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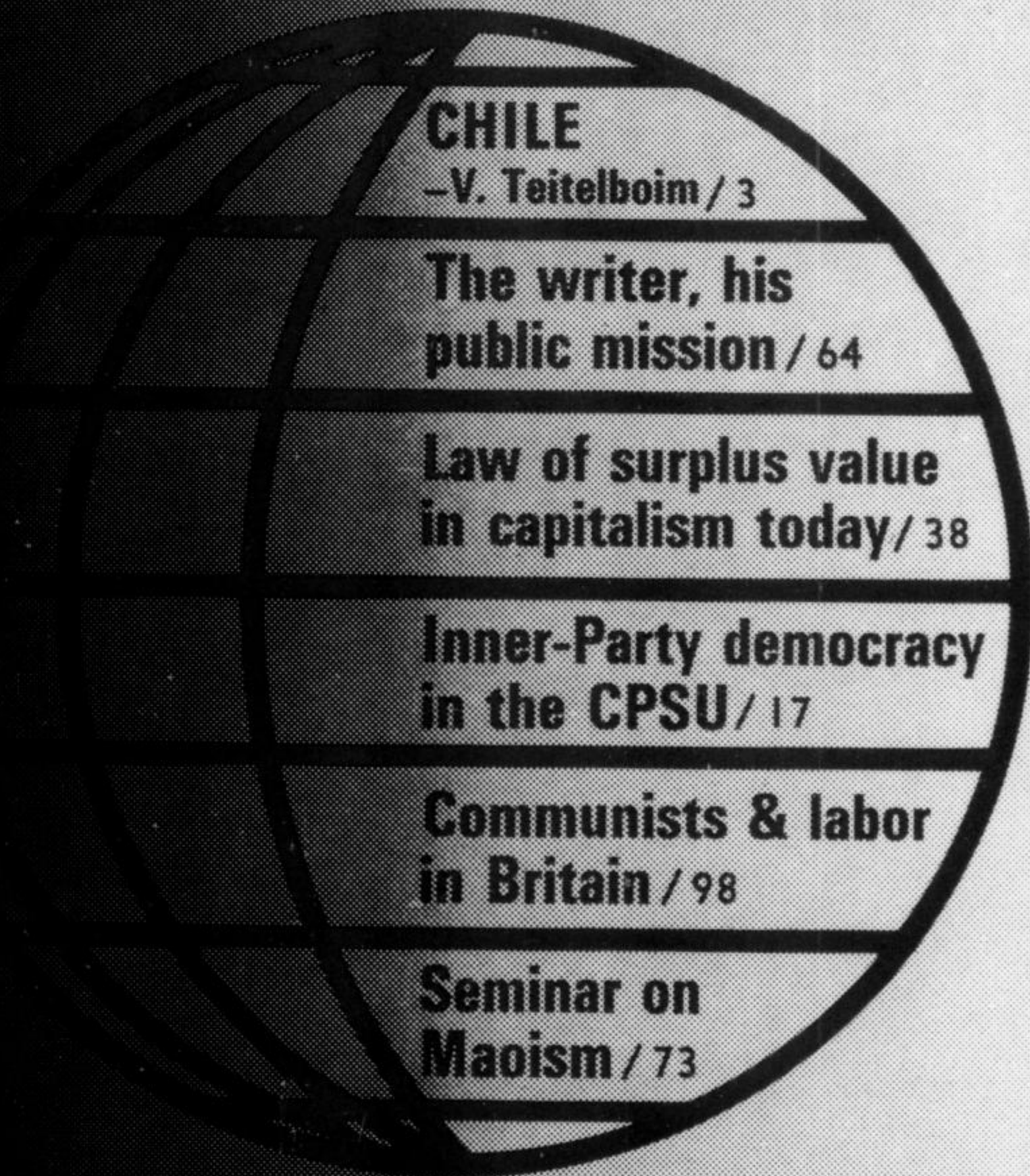
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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Nov. 1973, Vol. 16, No. 11

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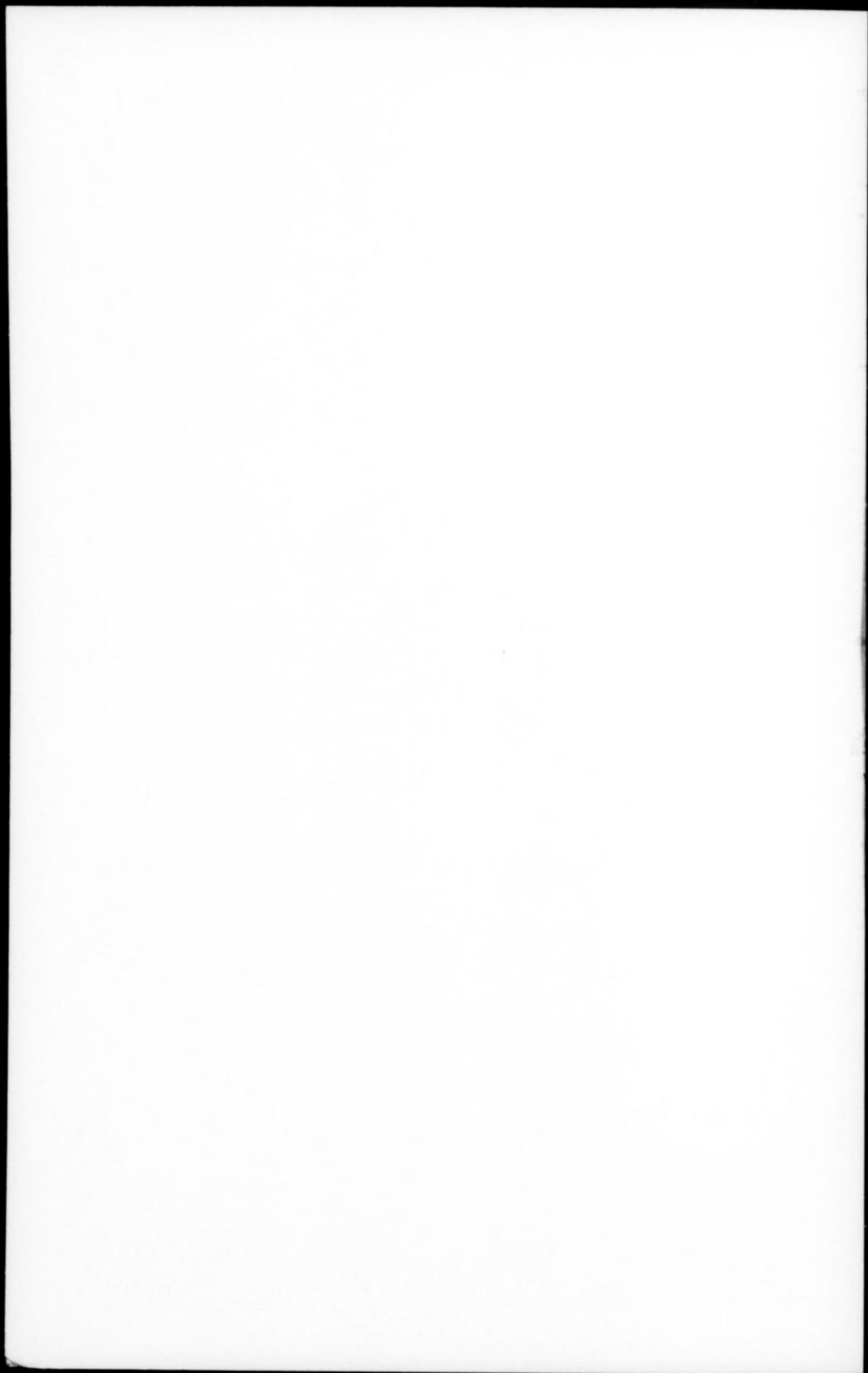
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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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The people cannot be vanquished!

***Bloody counter-revolution in Chile
arouses worldwide protests.***

***The socialist community, Communist and Workers'
parties resolutely support the Chilean people
and their just cause.***

***Protest strikes, demonstrations, rallies
in Latin America, Great Britain, Italy,
France, West Germany, USA and other
countries.***

***Representatives of more than forty countries
at an international conference in Helsinki
adopt a resolution on immediately launching
a solidarity movement.***

The tragedy in Chile has shocked the world. Extreme reaction has staged a military coup and overthrown the Popular Government. All pretences have been shed. The putschists' vow to protect private property and to 'root out Marxism' betray the main purpose of the forces behind them: to liquidate the gains of the Chilean revolution and bring the country back under the power of the imperialist monopolies.

The military are on the rampage. Democratic traditions are trampled underfoot, the country has been turned into a dungeon. President Salvador Allende has been killed. Premature death for which the junta must bear responsibility has claimed Pablo Neruda, the greatest of Chilean poets. And at this writing, there is the ominous news that Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, has been arrested and faces a military tribunal.

Thousands of workers and peasants, employees and intellectuals, representatives of Left parties and independents have fallen victim to wholesale carnage, torture and ill-treatment. The Chilean apolo-

gists of the so-called free world, who had so zealously defended the Constitution and legality during the people's government, have trampled upon the law, dissolved the National Congress, and banned political parties.

There is every evidence that an anti-national terroristic fascist dictatorship expressing the interests of monopoly capital and supported by North American imperialism has taken over. For sheer brutality and lawlessness, political perfidy and hypocrisy, the September coup has no precedent in Latin American history.

Today the enemy is triumphant. Speculating about the defeat of Salvador Allende's government, the ideologues of capitalism, opportunists, and Right and 'Left' revisionists are losing no time to nullify Chile's revolutionary experience, to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and thus sow confusion among the Left forces. In these circumstances, Chile's Communists hold, it is especially important to analyze in depth the activity of the Allende government and elaborate on such issues as the ways and forms of revolutionary struggle, the policy of alliances, consolidation of the people's victory after assuming power, the social role of the armed forces, and many other cardinal problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The three years of popular government in Chile have resulted not only in radical changes at home, but also in visible positive changes in the general political situation of Latin America. 'Regardless of all the difficulties of the struggle and the outcome of impending collisions,' Comrade Luis Corvalan wrote three years ago in our journal, 'the people's victory in the election and the establishment of Chile's first consistently anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic government, whose aim it is to build socialism, will go down in the history of our time as a crucial event on the Latin American continent.'

For revolutionaries, setbacks are always a lesson, a source of new experience, showing how flexibly to combine different forms of struggle. The people can lose one or several battles, but the victorious outcome of the liberation struggle is preordained by the course of the modern world.

In the new political situation the people of Chile continue to resist. They are not alone. They have on their side the peoples of the socialist countries, the laboring masses in the capitalist states, the anti-imperialist fighters for national liberation, and all the world's progressives.

Mass strikes and demonstrations, statements of political parties and international organizations, of statesmen and public leaders, speeches in parliaments and the United Nations are evidence of the outrage evoked across the world by the behavior of the fascists, of solidarity with Chile's patriots. The governments of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have broken off diplomatic relations with the military junta that has seized power in Chile.

The Editorial Board and the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* declare their fraternal solidarity with the people of Chile,

with the proletariat, the Communist and other progressive parties and organizations of Chile, condemn the counter-revolutionary coup, and demand the release of political prisoners and an end to the lawlessness and terror.

Despite temporary setbacks and difficulties, the struggle for independence, democracy and social progress in Chile is bound to win!

For a victorious revolution, with account of the tragic experience

Volodia Teitelboim
Member, CC Political
Commission, CP of Chile

Ordinary fascism

Chile is like a Nazi-occupied country. There is much of the Hitler touch in the reactionary military coup of September 11. What happened in Berlin in 1933 is now being duplicated, 40 years later, in Santiago. Of course, times change – socialism is much stronger, the people play a bigger part, history is being made differently.

But still there are the rivers of blood, the relentless manhunt, with thousands already killed and the list lengthening with every passing day. The curfew has given the police and the army their favorite time for wholesale arrests. The American couple Adam and Patricia Garret-Schesch say: 'We saw from 400 to 500 people executed at the National Stadium. They were killed in groups of 30 to 40.'

Every block is searched, every home indeed, with doors flung open to the sound of cries from frightened children. Book burnings have become a common feature and so have groups of arrested being escorted (that's the official description) by soldiers with submachine guns at the ready. The streets are patrolled by armored cars mounting 25 mm guns. Machine guns and bazookas are everywhere. People come to the morgue of the Forensic Medical Institute in search of relatives. And everywhere corpses – workers, students, their faces mutilated beyond recognition. The dead are left to lie in the streets as a 'lesson and warning.' Eye witnesses report: 'Groups of arrested sang the *Internationale*. Then there were shots and the song broke off.'

Like the Communards of Paris, the workers of tsarist Russia and the men who faced the Nazi firing squads, the people of Chile meet their murderers face to face. The people know that the day will come when these murderers, too, will be haled before their Nuremburg tribunal. Hitler felt sure that he held the world in his hands, but he met his death in the ruins of his own Chancellery and his vaunted thousand-year empire went down with him.

With a song on their lips and with faith in their hearts, the Chilean people face the terror, knowing that the day is not far off when these traitor generals will pay for the blood and death they have brought our country in this tragic hour.

The rebels counted on a quick, bloodless and simple coup. It would be enough, they thought, to press the right button for the machine controlled from the CIA in Washington to go into action, and they would take over power without dirtying their hands.

The first stumbling block was the resistance put up by President Salvador Allende. The rebels thought he would surrender at the very first threat or ultimatum, as so many other Latin American Presidents had done, to be taken in their pyjamas to a waiting plane and packed off to more or less honorable exile. But not Allende. Like a true Chilean he said: 'If the traitors carry me out of La Moneda, it will be in wooden pyjamas.'* He indignantly rejected the promise of safe conduct out of the country, made by men who had strength but not justice on their side. Salvador Allende died fighting an unequal battle with gun in hand, shot down by an army captain, Garrido. He died as a national hero, as the hero of all Latin America, as a revolutionary condemned to death by our enemies for having dedicated all his strength to the people's cause, to the emergence of a new society in Chile. To his people he indicated the road to socialism. His death lies on the conscience of those who perpetrated it. His heroic example has shown the masses the way to fight fascism.

The second obstacle was the resistance of the people, the fight everywhere put up against the putschists. And the people's courage and stamina foiled all plans to take over power without resistance, by intimidating the population, by brandishing the weapons the country had entrusted to them, but not for use against the Chilean people.

Those who air-bombed the Presidential Palace did not hesitate to shell and destroy factories: 500 workers were killed in the attack on the nationalized Sumar Textile Mill. Then there were summary executions: at the Technical University every 10th student and instructor was shot, and there were similar wholesale executions in the poorer residential areas.

The terror has spread throughout the country, from Arica to Magallanes. There is a veritable manhunt for leaders and supporters of the Popular Unity Front. Radio and television broadcast lists of 'wanted persons.' As these lines are being written, the junta is

*La Moneda - Presidential Palace in Santiago. Wooden pyjamas - a common name for a coffin.

preparing to murder Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party and a prominent figure in the international Communist and Workers' movement. He is being tried by one of the so-called Military Tribunals. In many places the people have been resisting and continue to do so. The junta has proclaimed the country in a state of civil war. By a single blow of the sword it abolished all peacetime laws; actually the junta recognizes no laws at all, only its own arbitrary actions inspired by fear.

The junta started on its career with blood and fire. But it immediately came face to face with the people, their loyalty to their ideals, the strength of their resistance, though the fight is an unequal one. Popular, patriotic, national resistance to fascism can assume different forms, and it will never stop until Chile regains its freedom, democracy and sovereignty and returns to the path it chose. Chile today is a volcano in eruption.

The fascists will never succeed in imposing a graveyard silence on Chile. That warning was vocally expressed at the funeral of Pablo Neruda. The junta was merciless in hastening the death of the greatest Latin American poet of our century. On his deathbed, Neruda wrote lines that are a damning exposure of fascism. He died as he had fought, using his weapon, his pen, to the last. His Santiago home and his house at Isla Negra were sacked on orders of the junta. The room to which his friends came to pay their last respects was a scene of devastation, the floor littered with broken glass and furniture, torn up books and manuscripts. It was against this background that Neruda's friends gathered. The junta forbade official funeral services.

On the morning of September 25 Pablo Neruda was buried to the strains of the Internationale, in defiance of the threats of those who held the guns and bazookas. His funeral was the first mass political demonstration in opposition to the junta 14 days after the coup. 'Down with the fascist junta, down with the dictatorship. You live in our hearts, Pablo Neruda!' the crowd shouted. And the crowd consisted of Communists, of Neruda's friends, men and women who represented everything that was best in our unvanquished people. 'We shall always stand for our ideals and aims,' they declared. Mourners representing the Popular Unity Alliance were joined by Radomiro Tomich, the Left Christian-Democrat leader and his party's 1970 presidential candidate. Here, at the grave of our great poet, one could feel the beginning of our new life, the emergence of the prototype of a broad, patriotic resistance front.

A worker attending the funeral remarked to a journalist: 'I did not know Pablo Neruda, but for all of us he is the undying symbol of Chile's freedom.' These are wise words - for our people Chile means not only freedom and democracy, not only respect of human life and human values; for all of us Chile is our homeland.

Made in USA

How will the imperialists, the oligarchy and the reactionary bour-

geoisie go on talking of their love of democracy, freedom, the Constitution, law and order, human rights, after what they have done in Chile, where all these values have been trampled underfoot and where not only the President and thousands of his countrymen have been killed, but where all Constitutional rights have been nullified and the Presidential Palace itself reduced to rubble, where Parliament has been dissolved, though its pliant majority had been playing with fire in encouraging the subversive activity of the reactionary forces. But, then, the viper stings the bosom that has nursed it.

Those guilty of mass murder, of betraying their oath and professional honor, choose to describe themselves as 'nationalists'; actually, they are the executors of a plan masterminded abroad.

The International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) was in constant communication with the conspirators in Chile. And now, re-examining, in the light of recent events, confidential ITT documents published by the U.S. journalist Jack Anderson, one gets a better insight into the intricacies of this plot against the popular government. Cynical admissions are always startlingly clear.

Appearing before Senator Frank Church's Sub-Committee, ITT Vice-President William Merriam admitted that through a certain agent he maintained contact and exchanged information with the CIA and the White House. His statement was so cynical that the *New York Times* (March 22, 1971) commented on it in an editorial. A request was made to Henry A. Kissinger in the White House and to Richard Helms, the then CIA director. Made through whom? Through former CIA director John A. McCone (still a CIA consultant and ITT director). The *New York Times* commented in its editorial: Mr. McCone says (and there is no reason to doubt him) that the ITT was not the author of the plan for which aid was requested. But a year after the request, immediately after Chile expropriated an ITT-controlled telephone company, the ITT gave the White House an 18-point plan envisaging direct aggression against Chile and setting out instructions for a counter-revolution. The latter section begins with the following statement: The situation in Chile demands priority attention from the entire administration and we must do everything, secretly but effectively, to prevent Allende from continuing in office after the next critical six months. And further on: We would suggest that the White House set up within the National Security Council a special working group with a view to exerting pressure on Chile.

It was this group that coordinated action against the popular government. The 18 points deal with a wide range of questions, constituting in effect the blueprint for the offensive, for plots extending into all spheres and levels; financial and economic blockade, bribing of newspapers and journalists, etc. It represented a full-scale preparation in many directions.

Especially significant was point 7, which stated that it was necessary to maintain contacts with trusted quarters within the armed

forces, hold up deliveries of fuel for the Navy and petrol for the Air Force. This should be done with the utmost caution. But such artificially created shortages could stir up dissatisfaction with Allende, suggesting the need to have him removed. Mass unrest, it went on, will create an atmosphere of violence that will compel the military to interfere.

Thus, parallel with the decision to organize an economic and political plot, with the use of the propaganda apparatus, work began to infiltrate the armed forces. Using the mutual assistance pact, all means under the control of its military missions and the annual war games, the U.S. infiltrated Chile's armed forces. Direct proof of this is to be found in, among other things, the training of officers in 'anti-subversion' schools in Panama, Puerto Rico and the United States.

North American navy intelligence officers stepped up activity in the Chilean Navy and other arms (it should be remembered, in this connection, that material and weapons supplies were dependent on U.S. deliveries). A whole mechanism was set up and linked with the coup headquarters controlled from the United States.

Right-wing officers carried on agitation among the men. The first step in the liquidation of mass Left-wing organizations was, according to their plans, to be application of the arms-control law. They plotted with traders to refuse to sell food to non-commissioned officers and privates. Manipulating their subordinates' dissatisfaction, they began to call openly for ousting the government.

Following the armed rebellion of June 29 (the so-called 'tancazo'), mass arrests and persecutions were launched in the Navy against seamen and non-coms opposed to the idea of a coup. The putschists did everything to intimidate those in the armed forces who remained loyal to the government. Fascist elements in the Air Force employed similar tactics, nurturing the idea of active participation in the coup, resorting to all means, including the bombing of worker communities and industrial areas. Towards the end of August reassignments increased among military personnel who, like General Prats, remained loyal to the Constitution, thereby creating greater opportunities for carrying out the coup plans.

The Americans acted as the instigators and liaison agents of the coup. They also controlled the civil apparatus of the Christian-Democratic Right, the reactionary National Party and the fascist Patria y Libertad strike force. Their actions were coordinated with the rebels by a specially designated group of 'civilian advisers of the armed front.'

In mid-June it was decided to launch a frontal attack involving a number of simultaneous actions:

- partial or general strikes of truck owners, professionals and traders (what Salvador Allende called the 'bourgeois strike');
- opposition of the legislative and judicial arms (within the framework of the Constitution) to the executive arm, declaration of the President of the Republic 'unlawful';

- undermining of discipline in the armed forces with the ultimate objective of fomenting rebellion;*
- attempts to remove Prats and by every means gain control over the majority of the general officers;
- stepping up attacks of certain professional associations and terrorist actions by extremists to generate chaos;
- extensive infiltration of areas where the balance of forces could favor the reactionaries.

On August 29, the newspaper *Mercurio*, owned by Agustin Edwards, a Yankee agent, published a call for a change of government. Without mincing its words it declared that 'only under the unitary leadership of our armed forces can Chile rally her best men in the name of a new constitutionality.' This was the culminating point in the preparations for the coup.

This is the unembellished policy of Yankee imperialism. Between 1920 and 1973, 90 military coups were carried out in Latin America, most of them involving the U.S. intelligence center.

The September coup in Chile carries the trademark: 'Made in USA.'** It is in glaring contradiction with the whole tenor of the nation's political life and the armed forces' traditional loyalty to professional duty and the Constitution. It bears the stamp of imperialist interference. To perform the coup in the name of all sections of the armed forces the plotters had to engineer the removal of the most gifted military leaders who remained loyal to the government. They were replaced by traitors to their military duty, their people and their country. The putschists have unleashed a reign of terror in the armed forces. They shoot soldiers who refuse to obey orders to kill and are doing everything to turn the armed forces into the 'band of unscrupulous thugs' of which Machiavelli once spoke. The rebels have sown the seeds of their future defeat, even in the army, and watered them with the blood of the people.

Aims and nature of the coup

The putschists cannot hope to endlessly serve as the Pretorian guard of imperialism and the henchmen of domestic exploiters. The Greek colonels' coup of April 21, 1967, was born of hypocrisy and treachery. The Chilean coup is no different. The two are so alike because they were guided by the same hand. Whereas in Greece the coup was carried out under the 'Prometheus' plan masterminded by a 'foreign committee,' in our country it was the 'Centaur' plan prepared from the same center.***

Despite attempts to camouflage them with sham rhetoric and the fig leaf of nationalism, the objectives of the coup are becoming clear: its instigators and executors have promised to de-nationalize

*The first stage in fulfilment of this part of the plan was the rebellion of June 29; when it failed the coup center raised the question of invoking the arms-control law to intimidate the workers and determine the armed forces' ability to carry out operations.

**Admiral Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaking in Puerto Rico on May 22, 1973, said that his country depends on imports for 22 of the 74 basic raw materials needed by a modern industrial society. Among these is copper. He added that U.S. political, economic and military strategy was aimed at securing these materials.

***Incidentally, one of the political objectives of the coup in Chile is to isolate Argentina.

the country's main wealth. Far from being the 'guardians and protectors of the people's values,' the rebels are bartering the destinies of the people, they are the hangmen of the people, who are the backbone of the motherland and the nation.

U.S. imperialism fanned the thirst for power among certain Chilean generals, admirals and higher officers. It urged them to betray their professional duty, telling them that those who had the weapons should also have the power. A caste spirit was fostered among the military to absurd extremes. They were called the leading force and blessed as the standard-bearers of the counter-revolution designed to offer 'a global response to the communist challenge.'

The events in Chile involve more than just an anti-Communist, anti-Marxist coup. Its initiators, vying with OAS generals, want to put an end to democracy, to all the rights won for Chilean society by the people and the country in 163 years of independence.

The junta has already managed to sow disillusionment among the bourgeoisie and the middle classes. Poisoned by the hate campaign launched by the putschists, they at first offered their services to the perpetrators of the fascist coup, which they helped midwife through parliament and political parties. All the greater their disillusionment when, two days after the coup, the Congress was dissolved despite its majority of aggressive, reactionary elements. The generals have informed Mr. Frei* that they have no intention of handing the power over to him or holding elections in the foreseeable future. The junta has thereby demonstrated not only its rabid anti-Communist, anti-Marxist essence, but also its anti-popular anti-national character. It has shown that it intends brazenly to forge ahead to establish a fascist-type military dictatorship in which political figures can hope to be no more than mere pawns. In future, perhaps, their services will come in handy in setting up a puppet party like the ARENA party in Brazil. Naturally, those Christian Democrats who associate themselves with the people are opposed to the junta and the blind, disastrous policy of their leadership which had so assiduously cultivated the putschist hawks.

The junta plans to write a fascist-type constitution copied from the so-called institutional acts of the Brazilian 'gorillas.' It imitates Mussolini's corporativism, takes over the evil experience of Francoism and has launched a blood-bath of the type carried out by the generals in Jakarta. The Chilean fascists have announced this in signs painted on the walls of Santiago. Their purpose is to deny the working people the right of public ownership of industrial enterprises, which are to be returned to foreign and Chilean monopolies. It goes without saying that in this they will encounter the resistance of the proletariat. Another goal of the junta is to evict the peasants from lands given them by the Popular Unity government. This will be no easy task for them.

*The guilt of this leader of Chile's Christian Democrats before the people is great. He sabotaged the dialogue urged by Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez who sought a solution of the Chilean problem and changes without civil war, national sacrifice or the liquidation of democratic institutions.

Their hypocrisy is boundless. In their moralizing the reactionary Tartufes border on the absurd. They have prohibited youths from wearing long hair and women from appearing in trousers and hope thereby to resolve the country's basic problems. They are like the Greek Colonels, who banned classical drama in the country of Sophocles and Aeschylus. And though the tragedy in Chile is unfolding along classical lines (with Allende murdered and the people subjected to a bloodbath), the main protagonists – the trigger-happy generals – are suited only for comic or tragicomic roles. They will see the justice of Marx's sarcastic comment that bayonets are useful for many things but least of all for sitting on them. The Chilean generals will have ample opportunity to learn how true this is.

Their slogans are printed in *Mercurio* (which is the mouthpiece of imperialist monopolies, and as such worked assiduously for the murder of freedom in Chile): suppression of all civilian and military opposition; consolidation of power by means of repression, a mailed-fist regime of fire and blood; dissolution of all political parties.

The rebels want to deprive the masses of leadership and suppress them by terror. But they are in for a disappointment. The leadership of the Popular Unity parties are heading the resistance and fighting underground for democracy and freedom. Anti-dictatorship sentiment is running high among the vast majority, including the middle strata that had criticized and opposed the people's government. Now, after a rude awakening, many of them regret having been so short-sighted.

The putschists are trying to make the people, the armed forces, and above all the soldiers, obey their order: 'mind your own business!' They want to create an atmosphere of blind obedience and turn the country into a dungeon, having begun by converting army barracks into prisons. They are trying to 'brainwash' the soldiers, isolate them from society, keep them from their families and persuade them that the people are their enemy. But they will not succeed, because the people are also the soldier's father, brother and son, and the soldier himself.

Learning from our bitter experience, we should recall the obvious truth that if the people want to be masters of their fate they must in all circumstances work for the vitally necessary democratization of the armed forces. The people are not an enemy of the armed forces. On no account should brutality be the essence of the military philosophy. No people, no soldier can be robbed of the right to reason, any more than they can be expected to be absolutely obedient when ordered to commit crimes, kill the President, or shoot their compatriots. The generals guarding foreign interests and gripped by monstrous ambitions must not be given a chance to plot. They must not be allowed to massacre reason, and preach a return to barbarity; yet this is exactly what their conduct amounted to in ransacking Pablo Neruda's residence before his remains

had even been laid to rest, or holding autos-da-fe that revive the Dark Ages.

A deep-going democratization of the army and the military establishment is a vital condition for the restoration of democracy. The generals must not dare shoot the people with impunity. No people will stand for this.

Taking counsel with Lenin

At every sharp change in the struggle we always turn to Lenin. And in the dramatic situation in Chile his thoughts in 'The State and Revolution' hold a special impact. We must never forget the class essence of the institutions bred by class antagonisms. The events in Chile confirm Lenin's words that 'during the lifetime of great revolutionaries the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander' (Vol. 25, p. 385). This is exactly how Chilean reaction behaved towards Allende, towards all revolutionaries and the embattled nation.

Yet by their courage these men have written the finest chapters of our history in this hour of trial. Revolutionaries know all too well that in striving to retain their supremacy, to retain control over the means of production, imperialism and the bourgeoisie do not hesitate to drown in blood all aspirations to democracy, freedom, and human rights. They will invoke all their economic power, and use all the machinery of state at their disposal. And in Chile, the bourgeoisie controlled parliament, the judiciary, the bureaucratic apparatus, the local administrations, a large section of the press and other mass media.

These lessons must be examined and learned by the popular movement, for it must make a self-critical appraisal. Meanwhile, the struggle must not cease for a minute. Lenin's tenet that the people are the legitimate bearers of democracy and must completely control the entire state, is not to be ignored.

The peoples of the world are asking many a question in relation to the Chilean experience. Our people, too, are asking questions. And the nation must analyze the events, examine the reasons for them, and then go on to charting the perspective of regaining its rights.

Many ask whether the path of the revolution in Chile is to remain the same? As we see it, its essence is still valid. We hold as before that only an alliance of the larger section of society against the junta (potentially, the opportunity for it exists) can put an end to the grave and bitter period unprecedented in our history. It stands to reason that we must overcome dispersal, and weakness, and start rectifying the mistakes. 'Communists are in duty bound,' Lenin said 'not to gloss over shortcomings in their movement, but to criticize them openly so as to remedy them more speedily and radically' (Vol. 31, p. 185).

We emphasize the need for studying the positive and negative experience of the three years of Popular Unity government. These will go down in the history of our country as its most creative and significant period, as a new era, which witnessed radical structural changes and the end of the domination of foreign imperialism, the local financial and industrial oligarchy, and the big estate owners in the country's economy. This is why they decided to overthrow the popular government, consigning their talk of freedom and democracy to oblivion. When their positions are imperilled, they do not hesitate to resort (for the nth time) to fascism.

The conception of popular revolution embracing different forces, including Marxists, Christians and rationalists—all who aspire to social change and revolution—is, as we see it, as valid as ever. And we are convinced that to conquer fascism, its progenitor, imperialism, and its closest accomplice, domestic reaction, we must establish the necessary dialectical ties between the foremost party and the masses.

In the hour of failure there always appear, like mushrooms after a rain, men torn by doubt and despair. Lenin censured their sentiment in the political and philosophical context after the first Russian revolution, and, coming to grips with Plekhanov, maintained that the defeat in 1905 was not the end of the revolutionary period in Russia, and urged preparations for new battles (see Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 114, 116). A new stage of revolutionary patriotic struggle is opening in Chile—the stage of national resistance to fascist dictatorship. We are sure that the energy of the majority of the nation will be activated and the initiative of the masses will unfold in all directions. The struggle will be fought from different positions and on all the different fronts.

The revolution goes on

Admiral Toribio Merino (one of the four heading the putsch) admitted that the idea of a coup d'état developed from a theoretical possibility into a concrete scheme at the end of March or the beginning of April, following the parliamentary elections. It could not be clearer that the greater number of ballots polled by Popular Unity convinced the plotters that they would never wrest power from the people by democratic means. This is why they made haste with the coup. And this admission is an indictment of the reactionary bourgeoisie, which shows the utmost scorn for legality as soon as it sees its privileges endangered.

Now that all democratic and human values which the bourgeoisie professed to have cherished for over a hundred years have collapsed, none but the people, their lawful guardian, can safeguard them. We were against coups and civil war. We want no violence in the name of violence. But faced by out-and-out fascism, by bloodthirsty adventurers, the people must defend itself. And it will do so. It will mount a massive unitarian struggle in the direction

that history and reality will suggest. Our line was, is and will be a militant line, a line of struggle with the support of the masses, the majority of the people. It reposes on the unity of the working class, of all working people.

In view of the tragic lack of understanding of our strategy shown by the middle strata in the past three years, we must explain it broadly, and thereby expand the patriotic, democratic, anti-fascist front, flexibly combining different forms of struggle.

Speaking of unity, we should bear in mind that the alignment of political forces has changed considerably since the coup d'état. The isolation of the putschists at home and abroad is growing.

We are not against all soldiers, all officers, but against fascism, be it in military or civilian dress. The democratic elements in the armed forces, who respect the people and the individual, belong alongside the nation and the motherland, the working people, the heroic student element, the working youth, all the patriotic forces.

We must remember Allende's testament: the people is strong because it is right. This implies not only accumulation of forces, not only a common orientation for the majority, but also the elimination of internal division, a unitarian political line, strategy and tactics that would channel the collective efforts of different revolutionary trends in the required direction, forging unity in the struggle against the brutal enemy who takes his orders from but one headquarters, one supreme command – that in Washington.

This is exactly how the new resistance in Chile is being organized. It is not confined to actions by small heroic groups, and encompasses the entire people. The people's heroism is becoming a mass heroism, and the people's struggle an art and science developing and applied in conformity with the laws of political struggle discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

The events in Chile have aroused indignation across the world. Only undisguised fascists and inveterate reactionaries are not outraged. But the coup is also the focus of a serious theoretical discussion.

The collapse of the 'blitz coup,' the blood-stained self-exposure of the putschists, Allende's example of bravery, the popular resistance involving parties and large sections of the population – all this is creating the climate for overcoming the split that had existed before the coup and that helped the fascists carry out their nefarious scheme. The night of the long knives cannot continue endlessly. The attempt to negate history, to contain it by bloody terror, is evidence of the putschists' political irrationalism, the futility and error of their actions.

Allende's death and the temporary defeat of the people do not mean that the Popular Unity program is scrapped. It remains relevant, because it responds to the vital needs of our society. And so, the hour of rumination and struggle for a mature revolution, of drawing on the lessons of our tragic experience, has struck for all Chileans. The people will not allow the fascists to hold the

country in their grip, The people have, for the time, retreated but are preparing to deliver the decisive blow when the time comes.

All the peoples of the world condemn the fascist crimes in Chile and have come out in defense of the democrats. The most urgent aim is to end the carnage, to open the doors of concentration camps and prisons, to prevent the assassination of Luis Corvalan, to stop the persecution of all Chilean patriots and prevent violence against them. Stay the hand of the killers! – that is the cry of all mankind.

A new resistance is growing from the Andes to the Pacific, a united organization is being formed to continue the struggle. The resistance movement has the solidarity and sympathy of most of the people in our country and across the world. It has the support of the Soviet Union. As Comrade Brezhnev said in Bulgaria at a meeting in Universiade Hall, Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people forcefully express their class solidarity with the working people of Chile and their profound indignation over the bloody crimes of Chilean reaction. On the side of the resistance in Chile are the other socialist states, other peoples, all people of good will, all decent men and women, who will never agree that slaughter is a means of government.



Development of inner-Party democracy in the CPSU

Ivan Kapitonov
Secretary CC CPSU

The Soviet people celebrated the 56th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with new successes in communist construction. Under the guidance of the 15-million-strong Communist Party, they are carrying forward the extensive program of economic and socio-political development set by the 24th CPSU Congress. All sectors of the economy, science and culture are making dynamic, plan-regulated progress. The living standard of the people is rising. Socialist emulation, in fulfilling and overfulfilling the targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, has become nationwide.

The Party's foreign policy charted by the 24th Congress is consistently being put into effect. The purposeful efforts of the CPSU Central Committee, Political Bureau and the CC General Secretary, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, are helping to create more favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism, to fortify the community of socialist countries, and are a signal contribution to international détente, safeguarding the freedom of the peoples, and world peace.

The facts prove that the home and foreign policy of the CPSU is truly Leninist, consonant with the vital interests of the people. The Soviet people support it wholeheartedly, and are doing what is needed to assure its implementation. They have learned from experience that *guidance by the Party is the truest and most dependable guarantee of progressive development and the materialization of the lofty communist ideals.*

To be equal to its mission in future as well, the CPSU is continuously fortifying its ranks and improving methods of guidance in all material and spiritual spheres. The 24th Congress line in Party building is designed to assure a further growth of its role as the leading and directing force of the Soviet people.

I.

The life and activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union repose on genuinely democratic principles, on the active participation of the membership in all its activity. This is why the Party

attaches prime significance to *developing inner-Party democracy and to the consistent observance of the Leninist principles and standards of Party life*. The Central Committee and local Party organizations have done much fruitful work in this context in recent years. Commending the results, the 24th CPSU Congress pointed to the need for further improvements in inner-Party life, for developing the initiative and activity of Communists. Strict implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, the Congress stressed, is the decisive condition for the Party's unity and action-ability.

Our Party considers this imperative for the successful operation and vitalization of all Party forces. It is precisely the broad expansion and implementation of democratic principles in the Party that enables it to accumulate collective experience, to know the opinions and proposals of the masses, to find the right solutions for the various problems.

Analyzing the sources of Party strength and ways for its further consolidation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said: 'We shall continue to improve inner-Party democracy, promote the principles of collective leadership, develop the initiative of Party members, assure that all Communists participate actively in discussing, elaborating and carrying out the Party's line, and maintain discipline in Party ranks. And we have a dependable basis for this work — Lenin's principle of democratic centralism and the Leninist standards of Party life. For us observance of these standards is an inviolable rule.' It is this that determines the main direction in perfecting inner-Party relations.

The Party's policy of extending inner-Party democracy is embodied chiefly in that *all the questions of the Party's life and activity are solved on a broad democratic basis*. The spirit of creative collective work, and collective leadership has taken firm root from top to bottom, at all Party levels.

The climate in the Party is characterized by considerate, respectful treatment of members, coupled with an exacting, highly principled attitude towards them, by profound mutual understanding between the leading bodies and the rank-and-file. This provides a favorable environment for initiative and activity, the fruitful work of Party organizations.

Electiveness is the key principle of the Party's democratic structure at all levels. All the leading bodies of the CPSU, from the bureau of the primary organization all the way up to the Central Committee, all leading Party officials are elected and accountable. At meetings, conferences and congresses, Communists form Party committees either directly or through elected delegates, and control their activity.

The fact that the schedule for reports and elections, and for plenary meetings of Party committees and meetings of primary organizations, as provided for in the Party Rules, is faithfully observed, is of fundamental significance. It allows for the practice of

the democratic standards of Party life, and guarantees for Communists and members of elective bodies the opportunity to participate in collective discussions and in resolving important issues.

The further *extension of the role of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee and the local committees* is convincing evidence of the development of collective, genuinely democratic methods of leadership.

Acting on the decisions of congresses, developing them to suit the current situation, the Plenary meetings of the CC CPSU determine the main direction of Party activity at home and in foreign affairs. In strict accordance with the Rules of the CPSU, there have been five CC Plenary Meetings since the 24th Congress. And each was an important milestone in the country's life, an event of major Party and state importance. Take, for example, the latest Plenum in April 1973, which discussed the international activity of the Central Committee in line with the decisions of the 24th Party Congress. Following a broad, all-embracing discussion of the report of CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, the Plenum unanimously adopted a decision that has become a concrete Party program for international action in the present conditions, and won the wholehearted endorsement of the Soviet people and all world progressives. Only half a year has passed since the April Plenum, but this short time has been enough to demonstrate clearly its Leninist wisdom, farsightedness and fruitfulness.

A principled, businesslike, scientifically grounded and constructive approach to all problems is typical for Central Committee plenums. The work of plenums and their decisions are reported in the press and discussed within the Party organizations.

The results of the April Plenum, too, were discussed at meetings of the activists of republican, regional, city and district Party organizations, and also at meetings of primary organizations. All participants approved the Plenum decisions, the propositions and conclusions contained in Comrade Brezhnev's report. This shows that the CC plenum decisions represent the thoughts and sentiments of Communists, the will of the entire Party. And this speaks of their profoundly democratic substance.

Leading local Party bodies play a big part in the Party's life and the practical implementation of its policy, operating as bodies of collective leadership, organizing Communists to discharge the economic and political tasks and enlisting their active participation in the life of the Party.

The regular plenary committee meetings collectively examine the activity of Party organizations, and resolve the related problems. They focus their attention on economic and cultural development, improvement of living standards, on organizational and ideological work.

Our opponents charge that Party 'apparatchiks' dominate the CPSU and other Communist parties, that they make the decisions and issue the orders. This is as far removed from the truth as heaven is from earth. Members of the Party apparatus do not

issue orders to elective bodies, but operate under their guidance and in accordance with their instructions. It is a basic duty of the apparatus to exercise daily checks and to verify the implementation of the decisions of Party committees, and to assure strict and un-deviating observance of the principles and standards of Party life.

In the past 15 or so years, it may be pointed out, the membership of the CPSU has more than doubled, while its apparatus, far from growing, has been substantially reduced.

The Party is a public organization and, naturally, all its work is performed by its members, first of all *members of the elective Party bodies*, of whom there are nearly four million at all levels, from the primary organization to the Central Committee. They comprise the main body of Party activists, its backbone. Vested with the trust of the membership, entrusted with the leadership of the Party organizations, they conduct extensive, highly varied day-to-day organizational, political and ideological work.

Members of Party committees take a direct part in elaborating matters to be discussed at plenary meetings, study and analyze the pertinent material beforehand, acquaint themselves with local affairs, and draw up recommendations. When a decision is taken, they participate in its implementation, for a Party committee is not merely a body of collective discussion and decision-making, but also of collective work, and each member is responsible for its activity as a whole.

With the growth of the Party's membership, the *composition of Party committees* is becoming broader and better. Ever more workers and collective farmers are being elected to leading Party bodies. Now, some 40 per cent of the city and district committee members are workers and farmers, and so are nearly 30 per cent of the members of regional and territorial committees, and of central committees of the Communist parties of our Union Republics. Engineers and technicians, too, and scientific and cultural workers, are quite numerous. This makes the leading Party bodies *broadly representative*, enabling them to deal competently with any matter that may arise, and accentuating the democratic character of their activity.

II.

By extending its democratic principles, the CPSU strives to keep all Communists well informed of Party and state affairs so that they can help resolve problems and act as equal and conscious participants in the highly varied work of the whole Party. Considerable attention is therefore devoted to effective Party information, from upper levels downward and vice versa. Acting on Lenin's tenets, the Central Committee keeps local organizations thoroughly informed about all topical aspects of the country's internal and foreign situation, employing all the mass media – the press, radio and television – so that the activists and all Communists have a clear view of the life and activity of the Party and the work of the Central

Committee. 'Publicity, appraising the Party masses and all working people of the activity of the Party,' Comrade Brezhnev has stressed, 'is a principle of our Party life, and we follow it strictly.'

The provision in the CPSU Rules that *Party committees should systematically inform Party organizations about their work* is observed ever more fully. In the period between the 23rd and the 24th Congresses, for example, reports about the work of regional, city and district committees in the Ukraine were discussed at meetings attended by the vast majority of the membership of the republican Party organization. This practice is widespread. If Communists are well informed they show a deeper understanding of the Party's policy and its practical steps, and are able to appreciate and objectively evaluate the activity of the leading Party bodies.

Full all-round information goes from the primary organizations, from the lower to the higher Party bodies, reaching right up to the Central Committee. It keeps Party committees informed of affairs across the country, successes and difficulties, the proposals of Party members and non-members on various aspects of political, economic and cultural life. This helps the leading bodies to *assess the situation correctly, to consider the opinion of the Party members and the public in general.*

Fuller inner-Party information has in many ways vitalized all Party life, improved the work of Party organizations, and contributes to the successful fulfilment of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions, the tasks of communist construction.

Our Party has its roots in the thick of the people, is linked indivisibly with the working class and the laboring masses, and represents their interests with ability and dedication. It gives close consideration to the voice of the people, responds to their sentiments and needs, and lives one life with them.

All the work of the Communist Party is centered on developing socialist democracy, on enlisting more and more workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia in the administration of state and public affairs.

In this context the utmost importance attaches to improving the work and fortifying the role of all mass organizations, especially the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, and the Young Communist Leagues. Tens of millions take part in the work of these organizations. In recent years, a number of new laws have been passed, improving the legislative foundations of our socialist democracy: extending the powers of local Soviets, defining the status of deputies of Soviets of all levels, setting out the basic provisions of our labor legislation, defining the rights of factory and local trade union committees, and so on. The democratic principles governing the collectives of enterprises, the basic cells of Soviet society, which play so important a part in enlisting the people's participation in production and public life, are being extended.

The further improvement of socialist democracy is a natural imperative of the country's development along the way to com-

munism. Here the Party sees a direct connection, a mutual relationship, between the development of democracy in its own ranks and democracy in society. The Party directs and promotes socialist democracy not only by framing and implementing an appropriate policy, but also *by its own example, by the democratic organization of inner-Party life.*

The theoretically grounded and practice-tested Leninist principles of Party democracy and standards of Party life are a guideline for all the other mass organizations, a model for fulfilling the provision of the Party Program to gradually extend public Communist self-administration.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people are closely united. The Party has deep faith in the people, in their inexhaustible creativity and wisdom, and their readiness to devote all their strength to achieving communism. And the people have limitless faith in the Party, seeing it as an experienced leader and bearer of their vital interests. The working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia regard the Communist Party as their own, its policy as their own policy, and its aims as their own aims. This is borne out by the facts, by the entire style of our life. But it is probably most strikingly illustrated by the popular confidence shown in the elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Elections are, in substance, a countrywide verification of the Party's political course, and are unfailingly an impressive demonstration of the indestructible unity of Party and people, a triumph of socialist democracy. This was also true this year, when more than two million deputies were elected to local Soviets, the most massive organs of people's power. Nearly all voters took part, with more than 99 per cent voting for candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. This is striking evidence that the entire Soviet people has confidence in, and unanimously supports, the Communist Party, marching forward under its banner.

III.

The main purpose of inner-Party democracy is to *stimulate the activity of Communists*, enabling them to take part in discussions, working out and implementing the Party line and forming its leading bodies. Democratic organization, Lenin wrote, means that 'all the affairs of the Party are conducted, either directly or through representatives, by all the members of the Party, all of whom without exception have equal rights' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 434).

Party meetings, held monthly or bi-monthly (depending on the size of the Party organization) play an important part in the education of Communists and in stimulating their activity. A full and free exchange of views takes place at these meetings on the policy and affairs of the Party. The work of Party organizations and their leaders is subjected to critical examination, and plans are outlined for the future. Industry and agriculture, increasing the effectiveness of social production, improving people's lives and their com-

munist education, are all matters of concern to Communists.

Party meetings take place in a comradely atmosphere, with a strict and exacting approach, and a high degree of involvement. The election meetings held at the end of last year were attended by 92 per cent of the membership, with every third member speaking in the discussions.

Many Party meetings are open, and non-Party people participate in them. Last year in Uzbekistan, for instance, nearly every other meeting of the primary Party units was an open one. Altogether 470,000 people spoke, of whom 170,000 were non-Party people—workers, collective farmers and employees.

The Party speaks to the people openly and frankly about its affairs, aims and intentions, and takes counsel with them. Communists have no interests separate from the interests of the whole working class and the laboring masses, and have nothing to hide from non-Party people. Of course, they have their own, inner-Party affairs, which they discuss at closed meetings. On all other occasions, however, they invite non-Party people along, exchange ideas, listen attentively to what they say, and jointly seek ways for improving their common work. Many millions of non-Party people attend and participate actively in open meetings. This is an effective *bond between Party organizations and the working people*, and proof of their joint concern for the successful realization of the tasks of communist construction.

The Party attaches great significance to the development of *criticism and self-criticism*—an important and permanent factor of inner-Party democracy. At Party meetings, conferences, congresses and plenums, every member of the CPSU has the right to criticize any Party functionary, irrespective of his position, any shortcomings. The Party insists that all leading cadres, all organizations and institutions should react to criticism positively, should draw the relevant conclusions, and improve their work.

Party bodies take note of all criticisms and suggestions, set the date for their fulfillment and choose the people for this task. The Party organization where the criticism originated is informed of the measures taken.

Any attempt to ignore criticism or, still more, to interfere with it, is condemned. The Party protects and supports those Communists who, in a principled manner, expose shortcomings, and accepts no excuses for those who adopt the unsavory role of stifling criticism.

At the same time, the Party is determined to ensure that the weapon of criticism should be used correctly. It sees the real value of criticism in its validity and usefulness, not in its manner of presentation or astringency.

The growth of inner-Party democracy and the creative activity of Communists is to a large degree determined by the *qualitative improvement of the Party ranks*. We have never sought a simple numerical increase in our numbers. The Report to the 24th Congress

again emphasized that excessive and indiscriminate admission of new members contradicts the Leninist principles of Party building. The CPSU adds to its ranks through individual selection of the most deserving representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals.

Consequent upon the building of developed socialism in our country and the fundamental changes in the social structure of our society, the CPSU has become the vanguard of the whole Soviet people. But, as formerly, it bases itself in the first instance on *the working class – the most advanced, the largest and most influential class in society*, and consistently strives to ensure that the workers maintain a leading position in its social composition.

Last year, 57.3 per cent of the newly-admitted probationary members were workers. The proportion of workers in the Party is increasing all the time. Workers and collective farmers together comprise the majority in the CPSU, namely, 55.4 per cent, and 69 per cent of new members. Communists that come under the head of 'employees' are mostly engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, research workers and people working in the cultural sphere. A positive aspect is that young people are joining the Party, particularly the most active members of the Young Communist League. At present, 64 per cent of the new admissions come from the Komsomol. Parallel with the admission of young workers and collective farmers, far more students are being admitted in recent years. Our Leninist Komsomol has been, and remains, a reliable Party reserve and a loyal supporter of the Communist Party.

The educational standard of Party members is undergoing important changes, as the following data shows: 33.6 per cent of Party members had a higher, incomplete higher or secondary education (completed and uncompleted) in 1939, whereas now the figure is 82.9 per cent. In 1939, one-fifth of our membership had not even elementary schooling; now there is no such category. Today there are 6.5 million specialists with a higher and secondary education in the Party, including 150,000 Doctors and Candidates of Science.

The special and general educational standard of Communists, and the level of their political maturity and culture, are now higher than ever. And the vanguard role of Communists rises in production and public affairs in step with the qualitative improvement of the Party's membership, with the growth of their educational standards and political consciousness.

Improving the work of the primary organizations has a direct bearing on the activity of their members, and enhances their role and responsibility in Party affairs. It is precisely here that the Communist receives political education, his Marxist-Leninist steeling, and is drawn into active Party work, industrial and social life.

There are now 380,000 primary Party organizations, more than 370,000 shop organizations and 480,000 Party groups.* They orga-

*Shop organizations and Party groups are subdivisions of large primary organizations at factories, construction sites, offices, institutes, universities, etc. – Ed.

nize the Communists and all working people for the fulfillment of economic and cultural plans, and exercise a considerable influence on the work of enterprises.

The CC pays unremitting attention to the primary organizations. In recent years it has carefully studied the activities of a number of organizations operating in factories, on collective farms, in research institutes, educational establishments, ministries and departments, and in the service industries. Relevant decisions equip Party bodies with a concrete action program for further strengthening the primary organizations, perfecting their organizational and ideological-educational work, promoting inner-Party democracy and raising the activity of Party members.

The decisions of the 24th Congress on increasing the number of primary organizations empowered to control the work of management, is a major step in increasing the activity of Communists. Formerly, only the Party organizations of industrial enterprises had this right. Now it also extends to research institutes, planning agencies, designing offices, educational establishments, cultural and medical institutions. In short, another 170,000 primary Party organizations with more than four million members now have the right of controlling the work of the administration.

Experience has shown that this was a good and fully justified measure. The work of the primary organizations with the right of control now has a new content. They probe more deeply into the situation within their collectives, actively influencing the fulfillment of production plans, raising work efficiency and discipline. The object of Party control is not merely to take note of the facts, but to do away with deficiencies and to pinpoint responsibility. Such control strengthens the ties of the Party organization with the masses, enhances its prestige and influence.

The exchange of Party cards now taking place is of great significance for perfecting the activity of Party organizations. Eight months have elapsed since the exchange commenced and already more than six million members have received new Party cards. The main purpose of the exchange is to raise the activity of Party organizations, heighten the initiative and discipline of every Communist.

On receiving his new Party card, which carries the likeness of V. I. Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a Party member feels with renewed force his responsibility for the obligations devolving on him under the Party Program and Party Rules. The Party ranks are, as it were, being reviewed, with every Communist asking himself whether he is doing all he should to be worthy of the high calling of a member of Lenin's Party, whether he is measuring up to the demands which history, the traditions of our Party and our revolutionary Soviet reality make on him.

The ever increasing activity of Communists is evident first of all in their attitude to their work and the fulfillment of their social

duty. They are at the head of the countrywide socialist emulation movement for speeding up scientific and technological progress, raising the productivity of labor and industrial output and improving the quality of output. This helps in the successful realization of the decisions of the 24th Congress and objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan.

Suffice it to say that during the first eight months of 1973, the third and decisive year of the Five-Year Plan, the industrial targets have been met 102 per cent, and production increased by 7.4 instead of the originally envisaged 5.8 per cent. Positive results have been achieved in other spheres of the economy, and the social program adopted at the 24th Congress is being consistently carried into effect.

The Party fully appreciates that a high level of Party activity is one of the most important sources of its strength, an essential condition for accomplishing its leading role in society. Lenin, founder of our Party, demanded that every Communist be a genuine, effective fighter for communist ideals. 'We do not need fictitious Party members as a gift,' he said (Vol. 30, p. 63). The Leninist concept that every Party member is responsible for the Party and the Party responsible for each of its members, is highly significant.

The CPSU is a Party of action, a Party working for the revolutionary transformation of society. A characteristic feature is that its deeds do not depart from its words, that it possesses the skill not merely to introduce ideas that meet the needs of the people, to put forward appropriate slogans, but also consistently and perseveringly to turn them into reality. And it expects this of its members.

For the Party to realize its aims and successfully direct society, it needs people who consciously, by the dictates of their heart and reason, give all their strength and knowledge to the communist cause, actively work for it, and apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism in practice.

The role of each Communist as a political soldier of the Party grows together with the role of the Party. That is why, while consolidating its ranks and screening potential members more carefully, the Party at the same time works consistently to promote the ideological education and political consciousness of Communists. It wants every Communist, wherever he or she may be – at work, in public, at school or at home – to bear with distinction the lofty title of member of Lenin's Party and justify it with deeds.

The growth of inner-Party democracy is accompanied by a further *strengthening of centralism and Party discipline*. Our enemies regard this as a contradiction. But, of course, there is no contradiction. Democracy and centralism are not contradictory but complementary; they are two aspects of the same principle – the principle of democratic centralism. Communists not only have rights which they make use of, but responsibilities which they must carry out.

Democracy is only possible where the will of the majority is

taken into account, is accepted and acted upon. If decisions collectively arrived at are ignored and standards of Party life are flouted, then nothing will remain of democracy, it will become meaningless.

For this reason our Party accepts that while a problem is under discussion, you can speak freely, put forward your point of view, and make suggestions. But after the discussion has ended, the wishes of the majority established and decisions taken, all Communists (those who voted for as well as those who voted against) act as one. This is the rule, and the Party demands its strict observance by every Communist.

The view that strict Party discipline is necessary only at times of revolutionary action, the Party holds, is totally wrong. Conscious and dependable discipline is needed throughout all stages of activity to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society. That is one of the most important sources of Party strength, of its successes and victories.

Our Party cherishes and guards the Leninist ideological and organizational unity of its ranks, and considers it the most vital source of its revolutionary energy. The experience of history irrefutably proves that only by being a single, united force can it successfully fulfil its role of the fighting vanguard of the working class and all working people.

Economic integration in the modern world

HIGHEST FORM OF
INTERNATIONALIZATION*

(Continuing the discussion)

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, IVAN BASHEV FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA)

Scholars in Bulgaria reacted with interest to the debate launched by this journal. Controversial opinions were bound to arise concerning the essence and trends of integration. So, many points require to be finalized.

The substance of internationalization

Each epoch has its own scale of economic growth. We are witnessing the internationalization of production and economy in general.

*See WMR, July, August, October, 1973.

National frontiers are too narrow for modern production, the scientific-technical revolution, and the use of its achievements. This necessitates internationalization of production, entailing far-reaching social consequences and anticipating the socio-economic relations of the future.

Internationalization of economy has assumed two forms—international cooperation, and integration. Integration, the highest form, produces irreversible changes in the economy of capitalist and socialist countries alike. Though it encompasses many areas of social life—politics, culture, and so on—the determinative influence is exercised in the economic sphere: economic integration is the basis for integrational processes in other fields.

International economic integration could be described as an objectively necessary, deliberate and organic merging of the national economies of countries with the same social system. Elaborating on this definition, we could single out several essential points.

Firstly, integration is the result of the natural development of the economy, a means of overcoming the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and the limited national resources for expanding social production. Secondly, integration is an organic fusion of the economies of different countries, a close interweaving of their economic structure and, in the long term, a gradual emergence of standard economic structures in countries with the same type of social system. There occurs a fusion of the national processes of reproduction (of the social product), creating elements of unified international reproduction. Thirdly, integration passes successively through a series of phases and forms. Fourthly, integration presupposes preliminary agreement and regulation by the countries concerned of certain economic, legal and other aspects of relations. Fifthly, integration, the highest form of economic internationalization, amalgamates not only separate industries, or separate economic organizations, but national economies as a whole. It is therefore comprehensive and represents a new quality as compared with traditional economic cooperation. However, integration does not become comprehensive overnight. The fusion of national economies is gradual, and does not encompass all aspects and spheres of production to an equal degree. Lastly, countries involved in integration must have the same socio-economic system. This is important, and distinguishes integration from the historically antecedent forms of economic cooperation.

Socio-economic opposites

Integration in the capitalist and socialist environments has definite points of resemblance, traceable to certain common features in the development of the productive forces in these two social formations. However, the difference between capitalist and socialist integration is as deep and unbridgeable as the difference between the capitalist and socialist systems. Processes in the sphere of pro-

duction shape only some of the technico-economic aspects of integration, and do not apply to its social nature and consequences.

The essential difference in the social content of integration under capitalism and socialism stems from the difference in the relations of production. The basic economic laws governing capitalist and socialist integration, its aims and social consequences, are therefore opposite.

The ways of integration are different. True, in both cases the integrational processes are regulated by the state, albeit to different degrees. However, under socialism this is done in conformance with the economic law of planned and proportional development, whereas under capitalism the decisive influence is exercised by spontaneous factors of the market economy.

The opposite types of integration create essentially different contradictions of development, because the substance, form and intensity of inter-state contradictions are also essentially different.

The ultimate aim is basically different, too. Socialist economic integration, in the final count, leads to a worldwide cooperative of the workingmen of different nations, to a single international economy. Capitalist integration, meanwhile, though it adapts itself to the growth of the modern productive forces, is naturally incapable of ever achieving this aim.

Fusion of national economies and sovereignty

Does the integrational interweaving of the economic structures of different states and the ultimate emergence of single international reproductive process impair state and national independence?

If independence is conceived as economic segregation, as autarchy, the answer is affirmative. However, in the setting of the scientific-technical revolution such isolation is impossible and anachronistic. It would obstruct growth and touch off retrograde tendencies.

Integration links the economies of different countries. In this sense, they become dependent on each other. Such dependence, expressive of the international division of labor and of economic ties, is a necessary consequence at the present level of the productive forces and internationalization. Yet such dependence *per se* does not prejudice the sovereignty of the countries concerned.

Integration is enacted by states and presupposes their independent existence. National economies are components of a greater integrational system and a broader productive machinery. To be autonomous and viable, the countries require state and political independence. Failing this there would be no integrational system, and no international production machinery. Hence, integration *per se* does not prejudice state sovereignty.

There may be both economic and political inequality between integrated states if they have an antagonistic class structure. But this inequality is the result of the exploitative social-economic system, and certainly not of the internationalization of the productive forces, of integrational processes.

Given the equal rights that prevail in relations between socialist countries, the merging of national economies enables each of them, including the smallest, to expand and adapt production to modern scientific and technical requirements. Each country thus becomes a much more viable and substantially stronger national production mechanism.

Is there any third type of integration?

In the view of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Academy of Sciences of the USSR) there is a third type of integration* – that of the developing countries, stimulated by their economic backwardness and the aim of repulsing imperialism collectively. But is this 'integration' in the modern sense of the word? As we see it, a broad interpretation of integration, embracing all more or less close inter-state cooperation, is not entirely justified.

International integration occurs only at a definite point in the development of the productive forces, in their internationalization; principally, it occurs in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. At this stage the traditional forms of economic cooperation become insufficient and are replaced by forms of a higher order. Essentially, the processes involved have nothing to do with the economic and political unification of the developing countries. Their unification occurs at a stage of relative underdevelopment, rather than at a high level of production. It is not traceable to any internationalization of production, and is rather a means of protecting and encouraging the national productive forces. The various groupings of developing countries are a form of political and economic cooperation and possess many progressive features. But they do not amount to international economic integration in the modern sense, and, by the way, do not fit the definition of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

The Bulgarian Communist Party is in complete accord with the principles and aims of the Comprehensive Program for the socialist economic integration of CMEA countries. 'The further social and economic development of Bulgaria,' Comrade Todor Zhivkov said at the 10th Congress of our Party, 'inexorably necessitates a still greater extension of *international socialist integration*, and still closer coordination of our country's economy with the economies of other socialist countries.' Our Party's main line on this important issue could not have been defined more clearly.

ANDES PACT: THIRD TYPE OF INTEGRATION

Teodosio Varela

Alternate Member Executive Committee,
CC CP of Colombia

The debate concerning integration in the modern world is also relevant for Latin America, for there, too, it has become a topical issue.

*See WMR, July 1973.

From the standpoint of method, as we see it, it is indeed useful to single out a third type of integration, as done by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Academy of Sciences of the USSR).

For a start, I should like to underscore the following. In Latin America, economic integration is affected by numerous factors that do not apply in developed capitalist countries – the relatively low level of economic development, dependence on foreign capital, and a different correlation of class forces inside the countries. The criterion for defining yet another type of integration, apart from the socialist and capitalist, as we see it, is not the level of economic development as such, but the social and class orientation, and the joint stand of the integrating countries against imperialist forces, against neo-colonialism.

Not all integrational processes on our continent belong to the third type. The limits of the home market, imposed by backwardness and dependence, prompt the big imperialist monopolies to seek 'outward development,' to seek markets abroad.

What are the aims of the various kinds of regional economic integration on our continent since the 50s? The Free Trade Association of the countries of South America and Mexico is a vehicle of the reactionary big bourgeoisie and the Yankee monopolies seeking to perpetuate their privileges. The Central American Common Market, consisting of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador and Nicaragua, was conceived to promote private foreign investment and thereby increase the dependence of the countries concerned. The idea of imperialist exploitation dominates both these groups.

Features of the third type of integration are present to a certain extent in the group of countries that concluded the Andes Pact in May 1969, including Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile and Ecuador. Given certain conditions, the Pact could assure balanced development for its member-countries and accelerate their economic growth through coordination of socio-economic policy, elaboration of joint programs, intensification of sub-regional industrialization, specific industrial development programs, stepped up liberalization of trade, common trade tariffs, and so on. As we see, the Pact is not confined to exchange only, and extends to the production of goods and to the services. The results achieved so far indicate that it is not only an advance form of cooperation between countries, but also the embryo of economic integration.

The dynamics of progressive change across the continent has definitely affected the Andes Pact: originally conceived to carry forward integration within capitalist frameworks, it is beginning to assume a new look. The socio-economic measures of some of its member governments strike at imperialist monopolies and orient the Pact on economic independence.

Imperialist groups and the big bourgeoisie may have welcomed the Pact at first, but are having second thoughts since the adop-

tion of the Foreign Capital Statutes in December 1970. The Statutes are expressive of official opposition to imperialist plunder, and are a possible weapon in the battle against monopoly. This is why, we repeat, the Andes Pact may be described as a third type of integration.

When the Statutes were enacted, the states reacted to them differently: it was accepted without amendments by the Popular Unity government in Chile, and with some reservations by Peru. The reservations expressed by Bolivia and Ecuador were stronger still, and Venezuela, which joined the Pact in 1972, has not adopted the Statutes yet, while in Colombia the Supreme Court declared them to be unconstitutional, though some of their provisions have been put into effect by government decree. Reactionary elements attack the Statutes (and, in effect, the Pact), maintaining that they offend against private property, grant excessive priorities to the state in acquiring foreign enterprises, and that the Andes countries are not rich enough to buy and nationalize the enterprises concerned.

In this context, it seems, the definition of integration by the Soviet economists* could be extended, since, as the Andes experiment shows, there can be integrational processes between countries with different kinds of state power and different tendencies of social development on the basis of countervailing imperialism and fighting for economic independence. It would seem appropriate to lay greater stress in the definition on the subjective factors, on the political aims, and on the changes the liberation struggle of the peoples may impose on the content of integration.

As we see it, therefore, the processes of economic integration in Latin America are to be measured by the tasks of national liberation and the class struggle.

The Andes Pact gives the relations between labor and capital a new dimension. No longer can the workers confine themselves to an exclusively national struggle against capitalists. For them integration is the basis for combating the capitalist class as a national and international force. This is an important factor, stimulating the political consciousness of the proletariat and showing it the historical mission of the workers. However, to the extent to which the capitalists may succeed in using integration for their own purposes, integration tends to divide the labor movement. And the class-conscious trade-union movement in the countries of the Andes Pact is fighting this danger and calling for unity to combat capitalists — whether private or state, foreign or domestic.

As a result, the Andes Pact is immersed in controversial issues reflecting the varying attitudes of the various governments, and the clash of the anti-imperialist and pro-imperialist tendencies, of democratic and reactionary forces.

The Communist Party of Colombia (like the fraternal parties of the other Andean countries) holds that internal changes with the involvement of the masses headed by the working class and its

*See WMR, July 1973.

political vanguard are the main stake in the integrational process. Integration from below is the only correct way of interpreting and implementing the Andean agreements. Integration which promotes national liberation and raises the standard of living contributes to the class struggle against capitalism, and for peace and socialism.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF BUILDING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Willi Kunz

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The adoption of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration in July 1971 meant, among other things, that socialism had consolidated itself in all the CMEA countries, that it is developing upon its own socio-economic basis, and that now the economic laws of socialism exercise an ever increasing influence on international relations.

Socialist economic integration leads to a harmoniously planned, all-round consolidation of socialism inside the countries concerned, and, at once, to a consolidation of socialism in the confrontation and competition against capitalism in the setting of peaceful co-existence. This, therefore, is the crucial area of the present-day world revolutionary process.

Like the other participants in the debate, we regard socialist economic integration mainly as a long-term and consciously regulated process, leading to an ever closer interweaving of different socialist national economies, and their fusion into a single plan-regulated economic mechanism.

Socialist integration is a new and complicated thing. Unexplored problems keep surfacing continuously in the theoretical, as well as practical fields, requiring a fundamentally new and broader approach to many of the economic issues, and skilful elaboration of solutions consonant with the interests of the country, but also of the other integration partners.

We concur with what has been said in the debate, which rightly accentuated the opposite nature of socialist and capitalist integration, and should like to call attention to those features and problems of socialist integration which show its essence not only in comparison with capitalist integration, but also, as it were, from inside.

It will be recalled that the Comprehensive Program encompasses a period of 15-20 years. And it does not amount to a simple arithmetical sum of socialist economies of the countries concerned. It is a *stage in the socialist international division of labor conforming with developed socialist society*, with appropriate social and political tasks of assuring a steep rise in labor productivity and the effectiveness of joint activity, growth of diverse new forms and methods in the economic relations between socialist states.

It is a stage of a gradual, harmoniously planned interweaving of the economic mechanisms of different countries and the drawing together of socialist nations and peoples, of a gradual levelling of their economic, scientific and technical development, and also of a convergence of methods of social and economic guidance.

Even today we see clearly that the CMEA countries are accentuating almost the same crucial problems in their policies, and setting almost the same terms for solving them, which is expressive of the common regularities governing socialist construction. Take the relatively simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to predominantly intensive economic development in which the advantages of socialism combine with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. Take the mutual consultation and the coordination of economic development in the framework of long-term planning, and the simultaneous elaboration, following the Soviet example, of economic plans for the 15 years ahead. And also take the joint planning of key integrational measures amounting to joint use of the potentials of different countries. This planning should not be regarded pragmatically as yet another form of coordinating plans. If we want to create a community of free socialist peoples, precisely this joint planning must grow into a deep-going and comprehensive form of cooperation.

Obviously, such a complex and large-scale process as socialist economic integration cannot take place without difficulties and setbacks. Nonetheless, today it has become common practice for us to tackle major production and research problems jointly, to approach long-term tasks on the basis of agreed long-term plans (especially where the Soviet Union is involved), and this fully applies to the economy of the GDR.

Economic integration is closely linked with all the processes that bring socialist peoples closer together. To these belong, for example, the removal of frontier barriers between socialist nation-states by waiving visa formalities, as the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia did at the beginning of 1972. This, the SUPG has repeatedly emphasized, is what *internationalism* is about. As Comrade Honecker declared at the Eighth plenum of the CC SUPG in December 1972, 'if tens of millions of people move closer and closer together in a single, close-knit family, this accords with the internationalist spirit of our world outlook and is of historic significance for the future.'

All this goes to show that the socialist community has reached a stage at which the internationalization of economic life on the basis of socialist planning predicted by Lenin has become most comprehensive and diversified.

Space does not allow me to go into all the problems resolved or to be tackled jointly by the CMEA countries on the basis of the Comprehensive Program in the coming 15 to 20 years. I should only like to emphasize that what is involved is not only major undertakings by the socialist nations in industry, science, technology

and environmental protection, but the further economic, political and material support of the policy of peaceful coexistence and, in the first place, closer cooperation with the developing countries, the industrially developed capitalist states, as well as with capitalist integration groupings, notably the EEC.

But there are also many problems concerning which too little has yet been done in the framework of socialist integration; others are still being tackled only on an experimental basis. Economic research concentrates, in particular, on such new problems posed by life as the forms of property of joint enterprises or economic organizations; the balancing of international coordination of plans with joint planning for specific commodity items and industrial development; the relationship between consumer value and value, the relatively independent movement of these categories in coordinating plans, cooperation and specialization; joint prognostication; special legislation to make the coordination of plans, treaties and agreements on specialization and cooperation more precise and binding internationally.

In the coming years investigators will evidently concentrate on the changing conditions in the operation of the economic laws of socialism due to growing economic, scientific and technological integration.

The objective of socialist integration is to create the material prerequisites for making the socialist world system a close-knit family of peoples in which men and women all over the world would see the prototype of the future world community of free peoples.

NEW PROBLEMS OF LABOR MOVEMENT

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I would like to begin with a remark concerning the term 'integration.' Its scientific definition is of special political significance for Finland and the focal point of an acute ideological controversy.

The thing is that the Right-wing forces seeking to tie the country as closely as possible to the EEC are also prepared to accept a degree of cooperation with the CMEA. Economic integration, they say, involves the whole industrially developed world, hence Finland should, in the interests of 'balanced development,' integrate with both sides. The ideological basis of their political stand is the definition of economic integration formulated by bourgeois science. Things are presented as though integration processes do not depend on the socio-economic system of the countries involved, stem only from the scientific and technological revolution and the international division of labor, and are restricted to problems of labor productivity. This definition is acceptable to bourgeois science because, among other things, it allows economic integration processes to be interpreted in the spirit of the 'convergence theory.'

In their struggle with the Right on questions of foreign policy Finnish Communists and other progressives explain that our country should promote cooperation with the CMEA, the Soviet Union in particular, while the agreement with the EEC is dangerous to Finland both politically and economically.

Especially important in our controversy with our ideological and political opponents are, naturally, scientific arguments exposing the insolvency of attempts to equate capitalist and socialist integration. Relevant analyses were presented in *World Marxist Review*, and I would like to draw attention to some points of special significance to our country.

It has been correctly emphasized in the discussion that in defining integration it is essential to take into account the fundamental difference between the socio-economic, class conditions in which socialist and capitalist integration takes place.

It is also necessary to take account of the objective place and role of integration associations in the system of international economic and political relations and in the confrontation and competition between the two world systems. The most advanced zone of capitalist integration, the EEC, into which some want to draw Finland, is justly called a NATO appendage. There is an apparent desire of reactionary circles to develop the EEC in the same direction with the purpose of strengthening the imperialist camp.

We disagree with the view that integration is mainly needed to overcome the sluggish rate at which labor productivity is increasing under capitalism. This is not the capitalist economy's bottleneck. In fact, the drive for profits and competition is boosting labor productivity at private enterprises much faster than other economic factors (especially wages). This causes serious disruptions in the functioning of the system as a whole, notably unemployment, unused capacities, etc. The result is a slowdown in the growth of labor productivity on the national scale.

Capitalism's real bottleneck is the market. Capitalist integration means a new re-carving of the market without resolving its problems. To be sure, at individual enterprises, and even in industrially advanced countries, the situation may improve but only at the expense of other enterprises in other countries.

I would suggest that the debate give greater attention to the way capitalist integration affects the conditions of the working class and its struggle opportunities.

Mounting competition on the world market stimulates capitalist opposition to the workers' demands for higher wages. Pleading international competition, the capitalists obstruct social legislation and endlessly demand lower taxes for themselves. Finland's example is typical. For many years taxation of major companies has been reduced while the taxation of workers increased. Today Finnish capitalists call for the replacement of turnover tax by value-added tax on the grounds that this has been done in the EEC

countries. But value-added taxation means lower taxes for capitalists and higher ones for workers.

The free movement of manpower encouraged by integration can weaken the international solidarity of working people. It is well known that almost everywhere foreign workers are worse off than local, which provides a breeding ground for nationalistic sentiment.

Of course, this is not necessarily the way events will develop, and the free movement of manpower may also facilitate the exchange of experience of class struggle, promote that struggle and international solidarity. Feasibly a repetition may occur on the international scale of something like what happened within national boundaries when the movement of workers from the villages to the industrial centers created conditions for their closer unity. Much, of course, will depend on the efforts of Communist and Workers' parties.

Throughout the labor movement the realization is growing that international solidification of the bourgeoisie demands greater international proletarian solidarity. And greater working class unity can be achieved only if Left-wing sectarianism and Right-wing revisionism are combatted.

Left sectarianism is represented, for example, by the Trotskyite Ernest Mandel, who in his book *Die EWG und die Konkurrenz Europa-Amerika* suggests a federated European socialist republic as the alternative to capitalist integration. He completely ignores the importance of economic struggle within national boundaries as part of the labor movement's strategy. Mandel also denounces the struggle against EEC membership spearheaded by Communists and other progressive forces in different countries. He accuses them of 'raising the flag of national self-determination in industrially developed countries in the period of late capitalism' and failure to understand the peculiarities of the present-day situation.

The Right opportunist trend, on the other hand, would subordinate the labor movement to capitalist integration. Thus, it is claimed that international solidarity of the bourgeoisie can be countered by nothing more than worker conferences, exchanges of delegations and economic analyses. Of course, all this can serve a useful purpose, but can the international class struggle be confined to it?

It must be recognized that so far the labor movement lacks sufficient experience of international struggle in conditions of capitalist integration. However, this is no cause for pessimism.

The words of the *Communist Manifesto*, 'Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle,' retain their validity to this day. Certainly, integration opens up new opportunities for the working class to wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie which would be international in form as well. At the same time, on the national level the working class can and should continue to strike forcefully at the bourgeoisie.

If the workers of some country succumb to bourgeois and re-

formist rhetoric and, in the name of international competition, forsake the fight for their interests, they will harm both themselves and the struggle of workers in other countries. It would be an example of international non-solidarity. It is the internationalist duty of the working class in every capitalist country to fight, first and foremost, against capitalism at home, to fight as stubbornly, as bravely, as wisely as possible. If the Communist parties give correct leadership to this movement they will surely be able to cope with the new problems posed by integration.

Law of surplus value in present-day capitalism

Juergen Kuczynski,
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The law of surplus value is the basic law of capitalism. 'The doctrine of surplus-value,' Lenin wrote, 'is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 26).

Surplus value, we all know, is produced by the labor power bought by the capitalist. This labor power is a special kind of commodity, one (as Marx proved) that possesses the specific property of being a source of higher value than its own. And this property is the precondition for labor power becoming a commodity. So long as man could produce only what was necessary for his subsistence, so long as his labor did not produce a surplus product, there could be no exploitation, either of the slave, the serf or of the 'free' worker under capitalism.

The production of more than is needed by the worker to reproduce his labor power was an immense achievement in human history, for it became the basis for the social division of labor and for the development of material and spiritual culture. But it took centuries of exploitation before this achievement could be employed by socialist society for the benefit of man.

Marx distinguishes between two forms of surplus value: 'The surplus-value produced by prolongation of the working-day, I call *absolute surplus-value*. On the other hand, the surplus-value arising from the curtailment of the necessary labor-time, and from the corresponding alteration in the respective lengths of the two components of the working day, I call *relative surplus-value*' (*Capital*, Vol. 1).

Beginning with the mid-nineteenth century, higher labor productivity was the main source of surplus value. However, the capitalists also did everything to lengthen the work-day and heighten the intensification of labor.

'Production of surplus value is the absolute law of this mode of production,' Marx said of capitalism (ibid). This means that the development of capitalist society pursues one aim: maximize surplus value, raise the rate of surplus value. The capitalists have been able steadily to consolidate and expand the economic basis of their rule, i.e., ownership of the means of production, by exploiting the worker, i.e., by appropriating the surplus product he produces.

Rate of surplus value

Increase in the surplus value rate* can be taken as an indicator of heightened exploitation.

The late Soviet economist Eugene Varga tried to measure its magnitude and changes statistically. He used the data provided by the U.S. manufacturing census, conducted first every ten years, then every five and finally every other year.

This was the first study of its kind. It had great significance but was not without its shortcomings. For, first, it covered only that part of surplus value that remains with the industrial capitalist. Second, from the viewpoint of economic development the years were purely arbitrary—they could be years of crisis or of high business activity, that is, periods with fairly sharp deviations, both in volume and rate of surplus value, from general trends.

Somewhat later, the New York Labor Research Association used Varga's method for its own study, but did not avoid its main shortcomings.**

What factors in the capitalist economy influence changes in the rate of surplus value? It increases with the length of the workday; also with the growth of labor productivity and resultant reduction of the working time needed to produce the workers' means of subsistence; also as a result of speed-up. It declines with the shortening of the workday: to increase productivity, the capitalists find themselves compelled to cut working hours when the workers can no longer stand the speed-up; and to raise wages in order to compensate in some measure for the greater expenditure of labor power caused by speed-up. It should be stressed that these trends come to the surface only in the course of the class struggle.

Under monopoly capitalism the rate of surplus value is further increased by massive and long-term unemployment, when the worker can be paid less than the actual cost of his labor power. In other words, surplus value is increased at the expense of the workers' vital needs.

And so, we can calculate the rate of surplus value*** by measuring the following factors: changes in working time, productivity, labor intensification, real wages, cost of labor power resulting from higher

*I.e., the relation of surplus value to the value needed to reproduce labor power, or the surplus-value—wages ratio.

***Trends in American Capitalism*, New York, 1948.

***The fullest long-term statistical data available for calculating the rate of surplus value in material production refer to the United States.

intensification. Since we cannot measure higher intensification and its consequences under capitalism, we shall work on the assumption that increases in real wages are roughly proportional to increases in intensification.*

The following table shows how the rate changed in periods of pre-monopoly capitalism and imperialism.**

*Rate of surplus value, USA*** (1843-1848=100)*

<i>Economic Cycle</i>	<i>Rate of Surplus Value (percentages)</i>
1849-1858	118
1859-1867	119
1868-1878	191
1878-1885	248
1885-1897	290
1897-1908	340
1908-1914*	345
1915-1921*	363
1922-1933	444
1933-1941*	444
1942-1945*	786
1945-1954*	702**
1955-1964*	880
1965-1969*	1,187

*Does not coincide with economic cycle.

**The steep increase in surplus-value rate between 1933-41 and 1942-45, was followed by a decline, despite higher productivity. The reason — postwar reduction of the work-week (though not to the 1933-41 level).

And so, by 1965-69 the rate of surplus value in the U.S. had increased approximately 1,200 per cent. A relatively high figure, it would appear, but we should not overlook the fact that labor productivity, both in agriculture and industry, increased about 13.5-fold between 1843-48 and 1965-69**** whereas the workweek was shortened by only one-fourth (see table).

*Productivity and work time in U.S. industry and agriculture
(1843-1848=100)*

<i>Economic Cycle</i>	<i>Labor Productivity</i>	<i>Work Time</i>
1849-1858	109	100
1859-1867	112	98
1868-1878	154	96

*Taking the rate of surplus value in a given year as 100, a 20 per cent increase in productivity over a 10-year period and a 5 per cent reduction of worktime, we obtain the rate of surplus value:

$$\frac{100 \times (100 + 2 \times 20) \times (100 - 2 \times 5)}{100 \times 100} \text{ or } \frac{100 \times 140 \times 90}{100 \times 100} = 126$$

**In our view, state-monopoly capitalism does not essentially change the surplus-value rate compared with imperialism as a whole; the same applies to the scientific and technological revolution, still in its initial stage.

***This and the following tables are based on the authors calculations.

****How higher productivity could influence the process will be seen from this example: a 100 per cent increase would reduce necessary labor-time from 6 to 3 hours, which would mean a 300 per cent increase in the rate of surplus value in a 12-hour workday.

1878-1885	191	94
1885-1897	223	92
1897-1908	268	89
1908-1914*	290	86
1915-1921*	317	84
1922-1933	446	78
1933-1941*	553	72
1942-1945*	664	82
1945-1954*	752	75
1955-1964*	1,017	74
1965-1969*	1,336	74

*Does not coincide with economic cycle.

Nor should we overlook the fact that nowadays many more capitalists are involved in the appropriation of surplus value created in production. In the mid-19th century the trade capitalist played a very small role compared with his brethren in industry and agriculture. Now the 'non-productive' capitalists are the majority, which means that an ever greater part of surplus value accrues, in the form of profit, to capitalists not engaged in production.

When, 40 years ago, Varga tried to calculate the amount of surplus value American capital had appropriated in 1849 by dealing only with that part that remained with the industrial capitalist, he could determine virtually the whole amount of surplus value produced in the production sphere. In our time, however, a large part of it is syphoned into trade, banking and the many parasitic branches of the economy, such as advertising or the 'entertainment industry' i.e., accrues to capitalists not concerned with material production. Consequently, the 'production' capitalist is under constant and increasing pressure from his 'non-production' brethren to step up exploitation. For now he is competing not only with other capitalist owners of the means of production, and must have on tap a steadily increasing part of surplus value to share with the capitalists who back up his production (the banks) or realize the surplus value by selling his goods (trade).

In establishing this fact we point to the *first substantial transformation introduced by imperialism.*

Productivity and work time

Under capitalism exploitation is constantly intensified, if only because capitalism is the first social system to achieve an uninterrupted growth of productivity. Marx and Engels noted in *The Communist Manifesto* that 'the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society.'

Constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production under capitalism means constantly increasing relative surplus value by increasing labor productivity.

Has labor productivity increased faster in the 20th century than under pre-monopoly capitalism? Again, let us examine the position in the United States.

Percentage growth of U.S. labor productivity

	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>
1843-48 – 1885-97 (54 years)	153	62
1885-97 – 1933-41 (56 years)	176	68
1933-41 – 1965-69 (36 years)	107	360

The picture in agriculture differs sharply from that of industry. From the turn of the century and up to World War II, that is, in the first 40 years of monopoly capitalism, industrial productivity was growing at a progressively faster pace compared with pre-monopoly capitalism. Since then, however, the tempo has slackened and is now back at the 19th century level. In agriculture, on the other hand, productivity growth in the first 40 imperialist years was about the same as under pre-monopoly capitalism, but growth has been much faster in the past 36 years.

The bulk of surplus value is still produced in industry, but since the last war its growth, both in mass and rate, has been much faster in industrialized agriculture. This is due to the steep productivity rise – predicted by Marx – resulting from the use of machines and chemicals. That is exactly what happened when U.S. monopoly capital took over agriculture. Much the same is happening in other imperialist countries: everywhere monopoly capital is making agriculture an increasingly rich source of surplus value. This is the *second cardinal change in the rate of surplus value* introduced by imperialism since the Second World War.

Let us now turn our attention to working time which, as we know, is a decisive factor in producing absolute surplus value. This is how it has changed in the leading imperialist countries over the past 120 years.

Average factual work-week in industry

	<i>USA</i>	<i>Western Europe*</i>
1850	72	80
1890	60	70
1929**	47	47
1937***	39	44
1950	41	46
1960	40	46
1970	40	45

*Averages for Britain, France, Germany (and FRG).

**1929 rather than crisis year 1930 with its wide-spread short-time working.

***1937 because of partial crisis in 1938, last full prewar year.

It will thus be seen that the trend towards a shorter workweek dates back to 1850 and continued up to World War II. Since then the trend has reversed: the average workweek is now longer than in 1937.

This means that in the past 30 years absolute surplus value increased, for the first time since 1850, by lengthening working time. And in this we have the *third cardinal transformation* imperialism has wrought in the rate of surplus value.

If we consider that under imperialism the intensity of labor—likewise a source of absolute surplus value—has grown at an extraordinary pace, we can indicate the *fourth cardinal transformation introduced by imperialism*, namely, the markedly increased importance of absolute surplus value.

Appropriation of surplus value after payment of wages

The *fifth cardinal transformation* associated with imperialism is the robbery of the wagepacket after the variable capital used to buy labor power has been expended.

Let us examine minimum living costs of the German worker (and the FRG worker after 1945).

Living-cost minimum (19=100)

1870-1879	97
1880-1889	94
1890-1899	97
1900-1909	107
1910-1914*	127
1924-1932	172
1932**	157
1933-1939*	162
1950-1959	285
1960-1969	350

*First half year.

**Rock-bottom point of economic crisis.

As distinct from the concluding third of the 19th century, the coming of imperialism meant rapid growth of prices on all essential goods. The figures given in the table do not include high-inflation and black-market years (1915-1923 and 1940-1949). Besides, the official figures give a deliberately minimized picture of living costs; actual price rises were considerably higher.

But even taking the official (and minimized) cost-of-living index for Germany (and the FRG), we get the following picture.

Real wages, fully employed workers (1900=100)

1870-1899	87
1900-1944	87
1900-1969	94

Of course real wages fluctuate sharply. For instance, the 1945-49 index was about 50, whereas the figure for 1960-69 was 150. However, the main thing is that monopoly capital has used inflation to depress the workers' purchasing power.

This means that underpayment (in the FRG, for instance, but

not in the U.S.), as in the initial period of capitalism, has become a method of increasing surplus value. Monopoly capital is appropriating that part of the surplus needed for the reproduction of labor power, and this plays an important part in increasing the mass of surplus value. But monopoly capital has developed still another way of robbing the wagepacket. When the worker begins spending its contents he finds that in the six months since wages were fixed by the collective agreement inflation has sharply raised the price of the goods he needs. Besides he must surrender an increasing share of his wages to the tax and social security authorities.

*Per cent of wages deducted for taxes and social security
(Germany-FRG)*

1870	0
1900	about 2
1924-32	9.6
1933-38	12.2
1950-59	14.0
1960-69	18.4
1970-72	24.0

Monopoly capital thus appropriates an ever bigger share of wages to be used by the state. In short, the capitalist enroaches on the part of the product that is vital for the worker.

Life and struggle of the working class

As long as capitalism exists, the working class cannot put an end to exploitation. It cannot even prevent its constant intensification, for this would hamper the growth of productivity, the main source of surplus value.

But the working class can, if even only to a certain degree, hold back the growth of absolute surplus value created by longer hours, speed-up and robbing the worker of the material means needed to reproduce his labor power.

And if, notwithstanding inflation, real wages have in many cases risen in the imperialist countries – the only phenomenon of its kind in the whole history of capitalism – this is due primarily to two factors. The first is intensified struggle by the working class.

Strike movement, main imperialist countries

	<i>Man-days lost (Mln)</i>	
	1961-65	1966-70
USA	27.3	45.2
West Europe	21.4	58.2
Japan	4.4	3.0
Total	53.1	106.4

The upsurge of the strike movement over the past five years has

slowed down or prevented the decline of real wages caused by inflation.

The second factor is the impact of the socialist countries, where exploitation has been abolished and the surplus product belongs to the working people. All this exerts a tremendous moral and ideological influence on the class-consciousness of the working people in imperialist countries. Monopoly capital has to reckon with this, and while striving to maximize surplus value it has to take care not to show this too openly.

DIARY

Comrade Louis Van Geyt, Chairman of the CP Belgium, and Politbureau member Comrade Jan Debrouwere had a meeting with Comrade K. I. Zardov, Editor-in-Chief of **World Marxist Review**, who told them about the journal's work and plans. They also discussed specific ways and means of expanding contacts with the journal.

During a recent visit to the **WMR** editorial offices, Comrade Gerhard Daneilius, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, described the alignment of political forces in the city, the growth in the Party's membership and its daily activities. He noted the journal's contributions to the common cause of Communist and Workers' parties and the unity and cohesion of their ranks, stressing that it played an important part in summing up the experience of building socialism, of the working-class struggle in capitalist countries and of the efforts of all anti-imperialist forces for peace, democracy and social progress.

Another guest of **WMR** was Comrade Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), who discussed cooperation between the Party and the journal. Comrade Ali Yata spoke highly of the journal's contributions to the dissemination and creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory and the struggle against the ideologies of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and wished the staff success.

The editorial offices of **WMR** were visited by Comrade Ruben Dario Sousa, General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama, who addressed members of the commission for national-liberation movements in Latin America. He spoke highly of the journal's contributions to elaborating urgent problems facing the continent. On behalf of the Communists of Panama he resolutely denounced the atrocities of the Chilean fascists, stressing that the reactivation of Right-wing elements on the continent galvanized by the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile calls for ever greater revolutionary vigilance.

At the invitation of **Trybuna Ludu**, Comrade Sarada Mitra, member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and a member of the Editorial Board of **WMR**, attended a festival of the Polish Communist newspaper and an international colloquium of journalists from fraternal parties on the subject, 'The Organizational Role of the Central Party Newspaper.'

Comrade Hamid Safari, candidate member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran and its representative on **WMR**, visited the Mongolian People's Republic, where he took part in activities sponsored by the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to mark the 15th anniversary of **World Marxist Review**.



Threat to democracy in Latin America

Luis Carlos Prestes
General Secretary, CP Brazil

CONTINUING OUR SERIES 'POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA'

Recent events in Uruguay, Chile and other Latin American countries are a clear indication that North American imperialism and the counter-revolutionary forces it supports are trying to stage a counter-offensive. An important place in promoting the plans of reaction is assigned to Brazil, whose ruling military-fascist dictatorship is a potential threat to the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces, a mainstay of the ultra-Right, a hotbed of military and political aggression in the continent.

The Washington government fully realizes the importance of keeping the biggest country of Latin America, with its large population, vast natural wealth and potentialities for rapid industrial development, within its sphere of influence. In December 1971 Nixon remarked to journalists that by the year 2000 Brazil's population of one hundred million would increase to 160 million. A huge country, a continent in size, he said, could not afford to make mistakes, which would affect the whole of South America (*Estado de Sao Paulo*, Dec. 9, 1971).

Brazil is 'essential for the security of the United States' by virtue of its geographic position in the South Atlantic with its long seaboard facing Africa. This was one of the arguments of William Rountree, U.S. ambassador in Brazil, when he testified before the U.S. Senate in favor of granting the dictatorship two billion dollars in 'aid.'

There is a long history of U.S. imperialism's attempts to establish and maintain its domination of our country. It includes some episodes which, I think, deserve recalling, if only because they can help explain events taking place today in other countries. In 1930, taking advantage of the fact that the world economic crisis had undermined the traditional domination of British imperialism in Brazil, Wall Street bankers gave financial support

to the movement which brought the dictator Getulio Vargas to power.*

Washington's 'concern' with the political situation in Brazil was even more apparent following the defeat of fascism in 1945. The downfall of Hitler Germany had a great impact on our country. A powerful mass movement put an end to Getulio Vargas' 'new state,' forcing him to throw open the doors of jails and hold elections to a Constituent Assembly. The Communist Party won legality and was officially recognized as a political party of the working class. It quickly became a mass party and gained firm positions in the country's main industrial centers. The government established diplomatic relations with the USSR. In an attempt to keep the powerful popular democratic, anti-imperialist movement in check several military coups were engineered, some with the direct participation of diplomatic representatives of the Washington government and agents of the FBI, CIA and other U.S. organizations.**

In April 1964, in a situation characterized by a deepening structural crisis, industrial stagnation, rising unemployment and rampant inflation (more than 80 per cent in one year), a military coup swept away the government of Joao Goulart, installing a new regime. Like others before it, the 1964 coup had the open support of the monopolies and the U.S. embassy (Ambassador Lincoln Gordon and the military attache, Colonel Walter Vernon).

The objective of U.S. interference in Brazil's internal affairs was fully revealed by the *Estado de Sao Paulo*, which quoted Under-Secretary of State for inter-American affairs Thomas Mann as saying that, on assuming his office in January 1964, he and his superiors had come to the conclusion that communism was causing the accelerated erosion of the government of President Goulart. U.S. policy, he said, was to give help to the governments of 'some Brazilian states' while doing nothing to support the balance of payments, the budget or in any other way to directly help the federal government. After the removal of Mr. Goulart, however, and provided the federal government pursued an acceptable development program, the allocation of much larger sums could be considered . . .

This is direct admission of economic pressure on the federal government and assistance openly given to 'the governments of some states,' notably to Carlos Lacerda (Guanabara) and Ademar de Barros (Sao Paulo), who took an active part in preparing the coup. Another telling document is a recently published letter

*For more on this see the author's article, *How I Became a Communist*. WMR, January 1973.

**Getulio Vargas, who had lost the support of Washington, was ousted in October 1945, in a coup inspired by the U.S. ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Adolfe Berle. In 1951, Vargas came back to power through elections, but in 1954 was driven by monopoly blackmail and pressure to suicide. This time the generals were unable to stem the popular movement, and the following year Juscelino Kubitschek was elected president (his candidacy was supported by the Communists). Attempts by putschists with Yankee monopoly connections to prevent his inauguration were foiled. In August 1961 another military coup was attempted (it took the form of Janio Quadros' refusal to take office as President). With broad popular support Vice-President Joao Goulart assumed the office of President, remaining in power until 1964.

from the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, addressed to a certain Brady, a leading CIA man in Brazil, 15 days after the coup, in which Hoover wrote of his personal appreciation of every agent in Brazil for services in carrying out the operation—the coup d'état.

Since April 1964, the power in Brazil has been in the hands of latifundists and big capitalists directly or indirectly linked with U.S. imperialism, directed by the reactionary circles of monopoly capital and headed by a group of extreme Right-wing generals and admirals with close Pentagon connections, all of them advocates of the so-called policy of national security. Invoking the 'science of geopolitics,' they favor absolute U.S. hegemony as a prerequisite for Brazil's defense from 'aggression by international communism.'

The dictatorship immediately got down to putting into effect the neo-colonialist directives of the Washington administration, whose main objective was to keep Brazil within the capitalist system by forcibly undercutting any possibility of the progressive elements achieving success in the country. The blow was directed first and foremost against the worker and peasant movement. Anti-communism was the main ideological weapon. Under the pretext of combatting inflation measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund were initiated. They were aimed at sharply reducing real wages and also credits for the national bourgeoisie, which was compelled to knuckle under to foreign, mainly North American, finance groups and accept their proposals for mergers or takeovers of Brazilian businesses.

In addition to economic measures, the government also sought to meet the main demands of North American imperialism and establish a firm 'legal' basis for its domination in Brazil. A number of major concessions to North American monopolies were made, among them repeal of a law restricting the outflow of profits enacted in the last months of the Goulart administration. In 1965, an investment guarantee agreement was signed which removed the threat of expropriation for North American investors in Brazil. Realizing the treasonable nature of this measure, the dictatorship tried to justify itself by claiming the need of complex knowhow and large investments for development. In the absence of major markets or large currency reserves, it declared, special incentives such as those envisaged by the measures under discussion were needed to attract private investors.* Such statements reflect the pro-imperialist orientation of a regime working to the detriment of national interests and the national industry, which the dictatorship seeks to subordinate completely to big international financial groupings.

Simultaneously, all the main democratic gains enshrined in the 1946 Constitution, such as the right of assembly and association and free expression of ideas, were abrogated. The bourgeoisie not

*See Foreign Ministry Report. *Revista di politica internacional*, Nos. 33-34, 1966.

linked with imperialism has been pushed into the background in the government machinery and deprived of any possibility of influencing decision-making. In conditions of police terror the working class suffers not only from falling wages (at the end of 1967 real wages were 40 per cent lower than before the coup) but has also lost many of its social gains. The regulation of conflicts between labor and capital has meant a virtual banning of the right to strike. The trade union movement is fully dominated by the Labor Ministry. Social security legislation has been changed and workers denied participation in social security bodies.

The dictatorship also satisfied another long-standing demand of North American monopolies, which declared that they could not increase investments unless legislation guaranteeing the proletariat the right to work was repealed. This was, in effect, done by the law on Guaranteed Length-of-Service Benefits which allows employers to dismiss any worker regardless of his service record. The absence of job security means a serious worsening of the proletariat's conditions and disorganizes the working class and the whole trade union movement.

The dictatorship has expelled more than 5,000 officers and non-commissioned officers from the armed forces and deprived some 2,000 prominent progressive figures and trade union leaders of political rights for 10 years. In October 1965, its so-called Institutional Act No. 2 suspended the National Congress and disbanded all political parties. At the same time, two new organizations were set up, the National Renovation Alliance (ARENA), supporting the dictatorship, and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (BDM) as a kind of official opposition. Neither is a political party in the true sense of the word, however; they are weak and do no more than toe the dictatorship's line. It should be pointed out that existing legislation contains so many reservations concerning the organization and recognition of political associations as to virtually prohibit the creation of new parties.

The fascization of the country was accelerated by the adoption of so-called Institutional Act No. 5 in December 1968,* and the fascist nature of the regime became finally apparent in the wake of the new wave of repressions in mid-1972.

The present dictator, Garrastazu Medici, tries to represent the terrorist dictatorship of reactionary monopoly capital as something of a defender of 'inalienable human interests' which has 'devoted itself wholly to concern for the common interest, the interests of all citizens and every individual.' As Brazilian Communists stress, this is, in effect, an attempt at theoretical vindication of the corporate state.

With the establishment of the fascist regime anti-communism – its most characteristic feature – became rampant. Repression was stepped up against the labor movement and its vanguard, the Communist Party. According to the most reactionary government cir-

*See author's *Battle of Brazil's Communists*, WMR, February 1972.

cles, the Communist Party is the regime's greatest threat, an 'outside' threat of 'domination by the international Communist movement' and even . . . the Soviet Union.

The regime's true nature is also seen in its foreign policy. In the words of dictator Castelo Branco (1964-1967), national sovereignty has become meaningless. It should be redefined as part of a larger entity called the 'Christian West' in which the role of hegemon should be conceded to the United States. Rejecting the possibility of maintaining national sovereignty, the dictatorship has advanced the thesis of so-called 'interdependence,' that is, total subordination to the higher interests of the imperialist protector.

A former foreign minister Juraci Magalhaes declared, 'Brazil recognizes the United States as leader of the free world and guardian of the principles that inspire Western civilization.' Accordingly, he argued 'the need to create an effective mechanism capable of opposing the dangers faced today by American nations,' and these 'consist in new forms of oppression more subtle than the traditional armed attack from outside, but no less a threat to national integrity.' Another foreign minister of the dictatorship, Vasco Leita da Cunha, stressed that 'the geographical boundaries between American states have become obsolete; in our time it is necessary to sacrifice a part of national sovereignty; interdependence must replace independence.*

Openly voicing the ruling classes' fear of the mounting anti-imperialist revolution in the continent, the dictatorship advocated 'collective defense' and in veiled form appealed for the help of the armed forces of imperialism. 'Pacifism is, undoubtedly, inherent in the very nature of democracy and even in human aspirations,' declared Castelo Branco, 'but today it is unthinkable without a *collective defense policy*. It would be no exaggeration to say that *classical military independence* has become an obsolete aspect of national sovereignty, for armed action can be effectively prepared only within a framework of *international mutual defense pacts* dedicated to democracy and peace. If it had not been for NATO, we should never have witnessed the development of Western democracy and economy. Similarly, without *collective defense*, already tested in the continent of America, the Latin American peoples would have been unable to perfect their institutions in peace or promote mutual penetration for development.** Statements such as these reveal an integrated political theory of the defense of capitalism and support of the neo-colonialist policies of Yankee imperialism.

The dictatorship's words are supported by deeds. Following the 1964 coup, the Brazilian government immediately broke off relations with Cuba and the following year supplied a military detachment which took part in the United States' criminal aggression against the people of the Dominican Republic. The dictatorship officially supported imperialism's military operations in Vietnam and

*Voz operaria, January 1966.

**Jornal do Brasil, November 20, 1966.

the Congo and the criminal acts of the Salazar regime against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

However, the triumph of the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence steadfastly pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist states and the easing of international tensions have rendered anachronistic and insolvent the doctrines and formulas propagated by the Brazilian dictatorship during its first three years. It has now been compelled, in the wake of the Washington government, to abandon the cold war policy, its doctrine of 'ideological boundaries.' Today, U.S. imperialism, while not giving up its policy of force and open, even military, intervention in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries, is trying to pursue a more flexible policy and adapting to the new situation in order to maintain its positions. It hopes by concessions to progressive and anti-imperialist governments, by granting them new credits, to channel their policy to its own advantage.

Armed aggression, economic blockade and breaking off of relations — methods employed against revolutionary Cuba — cannot always be resorted to today. That is why the dictatorship's foreign policy under the successors of Castelo Branco, Costa-e-Silva (1967-1969) and Garrastazu Medici (since 1969) has undergone certain modifications. Of course, the dictatorship's class nature and, consequently, basic policy have remained unchanged. It uses new, more subtle methods, but this does not make it less dangerous for neighboring peoples and progressive governments in Latin America and for world peace.

At international forums the Brazilian dictatorship tries to present itself as a defender of the interests of small and medium sovereign states, as a kind of fighter against the 'division of the world' into spheres of influence by the 'superpowers.' Thus, at the 27th session of the UN General Assembly, foreign minister Gibson Barboza paid lip service to 'the importance of a number of initiatives which have helped us cross the wall of discord and irreconcilable ideological conflict and advance from the sterile gloom of the cold war to a period of dialogue.' But at the same time he opposed any bilateral agreements between the 'dominant powers' or 'superpowers.' By inventing the imaginary threat of the world being divided into 'spheres of influence' the Brazilian dictatorship is trying to camouflage the pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet essence of its own foreign policy.

In view of the mounting anti-U.S. sentiments throughout Latin America, Washington wants the Brazilian dictatorship, on which it can rely, to seek closer relations with Latin American as well as certain African governments. This is why Brazil's Foreign Minister toured Central American and African countries. Although the Brazilian delegation to the UN always backs Portugal, the minister signed agreements with a number of governments upholding the sovereignty and self-determination of African peoples and condemning the neo-colonialist policy of Portugal and other powers.

There is yet another reason for certain changes in the dictatorship's foreign policy orientation. Industrial production and the GNP have been growing faster in Brazil – 10 per cent a year – since late 1967. But as real wages are very low, the home market is expanding slowly. The government wants to export more so as to increase the GNP. In July 1972 Benedito Moreira, head of CACEX (Foreign Credit Department), said that the government must persevere in its export policy 'under all circumstances and at all costs, even at the price of sacrificing the home market.'* Delfim Neto, Minister of Finance, said as much a few months later. 'The only restriction which might eventually make Brazil's development difficult is a cut in exports,' he told the Ninth National Bank Congress. 'To continue developing at a fast rate, the country must extend sales abroad by roughly 14 per cent a year. This is one of the pillars of the current economic policy.**

To win stronger positions on the world market and increase exports, the dictatorship bases its economic policy on greater concentration of capital and production, the use of advanced technology and higher labor productivity. The government goes further in devaluating the cruzeiro and makes new tax concessions to exporters, who are enabled to sell finished goods at prices 50 per cent lower on the average than at home. The overall result is greater exploitation of cheap Brazilian labor.

The dictatorship tries to bolster its expansionist policy by extolling the so-called 'Brazilian miracle,' which it holds up as a model of economic development and 'social peace' worthy of emulation throughout the world. But, of course, it is careful not to disclose that the 'miracle' is achieved at the price of increasing poverty and brutal exploitation of the working people, who lack democratic rights. In the 1960-1970 period, the share of 20 per cent of the population (the most well-to-do segment) in the national income rose from 54.0 per cent to 64.1, with the share of the rest (80 per cent) shrinking accordingly. The process of concentrating incomes is strikingly exemplified by the fact that one per cent of the population (the wealthiest section) today appropriates over 17 per cent of the national income while 50 per cent (the poorest) get a meagre 13.7 per cent. Half of the population earns so little that it cannot afford bare essentials.

Brazil's leaders and the press subservient to them sing the praises of the 'achievements' of official policy to foster nationalist sentiments among the population, dampen its discontent with increasing exploitation and poverty and cover up the country's growing subjection to foreign monopolies. At the same time there is a mounting arms race which puts a heavy burden on the working people's shoulders.

According to a recent report of the Latin Information Agency, military spending in Latin America as a whole between 1960 and

**Estado de Sao Paulo*, July 7, 1972.

***Opinio*, November 6, 1972.

1970 rose by slightly more than 100 per cent—from \$1.4 billion to \$2.9 billion. In Brazil, however, it went up by 328 per cent.*

Jornal do Brasil predicted that within the next five years the country would have the biggest and best-equipped navy in Latin America and draw level with Italy.**

Obviously, it is not only our own people that are endangered by Brazilian fascism but our neighbors as well. To prevent a positive reaction in Brazil to the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement developing on the continent, the dictatorship tries to isolate the country and inject the poison of fascism into neighboring countries. It grants them credits and offers them economic and cultural agreements while at the same time abetting and backing the most reactionary forces there. It resorts to military and political intervention wherever it can. In August 1971 it helped to bring about the fall of Bolivia's government under General Torres and this year it supported Bordaberry's coup in Uruguay. Right now it is applauding the coup in Chile.

This is why the progressive forces of Latin American countries are sounding the alarm, exposing the dictatorship, speaking of Brazilian 'sub-imperialism' and calling on the peoples of the continent to unite and defend themselves against the expansionist and aggressive government of Brazil.

Ever since the 1964 coup, Brazil's Communists have resisted the offensive of reaction, which succeeded in delivering some blows to BCP organizations. The Party's leaders and rank and file are constantly hounded by the police and many of them have been sentenced to long terms in prison or are threatened with arrest. Nevertheless, the BCP is a party organized and operating all over the country.

Communists maintain that the military coup has changed the political regime and that a new democratic situation has developed in which it is essential to unite—irrespective of their ideological positions—all democratic and patriotic forces and all currents resisting the dictatorship more or less actively and establish a broad anti-dictatorial front.

This political orientation was reaffirmed by the Sixth BCP Congress (December 1967). The congress stressed the national democratic character of the contemporary stage of the Brazilian revolution and defined the main tactic of the moment as mobilizing, uniting and organizing the working class and other patriotic and democratic forces to fight the dictatorial regime, overthrow it and win democratic freedoms.***

Discontent with the dictatorship is becoming universal, involving diverse classes and social strata.

Popular dissatisfaction with the steep uptrend in the cost of living and growing poverty makes itself felt ever more strongly.

**Opinio*, December 4, 1972.

***Jornal do Brasil*, October 22, 1972.

***See author's *Political Line and Tactics of the Brazilian Communists in the New Conditions*. WMR, June 1968.

Events of recent months have dispelled the illusions entertained by some sections of the population as to the possibility of the dictatorship making democratic concessions – the ruling military camarilla put forward a gorilla general to take over from the present dictator.

In working to set up a united front, we strive to turn isolated actions by the masses at the most diverse levels into organized resistance and opposition to the regime, into a fight against it. We proceed from the Sixth Congress guideline which says that to isolate and defeat the dictatorship, it is necessary to promote mass struggle and united action.

While anti-dictatorial forces have been rallying together more rapidly in late years, there is no upsurge in the mass movement as yet. The political currents opposed to the dictatorship are still disunited. However, the proletariat's trade union movement is growing and the rural working people are becoming more organized. The dictatorship was unable to win support among the masses and is faced with growing resistance and opposition from the working people, students and intellectuals, as well as from the majority of the Catholic Church, which expresses its opposition to the regime more and more explicitly through its bishops, takes various actions against persecution and strikes the regime telling blows.

This tends to undermine the dictatorship and increasingly lays bare its internal contradictions, which come out even in the government.

The Brazilian people's fight against the fascist dictatorship is a component of the fight of all Latin American peoples against imperialist oppression, for complete national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. It is a grim and difficult fight against a ruthless enemy who will stop at no crime, as recent developments show.

The military coup in Chile is the most brutal action of its kind ever witnessed in Latin America. It is indicative of U.S. imperialism's desperate attempts to check the revolutionary process on the continent with the aid of the most reactionary forces in our countries, by massacring thousands upon thousands of working people and keeping up a reign of terror.

However, the Latin American peoples' gains are irreversible. The far-reaching changes effected by the Popular Unity government of Chile in three years paved a new way for the national liberation revolution on the continent. President Allende did not die in vain. The crimes which Chile's reactionaries are perpetrating arouse universal revulsion. The solidarity of our peoples and the unity of all anti-imperialist forces are growing stronger.

A vastly important duty of the democratic forces is to support the Chilean people's fight and identify themselves with them. To defeat imperialism, it is also necessary firmly to support the Cuban revolution, the patriotic governments of Peru and Panama and the struggle of the peoples of other Latin American countries, including the Brazilian people oppressed by a fascist dictatorship which is U.S. imperialism's main accomplice on the continent.

BEHIND FACADE OF BRAZILIAN 'MIRACLE'

The capitalist press is beating the drums about the so-called Brazilian 'economic miracle.' A book by a group of Argentine Communists gives us a glimpse of what is behind it (R. Ghioldi, M. Lebedinsky, E. Abel, J. Pineyro, O. Marino. *El 'modelo' brasileo*). Who is the beneficiary of the 'miracle,' and at whose expense? 'It reposes on the appalling poverty of workers, office employees, peasants, and middle strata,' say the authors, 'and on a military dictatorship replete with repression, torture and killing.'

Even the apologists of the 'miracle' admit that the high rate of industrial growth is in sharp contrast to the misery of the vast majority. One aspect of the 'miracle' is inflation, the burden of which is borne mainly by the workers, with the cost-of-living rising much more rapidly than the wage increases workers succeed in wresting from their employers. The dictatorship's anti-inflationary policy is nothing but demagoguery, and cannot disguise the pernicious effects of the devaluation of money. Cynical appeals 'to bear up with the inflation' are fresh evidence that the highly-touted policy of fortifying state finances has broken down. The country's foreign debt has grown to disastrous proportions and, according to conflicting government figures, amounts to between U.S. \$7.5 to 8.5 billion.

The main industries are owned whole or in part by multinational trusts with centers outside Brazil. In 1971, foreign interests in the states of Sao Paulo and Guanabara controlled 81.8 and 82.4 per cent of the economy respectively. State enterprises are being denationalized with international companies participating in expansion projects and the state sector merging with multinational concerns in such leading industries as mining, chemicals and petrochemicals, iron and steel, etc. What the Brazilian 'miracle' amounts to, therefore, is stronger positions for foreign capital to the detriment of the nation and the laboring masses.

The book shows the global plans of U.S. imperialism, for which the Brazilian fascist dictatorship is a 'mailed fist' in South America, and which wants 'South Americans to fight South Americans.' By these methods U.S. imperialism expects to adapt Nixon's 'Guam doctrine' to Latin America.

Despite the anti-Communist witchhunt, terror and persecution, the authors note, the Communist Party is 'the only organized party in Brazil with committees, a theoretical journal, and a regularly published newspaper.' It is working to forge a workers' alliance with the peasants and the urban middle strata and make it the nucleus of an anti-dictatorial force that could defeat the Brazilian neo-fascist dictatorship, a key support of North American imperialism in Latin America.

Rodolfo Ghioldi, veteran leader of the CP of Argentina, stresses that the Brazilian people can rely on the support and solidarity of working people in Argentina and the rest of the continent in the hard battle against the military dictatorship and its expansionist plans.

Luis Ribeiro

The struggle of the South African working class

Anton Lerumo
South African journalist

The vanguard in the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in their fight against racist minority rule and apartheid is the working class – particularly the African workers who constitute an absolute majority in all fields of employment. In mining over 90 per cent of the workers are Africans and the marked increase in manufacturing industry in recent years is largely the product of African labor.¹

The development of the working class in our country must be seen against the historical background of centuries of ruthless conquest, dispossession and proletarianization of the indigenous African population, and within the framework of the ever-intensified and mercilessly-enforced system of racial discrimination and white domination, notorious internationally as 'apartheid.'

This system operates principally in the interests of the great mining-finance monopolies and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie (with in each case their powerful overseas sponsors and shareholders) and the large-scale capitalist farmers. It also provides benefits to substantial strata of the white middle and working classes, who monopolize economic opportunities and political rights. Thus the working class of South Africa and its trade unions are split racially and nationally to a quite exceptional degree.

Apartheid among workers

The overall position is characterized by the South African Communist Party in its Program as 'colonialism of a special type.' The White minority² occupies a position closely analogous to that of the oppressor nation, with the Black³ majority as its 'colony.'

This position is reflected in the sharp disparity between the status of White and African workers in the economy. The Whites are organized in recognized and registered trade unions, participate in collective bargaining and can legally take strike action. African workers enjoy no trade union rights. The Industrial Conciliation Act and other laws governing labor relations specifically exclude African workers from their definition of the word 'employee.' Hence these workers are completely shut out from the process of collective bargaining. Industrial agreements are negotiated between the employers and the white trade unions.

All strikes by Africans are illegal. Those who strike are subject

to heavy punishment, including several years' imprisonment. They may even be charged under the infamous 'sabotage Act' which carries the maximum penalty of death.

Only Africans are subject to the notorious Pass Laws. Every African man or woman must carry with him at all times a "reference book,"⁴ Failure to produce this book immediately on demand by any policeman leads to summary arrest. African men and women are prosecuted *every day* under the pass laws.⁵

Since Africans cannot travel, seek or obtain work or enter urban areas without a valid pass, it is easy to see how the pass laws are used by the racist authorities to depress wage rates and direct a flow of cheap Black labor to low-paid, dangerous and unpopular fields of employment such as the mines and agriculture. These laws – like the Land Acts which confine African occupation to under 13 per cent of the Republic of South Africa, supplemented by various 'Bantu' Acts⁶ – are the pillar of the semi-slave labor system.

Unlike indigenous Africans, Colored and Indian workers are allowed to belong to registered – and hence legally recognized – trade unions. But here too the vicious and degrading apartheid principle is applied. According to the law, 'mixed' unions can only operate under exclusively White leadership. The Black minority groups must either accept this humiliating disadvantage or form separate race-based unions of their own.

White workers' unions have an unenviable record of collaboration in oppression and the industrial color bar which makes them unacceptable even to the more Right-wing trade union organizations in the capitalist world. By and large they have used their legal rights not only for the legitimate purpose of wresting improved wages and working conditions from the employers, but also to fortify the white monopoly of all skilled, supervisory and better-paid jobs. The agreements they negotiate and sign with the employers stipulate wage rates for African laborers far below the minimum required for a man to support his family.

Of the two main federations of registered unions, one (the Coordinating Council of Trade Unions) blatantly excludes all but White workers. The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUSCA) excludes African workers, but permits unions of Colored and Indian workers to affiliate. As a matter of fact these now form the majority of TUSCA's membership, but all the officials and leaders are White. TUSCA plays a treacherous role within the international labor movement (to which it constantly seeks entry and recognition) acting as the apologist for apartheid and vigorously opposing solidarity action, particularly sanctions and boycotts, against the racist regime.

The only trade union federation in South Africa which consistently upholds the principle of working class unity and solidarity is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). For many years it has been subjected to fierce repression by the fascist authorities; hundreds of its militants have been imprisoned, driven

out of their unions and out of employment, exiled and otherwise victimized. Its survival under such conditions is a tribute to the toughness of its personnel and the soundness of their principles.

Gold mining

Crucial to an understanding of the social structure of the country and the real character and purpose of apartheid is an examination of the mining, especially gold mining, industry. Apart from agriculture, and despite the considerable industrial growth of recent years, this remains the biggest single employer of labor.

South African gold has almost a monopoly in the capitalist world, accounting currently for four-fifths of total supplies.⁷ The dominant position of South Africa as a gold producer is not only or even mainly due to the presence of exceptionally rich gold deposits. It is due above all to the existence of the cheap, migratory labor system which it is the main function of the apartheid state to sustain and intensify.

In 1971 African miners comprised 380,000, i.e., over 90 per cent, of the total labor force in the gold mines. Working under the notorious migratory labor system (more than two-thirds are recruited outside the borders of the country), African miners work a 60-hour week two miles and more beneath the surface of the earth, performing hard, dangerous and unhealthy labor for wages which (in real terms) are less today than they were 60 years ago.⁸

The wage bill for African miners in 1971 was R90 million, whereas the wage bill for White miners (less than 10 per cent of the total labor force) was more than double this amount – R190 million.⁹

Other countries also have rich gold deposits. But nowhere else is it possible to produce gold economically from low-grade ore. For the past 40 years, the South African gold mines have been producing huge profits for their South African, British, U.S., German and other shareholders, though the price of gold was fixed by international agreement at a low level (\$35 a fine ounce). (It has been calculated that the cost of producing gold in the United States at current wage rates would be \$125 a fine ounce).

U.S. Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Black member of the House of Representatives who had been to South Africa on a fact-finding mission, put his finger on the spot when he told U.S. legislators last year: 'The methods used to force South African Blacks to go down the mines and dig the metal out amount to a mere variation of the age-old evil of slavery . . . it is one of the cruellest and most unjust systems of exploitation known to man at the present time.'¹⁰

Industrial workers

The South African economy has developed rapidly over the past decade, particularly manufacturing industry. Existing factories have expanded and many new ones (often subsidiaries of British, U.S. and other foreign companies) have opened plants to take advantage of the cheap labor system. The Republic accounts for over 40 per cent of the total industrial production of Africa.

This has been accompanied by a big growth of the industrial labor force. Factories employed 1,410,600 workers in 1970 – three quarters of them Black workers. White workers formed 30 per cent of the labor force in manufacturing industries in 1961. Their proportion has declined since then to 23 per cent.¹¹

The official 'poverty datum line' adopted as a standard by bourgeois 'experts' in South Africa asserts that 'to avoid malnutrition' (a polite term for starvation) an African worker with a family of five should receive a minimum wage of R85 a month. It should be remembered that this amount covers the bare necessities of life (food, rent, transport to work, etc.), with nothing at all left over for recreation, culture and other 'non-essentials.' Yet nearly all African workers receive wages at far less than this level. Wages of Black workers in manufacturing industry average R57 a month. Many receive far less than that.

A lecturer from Natal University visited the Beaumont Wattle Estate, which is owned by the giant British firm Courtaulds. He reported that conditions were 'disgraceful' and wages 'far below subsistence level': 'The houses were filthy . . . there was no furniture or beds in the houses and the compound itself was a sea of mud . . . No sick pay, maternity leave, paid holidays or rations were provided by the company. One Zulu worker, Mr. Sizwa, aged 32, who was married with three children . . . earned 22 rands a month.'¹²

Prior to the strike wave at the beginning of 1973, textile workers in Natal were being paid a basic wage of R5 to R8 per week; brick and tile workers R9. Cane cutters were getting R15 for 30 working days.¹³ These appalling figures must be viewed against the background of the constant inflationary increases in the prices of consumer goods in recent years.

The strike wave

The situation exploded in the great wave of strikes by Black workers which startled South Africa and the world in the opening months of 1973. It is impossible to estimate with any exactness the number of workers who participated in this movement. Beginning at Durban, South Africa's largest seaport and second-largest city, and spreading rapidly outwards to other centers, the strike brought economic life in certain areas to a virtual standstill.

Strike action is nothing new to South Africa's Black workers. As early as 1882 African workers struck for higher wages in the Kimberley diamond mines. In 1919 and notably in 1946, the African gold miners of the Witwatersrand came out in historic strikes; similarly the dockers of Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and other ports have a long and militant history of organized struggle. During the 'fighting 50s,' under the leadership of the African National Congress and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the Black workers of the country, faced with the onslaught of apartheid, came out in a whole series of heroic national general strikes.

Almost invariably such action has been met with the most fero-

cious repression. General Smuts (who enjoys some inexplicable reputation as a 'liberal' in Europe) ordered his troops to open fire on strikers on a number of occasions, from the Port Elizabeth massacre (October 1920) to the great African miners' strike of August 1946, when hundreds of workers were killed and wounded by armed police.

The neo-Nazi Party of Verwoerd and Vorster which has misgoverned South Africa since 1948, has even surpassed its predecessors in brutal police and military actions against the working class and democratic movement. The Sharpeville massacre of passive resisters in 1961 has come to be an international symbol of lawless terror. And when the Durban dockers struck in 1971 they were met with the usual ruthless brutality. Their spokesmen were arrested and imprisoned; the workers themselves were deported en masse to starve in rural areas.

The 1973 strikes show significant divergencies from the established pattern. True, police baton-charged and used tear gas and dogs against workers' meetings and demonstrations and a number of alleged 'agitators' were arrested. The Minister of Labor, Mr. Marais Viljoen, told his all-White Parliament that 'agitators' were behind the strikes, and rejected the proposals to legalize African workers' trade unions. All this is 'normal' practice in apartheid South Africa.

But what is truly noteworthy is the unusual restraint shown by the state and the government in the face of this massive workers' movement. On no occasion did the police open fire; often they seemed concerned to remain in the background. More remarkable still, though the strikes were 'illegal,' the employers made a number of concessions to the strikers. Wage increases ranging from 25 to 33 per cent were offered to get the strikers back to work. Even in industries which were not affected by the strike wave—notably the gold mines—employers tried to anticipate trouble by announcing similar increases in pay for their workers.

The Vorster government vigorously resisted proposals to recognize African trade unions—but it did rush through emergency legislation providing for dummy 'works councils' in an attempt to provide a safety-valve for the workers' anger and resentment at their conditions.

To some extent this appearance of 'reasonableness' is accounted for by the exceptionally militant and widespread nature of the strikes. In Durban, the brick and tile workers demonstrated through the streets headed by a worker carrying a red flag—unheard of for many years in a country where the 'Suppression of Communism' Act has been in operation since 1950; and workers elsewhere sang the forbidden songs of the illegal African National Congress at their meetings.

There are deeply significant factors behind the apparent moderation and restraint of the state and employers at this stage. The strikes accompany an upsurge in political activity and consciousness among the Black masses in South Africa following the un-

relieved terror and repression, and the massive attacks on the liberation, workers' and Communist movements, which followed the Rivonia trial of 1963-64.¹⁴ As the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party pointed out in a statement on the strikes ('Support South Africa's Militant Black Workers,' June 1973):

'The South African government is in an insecure and precarious situation. African guerillas are winning further advances in the bordering regions of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. In South Africa there is the ever-present threat of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the liberation movement. In this position the Vorster government felt obliged to avoid a showdown with the strikers.'

One must not exaggerate the importance of the concessions which the Black workers have wrung from the exploiters. In actual cash terms they are very small, and do not even compensate for the inflationary price rises. In the case of the gold mines in particular the nominal wage increases came in the wake of a spectacular and unheard-of increase in the commodity price of gold to the region of \$120-\$130 per fine ounce (June 1973), which has resulted in enormous windfalls of profit to the monopolists, far surpassing the trivial cost of the increase of wages. The demands of the workers are far from having been satisfied. Their trade unions remain unrecognized and semi-legal, their wages pitifully low. They were forced to go back to work by hunger, and not because they accepted the employers' meagre concessions as enough.¹⁵

Yet they have learnt and are absorbing profound lessons from the strikes; lessons of their own tremendous potential once organized and united and ready for militant action. It is certain that they will consolidate their position and lead the struggle for fresh advances, economic and political, in the near future.

International solidarity

Throughout the postwar period insistent protests and demands for action have come from the world's working class, the socialist countries, and democratic and anti-imperialist forces against the evil system of apartheid, giving every possible support to the liberation movements in the South of Africa.

Time and again resolutions against apartheid, envisaging sanctions against racist regimes, have featured on the agenda and been carried by large majorities in international organizations and the UN General Assembly, where the matter has been under continuous consideration for over a quarter of a century.

If these resolutions and sanctions have turned out to be largely ineffective, it is only because they have been stubbornly resisted and sabotaged by the imperialist countries, whose great monopolies profit handsomely from the super-exploitation of our people and their resources.

The stormy events earlier in 1973 gave fresh impulse to the

international movement of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. It is clear that the time has come for a fresh and even more vigorous onslaught on apartheid in South Africa, a world citadel of racism and reaction.

The strikes at the beginning of 1973 prompted a searching examination of their own countries' involvement with apartheid on the part of the working class and democratic movement in Britain, the United States, West Germany and other countries. The matter was raised by Labor representatives in the British House of Commons, as a result of which the government was forced to promise a special inquiry into the wages and conditions afforded to African workers by the subsidiaries of British firms operating in the Republic.

A notable landmark in the world anti-apartheid movement was the great workers' conference on this subject held in Geneva on June 15-16, representing 250 million organized workers from every part of the world. Held under the joint sponsorship of the governing body of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, the conference succeeded in bringing together (for the first time since the postwar split in the labor movement on cold-war lines) the three international trade union federations (WFTU, ICFTU and WCL) as well as continental and regional trade union federations, on a common issue: the fight against racialism in the Republic of South Africa. And it is above all notable that (whatever differences they may still have on other issues) the spokesmen of the organized workers of the world were able to reach complete unanimity on this crucial issue of our times.

In their Memorandum to the Conference, the delegation of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (W. M. Shope, M. Mabhidha and R. Simons) declared: 'African and other Black workers and people of South Africa know that the main task of liberating themselves from the clutches of fascist rule in South Africa is their historic responsibility. But the struggle of the workers and people of South Africa is at the same time the concern and common responsibility of the workers of the world and, indeed, of the whole of progressive mankind.'

The Conference responded to this appeal by unanimously adopting a militant resolution for action against apartheid, which it denounced as 'a crime against humanity, a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and . . . a threat to world peace and security.' The resolution called for concrete action against the racist South African regime.

On December 10, 1973, all the trade unions represented will embark on a worldwide week of action against apartheid. This date, which marks the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will also see the beginning of the UN-sponsored Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

Hailing the decisions of the Geneva Conference, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party draws special attention to the continuing plight of political prisoners:

'Like thousands of other victims of repression, Mandela, Sislu,

Kathrada and the other heroes of the Rivonia Trial of ten years ago are still serving life sentences . . . Abram Fischer, eminent advocate and Communist, now in his 65th year and seriously ill, languishes in Pretoria Central prison . . . Savage sentences of imprisonment were recently imposed on the "Pretoria Six" – Petrus Mthembu, Gardener Sejake, Theophilus Cholo, Justice Mpanza, Alexandre Moumbaris and Sean Hosey – for the "crime" of struggling for the liberation of our country.'

Demanding the release of all political prisoners the Party called on 'the millions of opponents of apartheid in every country to intensify their splendid campaigns of solidarity; to isolate and quarantine the racists in every field, political and economic; in commerce, diplomacy, sport and culture.'

'We appeal with confidence,' declares the Central Committee, 'to our comrades of the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries to take a leading and dynamic part' in these campaigns. This confidence is not misplaced. The Communists of the world have a splendid record in the fight against apartheid and for African freedom; a record that guarantees their full participation in the last and hardest round ahead.

1. The labor force increased by 366,500 between the end of 1967 and October 1970. The increase was made up of 264,300 Africans, 68,170 Coloreds and Indians and 34,000 Whites (*The African Communist*, No. 53, 2nd quarter, 1973, p. 48).

2. According to the 1970 Census there were over 15 million Africans, 2 million Colored (mixed origin), 650,000 people of Indian origin and less than 4 million Whites.

3. As well as Africans, this term includes Colored and Indians, who prefer to call themselves Blacks.

4. This book contains the African's photograph, race identity card, registered number, tribal and regional classification, residence permit, current 'Bantu tax' receipt, etc. It must be signed every month by the employer.

5. 'Between 1936 and 1962 the proportion of convictions under pass laws relative to the total African population rose from 1.9 per cent a year to 3.4 per cent' (U.S. Congressman Charles Diggs, cited in *Sechaba*, February 1973).

6. Numerous laws with the overall effect of 'regulating' the life of Black South Africans.

7. The industry is completely in the hands of seven mining-finance houses, of which the largest (the Anglo-American Corporation, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer) produces 41 per cent of the gold and employs nearly a third of the labor force (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, May 1973).

8. According to Dr. Francis Wilson, Cape Town economist (*Labor in the South African Gold Miner*, Cambridge University Press, 1967).

9. *Anti-Apartheid News*, May 1973.

10. *Sechaba*, February 1973, p. 3.

11. *The African Communist*, No. 53, 2nd quarter, 1973.

12. *The Guardian* (Manchester), March 28, 1973.

13. *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), January 10-18, 1973.

14. At the notorious 'Rivonia trial' a number of foremost leaders of the liberation movement were sentenced to life imprisonment.

15. In September 1973 African gold miners in Carltonville demonstrated for higher wages. The police opened fire, killing twelve and wounding many workers.

The writer's conscience and public mission

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A writer, if he is worth his salt, is a fighter against social injustice. Trace the life stories of great writers and you will see that they were all immersed in a difficult contention against the imperfections of their time. The literary giants of different class societies, no matter how disparate in mentality, subject matter and style, were all sharply at odds with the surrounding reality. And the depth and maturity of what they wrote was measurable precisely by the impact of this polemical element in their writing. Though they were no revolutionaries, such men as Balzac, Maupassant, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Goethe and Thomas Mann yearned for beauty and poetry, and constantly crusaded against the failings of the system in which they lived.

The big names in literature personified the will to alter society spiritually and morally. They craved for a more open climate and more scope for the individual. They were all action, spurred to self-expression by the social blights and the ethical flaws of their time. Yet the ardor that fed the revolutionary writers was keener and more complex still. Take Botev in Bulgaria, Petofi in Hungary, Gorky in Russia and Garcia Lorca in Spain.

The contemporary writers, too, cannot stay out of the struggle or sidestep the mission that history has placed upon them. Not for them the ivory tower. They must give generously in the common struggle for progress, must persevere in discovering their own self in that struggle. Pablo Neruda was of that mould – his life, his work, were entirely dedicated to the people.

Writers in bourgeois society, the society against which they battle, and writers in socialist society, the growth of which they promote, face different tasks. But no matter how different their mentality, subject and style, they bear the same responsibility before the world, their own people, and their conscience.

This concept of conscience should be seen precisely as an inner ethical polemic. There may be individuals devoid of a conscience, ethically under-developed or very straight-laced and refined exponents of egoism – a personal and class egoism. But writers devoid of a conscience are a tragic paradox. Sooner or later, they are bound to become alienated from their vocation, and stoop to negating the lofty mission of art. The conscience is as much an element of the creative process as knowledge of life, sense of reality, and imagination,

helping to fill out what the creative artist has observed, helping to build the edifice of art. Much of the value of a work of art derives from the artist's conscience, ethics, and sense of responsibility. Also, conscience is impregnated in the purely aesthetic aspect of the works of the great writers – as a striving to cultivate good taste, vitality and brightness, and the tendency toward spiritual and aesthetic freedom. This is the hallmark of progressive art. An unengaged art, an art 'independent' of morality, alienates people, tends to destroy their aspiration to progress. Yet art should battle against stagnation and death, even though the plot and subject may be hopelessly tragic.

Public duty and personal conscience are faced with a challenge these days – part of humanity still lives in capitalism, while the other has taken a new path. And in these different social zones the writers who follow the dictates of their conscience perform their public duty.

Socialism has long since passed the initial phase of revolutionary propaganda. No longer is it something to which the masses aspire under the impact made by the Communist Party, the revolutionary force of the epoch. It has become a reality, a way of life, an everyday ambience, our way forward. And it presents a new literary hero – the men and women of free labor and creativity, who puzzle many a writer in the West. Writers sculpting the inner image of the socialist civilization confront this hero, seeing him as the discovery of the age. Hence the specific movements of their conscience and the special quality of their mission.

In the socialist countries, writers assist in building up society's revolutionary energy, moulding individuals with the new, socialist scale of values. In a way, they watch over the ethical purity of people drawn into socialism, or, on the other hand, reprove those opposed to socialism, giving substance to the humanism of the new society. That is how the aesthetic, cognitive and ideological relations between writer and reader are wrought under socialism. Their contemporaries trust the writers as they would trust the executor of their last will and testament. The writer portrays the life of people in big and monumental things, and in things small and ordinary, everyday, personal and intimate. Borrowing from reality the features of the new national (socialist) character, writers assist in the moulding of this character and influence all minds. So, it is not an accident that, shaking off the prejudice that the commonplaces of life are incompatible with beauty, socialist writers are preoccupied with the effects of the technical revolution, the influence of the new spiritual and social conditions on the personality.

Bourgeois propaganda claims that socialist literature is all but regimented, and that it has lost its freedom, for it has to cater to the needs of the times. This is an untruth, and collapses when measured against the facts. In the socialist countries there is a freedom that does not need to 'compete' against the capitalist 'freedom,' to which it is far superior. Even the most distinctive consciousness wishing to be original and novel and critical, is completely free, provided its creativity is oriented on social progress. And it is pre-

cisely this profound and novel link between artist and society, the daring of the artist's responsibility for the destiny of society, that is so distasteful to our ideological opponents.

It is different under capitalism. Communist and progressive writers not only expose, but vigorously combat the evils of capitalism. And this wins them the esteem of the working class, the intelligentsia and youth. The crisis of capitalism, in all its manifestations, is impelling more and more writers to join the fight against social injustice. On the other hand, some writers fail to see the picture in perspective. In capitalist society, especially under dictatorial regimes, the writer is often persecuted for aspiring to freedom and advocating progressive ideas. The writer's conscience is suppressed from without. In the environment of bourgeois democracy (differently from country to country) he often finds his personality in self-imposed isolation from society, shying from topical social issues. Then, the conscience undergoes a metamorphosis, and is suppressed from within. This unhappy state is bred by the shabby realities – the striving for life and a break with life, the alienation and self-isolation. Writers face this contradiction; negating and rebelling against society, on the one hand, they shun social generalizations, on the other. That is the backdrop to the tragedy of artists and writers: people of their time with all its convulsions, drama and tragedy, they all too often shrink from it in fear and shame.

Some modern bourgeois theories even encourage that. To believe the present-day concept of structuralism, for example, a literary work is merely a text created for consumption. It has no other use. Left lying by the wayside are the vitally important questions related to the existence of mankind, the destiny of peoples, the lot of individuals, and the issue of peace.

Now, to go back to our definition of conscience as the presence of a demanding voice in a writer's work. One of the latest literary theories, textology, which claims to guide modern literary practices in the capitalist countries, scorns this demanding voice. The writer is not a fighter, it says, and it is not his business to fight against violence or the prospect of a new war. And following this theory, writers relinquish their right to anticipate the course of history.

Examining the works of modern writers, we always ask ourselves what they have contributed to the world, what is the source of their charm, what is their contribution to art and to the knowledge of humankind, and what it is about them that evokes our admiration. Here, the scope of the moral problems filling literature is not the least of factors.

Intensive propaganda of 'alienation' can hardly arouse admiration. Yet it is inundating bourgeois literature. And literature professing to be free turns out to be unfree from the debilitating idea that the human being is passive, self-alienated from a society that is the scene of class battles in which, mostly, the individual's behavior is dictated by class solidarity. We are here confounded not

only by the contempt for class issues, but also by the low morality of modern bourgeois literature.

Once, the Danish writer Brandes said: 'A brain that destroys everything it encounters, is not a poetic brain.' This was said of Henrik Ibsen, a highly original writer possessed by a staggering power of social negation. One wonders, however, how poetic is the modern 'alienation' literature that destroys everything indiscriminately, including the individual's links with family and environment, and robs him of joy and leaves him completely confused.

In our age of sharp social and class collisions there is nothing poetic about the brain that turns life to ashes and leaves the individual helplessly facing the world. Precisely in our age of unchained 'demoniac' forces – from social violence to drug-taking – that scorch all human qualities, we need the health-giving moral strength of art. Our epoch is really a happy one in which hope overshadows despair. The hope of today is socialism, victory of its humane ideal and justice, the prospect of uniting honest democratically-thinking people in the name of humanity. And given such an outlook, is it really necessary that the drug of hopelessness should torture the individual so cruelly, should torture the writer embodying the image of this individual.

Nowdays, the thinking of people in capitalist society is laced with numerous 'topical' philosophical theories. Many of them foster ideas that in substance prevent the deliverance of the individual from despair. Never has capitalism created so great and so diverse an array of ideological myths. Today, it is this motley 'philosophical' mass production of myths, maiming not only the intellect, but also the emotions and behavior of individuals, that is used to dull the awakening consciousness of mankind.

The honesty and conscience of the modern writer cannot but become involved in such specific developments: The myths of present-day bourgeois philosophy – existentialism, Freudism, structuralism – are all equally harmful when converted into ethics and a pattern of behavior. New theories have appeared of late, propagated by the heirs of François de Sade (J. Genet, for example, speaks of three 'virtues' in his 'Diary of a Thief': crime, homosexuality, and betrayal*). A mystique is created around hedonism – the all-consuming quest of pleasure, a consumer consciousness. Negating all social obligations, these myths wrap up the individual in egoistic interests, including the so-called religion of pleasure and morbid self-contemplation. They are fertilized by various Freudian notions of behavior, the idea of the individual's continuous discontent, and insatiable craving for pleasure. They penetrate literature, the real mission of which is to inject moral strength. Various theories of permissiveness, which ostensibly provide universal sexual freedom (in capitalist society, of course), really destroy love as friendship and turn life into wanton and shabby vulgarity.

Can a writer's conscience be any less indifferent to these socio-

*J. Genet, *Le Journal d'un Voleur*. Editions Universitaires, Paris, 1965, p. 63.

philosophical theories than to social inequality and the notions of 'alienation'? The capitalist's greed debases nature, destroys land, air, water and wood, while these theories, supported by industrialized means of 'mass culture,' debase the youth. No, decidedly the writer cannot be indifferent to them.

Under capitalism, modernistic mystico-philosophical and hedonistic doctrines have fertile soil and even, to some degree, are socially 'justified.' In the socialist countries, however, they have nothing but an erosive effect on their history-making cause. They do very great harm to the socialist youth, which needs ideals and faith to pursue that cause. The writer's conscience therefore obliges him to study these negative theories, to combat them, to use art as a powerful instrument of progress. Such obligations devolve not only on the writers of socialist countries, but also on all those honest men and women who are concerned about the future of mankind.

Artists aspiring to truth and justice must not glide along the surface of things. They must probe in depth. That is the call of the humanist culture created before us, from Goethe to Fucik and Vaptsarov. Readers expect a 'literary rebellion,' forceful and bold writing against the inhumanity that pervades bourgeois society. One should not rely on the mechanistic idea that elimination of capitalism will automatically, without ideological and moral struggle, remove all its vices and evils, all the bad that it is doing to humankind. The battle must be mounted today, this very minute, because, as will be easily seen, all these negative things, the ideology opposite to Marxism, the modern mystique of sadism, are stage-managed from certain quarters. And this spiritual drug has become an obstacle to the humane goals of socialist society as well, for it cannot escape the effects of coexistence with the so thoroughly depraved capitalist civilization.

The writers of socialist society cannot afford to rest either, though for other reasons. Socialist reality is dynamic. Its development is tempestuous and controversial. And the writer who sometimes falls behind this tempo will not espy the spiritual nuances arising in the new, complex, profound development. There is this question: have the lofty and humane aesthetic means of art reproduced the individual of our society, has he been perceived completely in his new life style, in labor, in his most recent moral transformation?

The depth of a writer's knowledge of man is an important measure of his worth. Through the individual literature portrays the epoch, the movement of society, the contemporary and the popular, the national and the individual. And one of the main attributes of a writer's true professionalism is precisely *depth of knowledge of man*. Interest in man, in what happens in life — this is what provides the writer with the ability to create and portray, the ability to fall in with the big and developing art, to be a professional. A writer with but negligible psychological experience, who has not seen enough, who knows too little about his fellow man, is a fake,

a spurious mental aristocrat. Goethe said that the epochs of decline are subjective, and those of rise objective. This could be reworded: writers with modest experience are subjective, wrapped up in their subjectiveness, helpless, whereas writers with rich and profound experience, with a broad range of vision, are able to turn objectiveness into subjectiveness, and subjectiveness into real artistic objectiveness. They are masters of this intricate creative dialectics.

The weakness of present-day socialist literature, including Bulgarian, is that writers do not give a full enough depiction of real life. Previously accumulated creative experience spawns a plethora of works which, though they occupy space on the bookshelves, say far too little about the dramatic events of life and the characteristics of our time. The cross-breeding of genres – the epic with the lyrical, or the epic with the essay – the breaking down of traditional genres, benefits helpless pen-pushers posing as original artists.

Also apparent is a degree of isolation from the people – the people not as consumers of spiritual values but as a creative force. Anti-poetry, the anti-novel, anti-drama, anti-lyrics are especially characteristic of capitalist society, but they find an echo in socialism as well. They camouflage a spurious aesthetics which, by stressing the author's individuality, spurns all that imperceptibly emanates from the people and enters creative art.

The most volatile creative mind can never rid itself totally of the notions and ideas eternally rooted in the people, and today's artists are no exception. The modern always overcomes the primordial and traditional and forges ahead, without, however, severing its ties with all that is rooted in the foundations of national life. The tendency to shrug off modern change is just as harmful as the affected posture of serving all ties with the deepest, fundamental, nationally original, even folklore origins (which can take on the most fashionable, 'avant-gardist,' topical forms). It is the realization of this that makes for the special flavor of some of the larger new literatures, such as the literatures of the awakened peoples of the Soviet Union, Bulgarian socialist literature and others. Kirghiz author Chinghiz Aitmatov, for example, excellently combines the traditions of Russian classical literature with contemporaneity, the folkloristic imagery of his own people with the new, 'avant-garde' socialist trends. Gorky was once enraptured by the folk bards of Central Asia. Aitmatov today represents an entirely new and original phenomenon which has largely overcome the preceding tradition.

All these problems – achieving genuine literary professionalism on the basis of firm ties with life, the depth and relevance achieved in depicting and representing reality, national flavor – are of primary concern to Bulgarian writers. They are problems which excite their conscience and sense of civic duty.

The correct orientation of Bulgaria's creative artists is also facilitated by the fact that problems of creative writing are a constant

concern of the BCP. Dimitr Blagoyev, founder of the BCP, was an eminent literary critic, author of many articles presenting Marxist analyses of various aesthetic problems. Georgi Dimitrov bequeathed us a priceless heritage including profound assessments of the role, tasks and duties of cultural workers. True to this tradition, the Bulgarian Communist Party continues to give constant assistance to writers seeking to perform their public duty. The time since the April 1956 plenum of the CC BCP, which is closely linked with the name and work of Comrade Zhivkov, has seen a marked strengthening of the creative cohesion of our intellectuals working to create a great art, a new and original literature reflecting the dynamism and changes of our life and fully meeting the aesthetic demands of the people. We have entered the period of building up a developed, mature socialist society. Far-reaching revolutionary changes in the social basis, the economy, inevitably affect human consciousness. Today we have the expansion of the historic experience of people seeing for themselves what socialism gives them. Human psychology is increasingly dependent on the continuously changing reality. Studying human psychology opens up greater opportunities for creative originality and fosters our literature's maturity in choice of means, depth and color of character representation.

By reflecting the new human qualities bred and promoted by socialism our literature contributes to human culture as a whole. This is the way we see literature – as the aesthetic realization of 'humanology.' The tasks the Communist Party sets artists are in keeping with their objective of creating great art. The Party supports the creative conscience of genuinely talented artists with the foresight of the new, socialist renaissance of humankind.

The Achilles' heel of many attempts to depict life is the inability to grasp the true essence of typical conflicts of the time, to sense the true dialectics of life, the clash of opposites in the overcoming of which social progress is achieved. Unfortunately, all too often we speak of these conflicts and complex dialectics in the most general terms, such as 'the struggle between the old and the new,' without perceiving its concrete, down-to-earth, realistic expression. Without revealing the profound, real dramatism of socio-psychological and moral conflicts in society it is impossible – under socialism too – to create a great, stirring literature.

The range of subject matter and ways of handling it are as boundless as the situations of everyday life, running the gamut from carefree lyrical joy to dramatic and tragic conflicts. But when writers uphold the new and progressive, when communist ideals constitute their ideological platform, when their hearts beat in unison with that of the people and their thoughts coincide with the thoughts of the Party, then the drama and tragedy of any situation is thrown into relief against its true historical background and is imbued with genuine ideological pathos. It is thus that tragedy is made to foster optimism.

I think our colleagues, prominent Soviet authors Aitmatov, Gam-

zatov, Katayev, Kozhevnikov, Simonov, Surkov, Tikhonov, Fedin, Sholokhov and others, were absolutely right when they declared that 'the behavior of people like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, who slander our state and social system, try to breed distrust concerning the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state, and in effect call upon the West to continue "cold war" policies, can arouse no other sentiments than the utmost contempt and condemnation' (*Pravda*, Aug. 31, 1973). Yes, contempt and condemnation. And this, for any writer, for any creative artist, is tantamount to moral and, I would say, political death.

Marxist theory has altered the mentality of millions. Participation in public life has fostered their sense of civic responsibility. Our social relations have made for deep changes in morality and the assertion of communist ethics as the social moral code of the collective. Survivals of the old mentality, relapses of egotism and individualism, greed and time-serving still persist in one form or another in our daily life, and the struggle against them will be a long and difficult one. But the moral advance of our society is in no way served when they are investigated with the sole aim of nurturing one's scepticism while remaining blind to the new and beautiful in people's spiritual makeup. The struggle against the age-old philistine, egoistical mentality cannot be conducted solely from negative positions. Criticism is a complex thing and it can be successful only if it rests on the new and positive deriving from the basis, from the fundamental goals of our society, and surrounding us on all sides.

To this day some people eschew speaking of the positive hero, forgetting that in the literature of all societies it represents, in one way or another, a synthesis of an aesthetic ideal, that it helps tackle the major human problems of the given time in history. Every society has its positive heroes, dating back to Achilles and Odysseus. They existed in the Renaissance and in the period of bourgeois revolutions, and our attitude towards the problem must be above the spurious aesthetics of authors serving capitalist society.

It is not accidental that in present-day bourgeois literature the active hero is at best a person at odds with society and life, rejecting the laws and mores of his milieu, but incapable of finding a way out of his predicament. Such, for example, are the heroes of Salinger, Mailer, Updike, Malamud and others. The worst and, alas, most popular variant of this hero in the consumer-oriented bourgeois literature is an embodiment of aggressiveness, immorality and misanthropy of the 'celebrated' James Bond type. And whereas in the former case we see a courageous, albeit pointless, revolt of an honest bourgeois artist repelled by the evils of society, in the latter we are presented with this society's ugly aesthetic and ethical platform with its stereotype of a cynic, a political hireling and murderer, designed to mould the mass consciousness.

Literature, of course, is not a practical handbook of the world's wisdoms, but what is its social function if it is incapable of telling

people how to live? Not for nothing did Chernyshevsky call art a 'textbook of life.'

In bourgeois literature, from its very inception, there has been a tendency to produce 'textbooks of life.' In the past they taught the art of seeking and achieving personal happiness. In the classical period of realism the novel was almost always an account of a human career. Regardless of whether this career ended in catastrophe, as in Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, or in a kind of success, as in Maupassant's *Bel-Ami*, the book always echoed the reader's personal problems, the eternal problem of happiness. Today, when all the illusions of moral success in the capitalist world have been dashed or exhausted, bourgeois literature, with its message of 'there is no happiness,' has reached the depths of pessimism. A great deal of present-day bourgeois literature of critical realism is a literature of disappointment and negation, hopeless rebellion or bitter acceptance. But this literature, with its nostalgic thoughts of lost illusions of beauty and human happiness and stinging criticism, is being increasingly edged out by the turbid flow of writings typical of the 'consumer society,' by latter-day bourgeois 'textbooks of life' presenting it as idle hedonism or barren vegetation, as mimicry or parasitism, and advocating: 'Live today,' 'Manage somehow,' 'Enjoy what you can and seek no more.' It is a literature in which the 'impossible happiness' of yore has been replaced by pitiful surrogates such as sexual stimulation, debauchery or psychedelic forgetfulness in a narcotic dreamland, all of which is presented by legions of young American authors as the salvation of mankind. A guide to depravity, degradation and self-destruction of the individual as an endowed human entity is what this literature is.

The tasks of our humanistic socialist literature are, as said before, entirely different. They are innovatory tasks, a manifestation of its humanistic superiority, for it seeks to create genuinely modern 'textbooks of life.' What is needed, though, is a clear and critical self-assessment of what has been achieved, a clearcut definition of deeper psychological and artistic objectives, and the artist's full devotion to the problems of the time.

We know only too well that these deep and complex problems must be tackled individually, that they exist and clash in the mind of the individual artist. He resolves them in his tortuous search for subject matter, at times of creative inspiration, in sharp arguments with himself. The outcome of the battle is decided at the writer's desk. But society, too, is in a position to help. This help consists in all that party and public organizations do to create a common spiritual climate, to bring the writer into contact with the topical problems of the day, with life itself, from which he derives not only the stimulæ for his work but also the stirring of his civic conscience, the urging of his sense of duty.

The second front of the struggle

WAR, PEACE, THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND MAOIST THEORY

Representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from 12 countries took part in an international theoretical colloquium on the subject, 'The Marxist-Leninist Concept of War, Peace and Revolution and Maoist Action on the International Scene,' organized in Prague by the Theory Commission of **World Marxist Review**. The following papers were submitted and discussed:

'Maoist Tactics of Splitting the Communist and Labor Movement and the Anti-Imperialist Front in Latin America': **L. Ribeiro** (CP Brazil).

'The Maoist "People's War" Myth and Latin American Reality': **C. Alba** (CP Bolivia).

'Maoist Trends in Britain': **I. Cox** (CP Great Britain).

'The Leninist Concept of Peaceful Coexistence and the Chinese Leadership's Foreign Policy': **L. Nagy** (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party).

'Maoist Anti-Union Opposition as a Means of Undermining the Leading Role of the Working Class': **G. Kwiatowski** (German CP).

'Peking's Attempts to Prevent Détente and Security in Europe': **I. Norlund** (CP Denmark).

'The Maoists' Attitude to Problems of the Third World and the Indian Subcontinent in the Context of the Struggle for Peace': **S. Mitra** (CP India).

'The Maoist Interpretation of the Theory of Revolution and its Verification in Indonesia's Experience': **S. Sudiman** (CP Indonesia).

'Concerning the Superpower Concept': **K. Pafitis** (AKEL, Cyprus).

'The Peking Leadership's Goals in Africa': **M. Osman** (CP Sudan).

'Manifestations of Great-Power Chauvinism in the Far-Eastern Policy of the PRC': **F. Malaya** (CP Philippines).

'The Peking Leadership's New Tactics in Africa': **M. Harmel** (South African CP).

Without going into the situation in China or dealing with questions involving the internal affairs of the CPC, the *participants in the colloquium* concentrated on certain aspects of the Maoists' foreign policy and its ideological basis. This approach is necessitated by the fact that in their daily work fraternal Communist parties are constantly confronted, both at home and on the international scene, with the political and ideological consequences of the foreign policy pursued by the CPC leaders and the propaganda of Maoist ideas. The participants in the colloquium came to the following common conclusions.

The end of the 60s and beginning of the 70s saw some appreciable

tactical shifts in the Peking leadership's international activities. They stem from the apparent failure of their hopes of dominating the international Communist movement, splitting and exploiting it in their own interests. At the same time, socialism's peace offensive, its successes and the further consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement have created a new international climate which forces the Maoists to review many of their bankrupt dogmas and political methods.

However, the strategic objective of the Peking leadership's foreign policy, ideologically and politically endorsed by the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China in August 1973, remains unchanged and has, in fact, become even more clearly defined. As the participants in the colloquium see it, the determining aspects of the Maoist leadership's policy on the international arena today are:

- *Active opposition to agreed actions of the international Communist movement* in the main spheres of anti-imperialist struggle, and especially to the socialist community's policy of détente and securing a lasting, stable peace on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Wherever it can, Peking seeks to establish counterbalances hostile to the socialist community, lure individual socialist countries from it and set them off against the Soviet Union, treated by the Maoists as China's main enemy. The Peking leadership's foreign policy, which is characterized by a complete break with the Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of war, peace and revolution, is based on opposition to the international Communist movement and existing socialism and on anti-Sovietism;

- *The gradual long-term reorientation of Peking's political, economic, scientific, technological and military ties towards the imperialist camp for anti-socialist and anti-communist purposes.* There is clearly apparent a similarity between Peking's foreign policy and the strategy of the main imperialist forces, which enables the latter to exploit China's great-power policy in their own interests. In many cases and in many regions of the world China's policy plays into the hands of the most Right-wing and reactionary circles of imperialism, helping them in their fight against Communist parties;

- *Attempts to use the countries of the Third World as a political and economic reserve in China's drive for world hegemony.* While evading open conflicts and confrontations with imperialism in the national-liberation zone, the Peking leadership at the same time urges liberation movements along the road of adventurism, misleads them and seeks to isolate the developing countries from the socialist community and the international Communist movement. Maoist China's very first moves towards partnership with imperialist powers reveal that it is to be achieved at the expense of the developing countries and to the detriment of their national interests. Objectively, the Maoists' policy in the Third World is aimed at creating a system of bases for an eventual recarving of 'spheres of influence' with imperialism; it facilitates the neo-colonialism of capitalist

countries. The Peking leadership's policy of alignment with nationalistic movements, including reactionary ones, is dangerous for the cause of peace and revolution.

Thus, in the view of the participants in the colloquium, the actions of the Maoist leadership of China have, in effect, confronted the international Communist movement with a new front of struggle in both the ideological and diplomatic field. Anti-Communists, opportunists, revisionists and Trotskyites all rely on Maoism in their struggle against Communist parties. They praise Maoist China, decry existing socialism, and try to impose the Maoist 'ideal' on progressive forces. The enemies of socialism embellish the doctrines and political practices of Maoism to discredit existing socialism and undermine the unity of the world Communist movement.

The main struggle, of course, is taking place on the anti-imperialist front. At the same time, one cannot ignore, at this stage, the reality of the second front of struggle opened by the Maoists against revolutionary ideology and the efforts to ensure universal peace. The Peking leaders' international policy harms the cause of anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world. For this reason the participants in the colloquium deem it important to jointly analyze the Maoists' ideological positions and political practices, especially in international affairs.

Contrary to the interests of the revolution

Satiadjaja Sudiman said: Maoism stepped on Indonesian soil brandishing anti-imperialist slogans that sounded 'revolutionary.' It propagated the idea that Southeast Asia was the focus of the world revolutionary movement, China the 'citadel of world revolution' and Indonesia the 'beacon of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.' Subsequent events showed that these slogans, serving Peking's great-power ambitions, were mere camouflage for the Maoist designs of isolating the Communist Party of Indonesia from the world Communist movement and the national liberation movement. And this penetration of the pseudo-revolutionary Maoist ideology into Indonesia's revolutionary and Communist movement, we may recall, caused an appalling tragedy.

The fallacious ideological posture bred fallacious action. Taking their cue from across the sea, the Indonesian Maoists led the Party along an adventurist path. They made Indonesia a testing ground for the Maoist 'revolutionary model.' Nearly a million people paid with their lives for this experiment. The Indonesian Communist and revolutionary movement was flung back, and is suffering the consequences to this day. Such was the outcome of the policy and ambitions of the Peking leadership, which tried to sink the claws of its great-power chauvinism into Indonesia.

Yet the Maoist remnants in the CP of Indonesia leadership continued its totally hopeless line after the defeat of the September 30, 1965, adventure. Maintaining that 'a tongue of flame can consume

a field of grass,' they organized an armed 'mini-uprising' in several Javanese cities without any mass support, recklessly exposing Party members to the fury of the enemy, and in 1967 set up a 'support base' for a 'people's war' to the south of Blitar on Eastern Java, a densely populated area geographically unsuited for guerrilla warfare.

This Maoist adventurism touched off a new wave of repressions, which also claimed victims among Marxist-Leninists working underground. The Maoist acts discredited the CP of Indonesia among the people, and this was exploited by the propaganda machine of the reactionaries. So, none but the enemy profited from the Maoist course of action. The only correct thing to be done in this situation was to begin rebuilding the CPI on a Marxist-Leninist foundation. And this task was set in the Party's program statement of 1969, 'The Urgent Tasks of the Communist Movement in Indonesia.'

Combating Maoism, the CP of Indonesia follows a realistic policy based on the long-term interests of the struggle. The danger that Maoist influence may revive still exists, because the Party has not yet recovered its positions in the country, while Maoist groups manage to find backing in the petty-bourgeois Indonesian milieu. Furthermore, the local Chinese community (some four million), and a number of local Chinese capitalists, are being secretly used as tools in promoting the great-power interests of the Peking leadership. Last but not least, the reactionary regime is encouraging the Maoists, in order to split the Communist ranks.

Nowadays, with the Peking leaders changing their tack 180 degrees from confrontation to outright flirtation with imperialism, it is increasingly evident that Maoism has many ideological points in common with the imperialists and reaction, such as chauvinism, racism and anti-Sovietism, and that its struggle is directly against world peace, and against progress.

The first shots in the long overt and covert ideological struggle of the Maoists against Marxism-Leninism, *Felipe Malaya* said, were fired back in 1945, when a provision stating that the CPC is guided by the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung was included in the Party Rules.

The Maoists have been conducting their political struggle against the world Communist movement for more than 15 years. They sought acceptance of their adventuristic foreign policy by the 1960 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in the hope that aggravation of international tension, and even nuclear confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States would advance their great-power ambitions. Failing in this, they put their signatures to the documents of the meeting, but soon embarked on a vicious anti-Soviet campaign of lies and distortion of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. Posing as the foremost fighters against imperialism, they accused the Soviet Union of 'revisionism,' 'restoration of capitalism' and 'collaboration with U.S. imperialism,' and declared that struggle against Soviet 'revisionism' is a prerequisite for the successful struggle against imperialism. The aim was to isolate the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries from the international Communist and national liberation

movements. They pinned their hopes on the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, seeking to press the Communist parties and the national liberation movement there into the service of their great-power designs.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties demonstrated the growth of the unity of the world Communist movement, its cohesion on the Marxist-Leninist basis, and the isolation of the CP of China. The Maoists were compelled to revise their tactics towards the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, and went over from attempts to isolate them to a global confrontation. In substance, they have subordinated the anti-imperialist objectives of their program to great-power chauvinistic aims and departed from the provisions of the documents of the world Communist movement, to which they had put their signature.

These days, the Peking leaders maintain that China belongs to the Third World, among the developing states. The political purpose of this propaganda maneuver is not merely to demonstratively contrast China to the socialist world (it will be recalled that China's representatives in international organizations, specifically at the recent session of UNCTAD, have asked to strike the People's Republic of China off the list of socialist states and put her down among the developing countries), but also thereby to consolidate Peking's claim to a dominant place in the Third World.

At the same time, the Peking leaders are casting about for ways and means of establishing cooperation with the imperialist powers. Their virulent anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda has, indeed, attracted the attention of the more reactionary elements in the imperialist countries, particularly the United States and the FRG, to the theory and practice of Maoism; they have shown that they appreciate its usefulness for combating the international labor and national liberation movements.

Perhaps more than in any other region of the world, the implementation of the Maoists' great-power aspirations caused the greatest damage to countries neighboring on the People's Republic of China.

After the Second World War, still unaware of the great-power designs of the Maoists in the Philippines, and isolated from the main force of the international Communist movement, the CP of the Philippines declared the existence of a 'revolutionary situation' and conducted its armed struggle accordingly, all the while in close consultation with the Chinese. The armed struggle was defeated and the CPP was seriously weakened. In the late 60s, the Chinese Maoists attempted to persuade the CPP leadership to accept blindly the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung with their anti-Soviet orientation. Failing in the attempt, they encouraged the Maoist-inclined new recruits to capture the leadership of the Party. Expelled from the CPP for their factional and splitting activities, and encouraged and financed by the Chinese Maoists, these people organized a new

party, which they named the 'Re-established Communist Party of the Philippines.'*

It conducted an aggressive anti-Soviet, anti-CPP propaganda campaign. Ignoring the concrete realities of the national situation, it called for a 'protracted people's war,' blindly following Chinese methods. Loudly denouncing U.S. imperialism, while secretly getting support from Filipino CIA agents and other pro-American elements of the exploiting class, the Filipino Maoist Party engaged in terrorism and individual acts of violence, taunting the Marcos government to do its worst, and sowing the seeds of strife in the anti-imperialist movement.

Acting on the jointly framed political line of the international Communist movement, the CPP is exposing Maoist policy and the ideology of the CP of China. The political resolution passed by the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines says:

... Obstructing the advance of the world revolutionary movement are the destructive policies of the Mao Tse-tung leadership which are characterized by anti-Sovietism, petty-bourgeois revolutionism, and great-power chauvinism. The Maoist hostility toward the international Communist movement and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in particular, is of great value to imperialism and a crime against the world revolutionary movement.' The resolution then points out that the support of the Maoist leadership to West Pakistan's massacre of the Bangladesh people and its other acts are evidence enough of hypocrisy and demagoguery that spring from a shameless revisionism of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The Peking leaders and those who support them are certainly of no help to the revolutionary cause, said *Carlos Alba*. There is a deep abyss between the interests of the Communist movement and the postures of the Maoist group both in my country, Bolivia, and on the international scene.

In Latin America the Maoists are carriers of the most vicious anti-Sovietism and try to substitute the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung for the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Undisguised enemies of Latin America's Communist parties, the Maoists attack their strategy and tactics, while extolling their own revolutionary 'model' which has nothing in common with the aims of the Latin American working-class and popular movement.

The Maoists have put into circulation numerous anti-Marxist propositions concerning the content of the revolutionary process in Latin America and the ways to follow in establishing workers' and people's power. They endeavor to portray themselves as the sole exponents of armed struggle. In the ideological and theoretical context, the Maoist tenets closely resemble the voluntaristic views of the other petty-bourgeois schools that make an absolute of armed revolution and advocate terrorism. And in the political context, too, Maoism seeks contact primarily with the ultra-Left.

The main aspect of the tactical and strategic line of the Latin American Maoists is the so-called theory of 'people's war,' based

*See F. Balagtas, 'Maoists in the Philippines,' WMR, June 1973.

on a warped one-sided interpretation of the history of the Chinese revolution.

The main lessons of the Chinese revolution are the common legacy of the world revolutionary movement. This applies, for example, to certain elements of the strategy framed jointly by the Communist Party of China and the Communist International in the early 30s. But, parroting the slogans of 'peasant warfare' and 'encirclement of cities,' the Latin American Maoists distort this strategy and ignore the factors which dictate the objectives and methods of the revolutionary action of the masses in Latin America. Attempts to apply the Chinese model of a 'people's war' to the Latin American environment are utopian and futile. This has been borne out many times in different countries. When the progressive Torres government was in power in Bolivia, for example, the Maoist group chose to obstruct the regime and, what was still worse, tried to incite a 'people's war' at a time when all efforts should have been concentrated on extending the basis of the working-class movement by involving the patriotic army elements and drawing the peasants into an alliance with all the laboring masses under the leadership of the working class. In such a situation the Maoist call for a 'people's war' objectively benefited the putschist designs of reaction and imperialism. And it may also be noted in this context that no Maoists had ever been leaders of armed guerrilla movements in any of the Latin American countries.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America are certainly not moved by any kind of 'pacifism' in rejecting the slogan of a 'people's war.' But they know that no revolutionary force can be regarded as an absolute or treated in isolation. In all cases, we must proceed from the analysis of the concrete situation. Marxism, Lenin stressed, acknowledges diverse forms of struggle; it does not 'invent' them, and merely generalizes, organizes, and injects purpose into those forms which arise by themselves in the course of the movement of the revolutionary classes (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 213.).

Splitting and disorientation tactics

The 60s, said Luis Ribeiro, were marked by an acute politico-ideological struggle between the Communist and Workers' parties and the Maoists, by the CPC leaders' attempts to impose their pernicious adventurist course on the world Communist movement. The Maoist assault was formidable. The followers of the 'Chinese revolutionary line' attacked the Communist parties, maligned their leaders, sowed division, and created 'splinter parties' which Peking exploited for its hegemonic aims.

It is safe to say that by now the Maoists' general offensive to seize control of the Communist movement has been repulsed both in Latin America and the rest of the world, though the Maoists did succeed in some countries to block the use of opportunities that would have considerably extended the influence of Marxism-

Leninism and drawn a larger section of the masses into the anti-imperialist struggle. 'It is more obvious each day,' said Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CP of Colombia, at the 11th Congress of the Party, 'that the split in the world Communist movement caused by the disruptive activity of the Chinese Maoist leaders, has slowed the tempo of the revolutionary struggle and delayed the emergence of a great worldwide front of all the anti-imperialist forces of our time.'

Maoism's politico-ideological defeat in the world Communist movement does not mean that the struggle can be slackened either in the national framework, against the pro-Maoist groups, or on the international scale, against the great-power policy and ideas of the Peking leadership. Yet if we cast a glance at the social background of the Maoist groups, we shall see that they recruit their members among renegades, factionalists expelled from Communist parties, and surviving Trotskyists who, generally speaking, do not represent a serious political force.

There is a small Maoist group, for example, which calls itself the 'Communist Party of Brazil.' Its influence among the students, let alone the workers, is, in effect, negligible. Yet Peking offers it official support, sends it all kinds of messages of greeting, reprints and disseminates its slander against the Brazilian Communist Party across the world through its Hsinhua news agency. Evidently, the Maoist CPC leadership wishes to create the impression, and this also among the Party members in its own country, that it is not totally isolated in the world Communist movement and that there are even entire 'Communist parties' supporting it. This is obviously the principal motive.

While still mainly using their old tactics against the Brazilian Communist Party and some other parties, attacking them with the help of the divisive Maoist groups, the CPC leaders are beginning to use new methods against the world Communist movement as a whole, such as selective cessation of attacks on parties, coupled with attempts to establish relations with them. This is essentially an attempt to induce some parties to stop criticizing Maoism, to achieve rapprochement with them, and thereby weaken the international struggle against the Maoist ideology and policy. On the other hand, the facts show, the Maoist leaders would like nothing better than to secure a staging area within the world Communist movement for intensified attacks against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Here is their own description of this tactic: 'Hit the head, and the rest will fall apart by itself.'

To underestimate the Maoist danger and to abstain from combating it politically and ideologically, is fraught with grave consequences. The Maoists are using a vast country with a population of over 750 million as a base of support, and the policy directed against the world Communist and working-class movement is being pursued in the name of that country.

It is important, said Idris Cox, for every Communist party to understand the political implications of Maoism, to answer it in

a political way and to expose both the theory and practice of Maoism. We cannot separate the struggle against Maoism in the ideological field from the actual struggle taking place in a given country. Speaking from my experience in a country where Maoism is not so strong but where it did get a hold among students, it was necessary to combine the ideological struggle with the actual daily practice of mass work. We don't win people over to Marxism-Leninism by propaganda alone, because those we want to win over must learn from their own experience in the common struggle where the Communists stand and where the Maoists stand.

We found that our struggle against Maoism was immensely strengthened by building up a united front of students for bigger grants, for better hostels, for better conditions in which they could live. It is in the field of the practical struggle that the British Maoists were exposed even more so than in the theoretical criticism of their ideas. As a result of our success in Britain in destroying to a very great extent the Maoist influence, Communists and their supporters now occupy key positions in the leadership of the National Union of Students and the Maoists have no grip at all on the leadership.

There are three main aspects in the Peking leadership's activities in Africa, said *Mahgoub Osman*. The first is anti-Sovietism, the struggle against the countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place. The second thing is that they encourage extremist and adventurous tendencies. The third is to try to split Communist parties wherever they are in African countries.

In order to achieve these aims the Chinese leadership resorts to different ways and means. One method is to use the economic problems of African countries seeking aid. Peking uses offers of economic assistance as a means of pressure and gaining influence. It is interesting to note that in offering economic help the Chinese leadership is motivated not by the Africans' objective needs, but by its own desire to discredit the Soviet Union and fan hostility against it. This is the general line of interference in the affairs of African countries practised by the Peking leadership.

If we follow the history of African national-liberation movements, we find that from the beginning the Chinese leadership has persistently tried to influence their leaders. In certain cases they succeeded. But on the whole, their splitting tactics have failed. The credit for their failure to split the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) should go largely to the late Comrade Cabral, who was aware of the danger of Maoism.

Another aspect of Peking's activities in Africa is its attempts to influence national bourgeois governments. In certain cases they were able to achieve their goals and the result was very detrimental. For example, yielding to Chinese influence, Modibo Keita in Mali tried to copy the so-called cultural revolution and as a result of this his party became very weak and his government was overthrown. Maoist influence in the Congo resulted in serious upheavals there. I know from a personal conversation with Gamal Abdel

Nasser, said M. Osman, that he was troubled by the Maoist influence in African and Arab countries and referred in particular to China's 'zones of influence.'

The overall tendency of the past five years is clear: the Maoists' influence in African and Arab countries has diminished and is continuing to diminish. The causes for their failure lie not only in the growing ideological maturity of the national-liberation movement. The decisive factor is the realistic, steadfast anti-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union. The splitter groupings active in African countries can no longer serve as a viable channel for propagating Maoist ideas. Accordingly, the Peking leadership is revising its tactics with regard to liberation movements.

In the early 60s the Peking leadership regarded the Communist Party of Sudan as anti-Maoist. In 1964 a split occurred in the party, but only 40 CC members followed the Peking line, and soon the group of splitters disintegrated. Since then there have been no difficulties in the party's struggle against Maoism.

Judging by results, the Peking leadership's reaction to the events in Sudan in 1971 served a useful purpose in Arab and African countries: many of those who had held wavering positions with regard to the Peking line saw how wrong the Maoists were. In particular, the Maoist organization in Lebanon which had existed for 10 years (from 1964 to 1973) declared early this year that it was dissolving itself, giving as one of the causes its rejection of the Chinese stand with regard to the Communist Party of Sudan.

As already pointed out, during the 60s, said *Michael Harmel*, great hopes were lavished upon a group of organizations which had split away from the main liberation movements of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. With the advent of the 70s this precarious 'alliance' has virtually disintegrated. The leaders of the breakaway organizations have been largely discredited and exposed as careerists and opportunists. Peking has apparently lost interest in them and is attempting to restore its relationships with the authentic liberation movements which, during the 60s, it had one-sidedly severed. On their side, the breakaway leaders seem to have lost their enthusiasm for the 'thoughts of Chairman Mao' as soon as the subventions from China dried up.

On the other hand, signs are not wanting of new initiatives by the Peking rulers to win adherents in Africa. And here one does not have in mind only or mainly the groups of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who every now and again proclaim themselves as 'the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)' in this or that African country or proceed to open a Chinese bookshop.

More serious is the drive of Peking to exploit its relationships with African governments, more particularly those which cooperate more or less openly with imperialism. With anti-Sovietism now stridently proclaimed as the main plank of Chinese foreign policy, the 'anti-imperialist' posture which was formerly adopted is being relegated more and more to the background. In these circumstances, certain African functionaries whose economic and

political dependence on the European former masters of their countries is well known, will be able to move towards closer relationships with Peking, with the acquiescence, even the approval, of the former metropolitan countries.

Peking's anti-Sovietism has few followers in the national liberation movement. This was clearly reflected at the recent Algiers non-aligned conference, where the anti-Soviet line urged by Qaddafi was rejected by the majority.

In our country, the FRG, said Georg Kwiatowski, Maoist groups have lately been doing serious harm to the class struggle even though they are operating in only a few cities and their positions in the enterprises and trade unions are rather weak. They reject working-class struggle for immediate social and democratic as well as anti-monopoly demands. They describe it as opportunism and try to form an anti-trade union opposition.

A Maoist group particularly active on these lines is the one which calls itself the 'Communist Party of Germany.' Needless to say, it has nothing to do with the CPG founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1918 and banned in 1956. The group published in its journal* a program which is aimed at splitting the unions and calls for a 'movement against the capitalists, reformists and revisionists of the GCP-SUP of West Berlin.'

While declaring for 'revolution by the masses' without regard to the actual situation, the Maoists ignore the workers' struggle for their interests against monopoly capital. Their divisive policy hampers the growth of the proletariat's political consciousness. Posing as Communists, they discredit Communist ideology and policy through their activities. Their provocations furnish the reactionaries with an added pretext to present the policy of genuine Communists in a false light and step up attacks on the GCP. When, for example, the reactionary press comments on Left-wing groups, it invariably names the GCP although our Party has nothing in common with the Maoists and fights against their adventurist activities.

The big bosses of corporations skilfully use Maoist groups against the trade unions and the GCP. The bourgeois press gives ample coverage to the groups' activity to raise the Maoists' prestige and make the public believe that they wield a strong influence on the working class and labor unions.

The Maoist groups' political activity is marked by rabid anti-Sovietism. 'The Soviet Union and the GDR are no longer workers' states,' their newspaper, *Roter Morgen*, wrote. 'The proletariat must reconquer power there.' This allegation is identical with the Peking leaders' utterances. The Maoists do not confine themselves to slandering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries but openly call for the overthrow of the system existing there. *Neue Zeit*, a periodical published by the New Right Action group, commented: 'Germans are exploited in both parts of Germany. The working people do not own the production apparatus either here (FRG) or there (GDR).'

**Revolutionäre Gewerkschafts-Opposition*.

In 1971 neo-Nazi groups were already weighing the possibility of cooperating with ultra-Leftists. Frey, publisher of the neo-fascist *National Zeitung*, wrote about Maoist groups as follows: 'We should consider whether the time has not come to convince diverse Leftist groups in the universities . . . that for the defenders of national freedom as well, Chairman Mao is a genuine friend in the struggle against the national oppression of our German fatherland.' Early in 1973 *Rebell*, a neo-Nazi paper for schoolchildren, carried a communique on a meeting of young members of neo-Nazi and Maoist groups. The communique said that 'the Maoists and national revolutionaries are at one in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism' and that 'state capitalism in the GDR is rightly regarded as a means of exploitation and foreign domination.'

Resistance to international détente and its 'theoretical' justification

The Maoist groups' making common cause in the FRG with reactionary organizations, G. Kwiatowski continued, is supplemented by the Peking leaders' growing support for opponents of détente from the CDU/CSU who are united behind Strauss, Carstens and Dregger, as well as from Right-wing Social Democrats. The Springer press constantly stresses the coincidence of the position of China's Maoist leadership with the 'German point of view,' that is, the position of West German revanchists. Frey, the neo-fascist, wrote in an open letter to Chou En-lai: 'The Germans and the peoples of Eastern Europe look to China as a helper, as a liberator from foreign Muscovite rule. . . . We shall never forget the fact that China refuses to recognize Soviet occupation along the Oder and Neisse.' Ignoring the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the GDR and FRG, the Peking leaders, like the West German revanchists, call for a 'reunified Germany,' alleging that the German question is still 'open.'

At their friendly meeting in the Crimea, leaders of the brother parties of socialist countries stressed their desire to consolidate the positive changes brought about on the international scene and extend the peace zone to the whole world. The policy of détente and peaceful cooperation between states is supported by the peoples and the whole of progressive, peace-loving world opinion. Yet the Peking leadership's stance on this fundamental issue of world development is the exact opposite. Peking tries to sow distrust among peoples and to disrupt the process of improving international relations. This course of action is pursued in accordance with the preposterous theory that 'colossal upheavals' in the world are in the peoples' interest.

We Communists of the FRG criticize, of course, the foreign policy of China's Maoist leadership. What would it have meant for us to refrain from combating it? In that case we would also have had to renounce our struggle against the more reactionary circles in the FRG and take a neutral stand towards them. This is unthinkable for Marxist-Leninists, for a party fighting for peace and

progress and the interests of the working class. In other words, the very logic of the fight against reaction necessitates resistance to the Peking leaders' policy. We consider that struggle against Maoist foreign policy, which coincides with the strategy of the ultra-Rightists and the more reactionary forces of imperialism, is increasingly becoming an important component of the anti-imperialist fight for security, peace and détente.

The allegation that 'the world is dominated by two superpowers,' said *Kostas Pafitis*, remains the key thesis of the Peking 'theorists.' What countries are meant is clear. However, the Peking leaders have lately been talking less and less about combating U.S. imperialism while calling ever more vehemently for struggle against one country, the socialist Soviet Union. All the philosophizing over the concept of 'two superpowers' is designed to justify from the standpoint of 'theory' Maoist China's unprincipled compromising with imperialism and the policy of forming an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist bloc with reactionary imperialist forces, on the one hand, and the bourgeois nationalists in the Third World holding anti-Communist views, on the other. This is the social and political foundation of the concept.

The evolution of the Peking theorists' views is revealing. In the first half of the 60s they said China had 'three enemies': imperialism, headed by the U.S., 'modern revisionism' (meaning the Soviet Union and other members of the Socialist community) and the 'reactionaries in various countries.' At the Ninth Congress of the CPC (1969), only 'two enemies' were maintained: U.S. imperialism and 'Soviet revisionism.' The Tenth CPC Congress approved a guideline describing the Soviet Union as the 'primary' enemy, one 'more dangerous' than imperialism of the 'old type.'

Peking propaganda represents the Soviet Union as an 'enemy' of both China and all other countries. Moreover, it alleges that the Soviet Union is more dangerous to, say, the European countries than to China. The aim is obvious—the Maoists try to exert ideological pressure on public opinion so as to torpedo détente on the plea that this is in the interest of European countries, even more than of China itself.

It is worthy of note that depending on the nature of the audience, the concept of 'superpowers' is supported with the most diverse 'theoretical' arguments. Bearing in mind the European bourgeoisie, Peking theorists use geopolitical formulas and stress the 'common interests' of the Soviet Union's eastern and western neighbors in achieving a 'power equilibrium in regard to the USSR' to stave off a situation in which any country may find itself, or so they say, under 'Soviet rule.' In Third World countries, the emphasis is on the racial, nationalist slogan of uniting 'colored,' 'small' or 'poor' nations against 'white,' 'rich,' 'superpower' nations. Exploiting the anti-imperialist sentiment in the Third World, Peking propaganda spreads falsehoods to the effect that the Soviet Union is an 'expansionist' country, that it embodies 'social imperialism'—an imperial policy of a 'new type'—and so on and so forth. The purpose

of this slander campaign is to mislead the national liberation movement and set its various contingents against the socialist world system, against the Soviet Union.

It will be seen that the Peking leaders' concept of 'superpowers,' especially its new slant, confirms their frank hostility to socialism and the world Communist movement.

The news of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, said *Ib Norlund*, was received by the working people of Europe with warm sympathy and aroused optimistic hopes. This sharp turn in the history of the world's most populous country could have meant a strengthening of socialism that would have made it possible to resist imperialism's aggressive aspirations more effectively. The peoples of European countries hoped that new China would become an ally in the fight against the war menace in Europe stemming from the imperialist 'policy from positions of strength.'

However, the peoples of Europe, who seek détente and peaceful coexistence, note that China's foreign policy is no longer their ally. On the contrary, in reply to their solidarity with the new Chinese state, they are attacked for their efforts to bring about security and peace.

The 'ideological' arguments which the Maoist leadership trots out to justify its volte-face serve the great-power objectives of China's policy, which coincide with the interests of world reaction. Aggressive imperialist quarters were quick to notice this and they like it. 'China's moves against the Soviets,' wrote Franz-Joseph Strauss, 'strengthen our political defenses, since they give us weighty fact-backed, rather than artificially contrived arguments against the demand of so-called realistic policy that the status quo in Europe be recognized,'* that is, against easing tensions and establishing a durable world order.

Whereas the peoples of Europe are carrying on a strenuous struggle against the effects of imperialist integration and against the policy of military blocs, the Peking leadership strives for a stronger EEC and NATO and resists every step towards détente. *Jenminjihpao* called the agreements between the Soviet Union and the FRG a 'betrayal of the German people's interests.' The Chinese delegate to the UN labelled the European Security Conference an 'insecurity conference.' Peking is happy about the extension of the EEC as a result of the entry of three more countries whose peoples were against joining that body.

For a long time Peking claimed that its foreign policy was directed against China's 'two enemies' – the Soviet Union and the United States – which meant equating the main force of socialism and the main force of imperialism. They have lately revised this position in favor of imperialism. 'For the first time,' *Frankfurter Allgemeine* wrote, 'Peking has pointed to the positive role which a superpower, America, could play in strengthening West European unity.' Chou En-lai made a similar statement. He told Hill, an Australian Maoist, that it was necessary to 'cooperate with all

*Franz-Joseph Strauss, *Herausforderung und Antwort*. Stuttgart, 1968, p. 112.

forces' including reactionary ones, so long as they are opposed to the Soviet Union.'

The Peking leaders' policy against détente is a logical product of their conception of war, peace and revolution. The Maoists regard war as one of the principal means of achieving China's world political aims. It will be remembered that in 1957 Mao Tse-tung said half of mankind could be sacrificed to defeat imperialism.

People's attitude to facts is determined by their ideology. It is perfectly clear that the Maoist ideology has nothing in common with socialist ideology since the political position prescribed by it is directed against socialism, against the interests of the peoples and of peace.

The Maoist leaders of China, said *Sarada Mitra*, consider the region of Asia as their sphere of influence and that the establishment of their hegemony in Asia would naturally constitute their first decisive step towards the realization of their great-power chauvinistic plans in the world.

Already from the mid-50s the Maoist leadership undertook their so-called 'cartographic aggression,' when maps began appearing in China indicating vast areas of neighboring countries as 'undetermined.' Later on the PRC claimed the 'return' of territories from her neighbors. While arguing for their expansionist claims the Peking leaders maintained an anti-imperialist posture. They described the present borders as imperialist creation and those who stuck to them were only sticking to the 'heritage of imperialism.' Under such 'anti-imperialist' slogans Peking initiated armed clashes at the borders with Burma, Nepal and India.

The next phase of Chinese foreign policy in Asia is associated with attempts to split the international Communist movement and use pro-Maoist elements in different countries for its hegemonistic aims. In the 60s splits took place in the Communist parties and other progressive organizations in India, East Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal. This was the most serious blow that Peking could deliver to the revolutionary movement and the people of the Indian subcontinent.

At present in the region of Asia there exist a plethora of pro-Maoist groups calling themselves Marxist or Marxist-Leninist. To varying degrees they are influenced by the 'thoughts of Mao Tse-tung,' though they differ in their interpretation. Nevertheless, what is common to all of them is their anti-Sovietism. Today pro-Maoist groupings are in a state of ideological disarray caused by their alienation from the masses, and their isolation, as well as by the Peking leadership's own policy. The rapprochement between Peking and Washington and the apparent change in the Chinese attitude towards the U.S. presence in Asia is becoming inexplicable to many of those who believed Peking to be pursuing an uncompromising policy towards U.S. imperialism. Some pro-Maoist groups in the Indian subcontinent, while being apparently critical of Peking's excesses, continue to denounce the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Though such a policy of 'criticizing both'

appears to be independent of the Maoist line, in essence both have common roots in petty-bourgeois nationalism. No wonder this policy has evoked sympathy even among the most reactionary circles who describe it as 'truly patriotic.'

The recent actions of the Peking leaders reveal glaringly that in the interests of their great-power aims they are prepared to go to any length, even to oppose openly the national-liberation movement and even to compromise politically with imperialism. The most vivid example of this was China's attitude towards the struggle of the people of Bangladesh. The coincidence of Chinese policy with that of U.S. imperialism on this point is by no means accidental, for to the leaders of the PRC and to the U.S. aggressive circles the increasing relationship between the developing states and the socialist community has become the real obstacle for the realization of their respective aims. Policy failures have given China and the U.S. a common platform. The USA is unable to keep its semi-colonial domination, and the PRC is unable to achieve its hegemonistic aims through old methods.

The use of a growing military potential still forms part of the PRC's policy towards her Asian neighbors. The explosion of A-bombs is a way of demonstrating China's power. In the UN the Maoists voted against halting nuclear and thermonuclear tests. During the liberation of Bangladesh the PRC came out with direct threats against India. The Peking leaders have no desire to promote the normalization of relations between the states of the Indian sub-continent and they persistently oppose the Soviet proposal for a collective security system in Asia. They openly favor a continued U.S. military presence in Asia to counterbalance 'Soviet expansionism.'

At present Chinese foreign policy is no longer based on a class, proletarian approach. The Maoist leadership has not simply taken a stand on the sidelines of the class confrontation between capitalism and socialism; on a number of international issues it falls in line with the reactionary forces of imperialism. The CPC continues its splitting activities in the international Communist movement and its attacks against its ideological platform. The Maoist interpretation of the world today is aimed at destroying the class approach of the world Communist movement, at supplanting proletarian internationalism by petty-bourgeois nationalism. To minimize the harmful effects of Maoist theory and policy, a consistent and vigorous exposure of Peking's propaganda and actions has assumed greater importance today.

At the beginning of the 60s, said *Laszlo Nagy*, the PRC leaders anathematized the principle of peaceful coexistence of states and branded it as revisionism. It was then that the ideas of a 'people's war' against imperialism, of the need to create more hotbeds of international tension were brandished aloft in China's propaganda. A new turn came with the 70s. The PRC established ties with the leading capitalist powers, calls for a 'people's war' from Peking became less frequent, and the term 'peaceful coexistence' was

revived. All this has provided the basis for claims that the PRC has reverted to the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is even suggested that this is part of an overall policy change. But is this really so? Can it be claimed that the PRC's contacts with the imperialist countries reflect peaceful coexistence?

Others have already spoken here of the 'theoretical' basis on which the PRC leaders are building their foreign policy. I would like to draw attention to one more aspect of the Maoists' 'theoretical' endeavors. At the Ninth CPC Congress the thesis was enunciated that the main contradiction of our epoch was the contradiction between the oppressed peoples, on the one hand, and imperialism and 'social-imperialism,' on the other. And, following the pattern set by rabid anti-communism, 'social-imperialism,' even 'fascism,' are used to describe the state and social system of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. This deliberate falsification is at the bottom of the Maoist theory of international relations. According to this theory the world today is divided into two poles, with the so-called 'superpowers,' i.e., the USA and the USSR, on one, the PRC on the other, and all other countries in 'intermediate zones' (with the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 'first zone,' and 'some of the main capitalist countries of West and East' in the 'second zone'). The objective of the PRC's foreign policy is to weld together the 'intermediate zones' against the 'superpowers.'

There is also this important aspect of Chinese foreign policy: whom do the Maoists regard as China's chief enemy? For many years Chinese propaganda maintained that the U.S. was the chief enemy; the Chinese were told that the USSR was 'revisionist' precisely because it was not fighting U.S. imperialism. But here is how it answers this question today.

Shortly before Nixon's visit to China the Chinese journal *Red Flag* carried an article updating the interpretation of an article written by Mao Tse-tung in 1940. It says, in part: 'Having made this scientific differentiation within the enemy camp, Chairman Mao clearly distinguished between the primary and secondary enemy, and using this concrete differentiation isolated the then primary enemy of the Chinese people.' The article continues: 'Chairman Mao's analysis of the position in the enemy camp gives us a correct clue to an understanding of the present-day situation.' Before Nixon's arrival in Peking it was orally explained to the Chinese cadres that the Soviet Union was enemy No. 1 and that it had to be isolated with the help of the enemy No. 2, the United States.

An attempt was made to support this point of view at the 10th CPC Congress, by declaring that there existed the danger of 'a surprise attack on our country by social-imperialism' — meaning the Soviet Union. The Peking leaders evidently need their slanderous claims of alleged Soviet aggressiveness to justify their rabid anti-Sovietism in the eyes of the CPC and the Chinese people.

This, too, is the purpose of juggling with Maoist propositions applied out of time and context. The international Communist

movement, as is known, collectively worked out a scientific definition of the present epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution. As opposed to this, the Central Committee report to the CPC Congress quotes Mao Tse-tung's assertion that 'we are still living in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.' Thus, Peking would present matters as though imperialism dominates the world unchallenged as it did more than half a century ago. This claim is supported by pronouncements made from the Congress rostrum that the Soviet Union is an 'imperialist' country; nothing is left of the growing impact of the socialist world system on the course of history, of its decisive role in the anti-imperialist struggle, of the very existence of world socialism.

False assumptions give rise to false conclusions. In assessing the international situation, it was declared at the congress: 'Détente is a temporary and superficial development and tremendous upheavals will continue in future. Such tremendous upheavals are good for the people, not bad.' This is supposed to provide the theoretical explanation of why the Peking leadership opposes détente and bases its policy on the eventuality of tremendous upheavals on the international arena.

The meaning of all these 'theoretical' exercises is apparent even to bourgeois commentators. Speaking of the foreign policy platform of the 10th CPC Congress, the French newspaper *Combat* wrote that Chou En-lai had launched a merciless struggle against East-West détente.

Important elements in this struggle, as can be seen from the report to the Congress, are, on the one hand, attempts to form a 'broad united front' of any social forces and countries against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and, on the other, 'necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist states.' What is meant by this formula of 'compromises' with imperialism?

We hold that, in itself, the fact that China is expanding economic, cultural and political links with the capitalist world, could be welcomed. But the main question is the basis on which these links are established and their aims. The Peking leadership is now establishing its relations with imperialist states on the basis of China's confrontation with the socialist countries, on the basis of anti-Sovietism, for the purposes of its great-power policy. It is opposed to every move towards international détente. It is opposed to disarmament, the European security conference, the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and Poland, the Soviet proposal for a non-aggression treaty between the USSR and PRC. Objectively, the Chinese leadership's policy disunites the front of anti-imperialist forces and narrows the basis of the struggle for the final, irreversible assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international life.

In present-day conditions, *the participants in the colloquium stressed*, Maoism as an ideological trend is turning into a brand of anti-

communism. The Maoists have set themselves the prime task of getting the international Communist movement to refrain from critically analyzing their ideology and policies. While continuing to support pro-Maoist groups in many countries, the Peking leaders are at the same time attempting to induce individual Communist parties, if not to side with them, then at least to adopt a position of neutrality. They represent their struggle against the international Communist movement as a controversy with the CPSU and appeal to others not to join it.

But this 'controversy' between the USSR and China is not a conflict of national interests of states; it is a confrontation of two policies: a policy of socialist internationalism and a policy of great-power chauvinism, a confrontation of proletarian and petty-bourgeois-nationalistic ideologies. Any attempt to reduce the differences in the international Communist movement to the level of differences between the national interests of two states would, in effect, mean reiterating the theses of Maoist propaganda. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries want better relations with the PRC and believe that they are possible. But only if the Chinese leadership abides by the principles of mutual respect, sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs and ceases its encroachments on the interests of socialist states.

Neutrality, attempts to keep out of the ideological-political struggle against Maoism are fraught with grave consequences. A clear definition of their attitude towards the Maoists, a principled assessment of Maoist notions from positions of Marxism-Leninism help our parties to strengthen their ranks, get rid of opportunist elements and enhance their mass appeal. Of primary importance in the struggle against the Chinese leadership's subversive actions is the further consolidation of the Communist movement's unity.

The participants in the colloquium hold that in the world Communist movement following the Marxist-Leninist road there never have been, nor are there now, any objective causes for the CPC's departure from the documents of international Communist meetings it had signed together with other Communist parties. The principal causes have been the subjective motivations of the Chinese leaders. The participants in the colloquium hold that if Peking departed, not merely in words (and at the 10th Congress such words as the five principles of peaceful co-existence, were bandied about), from the dangerous road in international relations, it could make outstanding contributions to détente and universal peace, which would represent a major factor of progress for the anti-imperialist struggle and the development of the world revolutionary process. As in all countries, the genuine national interests of China and its successful socialist development can be ensured only in fraternal union with the countries of the socialist community, with the international Communist movement.

Non-alignment: role and perspectives

Commentary

The movement of non-alignment emerged in a stormy period of post-war history. The cold-war winds blew across the world, armaments were being built up, and the contention between the forces of progress and reaction was exceedingly sharp. The imperialists countered the national liberation struggle, the emergence of many new independent states, with virulent neo-colonialism. Numerous 'development' projects were peddled, designed to keep newly-free countries economically dependent. And still more numerous were the imperialist attempts to saddle them with new forms of political diktat, and involve them in military blocs against the socialist countries, against the aims and interests of national liberation.

Seeing the dangers of the aggressively expansionist imperialist strategy, the Belgrade Conference (1961), which laid down the guide-lines for the international policy of non-alignment, defined non-participation in military alliances as the fundamental common principle. And even in this limited sense, the formula of non-alignment fortified the efforts of an ever-growing number of Third World countries to consolidate the independence of former colonies and semi-colonies in foreign affairs against the neo-colonialist aspirations of imperialism and for sounder international relations. The number of countries that joined the non-alignment movement grew swiftly, attesting to the vitality of the shaping political line. With 25 states participating in Belgrade, a similar conference in Cairo five years later drew 47, and the one in Lusaka four years after - 54. The Algiers conference of non-aligned countries two months ago was attended by 76 states and observers and guests from 13 countries and 16 national-liberation organizations. The international prestige of the Algiers forum was emphasized by numerous messages from heads of states and progressive public organizations, expressing support for the anti-imperialist orientation of the non-alignment movement and applauding its contribution to the consolidation of the national independence of the peoples, to the drive for social progress.

Looking back at the Algiers Conference in the light of the controversial reactions in the press and on the political scene, it is probably appropriate to appraise its results from the stand-point not only of the present international role of non-alignment, but also its problems and perspectives.

Gathering in a new historical ambience at the beginning of a turn towards peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the Algiers Conference reaffirmed the key political prin-

ciples of non-alignment – its active opposition to war and aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination – and its solidarity with peoples fighting against all forms of imperialist coercion. One of its resolutions condemned and declared 'null and void' Israel's colonialist undertakings in the occupied Arab territories. The support for the just Arab cause, world political quarters noted, deepened the isolation of Israel and her imperialist allies. Another resolution gave recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government as the sole lawful and plenipotentiary representative of the people of the Republic of South Vietnam. Expressing its solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Conference called for an end to all imperialist interference in Vietnamese affairs and for lasting peace in the country. It gave its unanimous support to the peoples' struggle against the South-African racists and the Portuguese colonialists.

The Conference thrashed out measures that would protect non-aligned countries against the operations of foreign concerns, reaffirming their sovereignty over natural resources and their right to nationalize industry, including oil. This is a noteworthy point. The changes in the international situation have necessitated a more precise definition of non-alignment. In the non-aligned capitals there were efforts to produce a more finished definition of the 'positive essence' of the movement and its strategy of consolidation across the world through some kind of 'communications medium.' The tendency to accentuate the economic aspects gained precedence even before the conference got under way, and was fortified in a set of concrete measures by Arab and African governments. On the very eve of the Conference, the Premier of Libya announced the nationalization of 51 per cent of the assets of the six biggest foreign oil companies in the country, doubling of the price of oil, and said U.S. dollars would not be accepted in payment for it. This was qualified as an act of protest against imperialist support of Israel's Middle East policy. Ten Arab member-states of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries ranged themselves behind this action. Following in the wake of similar, though somewhat more moderate, measures by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Algeria, this had the effect of a bombshell against the backdrop of the 'energy crisis' in the capitalist world.

Economic independence from imperialism, coupled with active economic cooperation, was one of the crucial issues discussed in Algiers. An understanding was reached to form a development fund, banks and other organizations that would enable the non-aligned countries to use their natural resources with the greatest benefit for their own independent growth.

It is easily seen that the Algiers resolutions are impregnated with a sharp political content and express the determination of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to continue their struggle for liberation and to make it more effective through the use of new opportunities for broader counteraction against imperialism.

It is patently evident, too, that the Conference has fortified the

far-reaching successes of the world national-liberation movement and contributed constructively to the definition of its progressive international position. Its outcome has reaffirmed the positive and fruitful role of non-alignment on the world scene.

This does not go to say, however, that the problems relating to the sharp ideological controversy touched off by the non-alignment movement since its inception, have been wiped off the slate. The Algiers Conference and the accompanying appraisals and commentaries even seem to have added fuel to the global discussion of the formulas and content of non-alignment and its place and perspectives in the system of international relations. The watershed between the two political attitudes towards the non-aligned states, is drawn as before by the main class contradiction of our epoch – the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. The fundamental disparity of the two attitudes is well known, and has also been examined in this journal.*

The socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties have on many occasions, in official papers and statements, expressed their support of the states that have opted for non-alignment. They have also emphasized the significance of the Algiers Conference, and of its resolutions against political and economic dependence on imperialism, and for national and social liberation. This is quite natural, because the anti-imperialist orientation of non-alignment coincides with the interests of the Communists, promoting the historic mission of the working class, with the interests of all those fighting against the system of exploitation and oppression.

Not surprisingly, too, imperialism and colonialism are mounting acts of ideological subversion against this mass movement, seeking to prejudice its principles in the eyes of the non-aligned peoples. Typically, the propaganda of the enemies of non-alignment falsifies its fundamental principles: it is said to aspire to the principle that 'poor' countries should live off the 'rich,' that it seeks unconditional neutrality bordering on isolationism, that it balances between the 'superpowers' and plays them off against each other in wresting concessions. By so doing, the foes of non-alignment are, in effect, trying to emasculate the movement of its social content.

It is a mistake to imagine that there is total unanimity among the non-aligned states. Their movement has not yet gone very far. Social differences breed substantial differences in attitude. And from time to time burrs appear on its own soil, fertilized by ideological subversion.

Throughout the preparatory stages – from the Georgetown Foreign Ministers' conference of 17 non-aligned countries to the Algiers Conference itself – there were many expressions of pessimism and much questioning of the strength and scope of the movement and its future. Most of the pessimism revolved around this thesis: the change-over from cold war to détente, from 'bloc confrontation' to Great-Power rapprochement have deprived the movement of

*See WMR, November 1970.

its *raison d'être*. The Cairo *Al-Ahram* commented that *détente* benefited only the Great Powers, all the rest would gain nothing. And this from the Teheran *Kayhan International*: 'Many of those represented at the conference continue to swear by non-alignment, but are hardly non-aligned themselves.' There was more in the same vein.

But the most explicit expression of pessimism and disbelief in the movement—in a speech that was all but an outright challenge to all the participating countries—came from President Quadaffi of Libya. 'Non-alignment in its true understanding has disappeared,' he told the conference, 'we have done away with it wittingly or unwittingly.' His argumentation can lay no claim to novelty: it is based on the entirely false doctrine of 'two superpowers,' 'two imperialisms.'

Colonel Quadaffi's speech was in sharp contrast to the attitude of most of the conference delegations and left much of the press puzzled. 'Why did he come here in the first place?' asked the *Paris Monde*, 'to break up the conference, sow confusion, start a row or assert his personality?' It has to be said, however, that the 'two imperialisms' theory, first circulated by the Peking ideologists, has found supporters not only in Libya. Shortly before the conference, the West European capitalist press, and newspapers in some Afro-Asian countries, too, took up the shopworn concept of 'two superpowers,' the struggle of 'rich' and 'poor' countries, the 'incompatibility' of the interests of socialism and non-alignment.

It is against this background that one should consider the presence at Algiers of an observer delegation from the People's Republic of China. There was this revealing comment in the Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*: 'Peking has its eyes fixed on the Third World, and as its self-appointed protector is anxious to tie it to its own policy and use it against others. But behind such protection lurks a Great-Power policy based on definite strategic and political considerations.'

Attempts to set the non-aligned countries against the socialist world, and accuse the Soviet Union of 'imperialist propensities' because of its great military and economic potential and its 'too active' international policy—such attempts did not remain unanswered. The most determined rebuff was administered by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. To the applause of the conference he declared: 'Any attempt to provoke a clash between the non-aligned countries and the socialist camp is flagrantly counter-revolutionary and can only help the imperialists. The inventors of fictitious enemies have only one aim, to abandon the fight against the real enemy.'

And supporters of non-alignment have repeatedly emphasized that the movement would lose its progressive aims if it were to retract from the understanding that, both in the approach to key international issues and the overall perspective of world development, the interests of socialism and of countries anxious to strengthen their independence objectively make them allies and predetermine the need for close cooperation.

President Boumedienne of Algeria, who chaired the conference, stressed that 'the October Revolution and the changed balance of world forces greatly helped imperialist-dominated countries fight for national independence' This 'positive and effective assistance enabled us to join the family of nations represented in this hall.'

Considering the 'age' and character of the movement, the spirited discussion and sharp differences over major ideological and political problems did not come as a surprise. The search for formulas expressing the general tasks and prospects of non-alignment in a socially and politically diversified Third World has always generated discussion. The question is posed just as sharply today as in the times of Nehru, who counseled against reducing non-alignment to non-participation in world affairs, and called for constructive influence on world policies. In effect, it was this idea that resounded in the statement of the Bangladesh newspaper, *The People*: 'Non-alignment must mean more than a simple refusal to join alliances. It must have a positive meaning—non-alignment in the name of what'?

That question, whether put openly or obliquely, is at the bottom of all the differences within the movement. Failure to produce a satisfactory answer has generated a kind of liquidation sentiment.

However, the conference debate made it plain that opposition to such sentiments, refusal to wind up the movement, are not always accompanied by the choice of reliable guidelines for its future. In particular, the sensible idea of closer unity and cooperation has in some non-aligned countries led to preposterous appeals for 'immediate action,' military alliances, exchange of armaments, etc. Evidently, sound political thinking has in some cases given way to 'Left' extremist dizziness. And when we hear statements that 'one shot is worth more than a summit conference or a million UN resolutions,' one is forcefully reminded of the adventurist and pseudo-revolutionary stereotype formula: 'Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun.'

Behind these bellicose appeals is failure realistically to assess the role of non-alignment in the world of today, its possible contribution to the future, its aims and prospects. Talk of the movement's 'futility' is something countered by exaggerated ideas of its influence on world development. The non-aligned countries, some maintain, played a decisive part in 'ridding mankind of the menace of self-destruction.' And some allege that, throughout these years, the policy of the non-aligned countries has been the only positive factor in world affairs, as if there were no effective peace offensive by socialism and no change in the balance of world forces in its favor.

This distorted understanding of international realities is behind the totally false conception of the 'special' (and consequently separate) path of the developing countries. And in this context, non-alignment is depicted as a means of enabling these countries to keep 'equidistant' from capitalism and socialism.

In this 20th century no social, and certainly no international, movement can be 'equidistant' from the worldwide confrontation of the two social systems. The non-aligned movement is, of course, no exception. It will inevitably have to determine its position in the socialism-capitalism contest. That is an objective demand and it has to be reckoned with in trying to answer the question: in the name of what?

In posing that question, *The People* wrote: 'Fidel Castro has given us a simple and correct answer—in the name of socialism. And if that is properly understood, there will be less confusion at future conferences of non-aligned countries.' Not all of the non-aligned countries are prepared, at this stage, to accept that. Even on immediate foreign policy issues it takes time to work out a common program. That, incidentally, is why the Algiers conference decided to postpone to the next meeting, in Colombo in 1976, working out of a definition of non-alignment in conditions of détente. Nonetheless the political progress already made by the non-aligned countries in international affairs and the deepening social content of the national revolutions in most of them, suggest that non-alignment will continue to develop as a policy aimed at mankind's continued liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation, a policy of combating imperialism and of promoting peace and social progress.

Jan Prazsky



Communists and the labor movement

Gerry Cohen
CC Member and London
District Secretary CP GB.

The essence of the Communist strategy in Britain is to strengthen still further the fight for progressive and socialist policies, and leadership, within the trade unions, to end Right-wing domination of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and to ensure that this advance is reflected in the political field and within the Labor Party. It strives to end anti-Communist bans within the Labor movement, and to win the conviction that essential for the next stage of advance for the working class movement as a whole is a much bigger and stronger Communist Party.

The Communist Party, a not insignificant section of the movement, is appealing to all who want to see the early defeat of the Tories and the victory of a new Labor Government, committed by the power of the mass movement to Left policies, to unite their strength to bring about these objectives. Recent developments reflect a working out of this strategy.

The movement is approaching what could well prove to be an important new stage. What happens in the period ahead will determine both the outcome of the next General Election, and which class will advance in the years to follow.

Publication by the Labor Party of its 'Program for Britain' has sparked off a new round of controversy. The controversy is not a new one. It is in many ways the continuation of a battle which has gone on almost since the birth of the Labor movement. But it is a continuation at a new level, and in a new situation.

The Tories, and the monopoly control of the mass media, obviously aim to publicize and distort the divisions which exist in the Labor Party, and the whole Labor movement, to serve their own purpose. And divisions undoubtedly do exist. They have a historical as well as a current basis, and are an unfolding in the new situation of historical divisions between the Left and Right within the Labor movement.

Clause Four

The Labor Party originated as a federal association of working class organizations, including groups based on Marxism. It was essentially a Party of the working masses. Large numbers of people in Britain today still see it as the mass party of the working class, organized as a complementary political wing to the trade unions, and having as its objective the ending of exploitation and the achievement of socialism.

There are many in the Labor Party, both individuals and organizations, who remain dedicated to these objectives, enshrined in the famous Clause Four of the Constitution, adopted in 1918, and which reads:

'To secure for the workers by hand or brain the fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.'

It is this Clause which the Right-wing Hugh Gaitskell desperately tried to get eliminated when he was leader of the Labor Party. It is these sentiments to which Right-wingers today are bitterly opposed, even though, because of the new climate which exists in the Labor movement, they dare not openly come out against Clause Four.

Nevertheless, the Right-wing leaders are still there. They do not want socialism, will do nothing to advance its cause but everything to impede its achievement, and are dedicated to the concept of permanently managing capitalism.

They have no real solution to the problems facing the British people, because these problems can only be solved by generating a mighty mass movement, united and determined in its intent to end capitalist class power. Such a prospect fills the Right wing with fear.

This dominant Right wing leadership is being increasingly and rigorously challenged on many aspects of policy, both domestic and foreign, and at many different levels. It is being challenged in, and by, some of the major trade unions, to a lesser degree inside the Parliamentary Labor Party, and even inside the National Executive of the Labor Party itself.

The struggle which is now being waged is for the hearts and minds of the great Labor movement in Britain, either forward to socialism under the banner of Left unity, or backward to an even more vicious capitalism, with the Tories firmly in control, and the Right wing holding back the working class movement for decades to come.

Right-wing leaders are therefore being reminded that the Labor movement was founded as a political expression of the working class, *which was already organized in the trade union movement*, and with the specific purpose of *advancing the political interests of the workers*.

Epitome of the struggle

Labor's 'Program for Britain' epitomizes the process of struggle between Left and Right in the Labor movement. It was described in the official weekly organ *Labor Weekly* as 'the most important policy statement to be presented to (the Labor Party) Conference for decision since 1945.' Whether it turns out to be so will be determined, not by the maneuvers of the Right wing at top level, but by the capacity of the Left wing to initiate and develop massive struggle and support for Left policies.

The program proclaims at the outset that its aim is 'to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favor of the working people and their families, to make power fully accountable to the community, to workers and to the consumer.' Much of the phraseology (like the introduction just quoted) is a reflection of the growing strength of the Left, and the necessity felt by the Right wing to make concessions to its view. On the other hand, many of the detailed policies advocated in it are a measure of the still powerful grip of the Right wing.

For example, when the Labor Government was in office in 1964-70 it came into serious conflict with powerful sections of the trade union movement, and with the entire Left wing, by proposing legislation on industrial relations under the title 'In Place of Strife.' The current program pledges the repeal of similar legislation, the Industrial Relations Act of the Tory Government, and promises to 'take the law out of collective bargaining.'

This is undoubtedly an advance which reflects both the pressure coming from the Left and the lessons of the experience of the Labor Government which took office in 1964 with enthusiastic support from the trade unions. It was voted out of office in 1970, having dissipated and destroyed that enthusiasm by attempting to introduce legislation against the very organizations that had been decisive in its election victory.

However, there is no corresponding advance in the proposals for an 'Incomes Policy,' which is based on the argument that money incomes for the workers can only come from increased production, and assumes there is not going to be any redistribution of wealth, nor any reduction in the share taken by profits.

Those on the Left would argue that the present division between profits and wages is not in immutable fixed proportions, but is the product of struggle, and that the perspective should be one of increasing struggle—receiving the unqualified support of a future Labor Government—dramatically increasing the amount wrested by the workers from the employing class, until that class no longer exists!

Thus, the voice of the Right wing is clearly in the ascendancy here, when the program says 'the choice is either for a great contract between the government, industry and the trade unions, with all three parties prepared to make sacrifices to achieve agreements on a strategy to deal with the problem of rising prices, or

else an interminable debilitating inflation which will help nobody.'

To talk of the preparedness of 'industry' – by which is meant monopoly capitalism – to make sacrifices is to foster a particular delusion nourished by the Right wing.

At the heart of the discussion around the Program is the controversy which has taken place on the issue of 'nationalization.' Commenting on the agenda for this year's conference of the Labor Party, that powerful voice of big business in Britain, the *Financial Times*, expressed the view that 'in terms of nationalization the agenda . . . is the most leftward looking since the war.'

Wilson's threat

The mass media in Britain have made a great deal of comment on the fact of the division within the National Executive of the Labor Party on the proposal that 25 of the major capitalist concerns would be taken over by a future Labor Government. The vote was seven to six for this proposal, with a number of abstentions. Harold Wilson, leader of the Labor Party, was one who abstained, and later made the infamous statement that if the annual conference in October endorsed the Executive proposal he would use his influence in the 'Shadow Cabinet' (which constitutes the leadership of Labor members in Parliament) to veto any such proposal being included in the Labor election manifesto.

The main argument is not whether it should be more or less than 25 big firms, but whether a new Labor Government will make decisive inroads into the power of monopoly capitalism, whether it will make abortive efforts to manage capitalism or set out to end capitalism.

Lord Wigg, a former Labor Minister, expressed the classical Right-wing attitude in stating his belief in public ownership was conditioned by strictly practical considerations like, 'Is it essential in the public interest? Is the State ready and equipped to handle it? Does it make sense not only now but in 20 years' time? Can we do it better than they are doing it now?' For the genuine Left the case for public ownership is not whether a particular firm or industry is efficient or inefficient, not whether 'we' can do it better than 'they' can. It is because it is *capitalist* – because its function is exploitation.

There can be no radical transformation of society as long as the commanding heights of industry remain under private ownership. Nationalization is not (as the Right wing claim) a matter of doctrinal dissertation. It is an essential weapon for radical social change. It is a weapon in the fight for socialism. This is understood and appreciated by many in the Labor movement. Witness the 65 resolutions, all dealing with various aspects of nationalization, on the agenda of the annual conference in 1973. This is the largest single batch of resolutions on one subject which have been submitted for many years.

Witness, too, the stand taken by the *Tribune* group – a Left wing

group within the Parliamentary Labor Party – and the resolutions passed by major trade unions, calling for a firm commitment to large-scale public ownership and socialist policies. The national Labor Women's Conference, held earlier this year, was headlined by the *Labor Weekly* as the 'Women's Conference moves to the Left' in voting unanimously for a 'radical extension of social ownership to create a socialist society.' The correct appreciation of the role of public ownership in the fight to weaken, and ultimately to end, monopoly capitalism is crucial for the Labor movement, and will loom large in the Left versus Right struggle that lies in the future.

Another essential issue still to be fought out is with regard to Britain and the European Common Market. Here again, Labor's 'Program for Britain' fails to present an unequivocal alternative to the Right wing. It fails to recognize that the Common Market is designed to strengthen international monopoly capitalism, and serves as an agency of the multinational firms to step up the exploitation of the workers. Because of this, instead of making a firm commitment that a future Labor Government would act categorically in the interests of the British people by taking Britain out of the Common Market, it advocates firstly, a re-negotiation of the terms of entry, and secondly proposes a referendum.

In the sphere of foreign policy the 'Program for Britain' (and a separate statement) contains much that is progressive, and again reflects the pressure of the Left. However, what is missing is any proposal to withdraw from NATO, or any recognition of the changes which have taken place in the balance of forces on a world scale, and the paramount importance of achieving harmony between Britain and the socialist countries.

Continuous 'warnings' are sounded throughout the Program, and have been echoed since, especially by Right-wing commentators. They argue it would be impossible to carry out all the measures envisaged in the life-time of one Parliament, that all the proposals would have to be 'carefully costed,' that 'cautious thought' would have to be given to the detailed proposals, and so on.

Thus, the Program as a whole is a product of the present stage of the struggle between Left and Right. Which policies will ultimately emerge will depend on the political battle which is being waged. Decisive will be the mass actions of the workers, and in this respect a new stage has been reached.

A superficial analysis could draw the conclusion that the Tory Government is all-powerful, and is imposing its will virtually unchecked. It has taken Britain into the Common Market. The Housing Finance Act and Industrial Relations Act are both on the Statute Book. The Counter-Inflation Act has held wages in check while unprecedented price increases have taken place. A grim picture, yes – but not the whole picture.

Since the mass action of the workers won the historic release of the five dockers' shop stewards imprisoned under the Industrial

Relations Act, this legislation has been kept on ice, virtually inoperative. Phase Two of the wages policy was only imposed (under the Counter-Inflation Act) after decisive sections of the workers had won substantial wage increases, and there were no further wage demands in the pipe-line from any section of the workers holding a strong enough position in the economy to win through. But now, even as the Tories are preparing for even tougher restraint measures under Phase Three, the big battalions of the trade unions are preparing for major wage battles.

Engineers, miners, print, transport, railway, and local government manual workers have already declared their intention to put forward major wage demands. The president (Hugh Scanlon) of the huge engineering union AUEW, the second largest in the country, wrote in the union journal that in the autumn of 1973 there would be fierce wage struggles which would make the industrial upheavals of recent years pale into insignificance (his comments incidentally dealt a sharp blow to engineering shares on the London Stock Market).

The demand for higher Old Age Pensions is also engaging the attention of the trade union movement, and the biggest union (Transport and General Workers' Union) is determined to lead the fight for industrial action to secure higher pensions. This sort of mass action on wages and pensions, together with mass campaigning on housing, rents, and the crucial issue of rising prices, will bring the anti-Tory fight to new levels – and will also provide the background for the Left against Right struggle in the Labor movement.

Growth of Left forces

The impact of the mass struggle in the fight for Left policies is immeasurable. The current arguments between Left and Right would not have reached such a high point if decisive sections of the movement had not been engaged in mass struggle, and demonstrated their ability to force changes even upon the Tory Government during the past 18 months. The experiences of the Upper Clyde shipyard workers, the railwaymen, miners, the Pentonville five, the builders – and even those sections which failed to score victories, like the gasworkers and hospital workers – all served to underline the strength of the mass struggle of the working class.*

This experience served to raise questions in the minds of millions. What couldn't the working class movement achieve if only there was unity? And, if only there was firm, principled, Left leadership? Not enough workers have yet asked these questions. Not enough have yet learned the correct answers. But undoubtedly the mass actions of the past period have been vital in generating the atmosphere in which the fight for Left policies and leadership is now taking place.

*See B. Ramelson, 'The Class Struggle in Britain,' WMR, June 1973.

There is a parallel battle being fought out and which is, in this situation, also of great significance – and that is the supremacy or otherwise of the decisions of the annual conference of the Labor Party in deciding policy for its election manifesto, and the actual program of the Labor Government when it is elected.

The Right wing has already declared in advance that, even if progressive decisions are taken at the annual conference, the Parliamentary Labor Party would not be bound by these decisions. This is a challenge which not only concerns the 'constitutional position' inside the Labor Party, but will be decided in the final analysis by the relative strengths of the contending political forces within the Labor movement as a whole.

It is not so long since the major trade unions were firmly in the grip of the Right wing, and were the main prop of the Right-wing leaders in control of the Labor Party. Profound changes have taken place in the past few years, both in the policies and leadership of the trade unions. Many of the biggest and most influential trade unions, which in the past wielded their influence and their votes in support of reactionary views within the Labor Party, are now consciously and determinedly using their influence and their votes in support of Left-wing views. Even within the National Executive of the Labor Party, the Right wing, which formerly easily dominated its discussions and decisions, is now being seriously challenged.

The *Tribune* group of Labor MPs has denounced Harold Wilson's claim to the right of veto against decisions taken by a democratic vote inside the Labor Party, and declare Wilson's attitude as 'unacceptable in a democratic socialist party' – a view which is echoed by many outside the Parliamentary Labor Party.

It is noteworthy that recent Labor policy documents have been the product of quarterly meetings which have taken place over the past two years between the TUC, the National Executive of the Labor Party, and the leadership of the Parliamentary Labor Party. There is strong pressure for these meetings to continue, so that future policies are a more accurate reflection of the views of the Labor movement as a whole, and not only just the Parliamentary wing. The cooperative movement is also aiming to establish closer relations with the Labor Party – which were so seriously impaired when the Labor Government introduced the unpopular selective employment tax.

There are other indications of important avenues of Left development opening up. The TUC General Council last July called for a boycott of French goods to express condemnation of the French nuclear tests. It appealed to all affiliated trade unions to support the establishment of an international tribunal to 'try the whole Franco regime' – a decision already supported by the Labor Party. It decided to ignore the threat of the Industrial Relations Court, and the General Council also recommended the expulsion of trade unions which had remained registered under the Act.

Despite political weaknesses in the Program on matters of foreign policy, both the Labor Party Executive and the TUC

General Council have sent separate top-level delegations to the Soviet Union, reported favorably on their visits, and announced their intention of inviting return delegations. Harold Wilson made a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. Labor's 'Shadow' Foreign Secretary James Callaghan and the General Secretary of the Labor Party Ronald Hayward returned from a ten-day visit to Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, and declared themselves impressed by the proud independence, rising standard of living, and the leaders' desire for peace in these countries.

End of bans

Nearly all the bans and proscriptions imposed during the worst period of the 'cold war,' which prevented and intimidated Labor Party members and others from taking part in friendship societies for contact with the socialist countries, have now been removed. Talks have taken place between Georges Seguy, the General Secretary of the French CGT (affiliated to the WFTU), and Vic Feather in his capacity as President of the European Federation of Trade Unions.

All these developments taken together add up to a vastly different situation from only a few years ago, when the Right-wing leadership seemed so all-powerful in every section of the movement. Official policies on many issues are now expressing Left ideas. The Left is battling at a new level.

The Right wing, however, is still a considerable force to be reckoned with, both inside the trade unions and elsewhere. By and large, it still has the dominant positions in the Parliamentary Labor Party, in the Labor Party Executive Committee, at constituency levels of the Labor Party, and in the full-time apparatus of both the Labor Party and the trade unions.

It continues to peddle phoney ideas which create confusion in the movement, and serve to deceive even some of those who want to see genuine Left advance. An example of this is the proposal for 'acquisition of share capital by the working class' – a complete diversion from the crucial issue of genuine public ownership, and one which would make no inroads whatsoever into the realities of monopoly capitalist power.

There are sometimes profound disagreements even between those on the Left – especially with regard to tactical questions. There is also a deeper problem. There is, even among outstanding activists and militants, a lack of revolutionary perspective, without which it is impossible for the movement to win substantial and permanent victories which open up the way to fundamental change.

For this reason, the defeat of Right-wing ideology in the Labor movement, which is essentially the ideology of capitalism, and its positive replacement by a consistent revolutionary ideology, is a vital need, at least as important as (if not in the long run more important) than the winning of positions for left militants in the trade unions and elsewhere.

Many of the policies of the right wing may be discredited. Their ideas are not. It is in this context that the Communist Party has a particularly vital part to play. For the Left to register even greater advances it is necessary to re-raise and elevate, not only the issue of unity in the movement—but also the need and importance of a bigger, stronger, ideologically Marxist-based, nationally-organized Party, such as the Communist Party, equipped with its outstanding weapon, the *Morning Star*, as part of the growing Left movement.

Communist role

The Communist Party is exerting its position as a key section of the Labor movement in Britain. Because of the part which it plays as an organization deeply rooted in the movement, it often initiates and advances policies on crucial questions of the day. Many of its members hold leading positions in organizations directly affiliated to the Labor Party.

It is of tremendous importance to note that, alongside the developments in the wider Labor movement, there have been modest but significant advances as far as the Communist Party and the *Morning Star* are concerned. For the first time in many years the membership of the Communist Party, as announced at the National Congress in 1973, was higher than that at the previous Congress. This arises from the consistent campaigning of the Party, from the political climate (which the Party has undoubtedly helped to create) and is in keeping with the general advance of the Left.

The battle between the Left and the Right within the movement could not have reached the present level without the part played by the Communist Party. What has now to be fought for increasingly in the broad Labor movement is the understanding that the victory of the Left in this battle can only be assured by a bigger, stronger Communist Party and a greatly increased circulation of the paper, the *Morning Star*. These are necessary now, both to conduct the ideological battle and to involve thousands more workers in the mass struggle around the issues of the day.

Despite the positive developments in the Labor movement, many weaknesses remain. In addition to the weakness on the ideological front, there are serious shortcomings on basic questions, such as the organization of the unorganized, of women, and of young people; there is completely inadequate attention to the problem of racialism, and wrong attitudes on this in the Labor movement.

Yet, even on these questions changes have begun. For example, the Right wing has been reluctantly forced to accept the holding of a TUC Youth Conference—emasculated in comparison with what young militants and the Left were demanding, but nevertheless a move in the right direction. Important trade unions have now passed resolutions against all forms of racial discrimination, and calling for further action on this.

There are certain specific aspects of policy on which the Labor

movement has done all too little, such as, for example, the situation in the Middle East, the tragedy of Ireland, for which British imperialism is specifically responsible – and for which the Labor movement therefore has a particular responsibility.

There are two other major weaknesses. One is the debilitating ban which denies to trade unionists the right to elect the representatives of their own choice, from among all those paying the political levy, to conferences of the Labor Party. The removal of this ban (directed first of all against Communists) would mark a major step forward along the road to working class unity.

The other weakness is the failure of the working class to appreciate its own strength. Yet there have been instances in the recent past of sections of the workers forcing changes of attitude, not only of employers but of the Government itself. These should inspire the working class to have confidence in its own strength and to understand its own capacity, not only to force changes in Government policy but to force a change in the Government itself.

It is a revealing commentary on the inadequacies of the Labor leadership in opposition that after three years of Tory class rule no one could predict with certainty that Labor will be returned at the next General Election. On the contrary, recent Parliamentary by-election results dramatically underline that the revulsion of masses of voters from the Tory Party, especially as a result of their economic policies, is equalled and on occasions surpassed by a turn away from Labor.

The possibility of a Labor victory can only be assured to the extent that Labor emerges as a genuine fighting alternative and for radical social change. Given a united fight, substantial victories could well be won, generating an irresistible movement for social advance which releases the massive strength of the working class and its allies, sweeps the Tory Party into oblivion, and leads the Left to victory in the Labor movement.

These possibilities are enhanced by the insoluble dilemma in which British monopoly capitalism finds itself, attempting to restore a stable leading position for Britain, based on an economy which was geared to Britain being a major imperialist power, in a world where that imperialist base has disappeared forever.

Left-democratic coalition in power

C. Achutha Menon

Chief Minister of Kerala State,
India.

The United Front government in Kerala has been in office for four years. The coalition partners are the Communist Party of India, the People's Socialist and Revolutionary Socialist parties and the Muslim League. The Indian National Congress joined the Left-democratic bloc in September 1970 and this considerably strengthened the coalition. The present government is the most stable since independence.

And it has a record of achievement. Its policy carries further what has been accomplished by the progressive forces over the past years. Kerala is now the only region to carry out a radical agrarian reform: 2,500,000 tenant farmers have become the actual owners of former landlord land. The government is nationalizing the main local industries and is working on a program of progressive social change, the pride of the working class and peasantry, whose interests are central to the coalition government's policy and activity.

The **World Marxist Review** delegation visiting Kerala asked its Chief Minister, Comrade Achutha Menon, a member of the Communist Party National Council, to describe the principal problems his coalition government is now working on.

Framework

The government's progressive measures are of a general democratic rather than socialist character. For there can be no question of building socialism in one state as long as India's political system and social and economic structure remain unchanged. At the present stage, the Communist Party is concentrating on eliminating the vestiges of imperialism and feudalism and the monopoly stranglehold. We are thus creating the prerequisites for social revolution, which will eventually turn into socialist revolution. We are trying to take our partners in the coalition along this line.

There are many limitations to our activities because we are functioning within the Indian Union. The states are not fully independent and sovereign, though their jurisdiction extends to such matters as local administration, agriculture and agrarian relations, health services, etc. Main power is in the hands of the central gov-

Continuing our discussion of Communist Party efforts for a broad alliance of democratic forces. See theses in *WMR*, Feb. 1973 and articles by A. Delgado (March 1973), U. Karlsson (April 1973), C. Poperen (June 1973), S. Wickremasinghe (July 1973), C. R. Rao (Aug. 1973), T. Sinuraja (Sept. 1973) and K. Zarodov (Oct. 1973).

ernment in Delhi, which plans for the whole of India. The central planning commission sets the main targets and we are expected to adapt our plans accordingly. Let me cite two examples of our limitations.

On the basis of an enquiry conducted by noted economists, we drafted a law on the nationalization of foreign plantations, primarily the big tea plantations which, like many others, are in the hands of British monopolies. But we could not enact the law without the concurrence of the central government. The draft has been before the central government for a long time, and during a visit to Delhi I took up the matter with the Minister concerned. He told me that a special commission had been appointed to go into the whole question of the tea industry, and a decision would be taken only after they had made their studies.

Another example: we drew up a jobs program, which could not, of course, fully solve the employment problem and put an end to unemployment. That can only be done by a revolutionary transformation of India's social system. What we proposed was to provide more jobs for engineers, doctors, technicians, etc., upon completing their studies. All this required substantial outlays and we asked the central government for financial assistance. It has helped, but to a very inadequate degree. The success of our jobs program — our goal is 40,000 new jobs — depends primarily on the amount of money we get from the central government.*

Main achievements

Despite all the limitations imposed by the central authorities, the coalition government has energetically worked to solve the state's main problems. This is exemplified in the land reform.

Under pressure of the democratic movement, the central government itself has accepted the necessity of land reform and has instructed all the states to carry out such reforms, which come within the purview of the state government. In Kerala the reform has three aspects.

Cultivating tenants are to become owners of the land they are working. The state government will compensate the former owners and will be collecting only a small portion of the compensation from the tenants. Besides, the land tax has been cut by half.

The government is also allotting land to the so-called hutment dwellers, families who have put up a hut on landlord property. In the past they could be evicted by the landlord; now the new act provides that they be allowed a certain amount of land as full owners, and about 300,000 have already been given plots averaging 10 cents in rural areas and from 3 to 5 cents in urban areas.

The agrarian reform law set a ceiling for private land ownership, from 12 to 20 acres per family, the lowest ceiling in the whole of India. Everything above that limit is taken over and distributed

*Measures now being taken in India are designed to make 500,000 jobs this year, mainly in the more skilled professions. One billion rupees have been appropriated for the program.

among landless peasants. Begun in 1970, this has yet to be completed and we are making a special effort to finish the job.

Our policy towards industry is to develop the public sector in branches traditional to Kerala. And one of these is the cashew industry, the product of which is exported to the Middle East, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Because of the vagaries of licensing and other things, the industry was in the grip of a few private capitalists who did not pay the workers even the minimum wage, did not contribute to the insurance fund, etc.

We proposed that the Government of India take over the distribution of imports, instead of giving to each factory owner a license to import his supply of nuts. Formerly import quotas were based on the export potential of the given factory;* now the State Trading Corporation distributes the imported nuts according to the number of workers employed in the given factory.

The Kerala government has already nationalized 25 factories and is running them at full capacity. Our aim is to extend the public sector in the cashew industry to include 50,000 workers, that is, half of the total for the industry. We have introduced a guaranteed wage, bonuses, started an insurance fund and are improving working conditions. All this is having a positive effect on the workers in the industry. As the public sector expands, workers in private enterprises will fight for the rights and benefits enjoyed by public-sector personnel.

Cooperatives play a big part in our plan. Recently we started an experimental cooperative farm on an area of about 1,500 acres of state land, which is now worked by 250 families of landless peasants. We are also trying to popularize the cooperative idea among the peasant proprietors. Cooperative members will receive government assistance on easy terms in the form of technical advice, fertilizers, pesticides, etc.

Industrial cooperatives are also being started for unemployed engineers and technicians. We give them twice the amount the members raise, also raw materials and help market their product. This has enabled us to start small and medium enterprises, thereby limiting big capital and reducing unemployment.

Living standards have improved in the three years of the United Front government. We have introduced a progressive wages system, higher pensions and a minimum wage for agricultural laborers. We have also enacted legislation obligating landowners to give preference to their regular workers when hiring new labor. For the landlords always take advantage of the existence of surplus labor: they can discharge a regular worker and taken on a newcomer at a low wage. The new law protects the laborer against this. It also provides for severance pay.

Our biggest single welfare project is the building of 100,000

*Uncontrolled imports led to a situation where a good part of the imported nuts was processed by cottage workers who were paid beggarly wages. — Ed.

new homes in practically every part of the state. Most of them have already been completed and, for the first time in their lives, homeless persons and slum dwellers are getting their own home and household plots.

Hurdles to progress

The obstacles to progressive reforms are many. Landlord sabotage is slowing down the agrarian reform. Some big landowners even threatened not to cultivate their rice fields unless the government gave them a firm assurance that it would not appropriate their surplus holdings if these were cultivated. That demand was made, among others, by two landlords, one with 2,000 and the other with 350 acres.

And though this sabotage could aggravate the rice shortage (we grow only half of the state's requirements), the government declared that it would give no such assurance and that the landlords must submit to the agrarian reform law. We did appropriate 2,000 acres of surplus land which are now being cultivated under government control. Furthermore, all the farm laborers in the area now have jobs, and those formerly employed by the landlords demanded that we organize cooperatives or state farms. We are now working on that.

Another formidable obstacle is that the existing bureaucratic apparatus is least of all suited for the implementation of the measures being carried out in Kerala. We cannot change the service rules of this apparatus because they are set out in the Constitution. However, experience has shown that not all civil servants are anti-popular or anti-national. There are also sound elements and they can be inspired faithfully to carry out decisions. The government looks for such people and tries to win their support. At the same time we are building up a mass movement in order to bring pressure to bear on the officialdom. It is not always smooth sailing, but the mass movement is the decisive factor in the battle against bureaucracy and red tape. Without pressure 'from below' we stand little chance of carrying out our plans, no matter how good they may be.

To mobilize public support and end bureaucratic procrastination in operating the agrarian reform, the government decided to set up statutory popular committees at local and district level, composed of representatives of local government, political parties and mass organizations. Formerly such committees had only advisory powers, now the law gives them authority to determine the amount of surplus land they can take over from the landlords and distribute among landless peasants. It is too early to speak of results, but there is every reason to hope that these committees will speed up the land reform.

The opposition parties are dead set against the United Front policy. Their program, both minimum and maximum, is to topple the government. They have no positive program.

Significantly, the parallel Communist Party and its leader, Nambudiripad, are in complete accord with all the Right-wing parties (Organization Congress, Kerala Congress and even the arch-reactionary Jan Sangh). True, Nambudiripad claims that his organization will never consent to an alliance with the Right, though it is prepared to work with them on specific matters. In reality, however, his organization is an accomplice of the Right-wing parties in their fight to overthrow the present government. That is why Nambudiripad has united with the opposition forces.

In one of their anti-government campaigns, the parallel CP and the Right brought out the old so-called problem of civil liberties. They accused us of suppressing democracy, of authoritarian methods. They even picketed government offices. In its fight against the United Front government, the parallel CP might well find itself upholding the interests of the big bourgeoisie. That was the case, for instance, when the legislative assembly discussed nationalization of 30,000 acres which the Birla concern bought from one of the landlords to grow eucalyptus to make pulp for their rayon factory. In the course of the debate, one of the parallel CP leaders maintained it would be wrong to nationalize the land in question because that would mean unemployment for the plantation workers. In effect, he was supporting Birla, a monopolist.

Mechanism of government

Our experience in promoting unity of the Left and democratic parties on the basis of a radical program, and our work in carrying it out, could be of immense value to other states. Much, of course, depends on the kind of parties that make up the coalition. If, for instance, the United Front includes the National Congress, we have always to take into account the nature of this party – the fact that progressive or reactionary elements might predominate in its leadership in one or another state.

In Kerala the National Congress leadership is made up of young radicals, a circumstance that made it possible for us to form an alliance with it. This situation could be duplicated in other states. Formation of a Left democratic front will be facilitated if the National Congress is dominated by radical elements, and there are such elements in all the states.

One can readily appreciate how difficult it is to govern a state if the ruling coalition includes, along with Communists, moderate or conservative elements. This might impede fulfilment of agreed programs. The Communist Party has only one way of securing fulfilment – development of a mass movement for the attainment of definite social goals, thereby bringing pressure to bear on those in the United Front who are holding back implementation of reforms.

In Kerala the most conservative element of the United Front is the Muslim League, associated with the Islamic part of the local merchant class. I would cite this example. On the question of

nationalization of private forests, the Muslim League was in opposition. True, after lengthy discussion it had to side with the majority. Nor is the Muslim League very happy about the government takeover of wholesale trade in food grains, a measure directed against the big trading interests. In the end, however, Front spokesmen were able to convince them that this was an all-India policy and also a necessary part of the state government's United Front program.

However, it has to be said that despite these and other differences, the Muslim League remains in the United Front. Why? The explanation lies in the way the status of the Muslim community, which accounts for a substantial part of the Kerala population, has changed since the United Front came to power. Not so very long ago the Muslims considered themselves an oppressed minority. For instance, Muslims could not become ministers, could not even get a licence for a factory. But with the advent to power of the United Front government, the Muslims began to feel themselves equal to others. The bulk of the Muslims are agricultural laborers and peasants concentrated in the Malappuram district. They have traditionally been anti-feudal and have had an active part in the fight against the landlords. They therefore understand government policy.

The experience of coalition rule has shown that inter-party relations at grass roots level are not as smooth as at the top. Local rivalry is mostly responsible for that. For instance, during the elections to the Panchayat (India's lowest administrative unit) and municipal elections one party might make an all-out effort to win all the seats. Naturally, the other coalition parties resist that. In some cases the National Congress has tried to bring the bureaucracy under its sway. And the bureaucracy, for that matter, often supports only one party to the detriment of the other coalition partners.

For all that, however, our experience of joint government has proved that disputes and conflicts can be resolved. In Kerala we have set up liaison committees of representatives of all the United Front parties. The committees meet regularly to discuss problems arising out of realization of the government program. United Front committees are being organized in the villages and Panchayats and already exist in the districts. In all these committees the Communists are working for consistent implementation of democratic reforms and doing everything to get all the other ruling parties to support these reforms.

Communist Party and youth of Czechoslovakia

Juraj Varholik
Member of CC CPC,
Chairman of SYL

Otto Cmolik
Member SYL Presidium,
Editor *Mlada Fronta*

Each new generation ensures the unity and continuity of development of socialist society by assimilating the values created by mankind and contributing its share to them. Young people are a distinctive social and demographic group particularly sensitive to continuous changes due to social reproduction and evolution.

Communists have always regarded the younger generation as the future of society and paid close attention to its way of thinking and its social activities. The founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, laid the groundwork for the revolutionary, communist education of youth. Engels was the first to apply the term 'reserve' to youth and thereby define its importance to a revolutionary party. Lenin carried forward Marxist views of the problems of youth. He saw the continuity of generations as continuity of the goals and ideals for which the working class fights, as continuity of the revolutionary process. This is of the utmost methodological importance to this day. Lenin stressed that young people who have taken the path of revolution must assimilate the experience of the older generations which fought for socialism.

Social development today and the increased social and political activity of youth confront Communists with new serious political and theoretical problems. Young people nowadays join in politics earlier than in the past and their educational and professional standards are much higher. The very way of life is undergoing changes due to which children pass their youth in different conditions than their parents. Communists must take account of all this in their educational work.

Naturally, constant exchanges of experience and close cooperation and coordination of efforts by Communist and Workers' parties can effectively promote the Communists' ideological and political influence over today's youth. We think the meeting of fraternal Communist parties of European countries in Moscow, February 1973, was very useful. Delegations compared notes on their work among the youth and exchanged views on the outlook for the younger generation joining more extensively in the movement for European security and cooperation, and in the progres-

sive forces' common fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. We also think that the initiative which *World Marxist Review* took this year by publishing a series of articles on experience in work among the youth gained by Austrian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Soviet, French and Finnish Communists* was a fortunate one. We subscribe to this initiative and would like to deal with some aspects of youth education in socialist society with reference to our Party's experience.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, youth, led by the Communist Party, played an important part in the revolution and in socialist construction. In the trying years of crisis (1968-1969) Right-wingers and anti-socialists aimed their blows primarily at the socialist character and unity of the youth movement. The Czechoslovak Youth League was destroyed and gave way to 21 children's and youth organizations. Yet we feel that under socialism it is only one league operating under Communist Party leadership that can perform the role of the political vanguard of youth. This is demonstrated by the record of the Czechoslovak youth movement when the republic was threatened by fascism, during the anti-Nazi resistance and in the early years of building socialism. This is why one of the main tasks in consolidating society after the crisis period was to restore the ideological, political and organizational unity of the youth and children's movement.

This task was accomplished in a relatively short time. In November 1970 the Socialist Youth League (SYL) came into being. We succeeded in both re-establishing a united youth movement on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and achieving a high degree of social activity on the part of the younger generation. The policy of the new CPC leadership under Gustav Husak, elected by the CC in April 1969, played a decisive role in the rapid elimination of the adverse effects of the crisis. From the outset the new Party leadership gave special attention to work among the youth. In guidelines adopted in May 1969, the CPC expressed its determination gradually to solve the more pressing problems of the younger generation. These guidelines, coupled with the decision of the CC Presidium of November 17, 1969, on backing the sound forces of the youth movement, made for the unity of all the young people devoted to socialism and the revival of a unified youth organization.

The principles of structure and scope of activity were the main questions when forming the SYL. The experience of our socialist youth movement and fraternal youth leagues in other countries showed that only a youth organization based on Leninist principles – a scientific world outlook, recognition of leadership by the Communist party, and democratic centralism – can play an active role in building the new society and ensuring the revolutionary continuity of generations. These principles underlie the structure of the SYL. The new organization has from the first been consistently patriotic and internationalist.

*See WMR, February, April-August, and October 1973.

In a mere three years the League attracted 1,100,000 young people into its ranks, with 1,200,000 children in the Young Pioneers' organization. We now have SYL branches virtually wherever young people are active. For the first time in the history of Czechoslovakia's youth movement, we have an organization in which working youth make up 56 per cent of the membership. If we add apprentices, the percentage is 75.

During preparations for the First SYL Congress (September 1972) there was a noticeable increase in the militancy and labor initiative among both members of the League and young people outside it. There are now over 5,500 youth collectives in the production sphere comprising 100,000 young workers and technicians. Thirty thousand young men and women are active in 6,884 Youth Searchlight posts, whose function is to disclose shortcomings and reveal untapped economic reserves. Never in the history of socialist Czechoslovakia have so many young people taken part in the management of public affairs. In 1971, elective bodies at all levels had 60,000 deputies below 35 years of age, 29.9 per cent of the total.

The SYL is the Party's foremost assistant and reserve and is guided by the decisions of the 14th Party Congress. And the most socially conscious SYL members, above all the most forward-looking young workers, become candidate members of the Party. Of the 104,000 people admitted to candidate membership between the 14th Congress and last July, 92,000 were young men and women.

Does all this mean we no longer have any problems? We have them, of course, but then we also have a dependable basis on which to solve them from the standpoint of principle.

Unlike any other system, socialism provides every condition for meeting young people's requirements. It enables youth to prove its worth, to develop fully and become part of public life, for socialism eliminates antagonistic class contradictions and exploitation and assures young people work for equal pay, education and participation in government. And these rights are guaranteed.

The socialist system not only gives young people a place in industry, but also a meaningful part in social life. It is in public activity that they gain a deeper understanding of the advantages of socialism, which prompts them more consciously to contribute to its development. This year, the third and decisive year of the five-year plan, is distinguished by the unprecedented scope of young people's labor initiative and activity.

The favorable social climate in which the socialist development program of the 14th Party Congress is being put into practice has a beneficial impact on the attitude of the younger generation. As far as their enthusiasm, labor and social initiative, and creative approach to their jobs are concerned, today's young people may in a way be compared to the first post-war generation of youth who were active in the period of development of the national democratic into the socialist revolution (1945-1948), although all these characteristics are today displayed in new conditions cor-

responding to the current stage of socialist development.

The moral and political unity of society is the objective foundation of the revolutionary continuity of generations, the young people's successful social adaptation and the application of their dynamic energy to advance socialism. The closer this unity, the more meaningful and effective the process of formation of our youth's socialist qualities. Only on the basis of this unity can the complete continuity of socialist ideals be attained.

It would be wrong, however, to overlook or misinterpret the circumstance that each generation forms in new unprecedented conditions and is faced with new problems. Hence, certain distinctions between generations which often complicate their relations.

The social and economic conditions of life change very fast. What took centuries to bring about takes no more than decades in our time, and what took decades requires only years. This means that, thanks to the tremendous pace of social development brought by socialism, each new generation finds itself in more favorable conditions than the preceding one. Growing material production also brings substantial changes in the social, political and cultural aspects of the superstructure.

At the same time human life has become longer. The relative aging of society against the background of rapid changes accounts for the fact that nowadays it is not two generations that live and work side by side but three or even four, each retaining the view of life formed in its own time.

Distinctions between generations are also due to other causes. They manifest themselves, among other things, in social psychology, tastes and fashions. This may give rise to secondary negative phenomena, which, however, are easily overcome in socialist society.

Distinctions in the social consciousness of different generations due to the rapid growth of the productive forces and the whole of society under socialism have nothing in common with the antagonistic class conflicts of contemporary capitalism. Yet bourgeois theoreticians and ideologists maintain that there are objective laws governing relations between generations and that these laws are the same under capitalism and socialism and hence neutral in respect of the social system. They take advantage of the fact that in capitalist society class conflicts may manifest themselves as conflicts between generations and use this as a basis for numerous theories of the above nature. The subject is treated, among others, by H. Schelsky,* a West German sociologist, and some American bourgeois scholars. One of them, K. Keniston, offered his own explanation of the causes of the 'rebellion' of American youth and its negative attitude towards 'adult society,' declaring that the two generations were faced with entirely different situations and hence the parents' way of life could not be either good or bad for their

*H. Schelsky. *Die skeptische Generation. Eine Sociologie der deutschen Jugend.* Dusseldorf, Köln, 1969.

children – they simply have nothing in common.* Keniston affirms that the youth radicalism represents a transfer of feelings aroused by family conflicts to the broader social arena. As he sees it, young people refuse to recognize social authority, because they do not recognize authority in their own family.** Another American sociologist, G. Kennan, deplores the fact that many sections of American youth confuse the real nature of bourgeois society with the demoralized generation of adults, and that young people see themselves as victims of a brutal, hypocritical and dishonest adult society.

The 'conflict of generations' theory is set out most fully by American sociologist L. Feuer*** who regards this conflict as one of the main motive powers of historical development. The conflict of generations, he writes, is a universal motive in history; it is rooted in human nature and is probably a much more important force in history than the class struggle. Feuer explains the causes of the protest movement of youth in terms of the Freudian 'Oedipus revolt' theory. He sees the primary source and principal motive power of every instance of student unrest (at all times and in all countries) in young people's blind, unconscious hatred of their fathers and the older generation.

In trying to explain the peculiarities and scope of today's student movement, Feuer introduces the concept of 'gerontocratic society,' that is, a society in which the older generation wields too much economic and political power. The 'Oedipus complex' of young people causes them to reject this society, which they see as a symbol of the parents' coercive authority. Feuer believes that what young people protest against is not the evils or contradictions of capitalist society but simply its 'stability,' for it is in the nature of young people to strive continuously for change and for control of the process of change. This prompts the American sociologist to level devastating criticism at the youth movement, while defending the 'stability' of capitalism.

The 'conflict of generations' theory, though pseudo-scientific, is to this day used by the bourgeoisie as an ideological weapon. It is actively supported by numerous 'Left' clericals. In interpreting social processes all modifications of this theory, which in one form or another reject the existence of a scientific basis for the class struggle, inevitably boil down to vulgar biologism. This unscientific approach to social phenomena is critically analyzed in the writings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Nothing is easier, Lenin wrote, than to tack an 'energeticist' or 'biological-sociological' label on to such phenomena as crisis of over-production, revolution or the class struggle, but neither is there anything more sterile, more scholastic than such an occupation (See V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, vol. 17, p. 328).

Life constantly disproves such ideas. The Tenth World Festival

*See K. Keniston, *The Uncommitted. Alienated Youth in American Society*. New York, 1965, p. 231.

**See K. Keniston, *Young Radicals. Notes on Committed Youth*. New York, 1968.

***L. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations*, New York, 1969.

of Youth and Students in Berlin clearly showed how deeply and keenly young people are interested in social problems, in the development trends and the future of mankind. We saw at the Festival that most of the progressive youth and student organizations realize that democratic youth needs unity if it is to influence in a positive sense the processes going on in the world. This is why the Festival was held under the motto 'For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship.' This motto united numerous youth organizations differing in political, ideological and religious interests. In France, Italy, the FRG, Japan and other countries a broad democratic front of youth came into being during the preparations for the Festival, with the result that national Festival committees were set up. These countries sent united national delegations.

In spite of differences of opinion, participants in the Festival were unanimous in condemning imperialist aggression in any part of the globe. Young people wholeheartedly supported the struggle for national liberation and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Czechoslovak delegation to the Festival took part in 102 bilateral meetings with national delegations and organizations. All our interlocutors spoke of their desire for closer contacts with our Socialist Youth League.

A scientific approach to problems of the younger generation cannot be reconciled with attempts to distort the concept or the social and class differentiation of youth or to represent youth as a certain age or biological group of society, or even as an independent class opposed to all other classes and social groups.

We think a scientific approach to these problems implies respect for at least the following fundamental requirements:

- the younger generation and its problems must be treated only in relation to the social system under which it lives;
- youth must be treated as a particular social and demographic group, with due regard to its age and the distinctive features of its involvement in public life;
- any analysis of younger generations must be linked to the social class differentiation reflecting the social structure of a given society.

In working among youth, we proceed from the fact that under socialism there is a general harmony between the interests of youth and of society. However, insistence on a tactful approach to youth problems does not rule out, indeed presupposes, meaningful coordination of the influences on it of society as a whole. Young people do not automatically evolve a conscious attitude to the problems and results of building socialism. Besides, they are exposed to the influence of anti-communist propaganda aimed at discrediting the gains of socialism, especially in the eyes of youth, at representing various shortcomings in the practice of socialist construction as evils inherent in the system itself.

This is why the Party must increase its ideological influence on the younger generation and lead young people to an intelli-

gent view of social processes and the objective laws of social development. The main resolution of the 14th Congress of the CPC says that 'the Party appreciates young people's sincere enthusiasm and their urge towards all that is progressive; it associates the communist future of our country with the younger generation. Hence concern for the healthy development of the youth, for its education in the spirit of the scientific world outlook, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, is a priority task of the Party and the whole of society.' The purpose of ideological work is to train young people starting on an active life as revolutionaries of today and tomorrow who realize that to be a revolutionary in our time means accomplishing the tasks set by the Communist Party, the tasks involved in strengthening socialism at home and throughout the world.

Disregard of class ideological influences on the youth may in certain circumstances create a situation fraught with conflict. Underestimation of the need of ideological education and disregard of youth problems, plus the demagogical and subtle influence of right opportunists and anti-socialist forces, as well as imperialist ideological subversion, always cause serious damage to young people's thinking.

In analyzing the views and standpoints of young people and, above all, in studying the process of the formation of their world outlook and socialist morality, we consider it necessary to proceed on the assumption that every new generation can contribute to the life of society something entirely new which helps to consolidate socialism and carry it forward. It is important, therefore, to see to it that all relations in the political system and in the system of upbringing and education make for the direct participation of youth in shaping and implementing policies and attaining the goals set by the 14th Congress of the CPC.

Preparing the younger generation for life and work in developed socialist society was the subject of the July 1973 meeting of the Central Committee. The meeting stressed that the moulding of the younger generation's socialist consciousness even in developed socialism, should not be left to spontaneity and that the education of youth is inseparable from young people's participation in building the new life. The meeting called on all Communists to regard work among the youth as a priority task and an important Party obligation, and made it the duty of government and non-government organizations to concern themselves with the problems of the socialist education of youth. To coordinate the educational activities of government agencies and non-governmental organizations and evolve a common approach to the problems of the younger generation is the responsibility of commissions for work among youth set up by Party committees.

Young Czechoslovaks and their organization, the Socialist Youth League, have been afforded unprecedented opportunities. 'We always keep the door open for working youth and students,' said Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, speaking to the

First Congress of the League. 'Young people do not have to force this door—all they have to do is to know how to use the opportunities there are. If they do this they will find support everywhere. However, they should set themselves lofty and great aims, show youthful enthusiasm and train very seriously. We wholeheartedly wish your generation to produce able, honest, well-trained citizens devoted to socialism and our people, who will carry the banner of revolutionary gains and progress, the banner of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism—will carry it higher and farther than we have been able to do in the past years—and we shall help in bringing this about.'

The overwhelming majority of young people in our country today realizes that only socialism can and does offer them inspiring prospects and that it is precisely the Communist Party, the leading force of society, that makes these prospects realistic through its policies.

Communist press festivals

Autumn festivals of Communist newspapers have become a traditional forum for reviewing Party forces, demonstrating international solidarity and promoting political consciousness among the working people.

This year many of the celebrations broke all-time attendance records. Hundreds of thousands of people flocked to the two-day festivities held by the *Trybuna Ludu* in Warsaw, Poland, and the *Rude Pravo* in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Organizers of the *Humanite* festivities at La Courneuve, near Paris, estimate that the colorful fair grounds erected for the occasion were visited by more than 600,000 persons in two days. 'Unprecedented' was how *L'Unita* characterized a huge mass rally and four-hour demonstration attended by an estimated 700,000 people in Milan, which crowned the nine-day national festival of the Italian Communist Party's mass newspaper. The 15th *Akahata* festival drew tens of thousands of readers of the Japanese Communist Party's central organ, both Party members and sympathizers. This year's traditional festival of the Belgian Communist press was held in the town of Vise in central Flanders. Stands and showcases of the main Party weeklies *Le Drapeau Rouge* and *Rode Vaan* attracted many visitors. Highly successful pageants were sponsored by the *Zeitung* in Luxembourg and *Voix Ouvriere* in Switzerland.

A distinguishing feature of this year's festivities was the presence of many delegations and journalists from fraternal parties at the *Humanite*, *Unita* and other pageants. This symbolized the international ties of Communist parties.

The Communist press festivals were a vivid demonstration of the growth of Party influence among the masses. Never before, *L'Humanite* wrote, had so many applications for Party membership been submitted: 3,082, three quarters of them from young people.

Exhibitions, charts and diagrams displayed the growing circulation of Communist publications and their support by the working people. The guests of honor at the festivities were invariably the best distributors of Communist papers. *L'Unita* reported that subscriptions to Party publications rose considerably during its festival and more than 3,500 million lira, a record sum, was collected for the Party Press Fund.

World-wide Poster Competition

In honor of its 15th year of continuous publication **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**—theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' Parties—is sponsoring a world-wide competition in poster design under the theme:

"The earth shall rise on new foundations"

The contest is open to all interested poster artists and designers. The prevailing poster fee will be paid to all those submitting acceptable designs.

For further information write or submit designs to:

**Editor
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
3 Thakurova St.,
Prague 6, CSSR**



The Thorez Institute

Georges Cogniot

Dear Comrades,

In the April 1973 issue of **WMR** I read an item saying that the Maurice Thorez Institute had prepared for press a collection of issues of **L'Humanité** brought out illegally under fascist occupation. I think publications of this kind cut the ground from under the feet of falsifiers of history, who are so numerous today. Really, 'history properly understood is and will be our best teacher,' to quote Georgi Dimitrov.

Some time ago **WMR** carried an article about the Thorez Institute.* I would like to know more about the activity of French Communist historians and I feel that so would other readers.

A. REVIN
Moscow, USSR

We asked **GEORGES COGNIOT**, President of the Maurice Thorez Institute, to tell about the French Marxist historians's main center.

The Maurice Thorez Institute was founded by the Central Committee of the French Communist Party nine years ago, on the basis of the CC's History Commission. Its purpose is to serve as a Marxist-Leninist center for research into the history of the working-class movement and social thought. The institute is directed by a board which includes prominent scholars. In charge of it between board meetings is a bureau of ten and its everyday activities are led by its president and director.

The first director, CC FCP member Victor Joannes, a noted scholar, made a fruitful contribution to the formation and growth of the Institute and to its prestige as a research center. His work is being carried on by the present director, CC FCP member Jean Burles.

Continuity

Now that the political struggle has sharpened and there are prospects of far-reaching social changes, study of the history of the

*See **WMR**, September 1971.

working-class movement meets an urgent need of the progressive social forces. Lessons of the past help to understand the current battles of the working people and democrats of France.

Bourgeois historians have lately been devoting greater attention to the working-class movement. This is clearly due to the growing prestige of world socialism and the French Communist Party's increased role. Nor is it mere chance that reactionary, anti-Communist historians, first of all a handful of renegades and apostates, have set out to falsify precisely FCP history. They describe the founding of the Communist Party in 1920 as purely accidental, try to rehabilitate renegades, and misrepresent relations between the FCP and the Communist International. They have borrowed their concepts from the views of some U.S. authors widely used in the official education system. These people must be effectively rebutted.

There are historians who sincerely try to elucidate the history of the working-class movement and are ready to acknowledge, fully or partly, Marxism's contribution to social thought. Some of them are sympathetic to Communist party policy. They include authors who have won recognition and respect. It is a duty of Communist historians to establish links and cooperation with them and to help them in fraternal fashion to adopt a consistently Marxist position. There are now more Marxist scholars. Many Communist members of the younger generation of historians base their research on the principles of historical materialism.

By stressing the importance of studying decisive trends in the history of the working-class movement and the role of the people and classes, the Institute strives to help scholars to avoid stereotype. This is one reason why many of its publications are recollections of activists (a term we apply to both leading and rank-and-file participants in working-class battles) portraying people who made history and depicting the situation at this or that period.

The Institute does its best not to leave any unsolved problem to our opponents and to ensure that its investigations cover all the major issues of the working-class movement, past and present. The Marxist world outlook and a partisan approach are not in themselves guarantees of being right in a scientific debate nor of solving every problem correctly. For a scholar or team to approach problems in a partisan spirit means showing a keener sense of scientific responsibility in studying every contradiction or complication of developing reality. Marxist historians are the Party's fighters in science who can by leaning on the truth beat off all attacks on the FCP and its policies, no matter what scientific authorities are invoked to support these attacks. At the same time, the requirements of the struggle should not lead to paucity of theoretical thought, sectarian dogmatism or deviations from the main lines of research.

How we work

There is our publishing activity to begin with. Prominent among the numerous periodicals of the FCP is *Cahiers d'histoire*. Founded

in April 1966, it was originally brought out as a quarterly but lately it has appeared once every two months. Its circulation is several thousand copies and it is also consulted by non-Communist historians.

The issues on 'Leninism - Our Legacy,' the agrarian policy of the FCP and other fraternal parties, 'History of the Century: Militant Solidarity of the French and German Working Class,' FCP congresses and the Party's election campaigns over the past 15 years have become widely known.

Among those who write for *Cahiers d'histoire* are prominent members of the FCP and brother parties. The journal publishes historical investigations and theoretical articles, recollections and testimonies of Party activists, book reviews, accounts of scientific colloquiums, and documents which were never published before or have become a rarity. Its editors want it to meet all the demands put to it by the increasing role of the working class and its allies in national life and contribute its share to research sponsored by the FCP.

Public lectures on topical themes have proved their worth as a means of disseminating historical knowledge among the working people. They are generally offered once a month in Paris and some of them are repeated elsewhere. The 1972-1973 series opened with a paper on education in the Soviet Union and the settlement of the national question in a socialist state, and closed on June 7, 1973 with a lecture by Roland Leroy, CC FCP Secretary, on 'Socialism: Laws and Experience. Fundamentals of the Theory of "Models"?' Every lecture is followed by a discussion.

In the past two years the Institute has offered history students in their last year lectures on themes included in the official curriculum. These lectures, which treat the subject from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, drew large audiences last year and have now been published and put on sale.

The Institute bureau gives much attention to the activity of *working commissions* composed of professional historians, experts in related disciplines and activists of the working-class movement. Each commission has its own research theme, such as the rise and formation of the FCP, communism and present-day France (this includes a study of reformism, on one hand, and the problem of the state, on the other), the position of scientists in today's bourgeois society and the ideological struggle in the field of history, anti-colonialism yesterday and today, and so on. Emphasis is laid on collective work to ensure that all Communist historians, including young teachers and scholars, as well as students, take part in research and discussion.

In October 1972 the Institute held the first *seminar* of Communist historians, which brought together 91 participants from all over the country. The purpose of the seminar was to encourage and coordinate research into the history of the French working-class, particularly Communist, movement, establish closer and more

regular links between research and ideological struggle and discuss methodological problems.

The texts of preliminary papers on three major subjects – 'Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Rise of the FCP,' 'The Communist Party and the Popular Front' and 'Objective and Subjective Conditions for the Existence of a Strong Communist Party in France Immediately after World War II' – were circulated beforehand and there was a preliminary exchange of views in writing. Before the seminar began papers were heard on united action by the Communists and Catholics since 1934. Catholic scholars took part in this activity.

We see it as a merit of the seminar that there was an extensive discussion in which a wide range of viewpoints was presented and that an effort was made to approach problems in terms of political economy, sociology, sociolinguistics, politology and many other branches of knowledge.

Only research based on documentary evidence and respecting the principle of scientific impartiality can contribute to the science of history. An important activity of the Institute is, therefore, to collect and keep archives of the French working-class movement – documents, eye-witness accounts and various publications. This work is the responsibility of the documentation department.

The primary function of the department is to keep, classify and reproduce manuscripts, photographs, and so on, and to supply copies to those who order them.

Our archives include 150,000 microfilmed documents and every year we obtain several thousand more. Last year the documentation department made about a thousand photostats for history teachers and students, theatres and cinemas, radio and television, publishing houses, the press, mayors' offices and people's cultural institutions. We also receive requests from individuals and institutions in socialist and capitalist countries.

Exhibitions are another important activity of the department. The Institute held 35 exhibitions last year. This year we are preparing exhibitions devoted to the life and work of Henri Barbusse, the Communist author.

An exhibition devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR was opened at the Institute last April. It provided an occasion for a rousing demonstration of international proletarian solidarity.

Our library has over 50,000 volumes on the history of the working-class movement and social thought. Its stock includes very rare and even unique publications, such as a collection of Communist pamphlets brought out between the two world wars. The library is gaining in popularity and recently registered its thousandth reader (apart from the hundreds of Institute members). Researchers from all continents meet here. The library maintains contacts with the Paris National Library and the libraries of the institutes of Marxism-Leninism of socialist countries.

International relations

International scientific colloquiums on topics of the day bring together from 200 to 300 scholars, Communist and Socialist party activists, trade unionists, academics, young workers and students. The first colloquium on 'The Popular Front in 1936 and the Activity of Maurice Thorez' (October 1966) attracted considerable public attention. It was attended by representative delegations from 20 European and Latin American countries and by FCP leaders with Waldeck Rochet at their head. The next colloquium (October 1967) discussed 'The October Revolution and France.' It stressed the historic importance of the Leninist principles, the impact of the October Revolution on France, the fruitfulness of combining the best national revolutionary traditions with the new factors introduced by the October Revolution and the significance of the FCP theses on the opportunities and conditions for the transition to socialism in our country.

The 1969 colloquium on the causes and results of World War II took a stand against falsifiers of history, helped to establish the truth about the causes of the war and the responsibility of imperialism and showed the Soviet Union's decisive role in the defeat of Hitlerism, the social and political nature of the Resistance in various countries and the interaction of national interests and proletarian internationalism. Its records were published in a collection entitled *From Hitler's Victories to the Triumph of Democracy and Socialism*.

The international meeting dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the French Communist Party and to the spread of Lenin's ideas in France (October-November 1970) was attended by participants from 29 countries. Among those who joined in the discussion were FCP leaders Georges Marchais, Etienne Fajon and Roland Leroy. An account of the meeting appeared in book form.

The centenary of the Paris Commune was the theme of a colloquium in May 1971 which drew participants from 25 countries. Contributions to it were made by FCP leaders, noted professors and prominent politicians of diverse convictions. The colloquium records were published in the collection *The Dawn: The Immortal Paris Commune*. A colloquium early in November 1972 concerned itself with relations between the French working class and the working class of the GDR and FRG. A delegation of GDR historians, spokesmen of the working-class movement and scholars of the FRG and Soviet scholars made valuable contributions. Participants stressed the need to extend the unity of action of working-class and democratic forces in Europe and bring about closer unity of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The six international colloquiums sponsored by the Thorez Institute furnished conclusive evidence of the fruitfulness of the Marxist approach to the science of history. The problems posed at them and the numerous testimonies of participants in important events paved the way for new interesting investigations.

Participation in international scientific conferences on the history of social movements which are organized by various institutions are a further activity of the Institute. Last year staff members of the Institute read papers at the Eighth Conference of Labor Historians in Linz, Austria, on the evolution of the Second International from the Stuttgart Congress to World War I and the political evolution of the Austrian Social-Democratic movement from 1918 to 1934. Communist historians who cooperate with the Institute took part in the festivities held in Sofia on the 90th anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth.

This year the Thorez Institute took part in two scientific colloquiums in Berlin on the 125th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*. The Institute has prepared papers for the forthcoming conference of labor historians which will discuss, in particular, the spread of Marxism in Europe before 1914 and the application of mathematical methods in studying the history of the working-class movement.

The Thorez Institute attaches great importance to international contacts and strives to promote fraternal relations with the socialist countries' institutes of Marxism-Leninism, which render it invaluable assistance. This applies, first of all, to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU. By extending scientific contacts and the range of both its research and its sources of information, the Thorez Institute tries to the best of its ability to help the French working class and its allies to acquire a better grasp of the meaning of today's great social and political battles and to carry them on more effectively.

Vital problems of Afro-Asian countries

We receive many letters from our readers asking for more information about the newly independent Asian and African nations' struggle against imperialism, for genuine independence, for peace.

When possible we address these requests to leading public figures and statesmen in these countries. Two of the replies are given on this and the following pages.

YOUSSEF EL-SEBAI, General Secretary,
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity
Organization, Egyptian writer.

Solidarity

Sixteen years ago, at the historical Cairo Conference* the peoples of Asia and Africa, two great continents bound by a grim colonial heritage and inspired by common goals, founded the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. Today the AAPSO is a powerful mass organization embracing 79 national solidarity committees, popular parties and movements. It firmly adheres to the principles of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national liberation, independence and sovereignty, for world peace.

Our work for peace represents the cherished aspirations of the peoples of Africa and Asia who have suffered immeasurably from colonial conquests, exploitation and imperialist aggression. The peoples of Africa and Asia need peace, for only in peace can they successfully build up their economies and overcome the lag in relation to the developed countries. Therefore, we firmly uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems.

We hold that the desire for peace does not contradict the struggle for national emancipation and independence of peoples still suffering from colonial oppression. On the contrary, these are closely interrelated aspects of a broadening struggle for the just aspirations of the people. Imperialist wars, aggression and intervention,

*The conference, attended by representatives from 45 countries and national movements, was held in December 1957 - January 1958. The Rules, adopted by the Second Conference (Conakry, April 1960), with over 70 organizations attending from 55 countries, state the Organization's goals: to unite and consolidate the Afro-Asian anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle; encourage solidarity movements in all countries in both continents; coordinate the work of national solidarity committees; prevent imperialist attempts to deprive member-countries of their freedom. Membership in the AAPSO is open to national Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees, people's movements supporting its goals and tasks.

The Organization's supreme body is the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. Five conferences have been held since the Organization was founded (Cairo, December-January, 1957-58; Conakry, 1960; Moshi, Tanzania, 1963; Winneba, Ghana, 1965; Cairo, 1972). All of them contributed greatly to consolidating the national-liberation movement, uniting the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.—Ed.

military blocs and bases on foreign territories, imperialist support of reactionary and mercenary regimes are all designed to preserve the system of economic exploitation and plunder of the working people. That is why the national emancipation of oppressed peoples is inseparable from their social emancipation, and the struggle against neo-colonialism is closely bound with the peace movement.

For centuries imperialism and colonialism have been holding back progress in Asian and African countries, the advance of their civilizations and cultures, undermining their economic potential and denying the people their political and social rights. That is why the AAPSO, while waging a political struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, seeks to show Afro-Asian peoples the importance of international meetings encompassing both continents and exchanges of experience in the fight for national and social emancipation. Our work aims at helping the peoples of Asia and Africa to revive their distinctive cultures, free themselves from foreign exploitation and build up their national economies.

Our organization focuses special attention on the liberation movements. It rallies worldwide moral support for them by mobilizing public opinion and promotes contacts between its members and friendly organizations to provide material support.

Afro-Asian solidarity, mutual moral and material support have played an important part in winning independence for Kenya, Algeria, Tanzania, Guinea and many other countries. Having joined the community of independent nations, they too are extending aid to peoples still fighting for independence.

The AAPSO has consistently and from principled positions supported and continues to support the peoples of Vietnam and Arab countries in their struggle for liberation, against imperialist aggression. We have sponsored many international conferences in support of fighting Vietnam. Since its foundation our organization has invariably supported the liberation movements of Latin America.

As concerns recent concrete action, the AAPSO condemned the reactionary coup in Chile and the crimes of the military junta, expressing warm solidarity with the heroic people of Chile who are defending their right to freedom and social progress; resolutely supported nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company, denounced imperialist subversion against sovereign Cyprus, declared its support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the racist Smith regime, condemned the British government's maneuvers to strike a deal with the racists; forcefully came out in support of the struggle of the peoples of Portugal's colonies and Southern Africa; called for international sanctions against Israel, etc.

The AAPSO Permanent Secretariat organizes and participates actively in national and international meetings and conferences aimed at consolidating the anti-imperialist struggle and promoting the cause of peace and progress in Asia, Africa and the whole world.

Afro-Asian solidarity has become a vitally important reality in

the world of today. The effectiveness of the AAPSO and its ability to rise above the disagreements sometimes emerging among its members – ideological or due to differences in the social regimes they represent – have passed the test of time and been proven in action. The peoples of Asia and Africa have amply demonstrated their capacity for solidarity in the fight for national emancipation and independence, the development of their material and spiritual cultures and for world peace.

AAPSO successes inspire us to draw up still greater plans. We are faced with difficult tasks. African and Asian peoples still fighting for independence and suffering from imperialist and colonial oppression are waging a hard struggle. The countries that have already won independence are still the targets of imperialist interference, threats and outright aggression, as is the case in many areas of Asia and Africa. Imperialism will not quit the historical arena voluntarily. In spite of defeats, it is doing everything to hold on.

For this reason the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for winning and consolidating national independence, remains the urgent task of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Its solution will promote world peace and security.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that the AAPSO hails the Moscow Congress of Peace Forces. The AAPSO and all its national committees will, of course, be an active participant in this forum. For those fighting for independence and progress in Africa and in Asia, this congress represents a unique opportunity to meet with the delegates of the freedom-loving peoples of Latin America and other regions, with spokesmen of progressive anti-imperialist forces, on a common platform of struggle for peace, security and international détente. The congress is an expression of the deep faith of the peoples in the justice and triumph of their struggle, a demonstration of the mounting unity and solidarity of all honest people opposing imperialism and aggression and working to rid mankind of racism and Zionism, for progress and democracy.

MAMADOU ALASSANE BA, Minister of
Secondary Education, Youth Affairs and
Sports, Islamic Republic of Mauritania

Mauritania builds a new life

For a long time Mauritania* had a 'special relationship' with France, which to a great extent restricted our independence. True, this did not prevent the government from following a firm foreign policy. In 1967, for instance, after the aggressive war against the Arab

*Territory 1.1 mln. sq. km., pop. 1.5 mln. Mauritania is a country with many problems. Foreign capital controls most of the emerging national industry and 70 per cent of the foreign trade. The patriotic forces are working to change all that.

President Moktar Ould Daddah, General Secretary of the ruling Mauritanian People's Party, said at one time that he 'fully prefers' the socialist path but that the government did not have the required cadres and resources for the socialist path. Mauritania is still at a crossroads and a solution of all its complex problems depends in great measure on how the leadership will implement the progressive principles it has proclaimed. – Ed.

countries unleashed by the Israeli Zionists with American imperialist support, we broke off relations with the United States. Here is one more example: Mauritania has always supported African national-liberation movements; President Moktar Ould Daddah exerted great efforts in this direction when he was Chairman of the OAU.

Today, our Party, the MPP, has turned emphatically in a revolutionary direction. Last November President Moktar Ould Daddah declared abrogated, as of January 1, 1973, the 'cooperation agreements' with France imposed upon us when independence was proclaimed in 1960. We held negotiations with France to reconsider the conditions of cooperation, instituted a national currency and a Central Bank, and are taking further measures to consolidate our independence, particularly economic independence. We are developing relations including Party connections, with the socialist countries.

Our Party guides the country's life. All political decisions are taken by Party bodies – from the National Politbureau to the village committees – while it is the duty of government agencies to see that they are carried out. Government executives at all levels are members of corresponding Party bodies. The Party also guides the work of the mass associations which constitute an integral part of it: the youth and women's organizations and the Mauritanian Workers' Union.

The people of Mauritania are working to carry out the second four-year plan (1970-73). Understandably, the plan concentrates on farming, particularly livestock, in which 75 per cent of our population is occupied. The recent droughts, especially this year's, have, of course, seriously undercut our efforts. The government has had to take emergency measures to help the population.

Industrial development occupies a key place in our plans, and not only mining (Mauritania is rich in iron and copper), but the processing industry as well. The Party plans to ensure government participation in all newly established companies, and control of foreign firms. We intend to continue to promote planned development and the formation of cooperatives in agriculture.

The key problems facing the country are to abolish illiteracy and to train national cadres. When independence was proclaimed we had hardly any literate persons in the country. The government launched an urgent program to develop a school network. Much has been achieved, but we must still work for a new quality in education, we must change the colonial atmosphere in schools, the programs of which were geared to colonial requirements.

The first education reform was carried out in 1966 – a timid attempt to raise the significance of our national culture. At present the National Politbureau of the MPP is debating a new draft education reform which, firstly, stresses the need for giving greater attention to studying national history, culture and art and, secondly, aims at introducing more democracy into the education system, primarily by broadening the local school network, especially in poorly accessible areas, and introducing mobile schools for the children of nomadic families.

We are also starting to train national cadres, including civil servants (an administrative school at Nouakchott) and teachers to take the place of foreign teachers. There is a pedagogical college in the capital.

Finally, we must link education with solution of the employment problem, particularly in the rural areas, raise the meaning and prestige of physical labor. For this we plan to broaden the system of 'practical training' and the network of vocational and technical schools. We are also encouraging voluntary participation in various public works.

Our Party realizes that revolutionary steps cannot be taken without the active support of the masses. We are taking measures to mobilize the people and are stepping up our activities in civic and ideological education. This is particularly important for the youth, which constitutes the majority of the population. (Young people are united in the MPP Youth Organization). The MPP National Politbureau is discussing a report concerning a new youth policy.

We are confident that under the leadership of our Party the people of Mauritania will be able to cope with the difficult tasks facing the country.

In defense of democratic rights

Public opinion in the FRG continues to be worried about the consequences of the joint decision of the prime ministers of the *Laender* governments and the Federal Chancellor, passed January 28, 1972, which bans 'radicals' from being employed in the civil services. A similar decision was passed November 23, 1971, by the Social-Democratic senate of Hamburg.

What do these measures represent and against whom are they directed? It is said that they introduce no new legislation and simply interpret existing laws governing the status of civil servants. However, the consequences of the latest 'interpretation' have proved grave indeed for many people. The category of 'radicals' can easily be made to include members of the German Communist Party, the Socialist German Worker Youth, the Marxist student union Spartacus, active trade unionists and the Young Socialists. Such inclusion is sufficient grounds to bar people from the civil service and such jobs as teacher, judge, physician or university lecturer.

The pretext has already been used to dismiss Hamburg schoolteacher Ilse Jacob, daughter of Communist Franz Jacob executed by the Nazis in 1944. She was accused by the Federal Department

for the Protection of the Constitution of travelling to the GDR and the Soviet Union and signing an appeal against the neo-Nazi NDP. Dortmund Higher Evangelical School teacher Weidermann was denied civil servant status for being a member of the GCP. In Munich, city education councillor Fingerle (a CSU member) dismissed vicar Ulrich Under (a Social-Democrat) for speaking of peace and colonial oppression at a theological class. Communist scientist Johannes Meyer-Ingwersen was refused professorships at several schools in Esslingen, Bremen, Kassel and Oldenburg. In Coblenz, Michael Freund was denied the right to teach at school for being a Communist. There are hundreds more such examples.

Sharp political repercussions were aroused throughout the country by the case of Volker Goetz, a young lawyer and GCP member from Dusseldorf. Goetz received his lawyer's degree on graduating from university in 1969 and until the spring of this year worked in the Dusseldorf court. After passing the necessary examinations, he applied for bar membership. This was granted after much red tape, but then the CDU/CSU, the Springer press and reactionary civil servants launched a vicious campaign against him. The North Rhine-Westphalia government gave in to the pressure and suspended the issuing of a bar licence.

Characteristically, neo-Nazis appear quite unaffected by the decree about 'radicals.' According to the Federal Government itself, the civil service employs 1,487 persons who are members of neo-Nazi organizations.

The *Laender* prime ministers' anti-democratic decision has evoked a storm of protest. They have been denounced by the trade unions of scientific and education workers, the municipal services, transport and communications and printshop workers, the German Communist Party, the German Peace Union, the Young Socialists, the German Young Democrats, the Socialist German Worker Youth, hundreds of local SDP organizations and most of its *Laender* organizations.

The issue was even raised at the last SDP congress, when the leadership barely managed to gain support for its position by promising to clarify it. During the congress, 20,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Dortmund to protest the decree, and the *Laender* SDP congress in Hamburg demanded its repeal.

The decisions of the *Laender* prime ministers readily bring to the memory of many West German citizens the notorious 'Carlsbad decrees' of 1819, the 1852 'Cologne Communist Trials,' Bismarck's 'Law Against Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democrats' of 1878, the 1933 'Law on Restoring the Professional Civil Service,' and the so-called 'Adenauer Decree' of 1950. In all those cases, as today, the law-makers sought to eradicate democratic ideas by administrative methods. Furthermore, history shows that the persecution of democrats in Germany was never a purely internal German affair.

Last spring an international conference in defense of democracy in the FRG was held in Hamburg. Attended by lawyers, trade

unionists, MPs and students from Austria, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Denmark, it called for a repeal of the anti-democratic decree. The FRG was represented by Social-Democrats, Liberals, Communists, workers, judges, teachers, students and deputies of the Bundestag and Landtags.

The greatly strengthened democratic forces in the FRG, supported by solidarity movements abroad, are stepping up their struggle and resolutely demanding an end to discrimination.

Horst Bethge
teacher, German Peace Union organizer for
educational problems.

Hamburg

'We wish you new advances in struggle for peace and socialism'

BROTHER PARTIES GREET 'WORLD MARXIST REVIEW' ON ITS FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY

The first issue of **World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)** appeared fifteen years ago (September 1958). Ever since then its international staff has been doing its best to follow the revolutionary traditions of the Communist press, which has at all times been distinguished for its unqualified devotion to the cause of the working class and other working people and its unfailing loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. A creation of Marxist-Leninist parties, **World Marxist Review** has been growing and advancing in step with the world Communist movement. In messages of greetings to their collective theoretical and information journal, brother parties speak highly of the work done by it in the past period, confirm the correctness and relevance of its main lines and wish it further success.

We received greetings from the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries.

The CC CPSU message to the journal's Editorial Board and Editorial Council reads:

'The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends warm greetings and congratulations to the Editorial Board, Editorial Council and multinational staff of **World Marxist Review** on the 15th anniversary of the journal.

'Over the past years the journal has become an authoritative forum of Marxist-Leninist thought. Among contributors to it are prominent leaders of the world Communist movement and Marxist

theorists and noted spokesmen of progressive movements. The journal plays an important part in the creative analysis of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and in dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism all over the world. It consistently upholds the scientific communist world outlook from positions of principle and combats every brand of bourgeois ideology, opportunism and revisionism.

'The CPSU highly appreciates the journal's role in popularizing the vast experience of brother parties in solving key problems of socialist and communist building, analyzing class battles in capitalist countries and the peoples' fight for national freedom and social progress, and generalizing the work of Communist parties in uniting all democratic and progressive forces. Important, too, is scientific analysis of the nature and significance of changes in the world arena meeting the interests of international security and creating favorable international conditions for the solution of major national and social problems. The editorial staff promotes useful forms of cooperation between representatives of Communist and Workers' parties in studying theoretical and political questions on a collective basis.

'We wish the international staff of the journal further advances in disseminating the ideas of scientific Communism and in its effort towards closer unity of the world Communist movement on the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.'

'The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria's Communists consider that . . . *World Marxist Review* played an important role in bringing about positive changes in international relations. . . . This is why,' the message goes on to say, 'we look forward to the journal's discussion of the problems involved in the transition from cold war to active cooperation in an atmosphere of peace and security, in promoting the cohesion of socialist countries and the socialist world system, building a developed socialist society and achieving still closer unity of the international Communist and working-class movement.'

'Our Party,' writes *Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*, 'greatly appreciates the activity of your editorial staff and the role of the journal, which contribute effectively to the spread of Marxist-Leninist teachings in the world, the mutual study and extension of the brother parties' experience of struggle, and success in the fight against bourgeois ideology.'

'Through its publications as well as through the international discussions and conferences organized by its Editorial Board,' says the *Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany* in a message signed by *CC Secretary Erich Honecker*, 'the journal promotes collective Marxist-Leninist analysis of new phenomena and problems of the Communist movement and the world revolutionary process, and creative generalization of the experiences gained by brother parties in political and ideological struggle.'

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party notes: 'Speaking for the Marxist-Leninist parties and expressing their supreme dedication to the great cause of socialism, the journal has become a collective propagandist, organizer of the masses, champion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and powerful Communist weapon against bourgeois ideology and opportunism of every shading.

'The glorious history of the peoples' revolutionary struggle is recorded in the columns of *World Marxist Review* by genuine revolutionaries consistently defending the working people's interests.'

'*World Marxist Review*, firmly adhering to the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,' says *the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party*, 'contributes to the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement and closer cooperation of all progressive forces in the struggle for socialism, the peoples' freedom and peace on earth.'

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, in sending the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* congratulations and fraternal greetings, writes: 'Since the general laws governing the world revolutionary process find specific expression in the everyday practical effort of Communist and Workers' parties, it is more important than ever to ensure full and systematic use, in a spirit of great receptiveness, of the contribution of each Party, in accordance with the distinctive features of the social and economic development of its country, to the collective treasury of the common Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.'

'The journal,' states *the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*, 'reflects the increasingly powerful offensive of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world which found inspiration and expression primarily in the meaningful initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state towards implementing the active program for peace and international security proclaimed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and at meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as by the brother parties of individual countries of the socialist community.'

The Communist and Workers' parties fighting in capitalist citadels regard their collective journal as a reliable assistant in theoretical and political activity.

'For 15 years,' writes *Gaston Plissonnier, Secretary of the Central Committee, French Communist Party*, 'the journal has been discharging its mission of popularizing and advancing Marxism-Leninism, combating bourgeois ideology as well as opportunism and dogmatism, sponsoring exchanges of experience between Communist and Workers' parties and strengthening the unity of the Communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. It has been contributing its share to a closer alliance of the entire working class and all anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces for social progress, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.'

'On the 15th anniversary of the founding of *World Marxist Review*,' says the *Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party*, 'we send you fraternal wishes for success in fostering theoretical research and discussion in the interest of united action of the brother parties and democratic, progressive anti-imperialist forces in struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.'

'The journal,' writes *John Gollan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain*, 'has been of great value to the Communist movement. Its articles have provided Communists with information on the problems, struggles and activities of the Communist Parties and other progressive forces throughout the world.'

Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German Communist Party, stresses in his message that 'the exposure of anti-socialist positions from the standpoint of principle, and resolute struggle against Right and Left-wing opportunism, anti-communism and its most explicit form, anti-Sovietism, greatly help and support all Communists, including members of our Party. They also contribute in important measure to closer unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement in the spirit of loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.'

The journal, write *Henry Winston, National Chairman, CPUSA*, and *Gus Hall, General Secretary*, 'has provided invaluable information on the activities and problems of the parties of various countries. In its pages and in the numerous conferences it has held, bringing together the thinking of comrades from different parties, it has made highly significant contributions on theoretical and ideological questions. It is a journal which is truly expressive of the fraternal relationships which prevail among Communist and Workers' parties in this historical period.'

'The new problems arising in the course of revolutionary struggle, both in the realm of theory and practice,' notes *William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada*, 'require continuous analysis and generalization. *World Marxist Review* with its status as a world journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, is manifestly well equipped to continue its leading place in the constant quest for Marxist-Leninist creativity in theory and practice.'

'The very publication of the journal as a collective product of so many parties belonging to the world Communist movement,' stresses the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria* in a message signed by *Franz Muhri and Erwin Scharf*, 'is a convincing expression of their broad political and ideological unity and the unshakable power of conviction of Marxism-Leninism.'

Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, writes: 'By reporting on the Communist parties' experiences in carrying forward Marxist theory and on the social struggles being waged on its basis, the journal has been able to contribute its share to the activity of brother parties and to foster their solidarity in the common fight against imperialism, war and reaction.'

The message sent by the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark* says: 'The efforts of the journal in publicizing

and developing the points of view pooled by the world Communist movement at its international meetings is also of great and recognized importance to Denmark's Communists, who derive inspiration from the journal's coverage of the manner in which the world Communist movement links theory with practice in the course of struggle. The journal also plays a notable role as a mediator in international exchanges of opinions between Communists with a view to solving the manifold new problems of our time.'

'Our Party,' writes *Charilaos Florakis-Giotis, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece*, 'finds in the journal valuable and varied help in its struggle to overthrow the dictatorship, for democracy, national independence and progress.'

'In commemorating the 15th anniversary of *World Marxist Review*,' says *the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party*, 'we send you heartfelt fraternal greetings. We think highly of the contribution which the journal has made by supplying the parties authentic international information, reporting on the policies and activities of the Communist and Workers' parties, of its contribution to popularizing the achievements and gains of the socialist countries, to Marxist-Leninist theoretical research and to the strengthening and ideological cohesion of the international Communist movement.'

Gerhard Danelius, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, writes: 'What is particularly important is that the journal publicizes the historical experiences of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, a party which was the first to establish a worker-peasant state and pave the way for socialism, and is successfully laying the material and technical foundations for communism and is in the forefront of the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. Propaganda of the achievements of the community of socialist countries and explanation of its role in the historic contest between socialism and capitalism are highly important.'

'Our Party and the progressive movement in Cyprus,' wrote *Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary, Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)*, 'benefit immensely from the Greek edition of WMR and the international conferences and discussions which the journal holds and in which we participate. For our cadres and the whole membership of our Party, the journal has become an indispensable instrument of enlightenment and struggle, as its high circulation in Cyprus shows.'

'Under the prevailing conditions, subsequent to the successes of the Soviet Union in consolidating peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems,' stresses *Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel*, 'the ideological struggle gains in importance, and it is specifically in this sphere that the journal will have to play an ever greater role.'

'Ever since it was founded,' writes *Dominique Urbany, Chairman, Communist Party of Luxembourg*, 'the journal has been working

for closer unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and has considerably promoted the ideas of proletarian internationalism.'

The important role of the journal in creatively carrying forward and publicizing Marxism-Leninism and in generalizing changes in the national liberation zone is pointed out by the brother parties of countries fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

G. Rajeswara Rao, *General Secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India*, notes: 'Ever since its foundation, the journal has served as a valuable instrument for the unification and further development of the international Communist movement on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. . . . We, in India, are naturally particularly interested in problems related to the transition from national independence to socialism, to the problems of national democracy and the non-capitalist path of development. *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has been of immense use to us in this respect.'

Abdus Salam, *General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Bangladesh*, writes: 'The analytical articles devoted to topical questions of Marxist-Leninist theory infuse creative Marxism into our comrades. We find the journal a vehicle of creative Marxism promoting cohesion and unity of the world Communist movement.'

A letter from the *Communist Party of Indonesia*, points out: 'For the Indonesian Communists who are fighting against reactionary military rule in the harsh conditions of illegality, *World Marxist Review* plays a role of tremendous importance in the matter of extending international proletarian support to the fight of the Communists and people of Indonesia.'

'The PKP,' writes the *Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines* (PKP), 'has been among those parties that have had to contend with a highly unscrupulous and provocative Maoist grouping that has been abetted by U.S. imperialism. It is our belief that this journal becomes more indispensable than ever in waging the key ideological battle in refuting and in cleansing the international Communist movement and the forces it leads of divisive anti-Marxist tendencies.'

The *Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran* says: '*World Marxist Review* has always been most helpful to our Party, which is operating in the difficult conditions of underground work, in carrying on its ideological work and in generalizing and spreading the international experience of brother parties, especially the vast experience of the CPSU.'

Y. M. Dadoo, *Chairman, South African Communist Party*, writes: 'Since its first appearance in September 1958, the journal has rendered invaluable services to the working class and oppressed peoples of the world. It has raised and elucidates important new problems facing the revolutionary movement.'

In a message from the *Central Committee of the Brazilian Com-*

munist Party, its General Secretary, Luis Carlos Prestes, writes: 'We are forced to work clandestinely, harassed and persecuted by the terrorist fascist dictatorship, which has muzzled the press and tries to prevent the spread of all information likely to help our people's revolutionary struggle. In this situation, every issue of *World Marxist Review* that reaches our Party members is of immense value, for it helps them better to understand world events, the world scope of their movement and the united international revolutionary struggle of the working class.'

The Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists, says in its letter: 'By publishing information on the parties' experiences, the journal promotes exchanges of opinion between revolutionaries and the unity of fighters for peace and socialism.'

Messages of greeting, which continue to come in, will also be quoted in the next issue of *World Marxist Review*. In publishing this incomplete survey, the Editorial Board, Editorial Council and the entire international staff of WMR express their sincere gratitude for the appreciation of the performance of the brother parties' journal. We will go on doing all in our power to ensure that the journal of the Communists of the world meets the demands put to it by the Communist and Workers' parties.

In brief

CONSULTATIVE MEETING

A consultative meeting of representatives of 21 Communist parties of European capitalist countries was held in Stockholm, at which questions of mutual interest were discussed. It decided to call a conference in January 1974 to discuss problems pertaining to the crisis of capitalism in Europe, the Communist parties' struggle for socialism, democracy, national independence and peace, and the struggle for unity of the working class and democratic forces.

The meeting adopted a resolution in support of the Chilean people's struggle, declaring full solidarity with the working people of Chile fighting against the dictatorship of the military junta and denouncing the terror unleashed by it.

LATIN AMERICA

Representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay met to draw up an agreed platform on basic economic and social problems common to their countries in connection with the utilization of the resources of the Rio de La Plata basin. A statement by the meeting declares that reactionary circles have made the problem a pretext for rivalry, confrontation and the subordination of some countries to others. Communists,

guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the interests of peace and the interests of their peoples, oppose the provocative plans of imperialism and internal reaction seeking to sow discord amongst the peoples.

ARGENTINA

Over the last seven years, most of the time operating illegally, the Communist Party has produced and distributed 700 publications in an aggregate printing of seven million. This includes completion of the second edition of the Complete Works of V. I. Lenin in 51 volumes.

BANGLADESH

The newspaper *Ekota*, organ of the CC CPB, has announced that the Second Party Congress will be held in Dacca December 4-9. It will be legal, unlike the First Congress, convened illegally in 1968. The Communist Party dates its formation as an organization to 1947.

BELGIUM

A public opinion study of the influence of political parties carried out by International Research Associated indicates that the Communist Party is gaining influence, with more and more people declaring their readiness to vote Communist in elections.

COLOMBIA

The first national conference of party propagandists was called by the CP Executive Committee to discuss methods of mass work and problems of distribution of the central Party organs, the newspaper *Voz Proletaria* and the theoretical journal *Documentos Politicos*; the newspaper's circulation, it was noted, has doubled in the last four years.

CUBA

More and more young people are joining the Young Communist League. Recently more than 1,100 students of Havana University received their YCL cards. In all, 15,000 young men and women have joined the League since the beginning of the year.

INDIA

The first issue of *Jan Yaga*, national Hindi-language daily of the CPI, has appeared. At a meeting in Delhi to mark the occasion CPI General Secretary Rajeswara Rao stressed that all Left-wing, democratic forces welcome the appearance of a national daily in Hindi, the language of many millions of Indians.

IRAQ

Tareeq al-Shaab ('People's Road') is the name of a new Communist Party daily. The first issue's leading article declares that the Party's

central organ will continue the line followed by the underground and legal Party press and be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The paper will promote the unity of all national forces in line with the historic agreement on the principles of cooperation between the Communist Party and the Baath Party within the National Progressive Front framework, it will promote the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for a democratic Iraq, for stronger ties with the Arab and international revolutionary movements and the socialist countries.

ITALY

A Rome court has turned down a defamation suit brought against the newspaper *L'Unita* by Giorgio Almirante, national secretary of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement. The court decision states that *L'Unita* committed no breach of the law by exposing Almirante, who, as a minister in the fascist government of the 'Salo Republic' had, in May 1944, signed the so-called 'Death Manifesto' for guerrilla activity. The court required Almirante to pay the costs and handed some of the documents in the case to a prosecutor for a new investigation - this time of the Italian neo-fascist leader himself.

NORWAY

As reported before, last April the country's Left forces formed the Socialist Electoral Union (SEU) comprising the Communist Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Democratic Socialist Party, trade unionists and the so-called Independent Socialists. The Union's common platform includes adherence to the results of last year's referendum which opposed Norway's membership of the Common Market, urges withdrawal from NATO, the expansion of democracy and the satisfaction of workers' demands.

The Union scored a major success in the Storting elections, winning 16 seats. At a joint meeting of the SEU's central board and MPs it was decided that the latter would set up a joint parliamentary group.

One of the members of the group's board is CP Chairman R. Larsen.

New Pamphlets From New Outlook

THE SAKHAROV-SOLZHENITSYN FRAUD. What's Behind the Hue and Cry for 'Intellectual Freedom' —Gus Hall

Intellectual freedom in terms of class struggle and socialism. Exposes Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn as enemies of peace, supporters of imperialism, defenders of racism, slanderers of socialism. Points out how Albert Shanker's support of them is consistent with his own class collaborationism and racism. Class nature of freedom and reality of socialist democracy. **32 pp. 40c**

ISRAEL: IMAGE AND REALITY. A Journalist's First-Hand Report —Carl Bloice

Based on a visit in June 1972. Extensive factual material on the brutal racist oppression of Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories, aggressive colonial policy of the Meir-Dayan government, discrimination against Sephardic Jews, use of immigrants as pawns for conquest. Appeals to American friends of Israel to fight for a change in policy as the only way to bring peace in the Middle East. **48 pp. 65c**

WOMEN ON THE JOB: The Communist View —Judy Edelman

Problems of women's liberation as they affect working and nationally oppressed women. New edition of pamphlet published in 1970, now out of print. Much new material added, mainly on special problems of Black and other nationally-oppressed women; additional relevant statistics. Statement of Communist Party USA's National Women's Commission; program for struggle around needs of working and nationally-oppressed women. **56 pp. 70c**

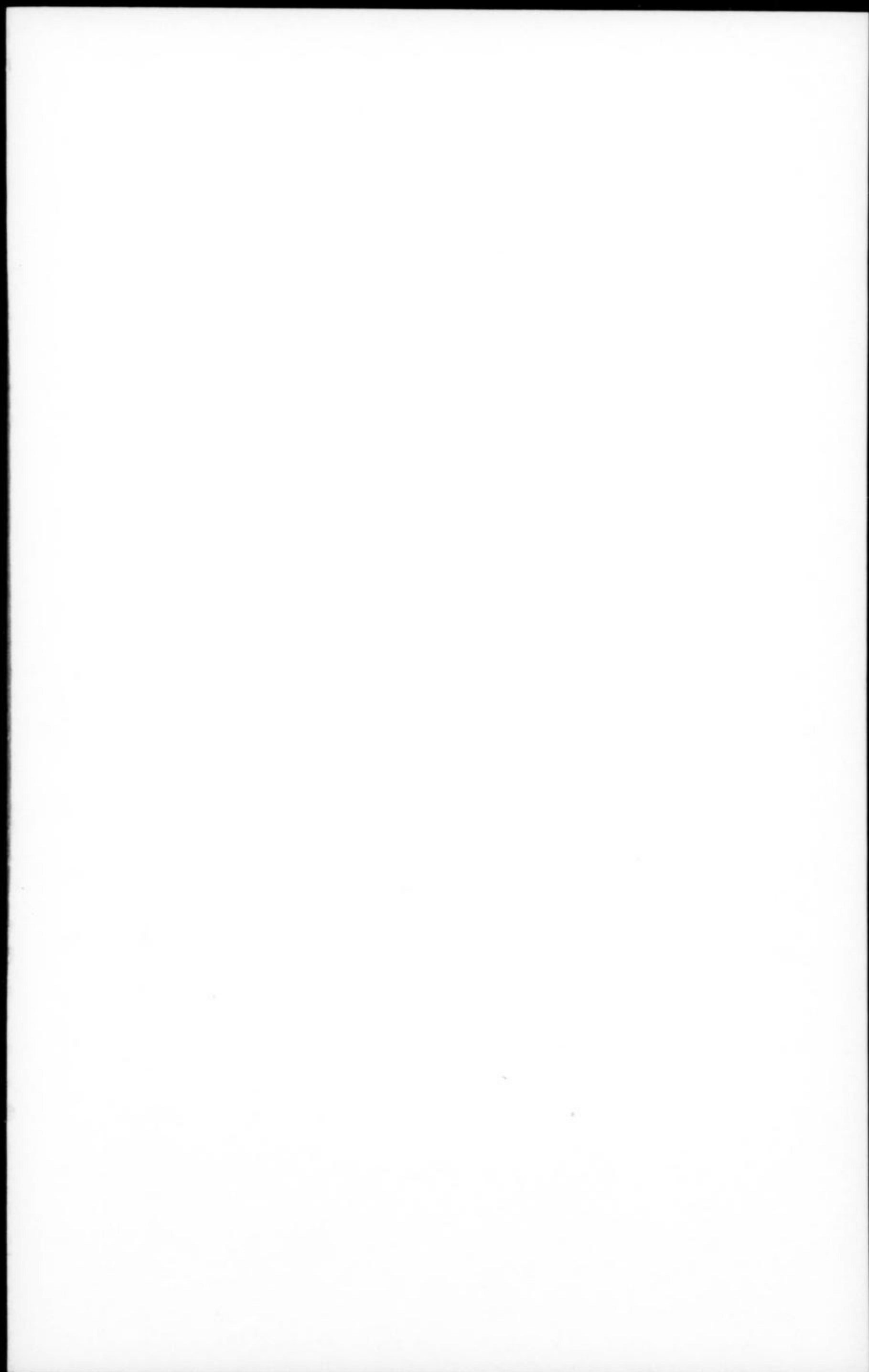
Other new pamphlets coming on: Inflation, Chile, Speeches by Fidel Castro, Racism and Education, 'Ghetto Self-Determination.'

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