by the beginning of the 1970s; (b) the increasing participation of the working people in the struggles against imperialism and for economic emancipation; (c) the increasing popularity and authority of socialist ideas due to the example of the socialist countries, and the consequent radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie and the youth; and (d) the transition in course of time of several new states to a socialist orientation in their domestic and foreign policy. It can therefore be confidently stated that the organic bonds between the struggles for social progress in the developing countries and the anti-imperialist essence of the non-aligned movement have helped in large measure to determine the movement's historical course.

A series of international factors also created objective conditions in which the non-aligned movement could win victories in its battle with imperialism. These include: (a) the weakening of imperialism as a

result of the defeat of fascism in World War II with the USSR playing the decisive role, (b) the emergence of a socialist world system, which has rendered political, economic and even military support to the countries fighting for their liberation, (c) the constant support received from the international working class and the world communist movement, and (d) the fact that, thanks to the untiring work by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and the peace forces in general, it has been possible to avert a world war for three decades and allow the policy of détente to gain ascendancy in international relations, thus creating favorable conditions for the political advance and social progress of the new states. These objective favorable factors of support should never be forgotten lest one falls into the error, as some non-aligned statesmen have done, of attributing the striking victories of the movement solely to its own efforts (though no one naturally intends to minimize these efforts).

Of great significance in developing the positive aspects of the movement is the fact that it has increasingly concretized the general direction of its fight for peace and against imperialism from one Summit Conference to another.

In the sphere of the struggle for peace, the movement has continuously asserted that peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to cold war and a nuclear catastrophe. It has called for general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition of all weapons of mass terror and mass destruction. It has demanded a World Disarmament Conference. It has positively assessed and welcomed détente and urged its extension to all continents. It has sponsored the call for the Indian Ocean and other regions being transformed into 'zones of peace.'

In the fight against imperialism, the non-aligned movement has opposed the armed aggressions of imperialism in Indochina, the Arab lands, and elsewhere. It has called for the dismantling of all foreign bases on the territories of other countries. It has demanded that the colonial occupation of Asian, African and Latin American countries should be ended. It has asserted the right of all countries to own, control and use their natural resources as they wish, and to decide for themselves how they should use assistance received from others. The non-aligned states have also taken up sharply the fight against the economic exploitation of the developing countries by the imperialist monopolies, the transnational corporations and other neo-colonialist agencies.

The unrelenting struggle of the non-aligned movement against racism, apartheid, Zionism, and other forms of discrimination has also won it great respect.

It is noteworthy that in the concretization of the broad general policies of the non-aligned movement, there is often a proximity and

sometimes even an identity of views with those of the socialist countries, the international democratic organizations, and the international workers' movement.

The many positive features and trends within the non-aligned movement cannot, however, obscure the fact that there are still within the movement its own problems which surfaced at Algiers and, later and more sharply, at Colombo, and also areas of confusion and, in a few cases, even class-biased prejudice. These problems arose essentially from the extremely variegated and heterogeneous character of the member states, both in political policy and in their socio-economic orientation. This is not surprising, especially in view of the movement's rapid expansion in recent years.

Within the movement comprising dozens of Afro-Asian and Latin American states, there are socialist states; states that have chosen a non-capitalist path of development; states which, although not members of any military bloc, still maintain close connections with the capitalist world; monarchies and kingdoms; and even feudal regimes. The levels of political experience within the non-aligned movement are also uneven.

The facts that the leading force in many of the governments involved is national-bourgeois or even feudal, and that some of the members of the movement are by no means unequivocal in their opposition to imperialism, are contributory factors to such a position. This is also the reason why one of the most fundamental questions engaging the attention of the peoples of the developing countries — i.e., whether to choose the path of capitalist or non-capitalist development — has yet to find a place in the agendas of the Summit Conferences of the non-aligned movement. Moreover, as the non-aligned movement operates on the principle of consensus, the more conservative forces within it (not to speak of any whom the President of Libya described at the Colombo meeting as 'colonialism's Trojan horse') are able to modify and even dilute the anti-imperialist and radical policies that a majority of members clearly wish to pursue.

Indeed, this very problem came under sharp discussion in Colombo. An extensive debate took place over the essence of non-alignment and the criteria for membership of the movement. This arose from proposals to relax still further the criteria for membership — some of which, if accepted, could have robbed the movement of its distinctive essence, transformed it into some sort of unwanted duplicate of the United Nations, and even made possible representation at Summit Conferences of states that are members of military blocs. However, none of these proposals found general acceptance. Voices at earlier Summit meetings suggesting that the non-aligned movement should

be institutionalized and transformed into some sort of 'Third Bloc' were also noticeably silent or muted at Colombo.

The matter was very well put by the leader of the Cuban delegation who, in his speech, said: 'If we really wish to have moral and political prestige with the peoples, what should concern us is quality not quantity. Only thus would the incorporation of new forces represent a true growth of our influence and our political power.' And further: 'It is necessary to insist on the fact that membership in the non-aligned movement is not determined by a simple non-commitment to military blocs but that it also implies adherence to a program of transformations that enable the peoples to overcome colonial and semi-colonial slavery and to embark upon the paths of development and well-being.' But this presupposes loyalty to, and consistent upholding of, the anti-imperialist ideals, as well as unflagging struggle against intrigues aimed at eliminating the positive aspects of the non-alignment policy.

The enemies of the non-aligned movement — and, in the first place, the imperialists — have sought actively to use the confusions and contradictions within the movement in order to disorient it, dilute its anti-imperialist content, deflect it from its course, and separate it from and, if possible, oppose it to its natural ally, the socialist countries. In order to disrupt the movement, the imperialists and their accomplices have also sought to exacerbate bilateral disputes between member-states, turn the movement against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and to impose on the movement views and concepts which, if accepted, can only weaken and disrupt it and deflect it from its customary progressive course.

All this has made it urgent for the non-aligned movement to clarify issues, distinguish clearly between friends and foes, and reach correct positions that will not only maintain the unity and progressive content of the movement, but also help to combine its efforts with those of other progressive forces of the world who fight for the same goals of peace, national liberation and social progress. It is equally important to rebuff the false concepts designed to deflect the movement from the right course.

One of the misconceptions that the imperialists and the rightist forces within the developing countries themselves are trying to foster is that 'non-alignment involves an absolute neutrality in relation to both the imperialist and the socialist countries,' and remaining 'equidistant' to both. Such perversions of non-alignment have been roundly denounced and repudiated by most of the movement's 'founding fathers' and leading personalities such as the late Jawaharlal Nehru and the S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Far from seeing non-alignment as some sort of isolation from important world events and

processes, these leaders of non-alignment stressed its positive aspects and, in particular, its resistance to imperialist aggression and exploitation in all forms. Non-alignment to them was correctly seen as a united form of popular struggle to eradicate imperialism and its colonial legacies and neo-colonial sequels.

Another source of confusion stems from an undifferentiated approach toward the so-called 'developed' countries — an approach which fails to distinguish between the developed countries of imperialism and capitalism, and the developed countries of socialism, despite the fact that the two groups of countries pursue entirely different policies toward the non-aligned countries and their basic aims. From this confusion arise so-called 'theories' of the division of the world into 'rich' and 'poor states, where the backward 'South' confronts the developed 'North.' Such false theories are meant to deprive the non-aligned movement of its social content, to destroy its anti-imperialist essence, and to dam its rising anti-capitalist tendencies. Erasure of the cardinal distinctions between the socialist and the imperialist states is meant to hide the exploitative and aggressive character of imperialism, conceal the vicious competition raging among the imperialist powers in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and sidetrack the liberated nations away from the socialist community whose cooperation and support has been and remains one of the main guarantees of their ability to oppose imperialism.

Variations of this perverse approach are also to be found in the absurd idea that the socialist countries share with the imperialist states responsibility for the poverty and economic backwardness of the developing countries, and also in the reactionary 'superpowers' theory that definite circles have been trying without success to foist on the non-aligned movement.

It is, however, gratifying to note that an increasing number of developing and non-aligned governments are able to see through these confusions and to realize that the real dividing line in the world today does not pass between the 'big' and 'small,' or the 'rich' and 'poor,' countries, but between the forces of peace, national liberation, progress and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other.

The fact that the Colombo Summit Conference received warm, friendly and appreciative greetings from the leaders of the socialist countries, while the leaders of the USA and other imperialist countries contemptuously ignored it, was a striking illustration to the delegates present of who their real friends and allies are. This was also demonstrated in the friendly and sympathetic treatment given to the Summit Conference and its work and decisions by the mass media of the socialist countries, in contrast with the hostile treatment of this

historic meeting and the movement as a whole by the mass media of the imperialist countries.

Although they are not completely free from political confusions and incorrect positions, the declarations, resolutions and other documents of the Colombo Summit show that the attempts of the imperialists and the adventurists to impose their views and aims on the Conference suffered inglorious defeat. The Colombo Summit demonstrated on the whole a clear vision of key world problems and, proceeding from the existing trends of social development, drew far-reaching political conclusions.

It is to the credit of the Fifth Colombo Summit of the Non-Aligned States that it sought to take serious account of the new political and economic realities in the world, generally, and in the developing countries, in particular, and formulate its decisions accordingly. What are these realities?

First and foremost, in the period between the 1973 Algiers Conference and the Colombo Summit the policies of *détente* have struck deep roots in international affairs. Thanks to the Peace Program steadfastly pursued by the Soviet Union and supported by the other socialist countries and the peace and progressive forces of the world, these policies began to gain ascendancy in this period and won a striking success at the Helsinki Conference on European security.

The historic victory of the peoples of Indochina over U.S. imperialism had led to the liberation of Laos and Cambodia, and to a reunified socialist Vietnam. The former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, San Tome and Principe had won their independence. The Comores and Seychelles are now also free.

During this period, too, the liberated nations have become an influential force in world affairs. The formation of the 'Group of 77' (now considerably larger) and its activities at the 1974 World Food Conference in Rome, as well as the Fourth UNCTAD Conference at Nairobi and the UN Habitat Conference at Vancouver earlier this year, are examples of the fact that the liberated states have learned to use their combined power against their imperialist exploiters and for their own benefit. Their joint action in the United Nations, often in unison with the socialist countries, earned them the epithet of a 'tyranny of the majority' from world reaction, who only recognize democracy when it permits things to go the way they want.

The growing international activity of the developing countries was aptly characterized by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Soviet Party Congress: 'The foreign policy of the developing countries has become visibly more active. This is seen in many trends — the political course of the non-aligned movement, and the activity

of the Organization of African Unity and of the various economic associations formed by the developing countries. It is quite clear now that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve just — that is, equal — economic relations. It is also clear that their already considerable contribution to the common struggle for peace and the security of the peoples is quite likely to become still more substantial.'

At the same time the Colombo Conference could not but reckon with other gloomy realities of the contemporary world. Although imperialism had suffered big reverses during this period, it had not given up its aggressive policies. The CIA-sponsored fascist putsch in Chile took place almost immediately after the Algiers Summit. U.S. imperialist techniques of political subversion and 'destabilization' in countries with progressive regimes has been intensified, along with threats to use force to impose its will and, as in the case of the Italian elections, impermissible interference in the internal affairs of other countries. New aggressive military bases are being built at Diego Garcia and elsewhere. In the Middle East, U.S. imperialism, in league with Israel, continues to deny the just right of the Palestine people to their own independent state, to oppose the return of all Arab territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors, to torpedo attempts to achieve a settlement in Lebanon and Cyprus, and to divide the liberation movement of that region. The USA threatens Guyana, Jamaica and Panama, steps up its repressions in Puerto Rico, continues to mount provocations in Korea, and arms South African and Rhodesian racists.

More such examples could be cited. These continuing dangers to peace and the security of the peoples, which were highlighted at the Colombo Summit, were a good rebuff to those who sought to get the Conference to accept the point of view that, with the defeat of the last of the great colonial empires in Portugal, the political struggle against imperialism had virtually ceased or taken a secondary place. This approach would objectively belittle the significance of other forms of the anti-imperialist struggle, primarily on the economic front which is of special importance today in view of the economic position of the developing countries.

The economic position of many of the newly free countries had deteriorated sharply in the period between the Algiers and Colombo summits. Illusions that they would receive increased economic assistance from the imperialist and capitalist world during the 'Development Decade' of the United Nations had vanished into thin air. Reality has shown that, in fact, the imperialist and advanced capitalist

countries had even reduced their meager aid to the developing countries.¹ Meanwhile, direct private investment had nearly doubled.²

The deep-going and many-sided crisis of capitalism during this period has had serious detrimental effects on the economies of many developing countries. According to UNCTAD sources, the debts and the deficits in their balance of payments increased from \$12,000 million in 1973 to \$45,000 million in 1975 and are expected to reach \$100,000 million by 1980. The prices that the developing countries paid for imports of food and capital goods from the advanced capitalist countries doubled during this crisis period. By this and other means the latter were able to pass on to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a good part of the difficulties they experienced from the crisis of capitalist economy.

All this has meant greater misery for the peoples of the developing countries. About 100 million (or roughly 20 per cent) of the potential work force are unemployed. Millions die of starvation every year. The already meager incomes of huge masses of people continue to decline. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka voiced the sentiments of non-aligned nations when, in her inaugural address to the Colombo Summit, she said: 'The state of affairs is an affront to all concepts of justice and equity, and it can be allowed to continue only at great peril to human civilization and all of man's achievements.' All these developments have led to demands from the developing countries for the complete restructuring of their financial and economic relations with the capitalist countries, which find expression in their demand for a 'new and more just international economic order.'

In summing up the results of the Colombo Summit the following basic features could be singled out.

First of all, the Colombo Conference paid attention to many urgent problems of the relaxation of international tensions, disarmament, and the promotion of world peace. Appraising positively the success of the Helsinki Conference as an event whose importance is not confined to Europe, it welcomed détente and stressed the need to deepen its processes and extend them to other areas of the world. The strong support given to the proposal made by the USSR and other socialist countries for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference was another important feature of the Colombo Summit. As a preliminary step, the Conference proposed that a special session of the UN General Assembly should be convened as early as possible, and not later than 1978, with an agenda that will include a review of the problem of disarmament, the promotion and elaboration of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament, and the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

A most important proposal of the Colombo Conference was the call for the convening of a conference of all the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, together with the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, to promote objectives of establishing a system of collective security devoid of military alliances in this region. The call was also made to make the Mediterranean, too, a zone of peace. Condemning the U.S. buildup of the Diego Garcia base, the Colombo Summit demanded the winding up of all foreign military and naval bases, including those in South Africa maintained in collaboration with Israel and certain Western powers.

The declarations and resolutions of the Conference also dealt specifically with current hotbeds of tension in Southern Africa, the Middle East, Korea and elsewhere; correctly identified the various forms of imperialist domination and occupation as the main source of this tension, and in general advanced concrete and realistic proposals for the solution of such problems.

Secondly, the Colombo Summit continued and carried forward the political struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism which was a marked feature of the Algiers Summit. This is clearly seen in its Political Declaration and in the numerous resolutions adopted on specific issues.

Thirdly, the Colombo Summit broadened the new front in the anti-imperialist struggle of the non-aligned states — the economic front opened in Algiers. This has become an arena of struggle which is of great importance to the non-aligned states, especially to those who have secured their political independence and are now engaged in the battle for economic independence. In the Economic Declaration, in the discussion that preceded it, and in the opening Presidential address of Mrs. Bandaranaike, a number of interesting and concrete proposals, worthy of further study, were made in order to restructure the financial and economic relations of the non-aligned states with the advanced capitalist countries. These proposals have as their basis the desire of the non-aligned states to end the inequalities and discriminations practised against them at present by the developed capitalist countries in the spheres of trade, monetary systems and institutions, and other forms of economic relations. The Colombo Summit also discussed the economic aggression against the developing countries by the transnational corporations. It affirmed the right of each nation to control any transnational corporation operating in its territory, including the right to nationalize such corporations in accordance with the laws and regulations of their own country, and according to national needs, requirements and principles.

Fourthly, the Colombo Summit opened yet another front in the

struggle against imperialism — the front of the mass media and cultural exchanges. Several proposals were made to end the monopoly that a few news and mass media agencies have at present in regard to the dissemination of information in the non-aligned world. The Conference also demanded the return of cultural treasures looted by the imperialists.

While appreciating the positive outcome of the Fifth Colombo Summit, it is necessary to realize that much remains to be done before the Sixth Summit meets in Havana, Cuba in 1979. The implementation of the decisions taken by the Colombo Summit, especially those in the economic field, are likely to bring about qualitative developments within the movement itself.

A key question for the non-aligned movement in the coming period will be the need for it to establish correct and positive relations with the socialist community, whose help and cooperation is essential for the success of the aims of the non-aligned movement. Such mutually beneficial relations already exist on a bilateral basis between different non-aligned and socialist countries. The establishment of such enduring relations between the two movements will enormously enhance the effectiveness of their common struggles for peace and against imperialism.

1. Specifically, the USA, which had earlier contributed only 0.7 of 1 per cent of its Gross National Product by way of economic assistance to the developing countries, had reduced this contribution still further to a niggardly 0.25 of 1 per cent of its GNP.

2. Nearly one-third of this private investment has been by transnational corporations, the values of whose product is double the value of the total exports of the developing countries and more than one-quarter of their total Gross National Product.

The main trend of mankind's progress

Josef Kempny

Presidium member and

CC Secretary, CP of Czechoslovakia

The emergence of the socialist world system is, beyond all doubt, the most important development of the past 30 years. Its rise and growth means that imperialism has lost its leading role in international affairs and finds itself compelled to accept peaceful coexistence of states with mutually-opposed social systems. The magnificent achievements

of the socialist community created a situation in which no cardinal issue can be resolved without its participation. Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, said: 'Development of the socialist countries, their greater might, and the greater beneficial influence of their international policy — this is now the main direction of mankind's social progress. Socialism's power of attraction has become still greater against the background of the crisis that has erupted in the capitalist countries.'

The progress in socialist and communist construction in each country has been paralleled by their closer economic, political and ideological cooperation. Closer union of the socialist countries has now become a law of their development.

The Communist and Workers' Parties devote special attention to expanding and deepening economic integration as a key factor in the progress of their countries and in the further strengthening of the socialist community. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has now been functioning for more than 25 years. In this quarter century — not a very long span historically — the first socialist-type international economic organization has accumulated a rich and instructive fund of experience. The record of CMEA presents an impressive picture of increasing cooperation of its member-countries from the lower to higher and more complex forms, including production specialization and economic integration. As a result, we now have a comprehensive, flexible and effective mechanism of economic, scientific and technological cooperation that fully accords with the social and economic development of the socialist countries in this age of the technological revolution and the growing trend toward internationalization of economic life, and helps them solve the problems involved in the building of socialism and communism.

These processes require new, balanced national and international economic proportions, highly effective economic structures in each of the fraternal countries and concentration of resources and effort on major projects in the most promising industries to form an interconnected CMEA industrial complex. There is ample evidence of the benefits of joint integration undertakings, close coordination of national economic plans, joint planning and technical and economic prognostication and the pooling of scientific potentials.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers integration an objective essential of economic development and a primary condition for increasing the effectiveness of production. At its 15th Congress (April 1976) it reaffirmed that its foreign economic relations will continue to center on cooperation with other socialist countries.

Internationalization of material production is a universal law of economic development both in the socialist and capitalist parts of the

world. However, as Istvan Huszar, Political Bureau member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, rightly remarked in this journal (August 1976), the essence, aims and forms in which integration manifests itself, the ways and means of its realization and, above all, its socio-economic consequences, are directly determined by the character of the social system in which they occur. Based on community of fundamental interests and aims of the working class and all working people in the fraternal countries, the overall objective of socialist integration is to raise prosperity standards. In contrast, the very nature of capitalism makes for economic relations based largely on cut-throat competition, exploitation of the less developed countries and subordination of national policy to the interests of the imperialist monopolies.

This principal difference finds its clear expression in the role of the world's two big international economic organizations, the socialist CMEA and the capitalist EEC. A comparison of their results will show the tremendous advantages of socialist economic integration over capitalist.

The whole record of CMEA has demonstrated to the world that genuine fraternal relations between states are possible only under socialism. Cooperation of the socialist states is premised on the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, respect of sovereignty, voluntary association, equality, reciprocal advantage and fraternal mutual assistance. In contrast, the European Economic Community is torn by internal contradictions resulting from its stronger partners trying to dominate the community and impose their will on the other members. As opposed to this, CMEA is a stable community based on common fundamental aims, close unity of national and international interests, and with no privileges or advantages for one or another of its members.

That explains why cooperation within the CMEA framework corresponds to the interests and requirements of all its member states. The following facts will illustrate this and also CMEA's vital importance for our country. Practically every branch of the Czechoslovak economy has a part in cooperation with the Soviet Union. Trade between the two countries rose by 43 per cent in the last five-year period (1971-75), and 90 per cent of our exports to the USSR consist of industrial goods, while our imports are made up mostly of raw materials, fuel, automobiles, computers, machine tools, aircraft and powerful main-line locomotives. In the current five-year plan, too, the accent is on cooperation with the USSR, and our trade with it will increase by another 48 per cent under the 1976-80 agreement.

Cooperation with other CMEA members is of great importance, too. This applies especially to economic contacts with the GDR. The economic and technical level of the two countries has made for

relatively wide specialization and cooperation in production, particularly in machine-building and petrochemicals, and for mutually advantageous cooperation in other fields, too. We have built up a macro-structure of relations with Poland commensurate with the level of the productive forces, natural and geographical conditions of the two countries. And here, too, the most rapid growth has been in capital goods, which is of decisive importance for achieving a more dynamic economic exchange. Czechoslovakia's trade with other socialist countries will in the current five-year period increase by more than 42 per cent.

CMEA membership has been particularly beneficial to countries that began building socialism when they were still far behind the industrial nations. One of the biggest advantages of socialist integration lies precisely in the fact that it helps rapidly to overcome historically-formed disparities in economic levels and promotes dynamic development and effective use of the scientific, technological and economic potential of each country and of the community as a whole. And for us in Czechoslovakia it is a matter of pride that, along with the Soviet Union, we have in these past years used our big industrial potential to contribute to the industrialization of fraternal countries and in this way demonstrate our fidelity to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Most CMEA countries have already carried out industrialization and, drawing on their rich experience and greater opportunities, can now help to accelerate industrialization in other countries. The governments of CMEA member states have worked systematically to increase the pace of economic development in Mongolia and Cuba, where socialism is being built in conditions different from those of other CMEA countries. Thanks to this assistance, growth rates of industrial output in these less-developed countries are, as a rule, higher than in the more developed ones. This leads to a gradual evening out of economic levels. I might add that under socialist cooperation this benefits not only the less developed countries, but all CMEA members: higher and more equal levels make for more effective cooperation and strengthen the socialist community.

The advantages of socialist integration are clearly manifest also in the stable, dynamic economic growth of CMEA countries compared with their capitalist counterparts. Five years ago, in July 1971, CMEA adopted its Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration. It ushered in a qualitatively new stage of cooperation and became the material basis for still closer unity. In the five years 1971-75, CMEA industrial output rose by 46 per cent, as against 7 per cent in EEC countries and 9 per cent in developed capitalist countries. In other words, the average annual accretion of output over the five

years was 7.4 per cent in CMEA countries and 1.2 per cent in EEC countries and the USA. Of course, our opponents might object that the difference is due to the recession of the early 70s. But a comparison of the same indicators for the past 25 years will show that annual growth rates of industrial output were 9.6 per cent in CMEA countries and 4.6 in developed capitalist countries.* Furthermore, this quarter-century included boom years in the capitalist world.

The 46 per cent rise in CMEA industrial output in 1971-75 (as against only 9 per cent in developed capitalist countries) means that the socialist countries are quickly overcoming the lag in absolute volume of industrial output. The last congresses of the fraternal parties decided to concentrate on steeply increasing economic effectiveness and productivity and improving quality and, in pursuance of that policy, we are rapidly nearing the time when the gap between the economic potential of the socialist world and the developed capitalist countries will no longer exist.

Our optimism is based not only on what we have achieved, but also on the favorable outlook for the future. And future plans figured prominently at the 30th CMEA session in Berlin this July. Its communique says that the conditions have matured for fuller utilization of the potentialities latent in the Comprehensive Program and for joint solution of economic problems vital to all CMEA members through joint cooperation programs in the main branches of material production over the coming 10-15 years. These include new projects in energy, fuel and raw materials, machine-building, satisfaction of reasonable demand in basic foods and consumer goods, modernization and expansion of transport links between CMEA countries. These programs will make for still closer economic contacts between the socialist countries and will put our cooperation on a more long-term basis.

Our Party and government have always attached much importance to coordinating five-year development plans. Czechoslovakia has concluded a series of bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements for the current five-year period. And this is already paying off: it was precisely our joint planning that minimized the negative effects on CMEA of the crisis in the capitalist world. A new dimension has now been added. Last year, for the first time since the inception of CMEA, there was introduced a coordinated plan of multilateral integration projects for 1976-80. It will make for concerted effort in solving central economic problems. National development plans have been adjusted in this master plan.

With the technological revolution, more than half of the increase in

*For more detailed data on the economic growth of the CMEA countries see 'The world's most dynamic industrial region' elsewhere in this issue.—*Ed.*

national income in the more developed countries comes from the introduction of new technology. And Czechoslovakia is doing much to promote and expand research and development in this field. Suffice it to say that under the current five-year plan no less than 3.8 per cent of national income will go into scientific research.*

Bilateral and multilateral cooperation in science and technology, through coordination of research in accordance with a joint overall plan, has proved extremely useful. In the past five years, Czechoslovakia had a significant share in the CMEA research program, participating in research on 180 projects embracing 770 different problems.

Still another valuable form of scientific and technical cooperation is joint research by collectives from various countries. For instance, good results have been obtained from Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in developing more sophisticated computers, designing an automated spinning plant, and also in chemicals and petrochemicals. A large reactor for producing synthetic ammonia is now undergoing tests. And, of course, Czechoslovakia has gained immensely from cooperation with the USSR in so important and progressive a field as atomic energy. With Soviet assistance we are now building two nuclear power plants and are also involved in joint production of reactor equipment.

Closer economic cooperation is of crucial importance not only for the economic, but also for the social and cultural development of the fraternal countries, and in raising their living standards. There is the evidence of international experience that these aims are attainable only in the context of international socialist relations. In the past five-year period CMEA members, using their economic achievements, introduced a series of major social measures directed at fuller satisfaction of their peoples' material and cultural requirements. In 1971-75 real per capita incomes rose by 29 per cent in the CMEA community, and by 30 per cent in Czechoslovakia. Also this important gain in housing: about 60 million people, over 16 per cent of the socialist community's population, moved into new homes.

However, we are fully aware of the fact that the building of developed socialism requires more than increasing and improving what was accomplished at earlier stages. We are now faced with qualitatively new tasks in shaping social policy. They stem from the rapid growth of our economic potential and the higher level of interconnection between production and social relations and social policy, between the growth of society's wealth and and all-round develop-

*These are the percentages for other CMEA countries: 2 for Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania, up to 4.5 for the USSR and the GDR and, by way of comparison, 2.3 for the U.S. (1973) and 1.2 for the EEC.

ment of the personality, which is the ultimate aim of socialist economic growth. In other words, the job is to shape and perfect the socialist way of life. The task is a complex one, to say the least, and its accomplishment requires of each country a scientifically-grounded program in which social and economic, ideological and moral aspects are closely integrated. The decisive element in bringing that program to reality is, of course, the building of the appropriate material and technical basis, using all the achievements of the technological revolution. And it is here that we can so clearly see the intimate link between closer economic integration of the socialist countries, which helps to accelerate technological progress, and the growing opportunities of each country to implement large-scale social measures.

Equalizing development levels on the basis of closer relations between CMEA countries and joint effort in attaining major social goals, also help each country raise prosperity standards and carry out new social measures. As pointed out above, the 30th CMEA session envisaged the drafting of joint programs that will include measures to satisfy the rising requirements of the population in high-quality foods and basic consumer goods. These programs provide for mutually-advantageous specialization and cooperation, the technological re-equipment of light industry and a better supply of raw materials. In this way the overall aim of socialism, i.e., 'ensuring full well-being, and free, all-round development for all the members of society' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54), toward which the socialist world in working, has proved an important lever in accelerating the material and cultural progress of all our countries.

Lenin pointed out that 'already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international' (Vol. 19, p. 246). This process is greatly accelerated and expanded in building developed socialism and in the gradual transition to the building of communism. The socialist countries will have to overcome many difficulties caused by unequal economic and socio-political levels, differing traditions, different approaches to socialist construction, etc. But the identical type of their social and political structures, unity of their peoples' fundamental interests, loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will enable them successfully to cope with all these difficulties and strengthen their cohesion and cooperation.

In common with other fraternal parties, we are cultivating a sense of internationalism and bringing the people knowledge of the laws of social development. Ideological cooperation of the parties in the CMEA countries, as exemplified by the periodical conferences of CC

secretaries on international ideological problems, plays a major part in this.

Closer unity of the socialist community countries depends above all on the closer unity of their peoples. Our Communist Party, like other ruling parties of the socialist countries, makes a point of promoting contacts at all levels, with government and non-government organizations, factories and research institutions of other countries, and also direct production, cultural, family and personal ties. And our experience has shown this to be an effective way of instilling a spirit of friendship, brotherhood, mutual assistance, a feeling of belonging to the great, closely-knit community of socialist countries, and a desire to contribute to its continued progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties play a leading role in developing and perfecting cooperation. Guided by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, they can foresee and program the future of their countries and of the socialist community as a whole in a way that combines the interests of their peoples with the potentialities and requirements of member-states, unites the people and directs their efforts toward closer cooperation and union.

The fraternal parties are working on fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration. Here, too, the Communist parties direct the cooperation effort, organize exchange of economic experience and set goals for the future. In this respect the summit meetings of leaders of the socialist countries play a very big part in shaping joint policy in all essential fields. They examine such problems as closer political, economic and cultural contacts, foreign policy, and problems of the world communist movement. In this context, the meeting between Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Crimea in July, was of particular importance for the development of closer friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two parties and peoples.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are thus the collective guiding force of the concurrency process and express the profound unity of fundamental interests of the working class and working people in all the CMEA countries. It is in this light that the Central Committee report to the 15th Congress of our Party emphasized: 'The firm alliance of Marxist-Leninist parties is the very core of the unity and cooperation of the socialist community countries, joined together on the principles of socialist internationalism in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.'

Fruitful cooperation of our fraternal countries enhances the authority of the socialist community on the international scene and exerts an

ever stronger influence on the democratization of international relations. The qualitatively new principles of economic cooperation practised by CMEA, namely, equality, independence, voluntary association, reciprocal advantage, mutual aid, and respect for national sovereignty, have won wide recognition. And all the fabrications of bourgeois politicians and economists, all their attempts to prove that some of the economic principles of the socialist countries (state monopoly of foreign trade, centralized planning, etc.) hamper their economic cooperation with third countries, have proved a fiasco. For CMEA has always maintained — and this is confirmed by its practical activity — that it is an open organization, open to both socialist and non-socialist countries and prepared to form a wide range of contacts with all countries. In fact, not so long ago CMEA gave the EEC the draft of an agreement on the principles of their relations. It envisages the creation of conditions for equal and mutually-advantageous cooperation by the two organizations and their member-states. For instance, we are prepared to discuss cooperation in transport and energy, environmental protection, standardization, etc.

This step, and a number of earlier ones, show that CMEA, far from being sealed off from third countries by discrimination barriers, is consistently promoting wider European and world cooperation. Its member states are sincerely interested in expanding international economic ties, which they regard as a component of peaceful coexistence.

Economic relations in the socialist community have a great power of attraction for all nations desiring equal and mutually-advantageous cooperation. They have a special attraction for developing countries fighting to wipe out imperialist exploitation, and economic backwardness and advance to full economic independence and progress. They see cooperation with CMEA as a means toward these goals. The fraternal socialist countries, desiring to accommodate the interests of these developing countries, are extending trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation with them, thereby effectively assisting implementation of the declaration on the establishment of a new economic order and the program of action adopted by the UN in 1974.

We believe that consistent implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference would go a long way toward closer economic and other relations between states belonging to the two systems. Czechoslovakia contributed to the success of the Helsinki Conference, which significantly improved Europe's political climate. There has also been high appreciation of our efforts for peaceful adjustments in Europe, notably normalization of relations with the FRG and Austria, and the development of relations with practically all Euro-

pean countries. Czechoslovakia will continue to work for broader European cooperation and for complementing political détente with military détente.

The cohesion and development of the socialist countries and of the entire communist movement make for a healthier international climate. Czechoslovak Communists are vitally interested in this, and they had an active share in preparing and conducting the European Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which demonstrated anew the organic link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism. Comrade Husak said in his speech at the Conference: 'The all-round development of the socialist countries and their closer unity are of particular importance for the continued positive development of Europe. The socialist community is a reliable bulwark of the forces of freedom and progress in Europe and the world.'

Our Party has always considered it its prime internationalist duty to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. It adheres to and develops the principles that guarantee the further strengthening of our fraternal family of countries and peoples. And of vast importance for Czechoslovakia, as for all other CMEA members, is close cooperation with the USSR, the guarantor of our countries' security and peaceful socialist development, and the decisive political and military force of the socialist community. The Soviet Union is also the strongest country economically, possessing a vast scientific and technical potential and rich raw material and energy resources. Throughout the postwar years, the USSR has discharged its internationalist duty, and it is thanks to its disinterested assistance that all the CMEA countries were able to carry out truly momentous transformations. The Czechoslovak Communists, now as always, maintain that closer ties with the great Soviet power is the chief factor in the successful fulfillment of our plans.

The recent Party congresses in the CMEA countries were an impressive demonstration of our achievements in building socialism and of the limitless potentialities of the socialist system. The congresses analyzed what has already been accomplished, formulated far-reaching programs for continued social and economic progress and indicated the ways and means of securing still closer cooperation. The growing might of our fraternal community greatly extends the influence of existing socialism and increasingly stimulates the world revolutionary process. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in keeping with the traditions of its 55 years' history, will, in future too, contribute to the strengthening of socialism, to world peace, democracy and social progress.

Thirty years of struggle, second year of freedom

Phoumi Vongvichit
PB member, People's
Revolutionary Party of Laos,
Deputy Prime Minister,
Laotian People's
Democratic Republic

As reported earlier, a delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos led by Phoumi Vongvichit visiting the *WMR* offices. Speaking at an Editorial Council meeting, he briefly surveyed the Laotian people's heroic fight for liberation and the young republic's first steps in building a new society. Following is an abridged transcript of his comments.

For 20 years, the Laotian people fought courageously for national liberation against imperialist aggressors. They achieved a complete if hard-won victory.

World War II weakened the positions of French colonialism in Indochina. This made it easier for our people to begin a liberation struggle that was also directed against the Japanese invaders. Taking advantage of the strategically favorable situation created by the victories of the Soviet Army and allied forces over German fascism and Japanese militarism, as well as by the successful August 1945 Revolution in Vietnam, the Laotian people wrested power from their oppressors. The popular rising of August 23, 1945 was followed, on October 12, by proclamation of a free and independent state and the formation of its first government.

However, the French colonialists again invaded our country in an effort to restore their domination. Thereupon our people began a victorious liberation war which lasted nine years. The Geneva agreements, signed in July 21, 1954, recognized the independence of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, once parts of so-called French Indochina. But after the French expeditionary forces had pulled out of Laos, the U.S. imperialists came in on the pretext of filling the resultant 'vacuum.' There followed nearly 20 years of struggle for the country's final liberation, this time from U.S. imperialism and its accomplices.

Throughout those long years, our people's fight was led by the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos (PRPL), continuer of the glorious Communist Party of Indochina (CPIC).¹ Our Party was founded on March 22, 1955. Originally called the People's Party, it was given its present name by the Second Congress (February 1972). The Party operated in illegal conditions until 1975, when it took power throughout the country, came out into the open and revealed the names of its leaders.

From its very inception the PRPL assumed the leadership of the revolution. Carrying forward the heroic traditions of the CPIC and the people's patriotic aspirations and operating in line with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, it built up its ranks and organized and strengthened the People's Armed Forces. On January 6, 1956, it set up the Patriotic Front of Laos (PFL).

The complexity of the problems our patriots had to wrestle with can be gauged from the main stages of the fight against U.S. imperialism.

Under the 1954 Geneva agreements, the patriots, still weak at the time, had to withdraw from several areas and concentrate in what came to be known as the 'regroupment zone' — the Phong Saly and Samneua provinces. The U.S. imperialists tried to seize the two provinces. The patriots had to fight on two fronts: on the battlefield, to defend the 'regroupment zone,' and in talks with the royalists, using the contradictions among them to secure a peaceful settlement of the country's problems by its own people. At the same time they carried on political work among the population of ten other provinces.

Imperialist interference held up the talks. Not until the imperialists had suffered a series of military reverses in the 'regroupment zone' did they allow their lackeys to sign the Vientiane agreements (1957).² In November 1957, the first government of national unity was formed, with two PFL members.

The formation of the government coincided with the beginning of armed intervention by the U.S. imperialists in Indochina. The imperialists wanted to take advantage of the Vientiane agreements as a means of luring our leaders out of the liberated zone and eliminating them. But we fought on successfully in spite of their maneuvers.

One of these maneuvers was the U.S. imperialists' agreement to hold by-elections in 1958. In these elections, the PFL made important gains: nine out of its 13 candidates were elected and the rest of the seats (12) went to the neutralist patriotic forces allied with it. The rightists suffered total defeat. The Americans were alarmed by the outcome of the elections. They overthrew the national unity government and replaced it by another government under agent,

Sananikone.³ This reactionary government unleashed a campaign of repression against the PFL. Our cadres were hounded in all provinces and many were arrested, including some leaders. Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the PFL, and myself spent ten months in prison. We were able to escape.

The Party again roused the people to armed struggle, which it combined with political and diplomatic activity, drawing on the aid of socialist countries. There developed a powerful popular movement. Fighting unrelentingly, we freed over half the country's territory. The Americans realized that they were in for a military defeat and agreed to the convocation of a second Geneva conference under the pressure of a vast international solidarity campaign with our people. But although the conference did convene in 1961 fighting went on. While agreeing to negotiations, the imperialists followed a delaying tactic, hoping to overcome us by force of arms. However, they had to resign themselves to the formation of a tripartite government of national unity which signed the 1962 Geneva agreements confirming the independence and neutrality of Laos.

There was peace, but only for a while. The revolutionaries were in control of two-thirds of the national territory. And then the U.S. imperialists made a fresh attempt to defeat them. Nine months after the formation of the tripartite government, U.S. agents overthrew it after first engineering the assassination of the foreign minister and several other neutralist leaders. The U.S. imperialists started a 'special war' in Laos. In 1964 they began major 'support' operations involving the air force, and then intervened openly by sending in their troops. Our Central Committee mobilized the Party, army and people: the fight for final victory had entered a new stage.

We had to fight on two fronts simultaneously — on the battlefield and on the political and diplomatic scene. In carrying on our political struggle, we exposed U.S. imperialist deception to our people, and in the diplomatic sphere we demonstrated to our friends in all parts of the world our people's just fight for national salvation.

The imperialists rejected all our peace overtures. Their air force bombed Laos until 1973, dropping three million tons of explosives. The air raids involved every type of aircraft, including strategic B-52 bombers. But even this powerful array of weapons could not break our people's spirit. In 1970 the imperialists, under the powerful blows dealt by the army and people of Laos fighting in close cooperation with the liberation armies of Vietnam and Cambodia, had again to authorize their underlings in Vientiane to start talks with us. True, they put forward certain unacceptable conditions, but even so we agreed to discuss all points.

The talks began late in 1972. Prince Souphanouvong appointed me

his representative with full powers. On February 21, 1973, the Vientiane agreement on peace and national concord was signed. Hostilities ceased. The agreement and the attached protocol started a new chapter in Laotian history.

The war for national salvation developed into a complex revolutionary struggle of the people in peace-time conditions. A national unity government and Political Coalition Council were formed. They adopted a political program of 18 points and a decree guaranteeing democratic freedoms. These two documents were basic to raising the people's political awareness. The masses, who had become much more politically conscious, realized the threat posed by imperialist maneuvers and saw the correctness of our Party's policy. They could now distinguish between the friends and enemies of our country. Backed by the people, the Party steadily strengthened its position. All attacks by the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices were beaten off. There developed mass movements directed against home reaction and involving diverse sections of the population, intermediary social groups included. The students and peasants were particularly militant.

In the spring of 1975, the people demanded the recall of reactionary cabinet ministers, a purge in the army command, the dissolution of U.S. military organizations in Laos and the withdrawal of U.S. personnel.

The enemy panicked. The situation was ripe for revolution. The victories achieved in the second half of April by the peoples of South Vietnam and Cambodia helped to provide most favorable conditions for our revolution. The Party's Central Committee resolved immediately to rouse the people to action and take power in the opposite zone by striking a strong blow but avoiding bloodshed. The historic rising began in May 1975.

Unable to resist the pressure of the masses, the reactionary leaders fled to Thailand, from where they sent letters of resignation, with the result that reaction became something of a headless snake. Mass movements rapidly gathered strength. Military units of the Vientiane side refused one by one to obey the rightists' orders. They demanded to be put under the command of the liberation forces and called for the arrest of reactionary officers and for the entry of national patriotic forces into the Vientiane area with a view to safeguarding its security and ensuring its joint defense.

U.S. military organizations found themselves encircled in all provinces. After struggles lasting about three weeks, these organizations were closed down and over 2,000 Americans expelled from Laos.

Work was begun to politically re-educate the men, NCOs and

officers of the Vientiane military group and administrative personnel, including cabinet ministers.

National concord, which was virtually achieved, enabled the popular movement to abolish old government bodies in cantons, districts and provinces, elect people's councils and set up administrative committees. In every province these bodies, led by the PFL, held elections for the National Congress of People's Representatives. On December 1 and 2, 1975, the Congress decided to carry out radical reforms, abolish the monarchy and proclaim a people's democratic republic. Prince Souphanouvong became President of the Republic and PRPL General Secretary, Kaysone Phomvihane, Prime Minister. The Congress endorsed the government formed by him, approved its political report and government program and adopted a declaration. The Kingdom of Laos became the Laotian People's Democratic Republic (LPDR). In this way the national democratic revolution was completed in our country by peaceful means, without bloodshed.⁴

This great victory marked a turning point in the life of our society and opened a new era in Laotian history. The reactionaries, traitors, comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucrats and militarists have for ever been stripped of power. We have established a new system which means that our people have for ever become masters in their country.

Our victory was due primarily to our Party's correct policy in uniting the people — a people deeply devoted to their country — on a national democratic basis and carrying forward their fine traditions of struggle.

Our victory marks a triumph for the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and is evidence of our Party's creative application of Marxism-Leninism in Laotian conditions. At every stage of the revolutionary struggle, the PRPL chose the right strategy and tactics.

Our victory is a victory for the friendship that has closely linked the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in struggle against a common enemy. A tremendous contribution to it was made by the fraternal solidarity and effective aid of socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, of the forces of national liberation, peace, democracy and social progress.

After establishing a new system by creating the LPDR, the Laotian people proceeded with revolutionary enthusiasm to carry out the action program approved by the government in December 1975.⁵

Economic rehabilitation requires enormous effort by the Party and people. This is a period when we must heal the wounds of war. We are successfully coping with today's problems. We help the return of our compatriots whom the invaders had resettled in areas under their control.

The housing problem is acute. Indeed, every village in four-fifths

of the country's territory has been fully or partly destroyed by the invaders. Many hundreds of thousands of people and the people's army had to live in mountain caves and in dugouts, where our Party's Central Committee, too, had its headquarters. People took shelter there during bomb raids, and at night they worked in the fields and rebuilt destroyed bridges and roads so that trucks could carry supplies for the army and the population before sunrise.

The refugees who are coming back need not only homes but ploughs, seed, household utensils and clothing, as well as food until the next crop is harvested. We must rebuild dams and the whole irrigation network and clear rivers and forests of mines and unexploded shells and bombs. Only by finishing this urgent work can we provide conditions at least no worse than before the war.

After that will come the second stage, the stage of organizing production. We must improve livestock farming and the cultivation of vegetables and rice by using more up-to-date methods and chemical fertilizer. We must also modernize handicrafts labor by supplying electrical power. These measures will enable our country both to meet its requirements of today and obtain, by producing for export, the means it needs for building heavy industry. We consider that the second stage will take roughly three years after which the economy can be put on a five-year plan basis.

Farming and forestry hold by tradition an important place in our economy. We have vast forests and our timber is greatly valued on the world market. Laos has substantial mineral deposits, the most important being iron ore with a high content of metal (70 to 76 per cent). Besides, we have discovered copper, anthracite and brown coal deposits. We have numerous rivers and waterfalls. By building hydropower stations, we can have enough electricity for ourselves and for export.⁶

The government program envisages nationalization of the forests, mineral deposits and water resources, the abolition of private land-ownership in the towns and confiscation of the property of compradors, capitalists and various reactionaries who collaborated actively with the U.S. imperialists.

The economy will develop in four forms of property. To begin with, we plan to encourage private enterprises in some spheres so as to increase production. We will help them obtain raw materials, improve production and help market their product. They will operate under state control. Second, small private producers will be encouraged to form cooperatives. This applies mainly to the countryside, where the government intends to persuade the peasants to adopt collective farming methods. Third, mixed state and private enterprises will be set up where this may prove advisable and necessary. Fourth, the

state sector will be constantly expanded. Mines, forests, railways and communications must be in government hands. Foreign trade, first of all timber sales, will be a state monopoly. In this way, property of the whole people will gain in volume and stability.

We attach great importance to the national question. Our country is inhabited by 68 ethnic communities making up three major groups. Our nationalities policy is aimed at putting all these groups on an equal footing. The Meo, for example, are the poorest and least literate section of the population. We must do our best to build schools for them and provide them with economic facilities meeting their requirements.

We guarantee full equality of the sexes.

In foreign policy, the LPDR strives for closer solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia and for friendly cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, non-aligned countries and all forces championing peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Our country contributes actively to the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Serious difficulties have still to be overcome. We know that the U.S. imperialists, who had to withdraw from Laos, are inciting Thai reactionaries to violate peace in our country. In exchange for close cooperation, the imperialists promise to do all in their power to annex Laos to Thailand. The Thai reactionaries have responded and are carrying on subversion in our country through emigres. There are 20,000 to 30,000 Laotians in Thailand today, mostly family members and other relatives of reactionaries who have fled, or of people intimidated by rumors that after the establishment of the republic everyone living in the Vientiane area would be arrested. The CIA, in collaboration with Thai reactionaries, has formed associations of refugees. It recruits agents and sends them to Laos to carry on subversion. In this way, desperate attempts are made to stop the spread of socialist ideas in our region. We are certain, however, that these attempts will miscarry.

We think the victory of the peoples of Indochina is bound to benefit Southeast Asian countries. For, if a small country like Laos has succeeded — along with Vietnam and Cambodia — in defeating so mighty an enemy as U.S. imperialism, other countries can certainly fight successfully for independence provided their peoples are really united around a correct policy and resolved to fight to a victorious end. Another lesson of our experience is that independence cannot be won or upheld without uncompromising struggle against imperialism and without the closest cooperation with socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

Our people's victories show that nowadays national independence,

democracy and socialism are inseparable. With national democratic changes carried out and a new system established, the next stage has begun in the progress of our revolution, the stage of transition to socialism. 'A historic task of the people's democratic state,' said our Party's General Secretary K. Phomvihane, 'is to effect, through dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist changes and build socialism.'

To advance to socialism today means for Laos to skip the capitalist stage of development and create the prerequisites of socialism at a time when the economy is based on small-scale, fragmented and often subsistence farming. The problem is made even more difficult by the fact that Laos is sparsely populated and backward in many respects. This necessitates purposeful, persevering effort to unite small private households on a cooperative basis in order to lay the groundwork for socialist production. At the same time we must educate the masses politically, doing it just as purposefully and perseveringly.

It is true that in the area freed previously we have created the early prerequisites of setting up a socialist system. Operating there are metallurgical and textile enterprises owned by the state, as well as production cooperatives. It was much easier to do this in the liberated area than in the Vientiane area, where class differentiation is more marked and there are numerous rich proprietors. We know, however, that by carrying on political education and steadfastly implementing the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we can gradually effect socialist changes all over the country and create the material and technical basis for the new society.

Construction, like the revolution, is being led by the Party. The Party has also brought into being the PFL, which comprises labor unions, associations of women, youth and peasants, the Buddhist patriotic association and other organizations. Our Party is the leader and backbone of the PFL. Its tasks are made easier by the fact that all organizations have accepted its leading role.

We have promising prospects. While making maximum use of their own strength, the Laotian people also need aid from without. We will be unable, for example, to work our mineral resources and use our forests without cooperation with other countries. And we realize that we must be vigilant because we will also have to deal with capitalist powers. First and foremost, we must cooperate with socialist countries.⁷

By striving for self-sufficiency and by drawing on economic, scientific and technological aid from fraternal socialist countries and other friends in all parts of the world, our people will overcome the difficulties, build an advanced and prosperous Laos and thereby make a fitting contribution to the world revolutionary process. But already today, we can regard the Laotian people's gains as a great victory. A

country which was in danger of being made a new type of U.S. colony is becoming a genuinely free and independent state advancing to socialism without having to pass through the capitalist stage.

1. Founded by Ho Chi Minh on February 3, 1930. In 1936, the Laotian section of the CPIC was formed to lead the people's revolutionary patriotic struggle. The Second CPIC Congress (February 11-19, 1951) decided to form separate parties in each country of former French Indochina. — *Ed.*

2. The agreements provided for peace and the formation of a coalition government. — *Ed.*

3. Sananikone, in turn, was overthrown by another U.S. agent, Captain Kong Le.

4. Speaking on April 22, 1976 over Radio Laos on the anniversary of Lenin's birth, President Souphanouvong, member of the Political Bureau, PRPL, stressed that the revolutionary forces of Laos had taken guidance in their struggle from such highly important teachings of Lenin as the thesis of the weak link of the chain of capitalist countries, the principles of the revolutionary party of a new type, and the worker-peasant alliance as the mainstay of the revolution in a backward country having a numerically weak proletariat. — *Ed.*

5. The main lines of the program are: fully eliminating the ruinous effects of feudal and colonial rule, consolidating people's democracy, reorganizing the national economy, creating the material and technical basis for the transition to socialism, fostering a new progressive culture, and adopting an independent foreign policy for peace. — *Ed.*

6. The government is expanding one of Indochina's biggest hydropower stations on the Nam Ngum River. In 1978 the station will have a capacity of 150,000 kw, which will enable Laos to supply electricity to Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. — *Ed.*

7. A new step toward such cooperation was taken this autumn with the visit to the USSR and other countries of the socialist community by a Laotian party and government delegation headed by Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the PRPL and Prime Minister of the LPDR.

International solidarity in action

'Yes, Signor, Corvalan speaking.'

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile was speaking to Maurizio Valenzi, the Communist Mayor of Naples, and the authorities at the Tres Alamos concentration camp did not dare forbid the telephone call. This was not the first time that the internationally isolated junta found itself compelled to yield to public pressure. Luis Corvalan expressed his warm gratitude to all supporters of the Chilean people in their fight against the fascist dictatorship. The telephone call from Naples came on his 60th birthday.

The name of Luis Corvalan has become symbolic of the thousands

persecuted by the fascist regime. 'The struggle for his freedom, in which all the peoples, all the democratic forces of the world are involved,' the statement of the Communist Party of Chile (September 1976) says, 'is a struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners, for the return to their families of all now held in the DINA (the Chilean gestapo) jails, for demolition of all the detention camps, repeal of the state of seige and the curfew, the return of all exiles with full reinstatement of their rights, punishment of the murderers, a return to human rights.' The statement is expressive of the people's resolve to put an end to fascism and the danger it presents to universal peace and human life.

On his 60th birthday, Corvalan was decorated by several socialist countries. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awarded him the Order of Lenin for outstanding services to the international communist movement, active participation in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, against imperialism and facism, and for his great contribution to friendship between the Soviet and Chilean peoples. Bulgaria awarded him the Order of Georgi Dimitrov, the GDR the Order of Karl Marx, and Cuba the Order of Playa Giron. There were messages of fraternal solidarity from Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties in socialist and capitalist countries and many leaders of the national-liberation movement. The scope of the movement for the release of this unbending fighter for the ideals of communism is measurable in the endless stream of telegrams and postcards from all parts of the world, is the numerous protests addressed to his jailors. Among the many birthday messages was one from the editor and multinational staff of *World Marxist Review*.

The worldwide demand for the release of Luis Corvalan is accompanied by protests against every junta crime, whether in Chile or abroad. There have been angry protests against the murder in Washington, by junta agents, of Orlando Letelier, Foreign Minister and Defense Minister in the Allende government, against persecution of the clergy of the Catholic and other churches and the deportation of lawyers Jaime Castillo, a Christian Democrat leader, and Eugenio Velasco. These and other facts are indicative of the widespread discontent. A Communist Party statement says: 'The facts prove the correctness of our policy of regrouping the patriotic forces to unite all democrats for a real alternative to fascism, and lay the foundations for the future anti-fascist government.'

Isolated and ostracized, the fascist regime is stepping up repression, with hundreds being arrested and news of their whereabouts denied to relatives and friends. The list is a long one. It includes Communist leaders Victor Diaz, Mario Zamorano, Jose Weibel, Jorge

Munoz, Jaime Donato, and Socialist leaders Exequiel Ponce, Carlos Lorca and Ricardo Lagos. More than 2,500 are in the hands of the DINA.

In September we celebrated the anniversary of Chile's independence from Spain and the anniversary of the people's election victory in 1970, when Salvador Allende became President. But September is also the month of the fascist coup. And this September highlighted the international isolation of the dictatorship and its deep crisis. The junta's mouthpiece, *Que pasa*, alarmed by the 'inevitable erosion of the government's prestige,' in an editorial on the third anniversary of the coup, called for keeping the armed forces prepared at any moment to defend the interests of the big economic groups.

The international solidarity campaign is an invaluable contribution to our people's struggle. Communist and Workers' Parties, Social Democrats, liberals, Christians, national-liberation forces, the non-aligned movement, governments and political parties of widely different persuasions, international democratic groups and diverse mass organizations all have a part in the solidarity movement. And international solidarity is becoming an active political force, an inspiration in our fight for freedom. As the Communist Party emphasizes in its statement, it 'has greatly broadened the democratic resistance headed by the working class and being joined by more and more social groups.'

The cause of Luis Corvalan, the cause of the Chilean people, will emerge victorious!

Humberto Figueroa,
Chilean Publicist.
September 1976.

Economics of détente

Victor Perlo
Economist (USA)

Economic relations are one of the major elements in the process of détente. Increased trade between socialist and capitalist countries, so-called 'East-West trade,' is a direct part of the process. The economies of both capitalist and socialist countries are affected by détente to the extent that military détente leads to a slackening of the arms race, and, further, a definite reduction in military budgets.

Détente has an impact on the balance of class forces within capitalist countries, and thus on the level of real wages, the rate of exploitation of labor, the level of unemployment, and related economic features. Finally, a broadening of economic ties between socialist and developing countries, and a weakening of the grip of imperialism on the economies of developing countries, is an integral part of the process of détente.

The decisive aspect of détente is the prevention of a nuclear war, and this aspect interacts with the very important economic side, which creates a *material interest* in peace for masses throughout the world, for sections of the capitalist class, and for the developing countries.

Economic relations between capitalist and socialist countries

Expansion of trade and other economic ties between capitalist and socialist countries is the most significant, direct economic aspect of détente.

During the 1970s, with détente emerging as the dominant trend in international relations, hundreds of agreements between capitalist and socialist countries have been concluded, providing improved frameworks for trade and more far-reaching types of economic cooperation, setting quantitative goals and in some cases commodity details for the expansion of bilateral trade. A much larger number of agreements, contracts, and other arrangements have been concluded between trading companies and other agencies of socialist countries and particular corporations and consortia of capitalist countries.

The basis of East-West trade expands with the growing absolute and relative economic might of the socialist community. A further factor for expansion is the intensification of contradictions within the imperialist camp, for some of which trade with socialist countries offers relief. Thus, the continuous expansion of trade with socialist countries can to some extent ameliorate the economic declines associated with the worsening crises of overproduction in capitalist countries.

Also involved is the struggle of developing countries to reduce or eliminate imperialist domination, a goal advanced by the building of economic ties with the socialist countries. Moreover, as the imperialists' monopoly grip on the resources and trade of developing countries is weakened, the imperialists turn more to seeking suppliers and markets in the socialist countries. Influential working-class parties and trade unions in some capitalist countries, notably in Western Europe, effectively demand increased trade with socialist countries.

The period of tense cold war military confrontation was marked by almost unrestricted imperialist economic warfare against the socialist

countries. The nadir of economic relations was reached in 1952-53. Capitalists of other countries were still dependent on U.S. imperialism economically and militarily for continuation of their class rule, so U.S. imperialism was able to dictate to them a large degree of participation in economic warfare against socialist countries.

At the time this included an embargo on almost all U.S. exports to socialist countries, imposition of discriminatory tariffs and other restrictions on imports from socialist countries, refusal of normal commercial credits, stealing of socialist countries' monetary and gold balances held in the United States, imprisonment of capitalists trading with socialist countries, official U.S. surveillance on trading activities of other capitalist countries, financial arrangements to keep the price of gold, exported by the USSR, at a fraction of its real value, and many other measures.

A coordinating committee (COCOM) of the NATO countries and Japan was set up to establish rules limiting economic relations with socialist countries, initially almost totally under U.S. dictate. Tremendous pressure was exerted on developing countries to prevent them from trading with socialist countries. However, a certain volume of trade continued, on the part of the few neutral capitalist countries and some NATO countries that maintained a degree of independence from U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialist plans to invade the socialist countries were thwarted by the growing might of the latter, by the ending of the U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons, the development of the world peace movement, and other factors. The gradual relaxation of military tension undermined the direct basis for economic warfare. There has been a corresponding quarter-century shift toward normal economic relations and development of varied and increasingly complex forms of economic cooperation.

Economic relations have expanded especially rapidly quantitatively, and with spectacular qualitative breakthroughs, in this decade, under the influence of the Peace Program proclaimed at the 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971, and the victories won in the worldwide struggle of all peace and progressive forces for the carrying out of its principles.

Starting from a low point (about \$3 billion per year), the volume of East-West trade has expanded more rapidly than world trade as a whole, more rapidly than total production in the socialist countries, and much faster than total production in the capitalist countries. The volume of this trade, including that between socialist and developing countries, is approaching \$100 billion yearly. It has become a major,

and the fastest growing segment of world trade of increasing importance to the economic life of both capitalist and socialist countries.

However, this is still far below the potential, because of continuing restrictions imposed by imperialism, especially by U.S. imperialism. The latter is still able to impose certain limitations on trade by other capitalist countries with socialist countries, through the NATO-COCOM mechanism. U.S. imperialism maintains complete embargoes on trade with Cuba, Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It still grossly discriminates against imports from most socialist countries, having reneged on its 1972 agreement with the Soviet Union to end that discrimination. It continues the embargo on the sale to most socialist countries of major types of capital goods with a big trade potential, and even interferes with trade in farm commodities, much to the distress of U.S. farmers. It continues to refuse normal credit terms to most socialist countries, and to hold the stolen gold of Czechoslovakia.

But these negative actions of U.S. imperialism and some of its allies cannot turn the main tide of history. To the extent that the struggle for peace continues to gain, the perspective is for East-West trade and economic cooperation to continue to expand much further at a priority rate.

New forms of economic ties

New, progressive forms of international economic relations have been made possible by the advanced socialist mode of production, including the huge scale of development projects, centralized national planning, steadiness of growth, absence of capitalist crisis phenomena. The new forms include vast 'turnkey' projects for industrial installations in socialist countries; long-term supply and sales contracts extending for periods of from five to as much as 20 years; cooperative production arrangements and complex compensation transactions providing for payment for industrial plants in supplies of the factories installed; long-term financing on an unprecedented scale involving the leading corporate and government banks of a number of capitalist countries.

Still in the early stages are economic and financial arrangements made by the economic collective of socialist countries, the CMEA, and its financial institutions, with capitalist consortia and with analogous groupings of capitalist countries, such as the Common Market. Characteristic of the scientific-technical revolution, trade in technology and know-how is an increasingly important part of these relations; and cooperation in science and research is developing in conjunction with economic ties and alongside them.

The class struggle and economics of détente

It is in the material and political interest of the working class of the capitalist countries to struggle for the further development of economic cooperation and trade with socialist countries, and for ending imperialist restrictions on it. Such trade makes for less instability of employment, especially in industries exporting to socialist countries, and offsets to some extent cyclical crisis phenomena causing suffering of millions of workers. It provides an element of competition on capitalist markets as supplies from socialist countries help to combat monopoly prices.

Such relations help in the struggle for peace. They lead to increased contacts between people of socialist and capitalist countries, and the material interest of a section of the bourgeoisie in peaceful, cooperative relations.

The working class of the United States has the biggest stake in struggling for détente in the economic fields, as well as in other fields. American workers have suffered severe setbacks in recent years — a decline in real wages, a weakening of trade unions, a rising trend of unemployment, a brazen racist offensive against the most oppressed sections of the working class. There has been a marked relative deterioration in the situation of U.S. workers in comparison with the economic and political situation of workers in other capitalist countries.

These negative trends are associated with the leading role of U.S. imperialism as the most aggressive force in world affairs, including in particular the relatively low participation of the United States in trade with socialist countries. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, has estimated that three million additional jobs could be won for U.S. workers with the elimination of restrictions on trade with socialist countries.

Moreover, the U.S. people as a whole have a special responsibility to force the U.S. government to pay billions in reparations to the countries of Indochina, and to compensate Cuba for the great damage done to that country by the prolonged campaign of sabotage, invasion threats, and all-out economic warfare. By carrying out these internationalist duties, the U.S. people at the same time will open up important new areas of economic relations.

Within the ruling class of the capitalist countries there is a sharp conflict over trade with socialist countries, with different alignments in different countries. In the United States, the desire for trade with socialist countries has been increasing among owners of industrial corporations, among farmers and agrobusiness capitalists, and among bankers. Primarily, they see the socialist countries as a growing,

stable, financially reliable market and as a source of supply for essential raw materials. Also, on an increasing scale, they are discovering opportunities for obtaining advanced technology from socialist countries, for distributing within capitalist countries a variety of commodities produced in the socialist world. Owing to the improved international climate, capitalists no longer risk substantial reprisals from ultra-right elements for trading with socialist countries, and even dare to lobby for such trade before Congressional committees and government agencies.

Opposition to trade with socialist countries comes from the militarists and armament contractors, from capitalists who fear the competition of imports from socialist countries, and from the most right-wing political sectors of the ruling class. A big negative role is played by sections of the ruling class with special anti-communist axes to grind. These include, most notably, the Zionists, and also the self-exiled Cuban capitalists and other emigre groups.

Severe limitations to trade are promoted by powerful leading groups of the financial oligarchy who still calculate that unlimited freedom of trade would strengthen the socialist economies much more than capitalist economies, and hence would assist in the ultimate victory of socialism over capitalism.

Seemingly, the most decisive groups are playing a dual role in relation to economic relations with socialist countries. On the other hand, they strive for more of that trade, in order to increase their profits. They make use of the transnational network of industries and banks they control, operating mainly through their West European and other overseas branches, for trade with socialist countries.

On the other hand, they strive to limit that trade, in furtherance of long-term economic and political objectives. Refusing to learn from contrary experience, they believe that the USSR, in particular, 'needs' advanced U.S. technology in order to overcome its 'backwardness,' a state invented by the CIA to comfort the capitalists. They try to use trade as a 'carrot' with which to extract political concessions from socialist countries, and as a 'stick' to 'punish' them. They differentiate in degrees of trade discrimination, in the attempt to split off 'favored' socialist countries. In accordance with this general approach, they use their political power in the U.S. to maintain a regime of trade discrimination, to wage particular battles and skirmishes against the socialist countries, and to continue all-out economic warfare against particular socialist countries.

They also use trade restrictions to advance their monopoly interests internationally and domestically. Through COCOM, they try to manipulate the restrictive rules so as to hamper the trade of their

competitors in other capitalist countries. Meanwhile, their weaker U.S. competitors, without an adequate international network, are in the main barred from trade with socialist countries.

In some advanced technology industries the dominant company strives to prevent or narrowly limit trade with socialist countries in an effort to maintain its monopoly position, while weaker companies carry on a struggle to end restrictions, in order to use this trade to improve their total position, and often to survive.

A striking example is provided by the electronics industry. The U.S. government prohibits the sale to socialist countries of the most up-to-date, powerful, complex electronic components, communications equipment, etc. This cuts off hundreds of millions, and perhaps billions of dollars of business each year. The top executives of most of the important electronic companies appeal repeatedly to the government to relax the restrictions. But the head of the government advisory committee is J. Fred Bucy, Jr., chief operating officer of Texas Instruments, Inc. This is the largest producer of semiconductors and related commodities and is overwhelmingly oriented to military markets. The process of détente undermines the vast armament orders on which Texas Instruments gets its superprofits. Further, trade with socialist countries in advanced technology raises the specter of socialist competition undermining its domination of capitalist world markets. Consequently Bucy uses his position to advocate even greater trade restrictions, against the line of his major U.S. rivals.

The anti-trade forces are greatly strengthened by the ultra-right Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO. Although the working class is most interested, of all classes, in developing such trade, only the United Electrical Workers, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Unions (on the West Coast), both progressive unions, and particular locals of other unions, have conducted significant positive struggles for East-West trade. Ultra-right union officials organize harassing activities against trade with socialist countries, and their 'demands' provide an excuse for the government to blame its restrictions on the workers.

The capitalists of other countries, having no illusions of world domination, were more strongly pulled toward trade with socialist countries even during the worst cold war period. As the U.S. grip on these countries weakened, they increasingly broke away from U.S.-imposed restrictions. This made possible the rapid growth of East-West trade and the more complex economic relations which have developed. This in turn increased the pressure on U.S. capitalists to get their share of the trade.

Economic effects of military détente

Progress in military détente has been limited, primarily, by the refusal of U.S. imperialism and some of its NATO partners to carry through major agreements for curbing the arms race and starting toward genuine disarmament and disengagement of opposing armed forces. On the contrary, they are stepping up the arms race and accelerating increases in military budgets.

Further progress in the relaxation of tension, leading to an end of the arms race and reduction in military budgets, will have important economic effects. While reducing the profits of the armament firms, it will simultaneously reduce the inflationary pressures which have contributed to repeated financial crises and crises of overproduction in the capitalist countries. It will release hundreds of billions of dollars which could be used for needed social programs, providing jobs for the unemployed. Broad circles in the U.S. have drawn appropriate conclusions from the fact that the United States, with the largest percentage of its national income devoted to military purposes, among the capitalist powers, has the highest rate of unemployment. A Michigan research group has calculated that over the years 1968-72 the diversion of funds to military purposes cost average annual civilian employment of 3,443,000; and a net loss of 840,000 in total employment, even if all uniformed military personnel are subtracted from the civilian job loss.* Considering the subsequent increase in the military budget, it may be estimated that cutting from the existing level will create possibilities for additional civilian employment of up to four million workers.

The progress of détente and cutting of the military budget will create more favorable conditions for the working class to struggle for social reforms, to win economic and political concessions, and to conduct the struggle for the transition to socialism. The struggle for disarmament, for détente in the military field, is therefore a crucial struggle for the working people, and first of all in the United States.

The struggle for economic détente and for military détente is intimately connected in the obvious sense that gains in détente in one area create a more favorable atmosphere for the struggle in other areas. There is also a particular connection. The ruling class in the United States has always used the question of military security as its primary excuse for preventing or hampering trade with socialist countries. At the depths of the cold war, the U.S. authorities even barred the sale of ladies' brassieres to socialist countries on the grounds that they had a military significance! While such blatant absurdities no

*Public Interest Research Group in Michigan (PIRGIM), *The Empty Pork Barrel, Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget*, by Marion Anderson, Lansing Mich., Apr. 1975.

longer appear, recent excuses are still ridiculous enough. For example, while the Vietnam war was approaching its final denouement, the U.S. government barred General Motors from major cooperation in the Kamaz truck factory in the USSR on the grounds that the trucks could be used militarily by the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese won the war well before trucks came off the Kamaz line, but meanwhile U.S. firms lost hundreds of millions of dollars of business and U.S. workers tens of thousands of jobs.

Détente and economic relations of developing countries

The process of détente makes a major contribution to the ongoing struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to end the remnants of colonialism and to wipe out imperialist neo-colonialism. More and more, the developing countries seek the expansion of economic ties with socialist countries in order to prevent the further plundering of materials and the financial straitjackets imposed on them by imperialism. And as the economic power of the socialist countries grows, their ability to cooperate with the developing countries, for mutual advantage, expands. United Nations resolutions for a New Economic Order, adopted by the combined strength of the developing and the socialist countries, provides a program of struggle uniting the peoples of the great majority of the world's countries for the ending of economic dependence, backwardness and mass poverty.

The strengthening of ties between developing countries and socialist countries goes hand in hand with the weakening of the monopoly positions in the 'Third World' of imperialism, and especially of U.S. imperialism. As the producers of oil, iron ore, and other commodities impose adequate prices on buyers of their products and insist on creating their own processing industries, the monopolies seek to make up for their losses, several times over, at the expense of the workers of 'their own' countries. The impact of this on the U.S. workers is particularly marked.

U.S. imperialism seeks to counter the revolutionary trend in the developing countries with the imposition of reactionary coups, as in Chile and Uruguay, and the use of racist regimes, as in South Africa and Israel, and in connection therewith, the maintenance of, and where necessary, restoration of neo-colonialist domination.

The working people of the United States, on the other hand, stand to benefit by a struggle for acceptance by the United States of the principles of the New Economic Order, of the development of economic relations with 'Third World' countries on a basis of equality, and recognition of their real independence. This is a major part of the economics of détente.

Immediate and long-term outlook

Détente in the economic field, as in others, does not progress smoothly. There was a period of rapid economic progress in U.S. participation in East-West trade following conclusion of the basic agreements on peaceful coexistence and trade between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1972. However, the counter-offensive of the reactionary, militarist and other forces succeeded in delivering a blow by refusing to ratify the most important economic agreements, by imposing in 1975 a series of stronger discriminations against trade with most socialist countries, and by the strengthened negative attitude toward East-West trade by the U.S. Administration.

Groups opposed to economic détente appear to be just as strong within the Democratic Party as within the Republican Party, however. The Democratic Party's Platform includes nothing to suggest improvement of economic relations with socialist countries. Its presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter, said that where President Ford imposed restrictions on trade with socialist countries during a political crisis, he would impose a complete embargo on major commodity groups.

However, the actual policies of the incoming administration will be determined less by the rhetoric of the candidate than by the changing balance of forces in the world and in the United States. Despite ups and downs, the *trend* toward progress in economic détente remains strong on a world scale, and definite even within the United States.

The U.S. Communist Party, in its election program, is the only party clearly campaigning for détente in the economic as well as in the military field. The summary program of the Party, besides calling for an 80 per cent cut in the military budget, features this demand:

'End all cold war policies. To prevent a nuclear holocaust and to provide more jobs, strengthen détente and trade between our nation and the socialist world. End CIA-Pentagon intervention in other lands. Normalize relations with Cuba. Live up to the Paris treaty with Vietnam by paying reparations for reconstruction there.'

Fascism and the 'representative democracy' tactic

Sofia de Castro
Brazilian publicist

In this day of impressive gains by the world revolutionary movement and the more congenial international climate, fascist regimes are an historical anachronism. But for a number of Latin American countries they are a very real reality, and one that presents a clear menace to world peace.

In Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, fascism re-emerged as the counter-revolutionary alternative to the revolutionary, anti-imperialist democratic movement of the early 60s. For imperialism and local reaction Brazil has been something of a proving ground for fascist-type regimes designed to keep the continent under imperialist control. One need only point to the tragic events in Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile, which so clearly revealed the expansionist aspirations of Brazil's ruling clique.

To understand the nature of the present regime in Brazil one has to go back to the reactionary military coup of April 1964. The grouping it brought to power drew its support from the financial oligarchy and was more or less homogeneous in composition and political orientation. Coalescence of the financial oligarchy and the military elite was an important factor in carrying out the coup and maintaining the new regime in power.

But fascism does not come overnight. The 1964 coup's initiators managed to mislead the people, persuading them to come out in 'defense' of democracy and the Constitution' which, allegedly, were imperilled by President Joao Goulart's intention to remain in power in alliance with the Communists and the trade unions.

This met with a ready response from the 'traditionalist' middle strata, which have always succumbed to fascist propaganda and have always longed for a 'strong personality.' In a bourgeois-liberal society they are easy prey to appeals for a 'powerful government' that would uphold their interests. They are also attracted by the idea of a dictator 'capable of ruling the country without the political parties.' For a dictatorship, they believe, would safeguard their social status and prevent 'proletarianization.'

But it was not all smooth sailing. The right-wing forces suffered several setbacks. Fascization was stepped up in December 1968 with the promulgation of Institutional Act No. 5. It abolished whatever remained of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, empowered the president to dissolve Congress and other legislative bodies, interfere in state and municipal affairs, suspend all political rights and habeas corpus, replace or dismiss judges, etc.

From the very outset the regime has followed an anti-labor policy. One of its first decrees froze wages, another instituted control of the trade unions; some of their prominent leaders were arrested. Candidates for trade union posts were required to present a loyalty certificate from the security service. Then came pressure on the press and stringent censorship.

These and other measures generated popular opposition to the regime. It retaliated by more repression, carried out largely by extremist right-wing civilian and paramilitary organizations, such as the 'Anti-Communist Commandos,' 'Anti-Communist Militia,' the 'Tradition, Family and Property' society, etc. And then there was the notorious 'death squadron,' which was largely responsible for the repression against Communists and progressives generally.

The working class and the democratic forces sustained heavy losses. Nothing, it seemed, could stop the onslaught of fascism. The terror was attended by division within the democratic forces. In 1968 there were big demonstrations by students and intellectuals. But anti-communist, ultra-left ideas, the influence of extremist groups nullified the political effect of these protest actions. That should not be taken to mean that these ultra-left groups are responsible for the advent of fascism in Brazil. All responsibility lies with the monopolies and the reactionary camp generally. However, the reactionaries found themselves compelled to make some concessions, mainly to those sections of the population upon which they relied for support. The reactionaries were anxious to expand their social base, but they also had to justify the repressions, and the ultra-lefts, with their adventurist tactics, provided a handy pretext.

The escalation of fascism proceeded in a favorable economic situation, and this helped to extend its social base somewhat. In the days of the 'economic miracle,' civil servants, civilian and military technocrats, who were now enjoying a higher standard of living and more political influence, joined the reactionary section of the middle strata. The fascists were able to win the support of even part of the laboring population with their slogan of a 'great-power Brazil.' The regime also exploited the rise in consumption. All this was complemented by adroit propaganda designed to divert the masses from the struggle for their genuine interests, justify repression against the

so-called anti-national elements whose 'subversive activity' was, allegedly, preventing the country's progress to a 'glorious future.'

All these factors combined to help reaction achieve its counter-revolutionary aims and create a mechanism of economic and socio-political domination that accorded with the requirements of the foreign and Brazilian monopolies.

No small role was played by the inculcation of fascist ideology, based entirely on rabid anti-communism and social, nationalist and chauvinist demagoguery. Ideological conditioning is conducted under such slogans as 'the nation's grandeur lies in its strength,' 'Brazilians must acquire more moral and civic energy.' Every effort is made to lead the people, and particularly the working class, away from politics. This is being done both by savage repression against the working-class political vanguard and by encouraging the corporative structure of the trade unions, first introduced back in 1931, and turning them into bureaucratic recreation and welfare organizations. Other features of government policy are assiduous cultivation of individualism, limiting the individual's role in society to that of consumer; keeping the youth out of politics (by outright terror, interference in student organizations, inhibiting their cultural development, and implanting a spirit of consumerism). Lastly, the regime has been spreading the myth of the state standing above classes, in the hope that this would put an end to the class struggle.

The underlying tenet of fascist ideology is 'economic development and national security.' This is meant to justify not only the methods used to bring the country out of its social and economic crisis, but, more important, assure stability for the development of dependent capitalism.

Before the 1964 coup, the mass movement blocked monopoly attempts to accelerate capital accumulation. This, too, has been exploited by the fascist ideologists. The 'development and national security' doctrine calls for suppression of the 'internal revolutionary war,' an end to liberalism and the achievement of 'social peace' as 'an essential factor of security.'

No amount of ideological engineering can now produce a large fascist party similar to those of prewar Europe. That applies to Brazil as to all other countries. The traditional bourgeois parties have been banned and Brazil now has two official organizations, the National Regeneration Alliance (ARENA) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement, which is the legal 'opposition.' The function of both is to mobilize, i.e., depoliticize, the masses and, at the same time, provide a semblance of a democratic two-party system.

Accordingly, the regime has allowed a small measure of political activity, but does not allow political parties whose programs or activ-

ities clash with its policy. The opposition must be 'constructive,' otherwise its members of parliament lose their seats — something which every MP has to keep in mind.

Formally all the institutions of representative bourgeois democracy exist: there is a constitution, periodical change of president, elections to the National Congress. But this is only window-dressing to give the regime a better image in the eyes of world opinion and the Brazilian people. For fascism, defeated in the Second World War and hated in every country, cannot exercise its domination in the same forms as in the past.

Whenever it encounters political difficulties, the regime tries to enlist the help of the leaders of the old, now banned bourgeois-liberal parties. It tries to win them over by demagogic promises of liberalization in some unspecified future. The purpose of this, as of other maneuvers, is to achieve 'social concord' or, in other words, control over the masses.

But neither such maneuvers nor the 'democratic' window-dressing can conceal the fact that Brazil is ruled by a terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary wing of finance capital — the big shareholders, agents of the international monopolies, war-industry, managers, etc. The military make up a technocratic elite with much the same functions as the top civilian bureaucracy in other countries, and hold key posts in the administration. Most of these men are graduates of the Higher Military School (HMS), where the 'national security' doctrine and the 'Brazilian economic miracle' ideas originated, and where preparations were made for the 1964 coup. The HMS then became the ideological center of Brazilian fascism.¹

The executive authority is patterned on so-called presidential verticalism (periodical change of president), an arrangement that allows a certain degree of flexibility without altering the nature of the regime.

The entire mechanism of decision-making and government is tied to this system. All power is concentrated in the president, the National Security Council, the information service, and a few other agencies.² The National Security Council is the president's chief consultative body. The National Security Law (to all intents and purposes the country's 'Constitution') empowers the president to govern through emergency decrees.³ The information service represents a ramified centrally supervised system of political control and surveillance extending to every, even the remotest, part of the country. The numerous repressive agencies, formerly part of the police force, are now under military area commanders.

The judiciary plays practically no role, with all legal decisions made by the military courts. Defense lawyers in political cases are often arrested and tortured.

The division of authority between the legislative, executive and judicial branches, an essential attribute of representative democracy, has been abolished, with all power now vested in the president and the armed forces. In short, the country is under a totalitarian system, with emergency laws that bypass the Constitution, assure fascist domination, abolition of all civil rights and 'legalize' terror.

Having taken over the executive and judicial branches and control of all the repressive agencies, the military are now out to control also economic and public life.⁴ A military-industrial complex is being built, and this will give the army even more weight. Military research is being extended, also the manufacture of armaments for export to other Latin American countries and Africa. A so-called standing industrial mobilization group has been formed for liaison between the economic and military authorities. The National Security Council has drawn up an economic militarization plan. Agreements have been concluded with the FRG and France for nuclear-power plants. Brazil has become a hotbed of potential military conflicts in Latin America.

The regime's policies are bound to narrow its social base. A number of objective and subjective factors have contributed to the steady rise of a popular protest movement. Economic difficulties, the government's anti-labor and anti-national policy led to the collapse of Brazil's 'economic miracle.' The opposition victory in the 1974 elections showed the people that they can fight fascism, that the wall of fascist tyranny can be pierced. The serious difficulties caused by the general crisis of capitalism, the rapid decline in purchasing power and a high rate of inflation have led to more political activity by the people and more opposition to the regime. It has had to step up repression against the working class, especially the Communists, weed out opposition members of parliament, even threatening to ban the Brazilian Democratic Movement. All this is evidence of deep-going contradictions within the regime and its fear of the future.

Military control of the government is the source of many of these contradictions. The traditional political groupings are fighting for a share in government. They want a degree of democratization, direct election of the president,⁵ for instance, and a National Congress that would not simply rubber-stamp government decisions.

The authoritarian and highly centralized character of the state has generated contradictions with those sections of the bourgeoisie that want more freedom for enterprise and fear economic nationalization, from which only the monopolies would benefit. Very often these forces protest against state intervention in public life, against repressions and police rule.

The fascist regime has launched a frenzied anti-communist campaign, compelling the media to report 'subversion,' 'crimes against

the state,' and so on. Nevertheless, news filters into the press of torture and murder of political prisoners. Repressive measures ordered by the military authorities have met with a backlash within the armed forces, for most servicemen do not approve of the army performing police functions. Besides, the repressive apparatus has become a parallel government, and this, too, cannot but cause concern in the officer corps.

Top military commanders in the government look after the interests of the monopolies, Brazilian and foreign. This has led to corruption, another source of contradictions between senior officers and the rest of the armed forces, and one of the causes of moral disintegration in the army.

The Communist Party is working for unity of the democratic forces. Its anti-fascist platform calls for respect of human rights and democratic freedoms, repeal of Institutional Act No. 5 and the system of emergency laws; dismantling of the fascist state structure, adoption of a democratic Constitution and amnesty for all political prisoners.

Our Party closely links the fight for democracy with the defense of national interests, with the struggle against the anti-national, capitulationist, expansionist and aggressive policies of the regime, which is closely tied to the most reactionary monopoly groups opposed to détente and world peace.

The anti-fascist and anti-monopoly struggle, the fight for democracy and national sovereignty — such is our contribution to the worldwide confrontation of democratic and progressive forces. Our fight against imperialism and reaction, for peace and social progress, is part of our national and internationalist duty.

1. General Goubery do Couto e Silva, a prominent HMS figure, one of the regime's top ideologists, founder of the national information service and its director in the early days of the regime, and now Chief of the Presidential Civil Chancellery, is closely connected with the U.S. Dow Chemicals concern. General Joao Batista de Figueiredo, Chief of the Presidential Military Chancellery in the Medici government and now head of the information service, is connected with Du Pont do Brazil, a subsidiary of Du Pont de Nemours. These are but two instances of close contacts between members of the government and international corporations, such as Pirelli, Scania Vabis, Mercedes Benz, etc.

2. Under the reactionary constitution of 1967 and the 1969 amendments, only the president can initiate legislation on questions relating to finance, taxation, government expenditure, the armed forces, establishment and functions of administrative and juridical bodies, amnesty of political prisoners, etc.

3. For instance, Law No. 898 of September 29, 1969, lists as crimes against national security 'active, passive or indirect' participation in 'hostile psychological warfare' — propaganda, counter-propaganda and activity of a political, economic, psychological or military nature likely to influence views, sentiments, attitudes and activities of foreign, hostile, neutral or friendly groups in a spirit contrary to national aims. The list of crimes includes, also, 'subversive propaganda' through the mass media: newspapers, magazines, books, bulletins, leaflets, radio, television, cinema,

theatre, etc. A while ago the Supreme Military Tribunal added the pulpit to the list of mass media likely to instigate 'criminal actions in the psychological war against the regime.'

4. Brazil has a long-standing tradition of military intervention in politics. In times of political crises the civilian authority usually invited the army to assume responsibility for law and order. In 1964 senior officers gained a firm grip of the country's life by taking over administrative posts in the central government, the states and municipalities. However, in the past the military would return to barracks at the request of the bourgeois political parties. Nowadays the army has a prominent part in the country's political life, not only as a guarantor of security for the ruling classes, but also as a catalyst in the development of state-monopoly capitalism.

5. At present they cannot influence the election of the president: the choice rests with a narrow circle of high-ranking army officers.



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The working class and its allies

THE PEASANTRY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL CHANGES

In connection with the discussion in *World Marxist Review* on 'The Working Class and Its Allies,' the Commission on General Theoretical Problems held an exchange of views on questions of the worker-peasant alliance at the present stage. It was attended by: *Alberto Kohen*, Argentinian publicist; *Luis Padilla*, CC member, CP Bolivia; *Jose Soares*, representative of the Brazilian CP on *WMR*; *Mel Doig*, Central Executive Committee member, CP Canada; *Hugo Fazio*, representative of the CP Chile on *WMR*; *Alvaro Mosquera*, CC member, CP Colombia; *Agamemnon Stavrou*, representative of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus on *WMR*; *Satiadjaja Sudiman*, member of the leadership, CP Indonesia; *Adel Haba*, CC member, Iraqi CP; *Zahi Karkabi*, CC secretary, CP Israel; *Hideo Sakamoto*, representative of the CP Japan on *WMR*; *Baldomero Gonzalez*, alternate member, CC People's Party of Panama; *Jose Lava*, CC member, CP Philippines; *Amath Dansoko*, Political Bureau member, African Independence Party of Senegal; *W. Molefe* of the South African CP; *Jaakoub Garro*, CC member, Syrian CP; *Sergio Sierra*, CC member, CP Uruguay.

The review of the meeting presented here concentrates mainly on questions not covered in detail in the materials on the socio-economic position and revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry published in the discussion on the working class and its allies.*

*'The Working Class and Its Allies.' Theses of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences. *WMR* July 1975; L. Müller. 'Anti-monopoly implications of the agrarian question,' *WMR* Oct. 1975; R. Kenny 'New Developments' (*ibid.*); E. Macaluso. 'The new realities do not undermine the foundations of the worker-peasant alliance' (*ibid.*); G. Panitsidis. 'Worker-peasant alliance central to Party policy' (*ibid.*); I. Sinha. 'The condition and revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry.' *WMR* Nov. 1975; H. Safari. 'Need for scientifically clear concepts' (*ibid.*); S. Sudiman. 'The power structure and the alliance problem.' *WMR* Jan. 1976; N. Kianuri. 'Alignment of class forces at the democratic stage of the revolution.' *WMR* Feb. 1976; A. Kohen. 'Class alliances and the strategy of change.' *WMR* July 1976; R. Mechini. 'The middle strata and the policy of alliances.' *WMR* Oct. 1976.

Use has also been made of a paper submitted by *Michele Rossi*, representative of the Italian CP on *WMR*.

Imperialism and the peasantry

Over the last few years the peasants' struggle has grown significantly in scope and content.

In developed capitalist countries it is increasingly directed against the very basis of imperialist rule — the monopolies and the state expressing their interests — while the problem of the worker-peasant alliance has become primarily one of establishing an anti-monopoly coalition.

Doig. Now that monopoly capital is dominant in the capitalist village, to the main class contradiction of bourgeois society — between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — is added the contradiction between the monopolies and working farmers. The monopolies control trade in farm produce and in commodities consumed in agriculture and they penetrate directly into the sphere of agricultural production. Through its price policy, subsidies and credits the bourgeois state encourages the growth of big capitalist farms. Government policy in favor of big business has proved unable to solve the vital problems of agriculture and improve the conditions of the farmer.

Sakamoto. The main enemy of the Japanese peasants is monopoly capital, with its close links with, and dependence on, U.S. imperialism. As in other developed capitalist countries, Japanese peasants are actively opposing the monopoly offensive. This struggle has been mainly for fair rice prices that would reimburse the peasant and assure him a suitable living standard. Since prices are set by the government, whose policies serve the interests not of the peasants but of monopoly capital and American imperialism, the focus of peasant action is gradually shifting to what is politically the most dangerous sphere for big capital.

Rossi. The demands of Italy's peasants are clear and concrete. They include government measures to improve production and marketing of farm produce, revision of Common Market agricultural policy, changes in the system of land tenure to reduce rents, recognition of the jurisdiction of regional government on agrarian questions, completion of the agricultural contract reform, etc.

In the developing countries, where the peasantry constitutes a large (and in many countries overwhelming) majority of the working population, the question of the worker-peasant alliance is inseparable from the solution of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic national-liberation movement. The peasants in that zone of the world bear the burden of capitalist and pre-capitalist exploitation and continued dependence on international imperialism. In this context, of

special concern is the question of who is the main enemy of the peasants — international imperialism, local capitalism or latifundism.

Soares. In Latin America today imperialism dominates in all sectors of the economy, including agriculture. Given the crying inequities in the distribution of land, one cannot, nevertheless, regard only the latifundists as the peasants' enemy. Local big business and imperialism are also their enemy. Actually, lately there has been an intertwining and fusing of their interests. Despite their contradictions, as exploiters of the peasants they act as a single force. Brazilian state-monopoly capitalism and international imperialism have a vital interest in preserving the latifundia system. Besides, many local and foreign monopolies are in many cases big landowners and usurers exploiting the rural working people. All this creates extremely complex social relations in the Brazilian countryside, merging anti-imperialist, anti-latifundist and anti-capitalist demands, and at the same time gives the peasant struggle an anti-imperialist character.

Padilla. The important thing is not just to note that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist tasks that face the working class and its allies are indivisible; one should also see the peculiarities of their inter-relationship and interaction, the proportion, so to say, of each of these elements in various Latin American countries, depending on the level of development of capitalism in the countryside and the importance, scope and diversity of pre-capitalist relations. Latin America is not homogeneous, but rather a differentiated entity in which features common to all its countries intertwine with national specifics. Therefore the content and, consequently, motivations and objectives of the present struggle differ substantially depending on the level of capitalism in agriculture and the extent of pre-capitalist relations. Thus in the countries with the highest capitalist development (Mexico, Argentina, Brazil) the anti-latifundist objectives of the peasant struggle are not so apparent as in countries of medium-developed capitalism (Venezuela, Colombia, Uruguay, Chile) and poorly-developed capitalism (Costa Rica, Ecuador, Bolivia and others). This determines the different rural social strata that are, or may become, allies of the working class.

Molefe. In Africa, too, there are many indications that the struggle of the working peasants for their interests is overstepping the framework of the traditional general democratic movement for land, aimed primarily against the landed oligarchy. The land shortage in many African countries is less acute than in Latin America or Asia. The main problem in Africa is not so much the redistribution of land as the search for new forms of organizing agriculture, for example, through the development of production cooperatives, which is possi-

ble only within the framework of a general drive for radical social change.

Dansoko. Of great importance for a correct understanding of the material bases of the peasant struggle and the objective factors bringing rural workers together with the proletariat is a proper assessment of the level of capitalism in agriculture. Thus, belittling the degree of maturity of rural capitalism feeds illusions about some special character of the African peasantry which is allegedly unaffected by social or class differentiation. It is true that the African peasant suffers under a tremendous burden of taxes and other imposts and is enmeshed in the still powerful remnants of the patriarchal-tribal system. But at the same time he is also a victim of imperialist and capitalist exploitation. Capitalist exploitation is penetrating especially quickly in countries with plantation farming, such as Cameroon, Liberia and the Ivory Coast. There the positions of foreign capital are very strong, and this includes agricultural production. Agrarian relations are evolving in the same direction, albeit slower, in other non-socialist oriented African countries, such as Senegal.

Lava. Agrarian reforms influence the socio-economic positions of the peasantry and the scope and objectives of their struggle. The experience of agrarian changes in Asian countries shows that the agrarian question cannot be solved along the lines of bourgeois reformism. The limited character and objectives of the agrarian reforms undertaken by the bourgeoisie under pressure of the masses, the slow rate at which they are being carried out, in some cases outright sabotage by the big landowners, and disregard of the needs of the poorest sections of the countryside, arouse growing dissatisfaction among peasants and inspire them to more active struggle.

Objectively, even limited reforms can be used by the progressive forces as a springboard for expanding the struggle for profound revolutionary transformation. Despite the expropriation of the holdings of large landowners, the landed oligarchy, along with imperialism and local big capital, remains the main enemy of the peasantry in developing countries. Relatively radical bourgeois agrarian reforms, far from undermining the objective basis of the worker-peasant alliance, actually, in the long-term perspective, tend to expand it. Such reforms may, for a time dampen the militancy of some sections of the peasantry.

Q. Are there no contradictions between the interests of the poorest peasants and the need to increase the efficiency of agricultural production?

Lava. Communists have never sought to perpetuate small-scale production, and they regard its concentration as a historically progressive trend. However, they approach the problem from the posi-

tions of the class struggle of the proletariat and oppose capitalist methods of concentration of agriculture through the mass expropriation of the peasantry. They do not just demand redistribution of the land in favor of the poor peasants; they also demand help for the peasants in setting up cooperatives of different kinds, including production cooperatives, and strive to place technological progress at the service of all working peasants, and not only of the exploiting minority. The development of collective methods of land cultivation and farming, given the strengthening of peasant organizations and a higher role for poor and middle peasants in them, will facilitate the accelerated growth of the rural productive forces.

Garro. The socio-economic position of the peasantry and the content and purposes of their struggle change substantially with the victory of the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution. The agrarian reform carried out in Syria has led to a visible weakening of the economic potential and political influence of the big feudal landowners, redistribution of land in favor of poor and landless peasants, the development of the cooperative sector and the growth of the awareness and organization of the peasantry. But despite that, the agrarian-peasant question has not been radically solved. Big owners continue to hold a large part of the most fertile lands and there are still very many landless peasants.

The agrarian reform law set a ceiling on land holdings, but it did not restrict the amount of land that can be leased. As a consequence, a new stratum of capitalist exploiters is rapidly forming who, though legally not landowners, are lessees of huge areas. Most of the cooperatives are headed by rich peasants. The burden of commercial and usurer exploitation of poor and middle peasants is still great. The peasant struggle in such conditions is characterized by a deepening of its anti-capitalist content.

Q. Why do capitalist elements develop in the countryside in a framework of non-capitalist development?

Haba. There are objective and subjective factors behind what at first glance might appear to be a paradoxical phenomenon. The objective factors include, first of all, the nature of agrarian reform in countries that have chosen the non-capitalist path. On the whole, these are of a positive content since they substantially weaken feudal and semi-feudal relations. But they also tend to increase the number and strength of the rich peasants. Another important objective factor is the weakness of the public sector in agriculture and the relatively narrow industrial base, though here progress has been considerable. The new program of our Party, adopted at its Third Congress this May, notes the weakening positions of the feudals and elimination of semi-feudal relations over a large part of the country and, on the other

hand, the limited scale of producers' cooperatives, state and collective enterprises, and expansion of small-commodity production. All this creates a receptive soil for the development of capitalist relations in agriculture.

The subjective factors include the inconsistencies in the revolutionary democrats' policies with respect to defense of the interests of the poor and middle peasants and their inclination to compromise with the rising rural bourgeoisie. Deep-going agrarian reforms are impossible without the support of the poor peasantry and the toiling masses generally. Agrarian transformations should be carried out in a democratic way, with less dependence on the bureaucratic apparatus, which is still strongly influenced by the exploiting classes.

Dansoko. The experience of agrarian reforms in African countries of socialist orientation shows that already at the first stage of the non-capitalist road the possibilities for the development of capitalist elements in the countryside can be significantly restricted. This has been demonstrated in Tanzania, where production cooperatives develop on a non-exploitative basis. Of course, difficulties arise in carrying out socialist-oriented radical socio-economic transformations in the countryside. In speaking of their origin, one must take into account not only the acute shortage of material means at the disposal of socialist-oriented governments in African countries and the poorly developed state sector, but also the very fact of other modes of production coexisting with the developing state sector. As we know, in certain conditions, small commodity production can spontaneously and on a mass scale breed private-ownership elements opposed to both socialism and state capitalism. Lastly, it is important to remember that the programs proclaimed by revolutionary democrats as a rule come up against the force of inertia and low cultural level of the majority of African peasants.

Extending the social base of the alliance

Throughout the non-socialist world, speakers emphasized, the interests of the peasantry and the working class are coming closer together. This necessitates in-depth study of such problems as the possibility of alliance with the entire peasantry, including its more well-to-do strata; differentiation within the peasantry and how it relates to the growth of its common interests in face of a common enemy; dependence of the social basis of the alliance on the given stage of the revolution, and so on.

Doig. A distinguishing feature of social contradictions in Canadian farming, and for that matter, in all developed capitalist countries, is that the conflict of interests within the farming community proceeds against the background of deepening contradictions between the

monopolies and the community as a whole. Alongside the urban middle strata a large part of that community, notably the family farms, can be united around the working class in an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly alliance. Despite declining numbers, the farmers are still an important ally of the working class.

Q. Can we consider the farmer of developed capitalist countries a new type of agricultural producer, fundamentally differing from the traditional peasant?

Doug. The farmers do not comprise a homogeneous social entity. The vast majority are middle or small farmers who, as a rule, do not have enough agricultural machinery and, far from employing hired labor, are themselves compelled to hire out to augment their income. In terms of general conditions, the nature of their labor and their social status, they can be considered a specific variety of the present-day peasantry. And Lenin's definition of the farmers as a bourgeois peasantry free of pre-capitalist fetters, fully applies to them. But there are also the big farmers using hired labor and making considerable profit. With the emergence of agro-industrial complexes, many of them have become dependent on monopoly capital and have lost their status of independent producers. Hence, we classify a substantial part of these big farmers as part of the 'middle strata.'

Q. Which trend prevails today, intensifying differentiation of the peasantry or consolidation of its interests in the face of a common enemy?

Sakamoto. Both tendencies are observable in Japan. There are numerous facts to show that though the Japanese peasantry is more socially homogeneous than in other developed capitalist countries, there is a definite process of proletarianization, albeit in specific forms. Suffice it to say that only 14 per cent of peasant families derive their incomes from farming. And though the formation of big capitalist-type farms is still far from completion, peasant farms differ widely both in size and profit margins. On the other hand, there is wide similarity in farm operation and material standing. This objectively tends to aggravate the contradictions between the peasantry as a whole and monopoly capital.

Sierra. In characterizing the social base of alliances and the possibility of their extension, we must start from the fact that there is a profound contradiction between imperialism, the latifundia, big anti-national capital and the entire Uruguayan people (workers, small and middle peasants, intellectuals and students, office workers, pensioners, artisans, small traders and the national bourgeoisie). Our Party program regards fundamental agrarian reform as a decisive element of social and national liberation. For various sections of the peasantry and national bourgeoisie (both industrial and agrarian) are objectively

interested in such revolutionary transformations. Our Party believes that fundamental agrarian reform will not boost the development of capitalism, but will rather be a step in the direction of socialism. Of course, strategy does not preclude tactical flexibility. We know, for instance, that the Uruguayan cattle-breeders, even the biggest, have been hard hit by the severe economic crisis and the dictatorship's anti-national policy, and they are coming out against that policy. Having analyzed that, our Party Central Committee has emphasized that we must not lose sight of such contradictions in the battle against fascism. Accordingly, we have a differentiated approach to alliances, agreements and temporary identity of viewpoints of the working class and other progressive forces, on the one hand, and diverse rural social strata on the other.

Stavrou. The working class' ally in rural areas is primarily the agricultural proletariat and the small and middle peasants. Our Party reacted to the tragic events of July 1974 by urging unity of all imperialist forces without exception, of everyone fighting for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. National salvation is impossible without unity of all patriots, irrespective of class.

This situation determines the choice of forms of the class struggle, and is taken into account in shaping the Party's agrarian policy. Our agrarian demands are designed to consolidate anti-imperialist unity. And Cypriot Communists are resorting to tactical maneuvers to create more favorable conditions for this. Many promising steps have already been taken to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. For instance, the setting up of a coordinating committee consisting of all the anti-putschists and progressive parties, the trade unions and the peasant organizations, removed many obstacles to promoting the struggle for national salvation on the basis of anti-imperialist cooperation. A substantial part of the petty and a part of the national bourgeoisie appears more willing to trust our Party than before, despite our differences. It is a positive development that the past prejudices have largely been dispelled and common problems provide a political platform for fruitful cooperation in the interests of our people.

Fazio. The Chilean Communist Party program states that the more progressive strata of the peasantry are the basic motive force of the revolution, and that the worker-peasant alliance is the rallying center for all the forces working for fundamental change. The interests of the peasantry and the role it plays in production make it the natural ally of the working class. This has been confirmed by the class struggle in Chile, particularly over the past few years.

The main precondition for solving the problems of our farming population is the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The objective

conditions in Chile show that the anti-fascist front can attract widely different sections of the rural population, including the rich peasants. For the vast majority of farmers, particularly the small and middle farmers, have been hard hit by the regime's policies.

Soares. In conformity with the Leninist strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, the question of alliance with the peasantry presents itself differently at different stages of the revolution. At the democratic stage, the Brazilian Communist Party believes, there will be an alliance with the small and middle peasants, with the rich peasantry neutralized or even supporting the revolution. At the second stage, the stage of socialist transformations, we can hardly count on the neutrality of the rich peasantry, and still less on its support of the working class. Accordingly, expropriation of the rich peasants will, we believe, become a necessity.

Padilla. Considering the structure of Bolivian agriculture and social composition of the rural population, the working class should seek its allies primarily among the rural proletariat, the poor and landless peasants. In relation to the rich, and partly also the middle peasantry, the task is to neutralize them. For it should be borne in mind that most of the rich peasants are former landowners who have retained or even increased their holdings through the agrarian reform. Their political positions run counter to the interests of the working-class and popular movement. The agricultural proletariat will play an important role in the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution. Hence, it is very important to single it out from the general rural mass and form a more accurate judgment of its social nature.

Q. Can we regard the farm laborers as part of the working class and not only as an ally of the proletariat?

Padilla. If we take as our criterion the relation of the rural proletariat to the means of production, then we must consider it an integral part of the working class as a whole. But we must also remember that in Bolivia the rural proletariat emerged some 20 years ago and is still in the formative stage. Its political awareness has still to be developed, so it is not really an effective part of the working class. The task, therefore, is to win it over to the industrial working class. The most accurate definition of the social nature of the agricultural proletariat of the type we have in Bolivia is 'semi-proletariat.'

Gonzalez. Speaking of the semi-proletariat, it should be noted that it is concentrated not only in the rural areas but also in the towns. I have in mind the mass of impoverished peasants who have been forced to quit the land. The peasant struggle often merges with that of the semi-proletariat, those erstwhile farmers now living in the towns. Most of them are vitally interested in retaining, or receiving, a plot and continuing as farmers.

Garro. The main revolutionary force in rural Syria is primarily the steadily increasing army of agricultural workers and also the poor peasants. Together they make up the bulk of the rural population. Both are anxious to see full implementation of the agrarian reform, the development of the rudiments of cooperation and the eventual organization of producers' cooperatives. The middle peasants make up a large group, too, but among them there is a clear process of differentiation: some get richer, others are impoverished. But the middle peasants are also interested in abolishing the power of the landed oligarchy and in restricting the influence of the big capitalist farmers. Bringing the middle peasants into the struggle of the rural poor is a key task of the democratic movement in Syria.

The rich peasants, who benefited most from the agrarian reform, want to retain and strengthen their economic influence, and to do that they are holding back the development of progressive social and economic transformations. Nonetheless, with the national struggle gaining momentum throughout the country, and with the general economic and technological backwardness and the urgent need to raise the level of agricultural production, these rich peasants play a definite part which we cannot afford to ignore. We can and should cooperate with them on certain issues and in certain policy areas, at the same time endeavoring to reduce their influence in the cooperatives, peasant organizations and local government.

Haba. In our attitude toward the rich peasantry we take into account the fact that in Iraq, as in Syria, they hold an important place in agricultural production. They own the most fertile lands, have considerable financial and technical means and account for an appreciable part of the country's food supply. Accordingly, our policy is to restrict their influence in the farming community, notably in the cooperatives. The new program of the Iraqi Communist Party states that both immediate tasks and creation of the preconditions for socialist transformations in agriculture demand depriving these elements of influence on the peasants and of leadership in the cooperatives and peasant organizations. That is the only guarantee that the present struggle will retain its progressive nature.

Karkabi. There are two sectors, a Jewish and an Arab, in Israeli agriculture. The social and economic conditions in each of them, and consequently in the social forces that are, or could be, allies of the working class, differ widely. In the Jewish sector most of the land belongs to the state or to the Zionist organizations that rent it out to the agricultural cooperatives, the Kibbutzim, or to private small peasants, the Moshavim, or to big private capitalists or capitalist companies. In the kibbutzim the members, although they employ hired labor, work themselves on the land. They are also exploited by

finance capital through big loans given to them. From that standpoint they are potential allies of the working class in its fight against monopoly capital and for progressive social changes. The situation of the peasants in the Moshavim is much more difficult. Many of them are obliged to liquidate their private households and to turn into workers, mostly agricultural.

The Arab peasants are savagely exploited. Since 1948 more than one million dunams (a dunam = 0.1 hectare) of Arab land has been confiscated. Half of the Arab rural population is forced to look for jobs in the towns. The Arab peasants, together with the entire Arab population and all the democratic forces of Israel, are fighting against plans to confiscate and expropriate more land, against the so-called Judaization or Galilee plan. The Communist Party has made definite headway in building up a united front of Arab workers and Arab peasants for joint struggle against national oppression and exploitation by big capital.

Tens of thousands of agricultural workers, Jews and Arabs, are working on the land of capitalists and capitalist companies, especially on citrus orchards. Their wages and social conditions are worse than those of industrial workers. These agricultural workers are struggling for better working conditions, and are certainly allies of the working class.

Leading force of the alliance

Communist policy toward the peasantry strives dialectically to combine active stimulation of the peasants and their organizations to share in anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist actions with the struggle to assert the leading role of the working class in a broad democratic coalition. The worker-peasant alliance, speakers stressed, is a form of class cooperation, with the working class playing the leading role.

To form such an alliance, we should first work toward a consistent and radical solution of the agrarian question. For it is precisely on this point that the role of different classes and social groups in changing rural life stands out with such clarity.

Rossi. The process of uniting the various peasant organizations has now begun in Italy. Two recent events can lead to positive results and give a new impulse to the struggle now unfolding in rural Italy. The first was a meeting of representatives of the three politically disparate peasant movements — the Small Holders Confederation, the National Peasant Union, and the Farmers' Alliance — with the secretariat of the joint federation of Italy's three trade union centers. For the first time the Italian trade union movement and the peasant organizations agreed on the need and advisability of direct worker-peasant cooperation, with each organization retaining its full independence, in draw-

ing up a joint platform defining the main directions of agricultural development as an essential factor in improving the country's economic position and bringing about social renewal. The Sharecroppers Federation has contributed to the unity effort by becoming an associate member of the General Italian Confederation of Labor.

The second event, a meeting of the leaders of the Peasant Union, the Sharecroppers Federation and the Farmers' Alliance, was another step toward unity. It was decided to set up a coordinating committee and convene a Peasant Assembly. The importance of these initial results lies in the fact that the tradition of disparate peasant organizations has been abandoned in favor of a process directed at their ultimate unity. This might be the starting point of a dialogue with the Small Holders Confederation, which is Catholic-oriented and represents a substantial part of the peasantry. Its participation in the meeting with the trade unions suggests that a trend toward unity has begun within its ranks. Peasant unity will naturally invigorate the struggle against the stranglehold of the national and multinational monopolies in agriculture.

Mosquera. The ruling element is making an intensive effort to bring the peasants under its ideological and political influence. There have been more frequent direct attacks on the Leninist doctrine of the worker-peasant alliance. Some plead that the technological revolution, by accelerating elimination of the small farmers, has undermined the importance of the peasantry as an ally of the working class or, it is even argued, has integrated the peasants into the capitalist system, thereby 'removing' the peasant question as a major social issue. Others, for instance representatives of so-called 'social marginalism,' maintain that the 'conflicting interests of agricultural producers and consumers' is the chief source of all the problems facing the peasantry.

Q. Some hold that the peasant movement has declined due to the reduction of the peasant population in developed capitalist countries and agrarian reform in many developing countries. How true is that?

Mosquera. The powerful struggle of the West European peasantry against the Common Market agrarian policy is evidence of the movement's growth and certainly not of any loss of its revolutionary potential. And if this applies to developed capitalist countries, it applies in still greater measure to countries dependent on capitalism, where the peasants still represent a large group of the population, and where agriculture continues to be a main branch of the economy despite its reduced share in GNP. As for Colombia, the peasants continue to stage major actions against the latifundists. They occupy uncultivated land, have a part in the guerrilla war, fight the rule of the landowners and reactionary militarists. The peasantry remains the

main ally of the working class and the second motive force of the revolution.

Dansoko. African Communists see in the peasantry the main ally in the revolutionary struggle. And not only in the battle for national independence, for the peasantry can play, in some cases has already played, an important part in giving a country a socialist orientation. But while realistically assessing the strength and potentialities of the peasants, African Communists do not absolutize their role in the fight for national independence and social progress. They oppose and combat the contention that since the peasantry is the most numerous and disinherited class, we should rely less, or wholly disregard, the revolutionary role of the working class. The peasantry's vast revolutionary potential can be brought to bear and successfully utilized for the final victory of the national-liberation and socialist revolution only if its struggle is led by progressive revolutionary forces. And that leadership can come only from the working class, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Molefe. The experience of history, and this fully applies to Africa, shows that the peasantry can take an active part in revolutionary battles, as it has done in Algeria, Tanzania, Congo, Somalia and other countries, but also that, in a definite set of circumstances, it can hold back the revolutionary process or stand aloof, as it has done in Ghana, Mali, Kenya. Furthermore, the vacillation which is so characteristic of the peasantry as a class extends to all its social strata. Isolation, the absence or weakness of peasant organizations, the low level of political consciousness, widespread illiteracy — they combine to prevent the peasantry from becoming an independent class force in the national-democratic revolution. The peasantry does not represent a separate revolutionary current in the world revolutionary process like the socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement, but, as a rule, acts under the leadership of the revolutionary forces or of the bourgeoisie. The important thing, therefore, is to wrest the peasantry from the influence of the reactionary forces and win it over to the side of the working class.

Q. Would it be right to say, considering the small size of the working class in African societies, that in Africa the worker-peasant alliance is not an aim for today, but for the future?

Molefe. I do not think that is right. That line of reasoning can be followed only if we limit ourselves to narrow national frameworks and abstract ourselves from the dominant features, regularities and motive forces of the worldwide revolutionary process. In many developing African countries the question of relations between the working class and the peasantry now goes beyond national bounds and acquires international significance. For it concerns strengthening the

alliance of the international working class and the peasantry of the developing countries. And this implies strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the national-liberation movement with the socialist community and closer ties between the fighters for national liberation and the Communist Parties, the vanguard of the international working class. The experience of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle in Africa provides ample evidence to back up that presentation of the problem. In most African countries the working class, irrespective of its size, has played an important, though not dominant role in the battle against colonialism and imperialism. There need be no doubt that the role of the working class in the political and social life of African countries will steadily increase.

Sierra. In our country fundamental agrarian reform is possible only as an inseparable part of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution led by the proletariat. We must consider the close intertwining of imperialist and latifundist interests, the peculiar conditions of capitalist development in Latin America, notably the growth of private monopoly of the land. In Uruguay, imperialism is a component of the production relations and the chief factor in deforming capitalist development and retaining economic anachronisms. The interests of the foreign capitalists, the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists are closely intertwined. And because of these objective factors, the sharpening class struggle (in the countryside as well as in the towns) and its own incompetence, the bourgeoisie cannot solve the agrarian question, though abolition of the latifundia system is not *per se* a socialist step; in fact, it helps the growth of national capital. In the new conditions agrarian reform is inconceivable without a national-liberation democratic front headed by the working class and based on its alliance with the peasantry.

Q. Is there another force besides the working class capable of leading the peasantry and resolving the agrarian question in the interests of the toiling peasantry?

Sierra. When we say that the national bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the peasants' struggle for deep-going agrarian reform, this does not preclude participation by some sections of the bourgeoisie in agrarian transformations and in the liberation processes in Latin America. But under all circumstances the hegemony of the working class in the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution retains its validity. And it should be emphasized in this context that this theoretical proposition does not underestimate the new phenomena. It draws a distinction between historical necessity and the concrete, and diverse, forms of its manifestations and realization. We know that the objective conditions for revolutionary change do not always coincide with the subjective possibilities of effecting that change. This applies,

above all, to the forces of the working class and its allies needed to lead the fight for change. In some cases other social strata might be pushed into the forefront, or help to accelerate the revolution. Nonetheless, as the example of Cuba has shown, in the final analysis the most important prerequisite for initiating, implementing and developing deep-going agrarian reforms and revolutionary transformations lies in the working class exercising its leading role, in one way or another, and certainly not in unsupported declarations or simplistic doctrinairism.

Padilla. Considering the spontaneity and inadequate organization of peasant actions, and the fact that in many Latin American countries the worker-peasant alliance is still in its formative stage, we should not preclude the possibility that the bourgeoisie might direct the peasant struggle into reformist channels. That, in fact, happened in Bolivia. The agrarian reform begun in 1952, at the height of the anti-imperialist liberation movement, at first had a clearly expressed revolutionary-democratic content. The popular rising compelled the repeal of the feudal laws and dealt a telling blow to the latifundian system. But at the second stage of the reform, the bourgeoisie was able to capture leadership of the movement, distort the democratic character of the reform and place the country on the 'Prussian' road of capitalist development in agriculture. What we had was an alliance of the non-oligarchic sections of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. And the bourgeoisie devised a social and political mechanism to subordinate the peasant movement to its interests.

The Bolivian peasants have learned from bitter experience the dire consequences of the movement's isolation from the working class. The tragedy of the Bolivian peasantry lies in the objective contradiction between its growing importance in the course of the revolution and its inability, in the final analysis, to play a constructive role in shaping the country's social and political future. Isolated local peasant actions have weakened the movement and corrupted its political consciousness. And until the Communists and other progressive and democratic forces change this, the peasantry will not overcome its inconsistency. The logic of agrarian relations developing on a capitalist basis creates preconditions for overcoming this weakness. One indication of growing revolutionary-democratic tendencies among the peasants is that the present regime resorts to violence against all peasant demonstrations. Thus, in January 1974 the mass movement in support of immediate economic demands was cruelly suppressed. This clearly suggests that the outlook is for a new rise in the peasant movement.

Fazio. The agrarian reform begun in 1967 reached its zenith under the Popular Unity government. It was the result, above all, of the

rising mass movement at a time when the structural crisis of agriculture was impeding the country's development. In this situation, agrarian reform became the aim not only of the politically more progressive elements and the peasantry, but of the vast majority of the population. The fact that the agrarian reform was directed by Allende as part of revolutionary transformations in all spheres of Chilean life, tended rapidly to increase the political awareness and organization of the peasants. There was a qualitative leap in the growth of peasant trade unions. The 1973 parliamentary elections showed that this was having its impact on the political thinking of the people. However, this tempestuous process, compressed into a very short time, had not taken firm hold by the time the class struggle had so sharpened that the question of power became a crucial issue.

An important lesson of our experiences is that successful development of the worker-peasant alliance requires that the proletariat regards peasant demands as its own. During the Popular Unity government, and even before, there were very concrete expressions of working-class support of peasant demands. But there were also difficulties that tended to hold back the revolutionary process. They were chiefly due to the fact that the opinion of the peasantry was not always heeded and in some cases the voluntary principle was not observed in introducing new forms of farming. These difficulties can be attributed to the desire of certain elements to accelerate socialist change in the countryside, though the economic and political conditions for that had not yet matured.

Garro. In my view, the revolutionary democrats cannot alone carry out a radical agrarian reform in the interests of the poor peasantry. But we should bear in mind that the revolutionary democratic movement is not something stagnant and lends itself to development. Part of its participants can join forces with the working class and help strengthen its leading role in society. In such a situation, we can go ahead in extending agrarian reform in a way that would meet the interests of the poor peasants and stimulate the country's development. Our program states that the national-progressive front is not a tactical but a strategic undertaking based on sound objective foundations. And there is every possibility of converting the front into a form of alliance of the working class, peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia. Its task will be to extend agrarian and other social and economic transformations.

Q. Is there rivalry between the revolutionary democrats and the working class, led by its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard, for influence over the peasantry?

Garro. We invite the revolutionary democrats to cooperate with us in the national-progressive front to mobilize all the laboring sections

of the population, the peasants included, for fundamental social change. The revolutionary democrats, however, are out to secure leadership of all the country's organizations, including the peasant organizations, and look upon us as rivals. But we want to solve these problems not through rivalry, but through cooperation, and we regard cooperation dialectically: we agree with everything positive in the revolutionary democrats' policy and actions and oppose everything that might have negative consequences. Our criticism of one or another negative phenomenon is meant to strengthen the revolutionary-democratic regime.

The following conclusions were drawn from the discussion:

— The experience of history has confirmed the viability of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the worker-peasant alliance. Everywhere the peasantry remains an essential factor in material production and a social force with a great democratic and anti-imperialist potential;

— Though the situation differs from country to country, the peasant movement is everywhere acquiring an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly character, going beyond immediate, purely economic demands. This creates even greater prerequisites for concerting its efforts with those of the working class;

— Extension of the socio-economic base of the peasant struggle underscores the need to treat the agrarian-peasant question in unity with the overall direction and prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle. There can be no fundamental solution of the agrarian-peasant problem without fundamental anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly transformations in the given society. There can be no long-term solution of the crisis of capitalist society without the revolutionary-democratic solution of the agrarian-peasant problem;

— Objective circumstances have made the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the chief and only force capable of uniting the rural working people and all exploited by imperialism and the monopolies in a broad coalition and, through a series of intermediate, transition stages, lead them to the triumph of the socialist revolution.

With this exchange of views and R. Urhany's article, 'Genuinely revolutionary class,' we conclude our discussion on 'The Working Class and Its Allies,' begun in the July 1975 issue. We wish to thank all comrades for their contributions, which will be included in a book to be put out by Peace and Socialism Publishers.

Consumption under socialism

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The socialist way of life has been the subject of much research in the fraternal socialist countries. At the present stage of development of socialism, it is particularly apparent that the fundamental difference between the two opposing social systems lies not in technology but in the nature of production relations, the way of life, and the opportunities the systems offer for the development of the individual.

One of the prime aspects of the way of life is the consumption mechanism, the behavior of people in the consumption sphere. Obviously, the system of values, preferences and priorities that guide a person in defining his requirements and the ways of satisfying them substantially influences the formation of his personality and way of life. This article deals mainly with the investigations of Polish scientists into consumption problems.

The approach

In discussions on the problem references have often been made to the following statement of Karl Marx: 'In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!'¹

This proposition, although it refers to the distant future, is an essential guideline of socialist development, and it points up the fundamental difference between the objectives of socialist and capitalist society.

This article continues the discussion of the theoretical and ideological aspects of the problem of the socialist way of life begun by Prof. G. Hoppe (GDR). See *WMR*, June 1976.

The difficulties of the initial stage of building socialism: economic backwardness inherited from capitalism, the dislocation of the Soviet Union's economy as a result of the civil war and imperialist intervention, the grave economic situation in the People's Democracies just liberated from the yoke of fascism, made a deep imprint on the economic policies of the Communist parties in the socialist countries, compelling them to lay emphasis on tasks upon which the very existence of the new system depended. The well-being of the people, the growth of popular consumption — those objectives inherent in the very nature of socialism — began to acquire dominant significance in economic policy only as the economy was rehabilitated and developed and a firm material and technical basis of socialism was created.

Some Polish economists single out three stages in the development of consumption in our country²: the stage of quantitative growth designed to satisfy basic demands, covering the period from 1944 to 1959, when the economy was targeted primarily on rehabilitation and then on industrialization and building the material and technical basis of socialism; the stage of qualitative growth in the consumption of basic commodities (1960-70), when the developing economy made possible a substantial rise in living standards; and finally, the stage of qualitative development, at which the quantity of consumption substantially exceeds basic requirements. It is appropriate to recall what Marx said about the distinction between articles 'which enter into the consumption of the working class, and . . . are necessities of life' and 'articles of *luxury*, which enter into the consumption of only the capitalist class.'³ Today we can note that in the countries building developed socialism the 'articles of consumption' increasingly include what only yesterday were 'articles of luxury.' This gives rise to a number of theoretical and ideological problems, as well as questions of practical economic planning.

The consumption problem today

During the period of building the foundations of socialism, when consumption, as was said before, was subordinated to the vital necessity of creating the material and technical basis of the new system, people were frequently forced to go without many material things, which were regarded as virtually 'luxury items.' The need for such restrictions had to be explained ideologically, and the expression 'consumer attitude' acquired negative overtones. At the same time, our political economy textbooks invariably stressed that the objective of the socialist economy is the fullest satisfaction of the constantly growing requirements of the working people. The actual level of the economy, however, restricted the possibilities of meeting demand.

In Poland, as in other socialist countries, the debate on consumption has been going on since the early 60s. Its key problem today is the development of a consumption model, of a system of cultural requirements and values. There are many aspects to the problem, and some important generalizations and conclusions have been made.

Analyses of the consumption problem can be carried out on three levels:

(1) At the national economic level, on the scale of the society as a whole. The question is of planning consumption within the national economic framework, taking into account existing social and professional differences between various categories of workers, disparities in the development of different regions, etc. The macroscopic consumption model is in practice reflected in plans drawn up by the Planning Commission, the Internal Trade and Services Ministry and other government departments. It is based on the general concept of developed socialist society, important Party directives, and theoretical conclusions concerning socialist economics.

(2) But the overall model drawn up by the state is reflected in different ways at family level. The problem of adjusting state economic decisions to millions of family decisions has still to be studied and solved. The planning bodies have, of course, opportunities for maneuvering in the sphere of production, of the means of satisfying demand, imports, wages, prices, etc. They suggest models which can be, and are, followed by families in shaping their own consumption structures. But, on the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that, as living standards rise, requirements tend to differentiate, and families have more means. Hence the growing importance of studying the different ways of satisfying consumer demands, how they change, and especially the economic and non-economic factors behind the change. Interesting data on the role of cultural, social and psychological factors were obtained by Polish sociologists, economists and statistical workers as a result of a thorough sociological investigation of more than 10,000 Polish families.

(3) Sociological surveys show how important it is to study the individual consumer attitudes, especially the origin of requirements and their relative evaluation, what factors guide the individual's priorities and preferences. In other words, investigate the psychological and social factors of consumer demand: how, given a choice, the consumer assesses the various means of satisfying his requirements. This aspect is very important for the producer, who does not want to make things that have no market. And here again we are confronted with the fact that, as the society overcomes the minimum level of satisfying demand, priority criteria change very rapidly, especially when the consumer can compare, directly or indirectly, samples of

goods from the capitalist 'mass consumption' society. Finally, in studying consumer behavior it is important to determine attitudes toward the means of collective as well as individual consumption. A consumer may be thrifty or wasteful, he may even deliberately or unintentionally spoil things. (If, for example, every family wastes several hundred grams of bread a day, on a national scale this means a waste of hundreds of thousands of tons of grain.)

It is important to study the problem at all these levels today, when consumption has become an important factor in accelerating and intensifying socio-economic development processes. In formulating development programs, recent Party congresses specifically emphasized the importance of raising living standards and improving the quality of life. Significantly, the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (December 1975) is titled, 'For the Further Dynamic Development of Socialist Construction, for Higher Quality of Work, for Better Living Standards.'

Defining the social objectives of development, the resolution reiterates the Party's determination to continue raising the people's well-being. 'The Party,' it states, 'will continue to pursue a policy of national socio-economic development. Its purpose is the further improvement of the people's living conditions on the basis of the expansion and modernization of the country's economic potential.' The envisaged rise in cash incomes will create conditions for further growth in consumption. This will require an increase in commodity supplies of at least 40-42 per cent, and an expansion of services by no less than 60 per cent. 'In building a developed socialist society,' the Congress documents declare, 'the Party sees its supreme objective and main line of action in creating the material and cultural conditions for the development of the individual and satisfying his requirements, for further raising our people's standard of living.'

Consumption as a factor of socio-economic progress stems from the role it plays in the life of the individual and of society. The consumption sphere is linked not only with the reproduction of manpower and raising performance but also with the development of the personality. The latter problem—the influence of consumption on the development of the personality — has been studied insufficiently so far. Yet the mounting importance of consumption in socialist society makes it necessary to have a good idea of the consequences of certain consumption models, especially their psychological impact. That is why consumption should be seen not merely as an incentive for better work, but first and foremost as a factor in the moulding of the personality.

In view of the importance of consumption, emphasized in the Seventh Party Congress resolution, and bearing in mind the growing

differentiation of preference criteria and the need to regulate spontaneous development of demand, we must clearly realize all the consequences of the present policy of raising the level of consumption. There is a prime need for a clear-cut ideological substantiation of the socialist consumption model, and not only on the macro-economic scale, but in the family framework as well. From this follows the task of embodying that model in economic and social development plans and at the same time elaborating the means of shaping consumer behavior.

Ideological and political aspects of the problem

The ideological and political significance of the problem can be reduced to the following: How can we go about building a planned socialist economy which would continue to assure a high level of satisfying public demand, using consumption as a motive force, while not being encumbered with the negative phenomena of capitalist 'mass consumption': the domination of purely commercial relations among people, the role of money as a status symbol, subordination of creative aspirations to commodity acquisition, of public and spiritual values to the selfish interests of groups and individuals, etc?

These negative aspects of contemporary capitalism have been recounted in detail not only by Marxists but also by non-Marxist critics well aware of the shortcomings of a technocratic, consumer society. At the same time, even in Marxist literature one may come across statements to the effect that it is probably impossible to run a planned socialist economy and at the same time to avoid all the negative aspects of the 'mass consumption' society. The main argument of exponents of this view is that planned economy as yet lacks effective ways and means of controlling the development of requirements.

It is not the purpose of this article to refute such views. We must concede, however, that present-day realities impose new and higher demands on the planning and management of socialist economy. How, in view of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the all-round development of the personality, does one go about regulating processes in the consumption domain so as to influence the consumption behavior of people, their decisions, and help them in their choice of the means of satisfying this or that requirement? How, in a socialist society capable of meeting the requirements of the whole population, does one encourage every person to strive to acquire cultural and spiritual values as readily as things, so that consumption would elevate spiritual and cultural life; enriching man's inner life and encouraging his creative abilities, and fully satisfy his intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual and social demands?

These are not abstract questions; they are essential to the policy of

states guiding socio-economic development. In principle, the socialist states, having concentrated management of public life in their hands, are capable of guiding, and do guide, the development of consumption. This is done not only by creating macromodels but, also, through shaping the production of consumer goods and in this way regulating individual consumer behavior. The problem is how to pass over from a theoretical model corresponding to ideological requirements to practical planning and management.

Characteristic traits of socialist consumption

The basic traits of socialist consumption can be easily derived from the propositions of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The first among them is the concept of man as the creator of all material and spiritual values (homo creator), developing his capabilities primarily in labor, and also in other spheres. It is from this proposition that we deduce the sum-total of needs the socialist economy can and should satisfy. These are material, social, biological, spiritual, aesthetic, intellectual and other needs for the thorough development of the individual. Thus, we have a picture of the pattern of means which can and should satisfy these needs. The socialist ideal of the individual is thus the main prerequisite in determining the characteristic peculiarities of consumption under socialism.

The second trait is determined by the character of relations between the individual and society under socialism, meaning that consumption should help ensure maximum involvement of the individual in social development.

Marxist-Leninist ideology suggests consumer equality, i.e., just and equal availability to all citizens of the boons and services in a socialist society. Absolute equality, however, is impossible because even at the stage of developed communism, said Marx, society would still demand from each according to his abilities and, apparently, the individual's demands would depend on the level of participation in social development.

At the same time free access of each to all the means of satisfying needs, including cultural, is an inalienable property of socialist consumption. In earlier formations satisfaction of cultural needs depended primarily on the property status and education of the individual. Culture was viewed as a complex of blessings available only to the 'elite.' This meant persons with an education and in possession of sufficient means to appropriate cultural values on a private basis. In a developed socialist society cultural demands are satisfied in such a manner that every individual, irrespective of the level of education, can enjoy culture. For cultural life here is such that everyone has access to it and can participate in the creative process depending on

abilities and interests. Therefore, equality in satisfying needs embraces non-material interests also.

Neither is socialist consumption an index of social levels; in other words, the level of demand is not an indication of a high or low social position. This is one of the radical differences between a socialist and a capitalist society where the level of demand is a formidable barrier dividing classes and social strata. It depends on the income level and itself becomes a factor in social differentiation. The concept of 'conspicuous consumption' introduced early in this century by the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen aptly conveys consumption's bourgeois social and class functions.⁴ This type of consumption is in sharp contrast to the ideological principles of socialism and of a planned economy.

Therefore, even in a prosperous socialist society with the highest level of production and available services, and a wide range of material benefits, rationality, i.e., optimum use of available means, remains the underlying principle of consumption. Socialist consumption will remain 'economical,' rejecting 'conspicuous consumption.' The principles of a rational utilization of values and their equal distribution will always make for optimal satisfaction of needs from the standpoint of the development of the individual and society.

The following traits of socialist consumption follow from the principle of social justice: socialism satisfies the requirements not only of those who contribute to the development of society but likewise of those who, because of sickness, disability, old age, etc., cannot provide for their own needs. Certain categories, for example, persons engaged in particularly difficult or responsible work requiring exceptional effort and ability can, in accordance with these principles, satisfy their needs in proportion to their contribution to socialist construction.

Regulating consumption

What is needed for optimal realization of this model of consumption? It could be assumed that economic means would suffice: regulating production of consumer goods and imports, a wage and price policy determining the population's buying power. The experience of recent years, however, shows this to be a much more complicated process. Socialist countries maintaining close ties with the capitalist market feel the influence of models of the 'mass consumption' society. Economic levers alone cannot effectively counter this influence because it is conveyed by television, the press, tourism, family and personal contacts, etc. Consequently, a more effectual mechanism must be found capable of influencing consumption, directing its development in line with socialist ideals.

Sometimes, it seems, the expression 'regulating consumption' evokes negative associations connected with the war years when consumption was regulated by rationing and each individual, because of a shortage of goods, received a more or less identical share of food, clothes, etc. In a modern socialist society it has an entirely different meaning. Regulating consumption in a socialist economy aims at optimal satisfaction of family and individual needs. A study of how people spend their earnings, what they eat, how they dress and spend their leisure, how they celebrate holidays and family occasions, how they satisfy their cultural needs, etc., prompts the conclusion that often, within the limits of simple changes in the way of life, it is possible to closely approach a rational consumer model.

A socialist society has a comparatively broad range of opportunities for shaping the pattern of the means of consumption, for example, with the aid of the public consumption and social security system. For the sphere of public consumption plays an increasing role. For individuals, also, it can serve as an example of a rational modernization of consumption. It is important to stress here that socialist consumption will see final victory only after it is well asserted in the sphere of individual consumption.

It is therefore important to guide the development of needs. At first glance this seems almost impossible because of its exceptional complexity. But there are possibilities. Firstly, standards must be established of a mode of life, that is, scientifically evolved methods of evaluating needs and their place in realizing one's goals. Secondly, determining standards for means of satisfying needs.

The solution of this problem requires research in the spontaneous origin of needs and an in-depth psychological analysis. Such research could be the basis of policy. Political economy and other Marxist-Leninist sciences have ample opportunities to prepare the theoretical grounds for drawing up a policy of guiding the development of needs and the entire consumption process.

In sum, guiding the development of needs implies, first of all, guiding consumer behavior. This cannot be done by economic means alone. It requires that economic measures be coordinated with social policy and policy in education because realization of socialist consumption presupposes educating the consumer as the creator of the material values.

The model of consumption examined in this article neither appears nor is realized automatically, as a consequence of the socialist mode of production, because the link between it and the way of life is neither direct nor identically determined. Formation of a socialist way of life requires implementation of a definite policy.

In the light of all this, the consumption problem becomes particu-

larly important during the period when a developed socialist system assures ever more material and cultural benefits and the consumer is provided with more opportunities to satisfy his growing needs. The socialist way of life, the daily life of a socialist society, can be decisively influenced by the methods and means of managing consumption.

1. K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1970. Vol. 3, p. 19.

2. This is the view of, for example, Lidia Beskid, in her work *Konsumpcja w rodzinach pracowniczych* (Consumption in Worker Families), put out by the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology.

3. *Capital*. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957. Volume II, p. 403.

4. See Thorstein Veblen. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. A Mentor Book, New York, 1953.

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Book reviews

THE COLLAPSE OF ILLUSIONS

A review of bourgeois literature on problems of the political organization of capitalist society.

Sergei Pronin,

Head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences

Institute of World Economy and International Relations

The general crisis of capitalism in the latter half of the 60s and early 70s has afflicted all spheres of bourgeois society, including the organization and functioning of its political system.

The events of recent years — the war in Vietnam, the radical clashes in the United States, youth demonstrations, particularly of the students, in the biggest capitalist states, low voter turnout, political scandals such as the Watergate affair, the inability to cope with social ailments — have shattered bourgeois-liberal illusions concerning the representative nature of what is called 'Western' democracy.

All these events, however, were only the visible part of the iceberg. The gradually accumulating social disproportions are sapping the economic foundations of capitalism, destroying its political covering and, at the same time, undermining the smug optimism with which bourgeois apologists have always advertised the 'humanism,' 'proximity to the individual's ideals,' and all other 'boons' of the 'democratic institutions' of a free society.'

The heading of an article by the American politologist, Prof. Hans Morgenthau, 'Decline of Democratic Government,' is characteristic of how bourgeois political thought regards recent trends in bourgeois democracy. And the decline of democratic government, the author maintains, is 'an observable fact.'¹ He argues: can we consider a country democratic if from 25 per cent to one-third of the voters are denied the opportunity of having a direct say in government decision-making only because they vote the Communist ticket (Italy or France, for example). As for the United States, Morgenthau writes

of the Johnson and Nixon administrations as being despotic, unlawful and unconstitutional. And Prof. Arthur Schlesinger speaks in roughly the same terms: 'Our party system is in a state of crisis — maybe of dissolution' (*Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1974-75, p. 738).

Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, admitted in an article that the United States is neither a democracy, nor a republic, that it 'colonizes people into huge organizational structures.'² Another American politologist, Robert A. Dahl, in a comparative study of more than 30 political systems in capitalist countries, including the United States, comes to the conclusion that these systems cannot be called democracies in the true sense of the word,³ because they do not rely on the will of the people, do not ensure equality for all citizens, because the governments of these countries merely suppress the 'conflicts' that arise without even attempting to eliminate their causes. The French sociologist A. Frisch arrives at the no less definite conclusion that in the capitalist countries there is no 'government of the people and for the people.'⁴

It is becoming something of a fashion to admit a crisis of bourgeois democracy. This certainly does not mean that apologetic theories have been discarded. But it is important to note that priority is now given to new concepts.

Bourgeois ideologists try hard to reduce the causes of capitalism's political crisis to 'local' disproportions, to flaws in the balance of executive and legislative power, to a disparity between existing legislation and the requirements of our time, etc. An example of this is provided by the arguments of Prof. Karl Lowenstein who tries to explain the American political crisis situation by saying that the country's constitution is outdated.⁵ Politologist Theodore Lowi writes in *The Politics of Disorder* that the bourgeois political system was uniquely designed to maintain the status quo and, on this basis, he even evolves a sort of iron-clad law of the decline of social systems that are oriented upon preserving this status quo. The attempt, however, to formulate certain laws common to the development of bourgeois political institutions, disregarding the class role of the state, virtually reduces to nought the observations made by Lowi.

Much the same applies to those bourgeois scholars who view the state as the main source of 'despotism.' Citing one or another real process, and often drawing penetrating conclusions, they usually confine themselves to the 'totalitarianism' of state power in general, regardless of its class essence. Columbia University Professor Robert Nisbet, claiming the emergence of an invisible apparatus of authority as one of the causes of the crisis, says there is a decline of bourgeois democratic institutions, a gradual disappearance or weakening of the influence of various unions, voluntary associations and political par-

ties which, in 'pre-democratic' times were a restraining force on the autocracy, seeing all this as a sign of state despotism.⁶

Criticizing the undemocratic government apparatus, Frisch believes that the crisis of 'representative democracy' in a 'consumer society' is aggravated by the 'personalization of power' by heads of government and their advisers to the detriment of the influence of the ministries and the technocrats.⁷

Supporters of the 'government despotism' theory have their opponents, who hold that it is precisely the state that fulfills social functions and for this reason enjoys the privilege of 'radicalism' and that state policy destroys the resistance of the 'elitarian groups' who are not interested in social equality. Proponents of this view, such as the well-known bourgeois sociologist Michael Harrington who argues extensively with his colleagues Nathan Glazer, Daniel Moynihan and Daniel Bell,⁸ are fewer in number than their critics.

There have been many attempts to lay the blame for the crisis of political institutions and of bourgeois democracy in general on 'objective difficulties.' The British politologist Anthony King believes, for example, that the instability of Britain's political system is caused by the government taking on activities that go beyond its capabilities, limited by the shortage of natural resources, the complexities of social ties, etc.⁹ And Morgenthau is even more outspoken in his conclusions. 'Contemporary governments — regardless of their type, composition, program, ideology,' he says, 'are unable to govern ... because their operations are hopelessly at odds with the requirements or potentialities of modern technology and the organization it permits and requires.'¹⁰

Just as widespread are attempts to explain the ideological and political crisis of bourgeois society by the decay of bourgeois political institutions due to the 'negative tendencies' in the development of the individual and mankind as a whole and the process of man's degradation. This type of argument is used by the French sociologist Maurice Duverger,¹¹ and also by the sociologists Gurth Higgin,¹² Dimitris Chorafas,¹³ Irving Kristol¹⁴ and the writer Jost Herbig,¹⁵ who point to the 'corruption,' 'satiety' and 'dehumanization' of the bourgeois world.

It is interesting to note, that as capitalist economic difficulties increase, many of the books and articles on the crisis of the bourgeois political system are beginning to discuss such serious causes as the inability to satisfy the workers' growing economic and social demands and the alienation of the individual under capitalism. Some bourgeois researchers go so far as to blame private enterprise for the crisis of the political system. Although, apparently in an attempt to remain objective and to establish a balance, a large portion of the

blame is placed on the trade unions. Thus, the British economist Samuel Brittan claims the crisis of liberal representative democracy is a result of group economic egoism as seen in the conflicts between private business and the trade unions. At the same time he believes that the roots of the crisis lie in the demagogy of political parties who corrupt the voters with their many unfulfilled promises.¹⁶ The British scholar Bernard Crick noted that the government's indifference to the people's participation in management has resulted in their indifference to the leaders they elect.¹⁷ And the French journalist M. Bosquet says bluntly that the growing capitalist contradictions are the result of the profit drive and brutal competition.¹⁸

Naturally, these criticisms do not go beyond traditional attempts by bourgeois sociology to portray these conflicts of the capitalist system as 'universal' ailments. This, essentially, is the view of sociologists who see capitalism as a society of levelled-out middle strata where there is no class struggle. A similar view is expressed in a book by the West German bourgeois sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf who says that a conflict of interests between differing strata and between individuals, but not between classes, is typical of a parliamentary democracy, and that social conflicts are inevitable in any social system.¹⁹

In the light of all this it is only natural that bourgeois politologists should be opposed to the so-called old methods of research founded upon a class analysis, and should try to counter Marxist theory with conceptions which, their authors believe, provide a 'universal' key to comprehending the mechanism of the interaction and conflicts of various institutions and groups, biosocial, economic, cultural and other systems.

A broad review of American, French and Italian theoretical literature in the French magazine *Nouvelle Critique* (December 1974-January 1975) finds that bourgeois politology is actively searching for 'rational' and 'scientific' models as alternatives to the 'political philosophy' of historical materialism.

It is from these positions that such bourgeois sociologists, ethnologists and politicians as M. Swartz, V. Turner, A. Tuden, J. Attali, T. Parsons and others attempt to explain various political processes. Considering these processes out of context of time and place, they compare them to 'self-regulating' cybernetic models built on the 'games theory.' It is, however, a fact that attempts to center political affairs around individuals and groups instead of classes, to ignore the antagonistic, class character of political conflicts inevitably divorce from reality the process under study. Therefore, although supporters of political anthropology claim their theory to be universal and 'conceptional,' it is precisely 'concept' that their theory lacks because even when they do turn to existing factors they greatly

exaggerate their role, imparting to them universal and all-embracing significance.

Characteristic of such an approach are local reforms and half-measures suggested by bourgeois scholars as practical ways of dealing with complex problems. But, as a rule, these proposals contradict and even exclude each other. For example, when Brittan demands that failing pluralism be replaced by 'unity' of the ruling political parties and rigid state control over the trade unions and business,²⁰ other bourgeois scholars oppose any 'diktat' by the state.

Oxford Professor J. Flamenatz is pessimistic about the democratization of bourgeois society. He maintains that democracy and equality are in general impossible because of a predominant minority (but not class) in all societies and a 'natural' division of labor. Political disproportion, he argues, can be abolished by broadening 'private rights.'²¹ But Lowi and Nisbet insist on the need for 'juridical democracy' in the form of 'democratic interest groups' and group and enterprise autonomy. Prof. Crick's solution is true equality, freedom of self-expression, better reporting and public information. He likewise believes that worker participation in management and public control of the leadership would, in large measure, help solve the problems of political stabilization of capitalism.²²

Many scholars see no way out of the crisis of bourgeois society, or favor maintaining the status quo as the lesser of two evils compared with the cataclysms that would erupt as a result of reforms. Though the American people are dissatisfied with democracy as it exists in the United States, Professor Glenn Tinder of Massachusetts University says, it would be wrong to try to change things.²³ He sees the danger coming from an entirely different direction, i.e., if 'rule by the elite' is abolished and 'cowardly politicians' and demagogues take over.

Some West German theorists claim that greater activity by the population in political affairs leads only to 'totalitarianization of politics,' a sharpening of conflicts threatening a civil war, while attempts to arrive a social equality are not only fruitless, but could mean the degradation of society. The West German politologist Ernst Fraenkel gives these ideas an even more reactionary coloring. The left opposition forces, he says, are a hindrance to normal parliamentary procedure and are striving to establish an 'authoritarian system of rule.'²⁴

Preservation of the status quo is thus urged equally from right and from 'left' positions, and while some politologists say that democratization of capitalist society might lead to 'civil war,' others claim it might lead to a 'right dictatorship.' In other words, as Morgenthau notes, capitalist society is faced with the choice of either the new social forces creating new political institutions and procedures, or of the old forces successfully uniting society through 'totalitarian ma-

nipulation of the citizens' minds and the terror of physical compulsion.'²⁵

The differing and contradictory means for renewal of the capitalist political system as proposed by bourgeois politologists are, essentially, a mixture of social-reformist and liberal-bourgeois approaches. In other words, the bourgeoisie and its theorizing elite are searching for a way out of the crisis by turning to partial reforms. They reject the class struggle and especially the role of the working class in the process of social transformations. They pass over in silence the fascization of bourgeois society, preferring instead to speak of its 'human face.'

One can point to at least two important aspects of bourgeois politology that have become apparent of late. Firstly, it is obvious that the familiar stereotypes of liberal-bourgeois democracy are being abandoned. Although bourgeois scholars more often than not turn to constitutional, institutional, subjective-psychological and other secondary sources of political disproportions, nevertheless a shift is apparent from individual criticisms of the mechanism of political power to admitting a crisis of the very foundations of the organization of bourgeois society.

Secondly, in spite of bourgeois politologists' desire to ignore the significance of social factors, the very need for positive recommendations, whether they want this or not, demands an analysis of political relations in conjunction with the problems of ownership and incomes allocation.

How are these problems to be resolved without transcending the boundaries of bourgeois reformism? Will it be possible to fit ruling-class dictatorship into the old shell of traditional bourgeois democracy? These are the problems facing bourgeois politologists today.

A solution of these problems will depend on the balance of forces within the ruling class and the outcome of the struggle between two tendencies — one, demanding that society be built upon liberal-democratic lines, and the other working toward fascization. It will also depend on how strong are the illusions of bourgeois democracy constantly instilled in the minds of the people.

Well aware of the importance of the struggle for true democratization of society, and opposing all bourgeois maneuvers, Communists invariably link this struggle with the fight for socialism, for they clearly see that its outcome depends decisively on the organization, unity, awareness and political maturity of the working class and on the influence and correct policy of its militant vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist parties.

However, all these admissions by bourgeois scientists, just as their proposals and suggestions, meant only to give the capitalist state a

better political image, are a gauge of the depth of the crisis that has afflicted all aspects of bourgeois society, including its theory. And against this background the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the class character of democracy stands out in all its clarity, as does the fact that only after transforming society along socialist lines will there be true government by the people.

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 3. *Democracy in the United States: Promise and Performance*. Chicago, 1972.
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 10. *The New Republic*, November 9, 1974, p. 14.
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DOCUMENTS CALLING FOR STRUGGLE

Desde Chile hablan los comunistas! Ediciones Colo-Colo, 1976. 275 pp.

'The life of mankind cannot be stopped even by darkness,' says a statement by the leadership of the Communist Party of Chile released immediately after the fascist coup. In its very first message to the people the Party expressed confidence that no amount of reactionary repression, however brutal, could stop the march of history, could prevent the people from returning to the path of democratic development and revolutionary change.

Communists speak from Chile is a new book indicating that this confidence is well-founded. It comprises important Party documents, statements by the Party leadership, editorials published in *Unidad Antifascista* (illegal fortnightly newspaper), and statements made in prison by Luis Corvalan. These statements were circulated in Chile from the day of the fascist coup to the end of 1975 through clandestine channels provided by the Party. Those of special importance were circulated in hundreds of thousands of copies. In spite of terror and persecution, *Unidad Antifascista* has a larger circulation than the legal Communist daily *El Siglo* had in the recent past.

To evolve a correct revolutionary strategy, it is indispensable to have a clear vision of the main enemy. Immediately after the coup, the Communists and other Popular Front forces gave a correct definition of the Pinochet regime. As early as October 1973 the Communist Party, pointing out that a fascist dictatorship had been set up, gave a scientific definition of its class nature. Soon afterwards, the definition was accepted by the vast majority of democrats fighting the dictatorial regime. It formed the basis for all subsequent Party documents. 'Fascism,' the Party declared in September 1975, 'is a political form of government expressing the interests of finance capital and the monopolies and seeking absolute domination of society. That is its essence. As the power of monopoly capital, it tends to do away with democratic government in any form . . . The antagonism between fascism and democracy is absolute. Consequently, terror stems from the very nature of fascism, is inevitable in every fascist regime and is used, with some variations, against those who reject fascist positions' (p. 222).

Understanding the nature of the regime made it possible to determine the main line of the struggle. 'Nothing and no one,' said the Party late in 1975, 'can make us Communists retreat an inch from the goal of our struggle, which is to isolate the fascist military junta and replace it by an anti-fascist democratic government' (p. 263).

This strategy implies a meaningful policy of alliance and unrelenting struggle for anti-fascist unity. The book under review shows the constructive efforts which the Party leadership has made at every stage to bring about unity. The Communists are well aware that 'the right way to defeat the fascist tyranny is to discard every narrow or sectarian approach and unite all democratic, political forces and all segments of our people in a mighty anti-fascist, patriotic front in which patriotic servicemen and carabineros would find a place' (pp. 241-242). More than two years of underground activity suggests that success in building up unity hinges in decisive measure on the processes taking place in the thinking of the masses, on how popular unity crystallizes in the trade unions and in youth and neighborhood organizations. It is on these lines that much has to be done to pave the way for higher forms of struggle.

The Communist policy of uniting the masses is gaining ground in sustained struggle against both rightist and ultra-leftist views, which seriously hamper unification. The rightist positions are held mainly by certain bourgeoisie quarters. They seek compromise alliances and agreements behind the people's backs as a way out of the chaos brought on by the fascists. Such attempts fail invariably. 'The opportunist position taken by bourgeois politicians and their parties has always meant political suicide for both. In the end, their members and supporters simply abandon them' (p. 241). As for the ultra-leftists, their unscientific approach to reality is typical. They are sectarian, generally isolated from the masses and hence pose no appreciable threat to the regime.

The book shows how the policy of mass struggle against the dictatorship, evolved by the Communists immediately after the fascist coup, is gaining acceptance. The documents included in the book reveal the continuity and consistency of the Party's policy. They are evidence of the Party's accurate response to a fast-changing domestic and world situation and its awareness of the social development trends that have isolated the junta internationally. 'The fascist coup manifestly runs counter to the course of history. Today the trend of development is not determined by events like the one that shook our country on September 11. Although the fascists in our country have achieved temporary success, mankind is advancing irresistibly to victory for peace, democracy and socialism' (p. 136).

'Marxism can never be destroyed,' Luis Corvalan has said in a message from prison, and experience has proved him correct. In spite of the blows they have been dealt, Chile's Communists, far from being destroyed, have proved capable of imparting their ideas of anti-fascist unity to the masses.

*The 1973 military coup.

Hugo Fazio

Fuad Nassar, First Secretary of the Jordanian Communist Party, has died. He was an eminent figure in the international communist movement, a man whose name is closely associated with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the Palestinian, Jordanian and other Arab peoples.

Fuad Nassar was born in 1914 in Nazareth. The son of a school-teacher, he experienced the hard life of the poor in his childhood. In his early youth he joined the national-liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. In 1929 he participated in demonstrations against British colonialist domination and Zionist expansion in Palestine, and in 1936-39, when that struggle took on an armed character, commanded one of the insurgent detachments. It was in that period that he first came into contact with Communists and began to study Marxist theory.

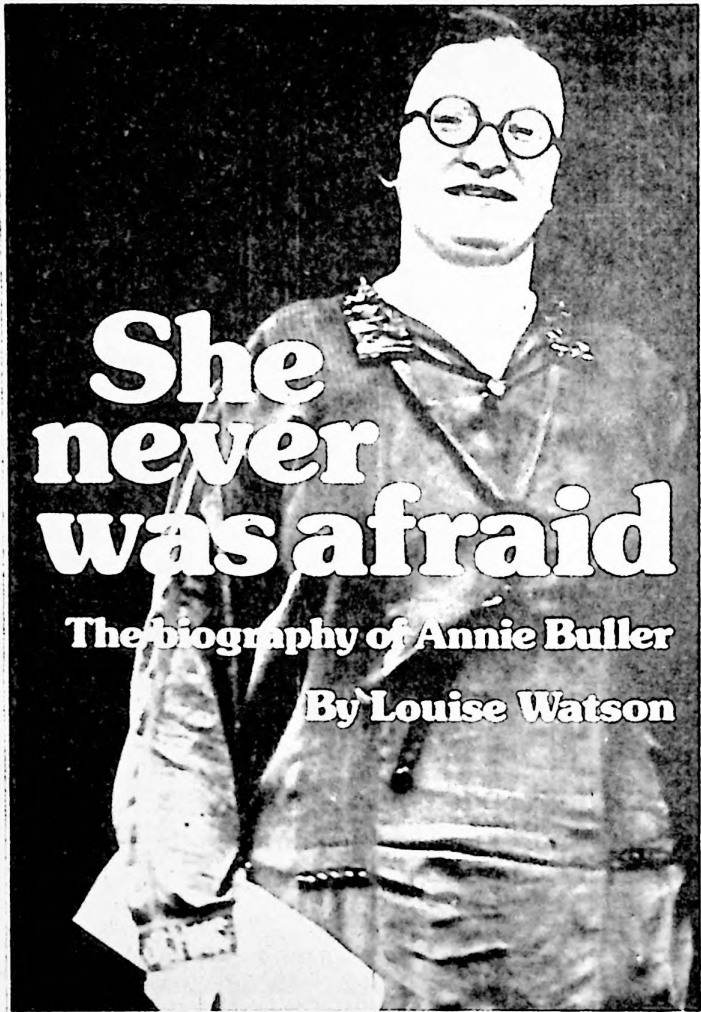
After several years of forced emigration, and after imprisonment in Iraq, then ruled by a reactionary regime, Fuad Nassar returned to Palestine in 1943. Now a convinced Marxist-Leninist, he was elected a leader of the organization of Palestinian Communists — the National Liberation League. From 1945 he was also Secretary of the Arab Workers' Congress.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Comrade Nassar remained in that part of Palestinian territory which was later annexed by Jordan. In 1951 the National Liberation League was reorganized into the Communist Party of Jordan, with Fuad Nassar as First Secretary of its Central Committee.

In 1951-56 he was in jail, having been sentenced by the reactionary regime of Jordan. But the grim years of continuous persecution failed to break his will. He devoted all his energies, his ability as organizer and leader to the cause of strengthening the Party, to the political education of the working class, to the unification of the democratic forces in Jordan. His devotion to the ideals of freedom, social progress and proletarian internationalism, and his selflessness in the fight against imperialism and its agents in the Middle East, against Israeli aggression, won him the profound respect of the working people and all democrats in the Arab countries.

A brilliant publicist, Fuad Nassar wrote for *World Marxist Review* a number of articles on general problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national-liberation movement, as well as on specific aspects of the liberation struggle in the Arab East.

The memory of Fuad Nassar will always remain with us.



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